MEETING OF THE HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE
TO INVESTIGATE ALLEGED MISCONDUCT AND OTHER MATTERS
INCLUDED IN INDICTMENTS REGARDING
REPRESENTATIVE THOMAS E. WRIGHT

## TRANSCRIPT OF THE PROCEEDINGS

March 3, 2008

## THE SELECT COMMITTEE:

Rep. Rick Glazier, Chair Rep. Paul Stam, Vice-chair Rep. Marvin Lucas Rep. William McGee Rep. Edith Warren Rep. Laura Wiley

In Raleigh, N.C. 11:03 A.M.

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Reported by: Katherine M. Becker THE CHAIR: This House Select Committee to Investigate the Alleged Misconduct and Other Matters Included in Indictments Against Representative Thomas E. Wright is now in order. It is March 3rd, 2008, at approximately eleven-onthree A.M. in Room 544 at the Legislative Office Building. This meeting is called to order.

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Again, as everyone knows, the meeting is being recorded by a court reporter, so I am going to, for the record, ask the people who are on staff to introduce themselves, and as well so that Counsel know who they may need to go to at breaks or otherwise. And I'll begin on the back row with Mr. Gehron.

 $\mbox{MR. GEHRON:} \quad \mbox{Jake Gehron, office of} \\ \mbox{Representative Glazier.} \\$ 

 $\label{eq:ms.huntley:Denise Huntley, research} $$ \text{staff.}$ 

 $\label{eq:mr. REAGAN: Walker Reagan, Committee} % \begin{cal}{ll} MR. REAGAN: Walker Reagan, Committee \\ co-counsel. \end{cal}$ 

MR. KREHELY: Brad Krehely, staff attorney with the Research Division, and Committee co-counsel.

MS. GOLDSMITH: Kory Goldsmith, Committee

-3-

2 MS. FENNELL: Heather Fennell, Committee co-counsel and staff attorney. THE CHAIR: Ms. Savel? 5 THE CLERK: Carin Savel, Committee clerk. THE CHAIR: Members of the Committee? REP. STAM: Paul Stam. Vice-Chair. THE CHAIR: Rick Glazier, Chairman. REP. WARREN: Edith Warren, Committee 9 10 Member. 11 REP. McGEE: Bill McGee, Committee 12 Member. 13 REP. LUCAS: Marvin Lucas, Committee 14 Member. REP. WILEY: Laura Wiley, Committee 15 16 Member. THE CHAIR: Counsel, please. Mr. Hart? 17 MR. HART: William Hart. Special Counsel. 18 19 MR. PETERS: Alexander Peters, Special 2.0 Counsel. 21 PROF. JOYNER: Irving Joyner, attorney 22 for Representative Wright. 23 REP. WRIGHT: Representative Thomas 24 Wright.

co-counsel and staff attorney.

 $$\operatorname{MR}.$$  HARRIS: Doug Harris, attorney for Representative Wright.

THE CHAIR: And to my right is Katherine Becker, court reporter, as has been at previous hearings.

All right. Members of the Committee, I'm going to give you some instructions now as we start our process. We have now reached the evidentiary stage of our investigation into the allegations against Representative Wright of unethical conduct. In accord with the Committee rules, I have asked Committee's outside legal counsel, Bill Hart and Alec Peters, to prepare the presentation of evidence against Representative Wright to be presented to you today.

In accord with the Rules, Representative Wright has been supplied with a list of witnesses Mr. Hart and Mr. Peters have considered calling. He has also been presented with a copy of all documents Mr. Hart and Mr. Peters might want to offer into evidence at this hearing.

Representative Wright was requested to present the Committee with a list of witnesses he might want to call in his defense, but has not done

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so at this time, arguing that to do so would violate his Constitutional rights.

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Under the Rules, Mr. Hart and Mr. Peters will have the burden of proving by clear and convincing evidence that the allegations contained in Counts 1 through 8 as adopted by the Committee and sent to Representative Wright are true.

Representative Wright will have the opportunity to cross-examine the witnesses and to ask the Committee to consider witnesses and any other evidence he might want the Committee to consider.

Our consideration in this hearing will be in two parts. The first part will be to hear the testimony of all the witnesses and consideration of all evidence on both the fact-finding and potential dispositional issues. After all the evidence is presented, the Committee will then be asked to consider for each outstanding count that remains whether the conduct alleged in the count was committed and whether that conduct that was committed constitutes unethical conduct. Both questions must be proved by clear and convincing evidence for there to be a finding against Representative Wright. If they are not, there will

be a finding in his favor.

If the Committee finds that one or more of the counts are true, the second consideration will be to determine what the appropriate sanction for the unethical conduct is. The Committee will then hear arguments from the Committee's outside legal counsel and Representative Wright on what the appropriate sanction or sanctions should be for the conduct. The Committee would then decide its recommendation to the House of Representatives on sanctions.

Legal counsel will be permitted to make opening statements before the evidence is presented and closing arguments after all of the evidence is heard. In accord with the Rules, legal counsel for both sides will be permitted to question each witness first, with direct examination, cross-examination, redirect examination, and recross-examination.

After that process is completed, each

Committee Member will be permitted to ask a series
of questions in the order set out on the sheet that

I have provided to you and that is in front of your
desk. After each Committee Member has been given

-7-

an opportunity to ask questions, Committee Members will then be given a chance to ask additional follow-up questions.

Under the Rules, all questions to be asked of the witness must be relevant, they must have probative value as to some substantive issue in the case, and may not be a waste of time or redundant. Committee outside legal counsel, Representative Wright's counsel, and any member of the Committee may object to a question before the question is answered. If a question is objected to, the Chair will rule on whether or not the witness should now be allowed or should not be allowed to answer the question. The witness shall not answer the question until the ruling is issued, so, Counsel, would you please instruct any of your witnesses—in fact, all of your witnesses—in that regard?

After the Chair's rule, any Committee member who disagrees with the ruling of the Chair may object to the ruling by simply making a motion that the ruling of the Chair be overruled. You have been provided with information on the procedure for objecting to a question and for

objecting to the ruling of the  ${\tt Chair.}$ 

Are there any questions at this point from any Committee members or counsel on those procedures that we will follow?

-8-

Seeing none, Members, you now have two notebooks in front of you today. One is your regular Committee notebook. Much of the information you need is found behind the last tab marked "3-3-08 Meeting." Behind this tab is a copy of the amended counts or charges against Representative Wright. Additionally, there is a revised chart of prior disciplinary actions against legislators in other states, and there is also a copy of the North Carolina Constitution behind this tab.

The other notebook is an exhibits notebook. Currently this notebook contains all of the evidence that Mr. Hart and Mr. Peters might ask to be introduced and considered as part of this proceeding. This evidence has been previously supplied to Representative Wright and his counsel.

The exhibits from Mr. Hart and Mr. Peters are currently marked in your notebook as Exhibits 1 through 19. If Representative Wright offers any

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evidence for introduction, his exhibits will be marked as Exhibits A through Z, as necessary, and will be placed in your notebooks behind the white exhibits tab. Since a notebook of the exhibits will be available to the witnesses who will testify to my left, the exhibits will not be handed out, but will be referred to merely by their exhibit number or their exhibit letter.

-9-

Any questions about the exhibit notebook?

All right. Seeing none, before we begin opening statements, I had asked Brad Krehely,

Committee co-counsel, to give you some short background on the evidentiary standard of proof that will apply in this proceeding. After

Mr. Krehely's presentation is completed, we'll have one procedural matter to undertake, and then we'll go and move into opening statements.

## Mr. Krehely?

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MR. KREHELY: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

members of the Committee, good morning. My name is

Brad Krehely, and I'm a staff attorney with the

research division and co-counsel to this Committee.

The Chair has asked me to give you a brief

educational presentation about the clear and

convincing evidence standard. I've handed out a one-page document entitled "Definition of Clear and Convincing Evidence," and it's in your notebooks behind the March 3rd, 2008, tab after the agenda and the amended counts.

The clear and convincing evidence standard arises under Rule C.14 of the Committee's Rules. That rule states, "After hearing evidence on the substantive issues of the alleged unethical and unlawful conduct by the accused legislator, the Committee shall address, one, whether by clear and convincing evidence one or more of the charges against the accused legislator is true; and two, if so, what action will be taken by the Committee.

So, what is clear and convincing evidence? First, clear and convincing evidence is not defined in the Committee's rules. However, the standard is a standard of evidence in some situations in North Carolina. Second, this standard of proof is labeled in three different ways under North Carolina law: One is "clear, strong, and convincing evidence"; two is "clear, cogent, and convincing evidence"; and three is "clear and convincing evidence." Our research

-11-

indicates that in North Carolina, these standards generally mean the same thing, and I will try to use the terminology "clear and convincing evidence" because that's the standard that's mentioned in our rules.

Now, there are three levels or degrees of proof in North Carolina, and I'm going to tell you about all three so that you have some context for how "clear and convincing evidence" fits into the bigger picture.

Clear and convincing evidence is not proof beyond a reasonable doubt. That's the standard you would need to apply to convict someone of a crime, and that standard would be too high for this proceeding, because this Committee is not a criminal court of law. Reasonable doubt is a doubt based on reason and common sense arising out of some or all of the evidence that has been presented, or lack or insufficiency of the evidence, as the case may be. Proof beyond a reasonable doubt is proof that fully satisfies or entirely convinces you of the defendant's guilt.

Now, once again, that's the standard you use in a criminal case, and so that would be too high for

this proceeding.

Now, on the other end of the spectrum, clear and convincing evidence is not simply the preponderance, or greater weight, of the evidence. The preponderance, or greater weight, of the evidence is the standard used in most civil cases, and you'll hear both of those terms used, and they mean the same thing. The preponderance, or greater weight, of the evidence does not refer to the quantity of the evidence, but rather to the quality or convincing force of the evidence. It means that you must be persuaded, considering all of the evidence, that the necessary facts are more likely than not to exist. And once again, this standard is lower than the clear and convincing evidence standard.

-12-

Now, in those situations where a clear and convincing evidence standard applies, North Carolina courts have explained what that standard means. For example, in a juvenile abuse, neglect, or dependency proceeding, the allegations must be proved by clear and convincing evidence. In those cases, North Carolina courts have described "clear and convincing evidence which should

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fully convince. Similarly, in attorney discipline proceedings, the standard is "clear, cogent, and convincing evidence." And this has also been described as the evidence which should fully convince.

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Finally, there is a pattern jury instruction for clear, strong, and convincing evidence which instructs jurors in the following way: "Clear, strong, and convincing evidence is evidence which, in its character or weight, establishes what the party with the burden of proof seeks to prove in a clear, strong, and convincing fashion. The jury shall interpret and apply the words -- and apply the words 'clear,' 'strong,' and 'convincing' in accordance with their commonlyunderstood and accepted meanings in everyday speech."

So, to summarize, the clear and convincing evidence standard is the middle standard; it's stricter than the preponderance, or greater weight, of the evidence, which is the regular civil standard, but it's not as high as the criminal burden of proof beyond a reasonable doubt; North Carolina appellate courts have described

clear and convincing evidence as evidence which should fully convince; and finally, the pattern jury instructions emphasize giving clear and convincing evidence their commonly used and under-excuse me--their commonly understood and accepted meanings in everyday speech.

Mr. Chairman, this concludes my remarks about the clear and convincing evidence standard.

THE CHAIR: All right. Thank you very much, Mr. Krehely. With that, we are now going to move to one logistical matter that we have. Before we move to opening statements from the lawyers, I understand, Mr. Hart, that you would like to be heard with regard to Count 6 of the charges against Representative Wright.

Mr. Hart, you're recognized.

MR. HART: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. As the Committee is aware, during the pendency of this investigation, we have been at times unable to conduct a -- a complete investigation of some matters because we never had a copy of the complete SBI file, and still--still do not, although we have had access to a -- to most of it. We are in a position where we are recommending that the Committee

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hearing, and would like to reserve the right to bring evidence on this count before the Committee at a later time if that's warranted. 5 Over the weekend was the first time that I was actually able to speak to Teresa Hill Williams, a former employee of Southeast Community Credit Union, who I understood, from reading her report and talking to investigators, would be able 9 10 to provide us with all of the testimony that we 11 would need to proceed on that count. After talking with Ms. Williams, I now realize that we would need 13 some other witnesses, who have not been subpoenaed and who cannot be at this hearing. And I would ask 14 that the Committee would withdraw that count and 15 sever it from consideration at -- at this hearing. 16

withdraw Count 6 from consideration at this

Chairman Stam? REP. STAM: Mr. Chairman, I move that

THE CHAIR: All right. We'll--Vice-

Count 6 be withdrawn without prejudice from consideration at this evidentiary hearing. THE CHAIR: All right. Dr. Joyner,

Mr. Harris, response to the motion to withdraw Count 6 from consideration at this hearing?

PROF. JOYNER: No--no--no response. 1 THE CHAIR: No response? All right. 2 There's a motion by Representative Stam to withdraw Count 6 without prejudice from consideration at

this hearing. Is there a second?

REP. WILEY: Second.

THE CHAIR: Second by Representative Wiley. Discussion or debate? Seeing none, all those in favor will vote 'aye,' all those opposed will vote 'no.' The clerk will call the roll.

THE CLERK: Chairman Glazier?

THE CHAIR: Aye.

THE CLERK: Vice-Chairman Stam?

REP. STAM: Aye.

THE CLERK: Representative Lucas?

REP. LUCAS: Aye.

THE CLERK: Representative McGee?

REP. McGEE: Ave.

THE CLERK: Representative Warren?

REP. WARREN: Ave.

THE CLERK: Representative Wiley?

REP. WILEY: Aye.

THE CHAIR: That is unanimous, and we will not be proceeding in this proceedings on

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1	Count 6. It will be reserved and held without
2	prejudice.
3	We now move to the beginning of the
4	hearing with regard to the charges pending before
5	us. In accord with the Rules, I instruct the
6	members of Committee that counsel for both sides
7	are now permitted to make opening statements. An
8	opening statement is a forecast of what the
9	attorney believes the evidence will be in the
LO	hearing. By their opening statements, the
11	attorneys set forth the grounds for their
12	respective claims or defenses.
13	You should not consider an opening
14	statement as evidence. The evidence will come
15	instead in the form of sworn testimony of witnesses
16	or other evidence that may be introduced into
7	evidence as exhibits by the parties.

evidence as exhibits by the parties.

All right. Opening statement is first with Committee counsel, Mr. Hart or Mr. Peters.

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MR. HARRIS: Mr. Chairman--

last week. And therefore, if there is to be a full

and fair hearing, we respectfully renew our motion.

THE CHAIR: Yes. I'm sorry. Mr. Harris?

MR. HARRIS: Before we commence on opening statements, I--I wanted to address several issues. The first is I wanted the Chair and the

Committee to be aware that there is a change of circumstance since the ruling of the Chair, and that changed circumstance is that a superior court judge ruled last week that Thomas Wright and his counsel had not had adequate time to prepare for answering these charges. It was a ruling from a superior court judge that substantially the same charges before you have—have not—there has not been adequate time for—for myself, for Mr. Joyner, for Tom Wright to go over these matters, to conform an adequate defense. And as the Chairman himself noted, we—we, in fact, don't even have a defense together yet.

Among other things, as I noted in court last week, these matters are so old, dating from, at times, 2001 and 2002, that, for example, I've had to send for—I've had Tom Wright send for his credit—card records to show things that he spent money on related to these foundations. We don't have those yet, don't expect to have those during this hearing.

It makes it impossible for this Committee to get a full picture and makes it impossible for it to be a full hearing. And--and a judge so ruled

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hundred pages of material--is that correct--of the some seven thousand pages that may have existed in

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3 the criminal discovery?

MR. HART: That's correct, Mr. Chairman, not including what's on the CDs, which are Representative Wright's bank accounts.

THE CHAIR: I understand. Am I also correct that you have limited the case to ten witnesses now? Is that correct?

 $$\operatorname{MR}.$$  HART: It actually may be less than that. We may not present more than seven or eight witnesses.

THE CHAIR: But that--but those witnesses were listed on the February 12th disclosure to Representative Wright?

MR. HART: Yes, sir. That's correct.

THE CHAIR: All right.

MR. HART: And let me--if I may, let me add this: Many of the allegations that are before the Committee were before Representative Wright since May of last year with the Board of Elections hearing. In the fall, there was the inquiry by the Legislative Ethics Committee, again with many of the same allegations being involved, and

THE CHAIR: And the renewed motion is to continue this matter--is that the motion we're referring to--hold it in abeyance? MR. HARRIS: It--it is. THE CHAIR: All right. Mr. Hart. response, or Mr. Peters? MR. HART: Mr. Chairman, I have not heard anything presented that was different from what was presented to this Committee the last time we were here, and I don't feel there's any need to further respond. MR. HARRIS: What is different is a superior court judge has so ruled. THE CHAIR: I--I understand the--and we're talking about Judge Hight, correct? MR. HARRIS: Judge Hight. THE CHAIR: Yes. If y'all will give me a minute, I want to re-read your motion from the last time. (Examines paperwritings.) Correct me if I'm wrong: Mr. Hart, am I correct that the amount of material that you have set out in your exhibits is approximately two hundred and fifty to three

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Representative Wright was aware of those and had an opportunity to respond to those allegations at that time, and then again before this Committee, when it began reviewing it in--in December, and Representative Wright has been aware of those allegations since--since that time.

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THE CHAIR: All right. This matter is before the Chair of the Committee on motion by Representative Wright to renew his previous motion to continue or hold in--in abeyance the hearing on this matter on grounds that there's been inadequate time to prepare for the charges as--and relies in making that motion on the decision a week ago by Judge Hight in Wake County Superior Court as related to the criminal trial. Number--the issue's been argued by both counsel and is ready to be ruled upon.

Number 2, the criminal trial on the six felony counts pending against Representative Wright was scheduled to be heard in the Wake County Superior Court beginning on March 3, 2008, comma, but was continued by Superior Court Judge Hight until a time uncertain in the future this spring or summer, period.

Number 3, the ethics case pending before this Committee differs both in quantity and quality from the criminal trial in superior court on a number of grounds. First, this is not a court of law; it is a Legislative Committee hearing. Second, the Legislative Committee process has been pending either at the LEC or before this Committee since May of 2007, while the criminal proceedings have been pending in Wake County Superior Court only since indictment in December of 2007.

Second, the Wake County discovery includes somewhere between seven and eight thousand pages of material, which has been reduced to a maximum of three hundred pages of material to be used by Committee counsel.

Third, the number of witnesses appears to be potentially extensive in the Wake Superior Court trial. It has been limited to between seven and ten witnesses on the Committee counsel's case in chief in this proceeding.

Next, the ethics proceeding in this case has moved at a very deliberate pace to protect the rights of all involved, and most particularly those of Representative Wright. And I'm going to re-read

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the finding from the order on Motion 12. The ethics proceeding began in the Legislative Ethics Committee. The Legislative Ethics Committee withheld any action in the ethics case for a number of months to allow the criminal investigation and prosecution to make its determination of whether to proceed. The Legislative Ethics Committee determined there were grounds to refer this matter to the House for disciplinary considerations and withheld judgment on one count over which it retained jurisdiction.

The matter came to the House, and the Speaker appointed this Committee in December of 2007. The Committee established its rules on December 18, 2007, and probable cause was found on the eight counts, now seven counts, pending on January 9, 2008. Representative Wright at that time was provided a detailed list of the charges against him and a full opportunity to file a written response and prepare for any evidentiary hearing.

The Rules that have been established by the Committee detailed a reasonable time frame for the exchange of witnesses, the exchange of a summary of their testimony, the exchange of documents, the subpoenaing of witnesses, and the time to prepare for any hearing. And at this hearing, Representative Wright is assured the right to testify, present evidence, cross-examine witnesses, and fully defend the charges. Those Rules and the time table are consistent with nearly every set of state ethics rules that were identified as those rules were developed in the United States.

Next finding: Most of the information received and that is contained in the three hundred pages are Representative Wright's own bank records or records related to transactions that were alleged to have been conducted by Representative Wright. Nearly all of the documents, the vast majority of the documents are and have been for some time available to Representative Wright even outside the context of any proceeding in this case or in the Wake County Superior Court.

None of--next finding: None of the counts pending are any different than counts that were alleged throughout 2007, either before the State Board of Elections or in information received

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1 from a Health and Human Services investigation, or
2 in matters pending before the Wake County grand
3 jury.
4 Accordingly, I find that it--that the
5 motion today to continue this hearing should be
6 denied and any claim of inability to prepare for
7 this hearing is not of merit. The motion is
8 denied. Exception is noted.
9 Does any Member of the Committee seek to

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overrule the decision of the Chair? All right.

Those--that will be reduced into writing so it's available. Your exception is noted.

Mr. Harris, next matter?

MR. HARRIS: Mr. Chairman, and while we're talking about exceptions, I wish to elaborate on our exception to the--to the rulings from the--from the other session.

THE CHAIR: Sure.

MR. HARRIS: I noted, Mr. Chairman, that we were allowed oral arguments, which presumably the point of oral arguments is to persuade, and presumably they would be listened to and—and there might be some hope of winning. And I also noted that without hesitation or delay or time for

consideration, not for ten minutes, not for ten seconds, at the end of each time when poor Professor Joyner would argue, that the Chair would proceed to read from three and four and five pages of prepared remarks that had already been done, already been ruled upon.

And it--it seemed more than obvious to me and, indeed, the press noted that these decisions were written out in advance, to that point where our participating in oral argument was a mere charade. And Professor Joyner was arguing very strong legal points, very well-considered points. For that matter, I was arguing points and I wished to be listened to, and I found it very disturbing that the Chairman had prepared remarks already written out that had obviously been decided in advance.

And I know that judges oftentimes say "Let us take--I'll this into advisement," or they'll say, "Let me step back in chambers and consider this for a few minutes." And you know, whether they do or they don't, I don't know, but they at least have--they at least have the appearance of propriety. And this had the

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appearance of impropriety, because it was apparent that these decisions were made before we even argued.

And if the Chair and this Committee felt that we weren't worth being listened to, then the Chair should have ruled based on the written arguments and told them [phonetic] they wouldn't entertain oral arguments. But if the Chair truly entertained oral arguments, the decisions should not have been written out all in advance. Thank you.

THE CHAIR: Thank you very much. Your objection is overruled. Exception is noted.

For the record, not a single one of my rulings was written out in advance. However, like any good presiding officer, I spent days preparing. I had read all the cases, I'd made notes, I'd read your motions, I'd read the response, and I had notes of questions I was going to ask and notes of points I felt I needed to make.

So you have made--you made your point.

The Chair understands it, and it is overruled. It is simply factually totally incorrect, and those on this staff understand that, since I then spent the

next week and a half trying to put those written orders together. Your objection's overruled. Does the--exception is noted. Does the Chair's ruling cause any Member of Committee to seek to overrule to Chair?

-28-

All right. Thank you. Any other further points?

MR. HARRIS: Yes, Mr. Chairman. The next point I'd like to renew--and this is the most important point--

THE CHAIR: Sure.

MR. HARRIS: --is I'd like to renew my call for this matter to be continued so that we not pollute the jury pool and not have an adverse effect upon the criminal trial.

The criminal trial has now been rescheduled for March 31st, meaning it will fall a few weeks on the heel of the conclusion of this matter. And it's inevitable that things will be said in here that will be played on the press and played out over--over the airwaves and in--in the newspapers that will have an undeniable adverse effect upon a jury pool.

 $\ensuremath{\text{I}}$  note that all of you are  $\ensuremath{\text{State}}$ 

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officials, whether elected or employed. All of you are acting under color of state law. And this is not a mere opinion expressed by an individual or as a--as it might be in a newspaper editorial or under the guise of--under the normal operation of free speech, but this is a formal operation of the State.

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And I -- I note further in this particular instance my client has been exposed in an unusual way to--to an extra dose of adverse publicity. A moment ago, the Chair made reference to the fact there was a hearing before the Legislative Ethics Committee. The Chair will remember the Legislative Ethics Committee eventually ruled that there was no jurisdiction, which, indeed, there's not. And the reason for that is because of the very thing Professor Joyner noted, which is that these matters come from a prior legislative session.

Now, indeed, during this same time period, Fern Shubert, a former representative that you all know and a former state senator that you all know, made a complaint against Pryor Gibson. She made it in January 2007--

THE CHAIR: Well, we're not going to

get -- we're not going to get into prior complaints, Mr. Harris.

MR. HARRIS: I'm not getting into a prior complaint. I'm pointing out the difference in what we have right here.

THE CHAIR: We're not going to get into a prior complaint before the Legislative Ethics Commission [sic]. If you have some point to argue with regard to Mr. Wright, you may do that.

MR. HARRIS: My point is that in a letter signed by you, Mr. Chairman, you said that there was no jurisdiction to hear that, and--and indeed--

THE CHAIR: Mr. Wright--Mr. Harris, we are not going to get into any discussion of anybody else's complaint before any other forum. Now, if you want to make an argument as to Mr. Wright, in Representative Wright's case, that's fine; otherwise, no argument as to--

MR. HARRIS: My--

THE CHAIR: -- any other complaint.

MR. HARRIS: My argument, sir, is that in--in this instance, you as Chairman held no hearing, no -- no adverse publicity was had, whereas -- knowing there was no jurisdiction, whereas

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in Tom Wright's case, an extra hearing was held before the Legislative Ethics Committee, and therefore my client was exposed to an extra week's worth of bad publicity, when--when you as Chairman knew or should have known there was no jurisdiction, because you signed the letter on July 24th, 2007, demonstrating there was--

THE CHAIR: Mr. Harris, your objection is overruled. Do not go there again. I am instructing you I will not hear argument as to any other complaint. If you want to argue as to Representative Wright and renewing your motion on--I'm speaking--

MR. HARRIS: Yes.

THE CHAIR: --as to polluting the jury pool, I'll be glad to hear you.

If you argue again as to a complaint outside the jurisdiction, your right as to this motion will be denied, and we will move on. Now, if you've got an argument, I'll hear you on it. Do not refer again to any matters outside of Representative Wright's case, please.

MR. HARRIS: I do have an argument. Representative Wright is a black man from New Hanover County, and he is being tried both in the Legislative Ethics Committee and in this Committee, and a white man in exactly the same position was not. And that is a -- that is a direct violation of the federal statutes, general -- the U.S. statutes, 1981 and 1866 Civil Rights Act. When similar people are in similar situations, they must be treated the same, and what we have here is a white man being treated one way and a black man being treated another.

-32-

And I find it ironic that Representative Wright represents New Hanover County, Wrightsville, which is the very place where the 1898--the very place where the 1898 race--race riot took place, which began the Jim Crow era, and this is a Jim Crow proceeding if he gets treated differently. And I object to my client being treated in a Jim Crow manner in a hearing in 2008. It's totally against the law, and I'm saying that this ought not go forward. He ought to be treated the same.

THE CHAIR: All right. Mr. Hart? Thank you, Mr. Harris. Mr. Hart?

MR. HART: Mr. Chairman, much of the same argument that is being--is being presented on this

-33-

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particular motion was presented before Judge Paul Ridgeway in Wake County Superior Court last week on a request for a temporary restraining order to prevent this Committee from moving forward. After the hearing and arguments of counsel, Judge Ridgeway made specific findings in Wake County Superior Court on the record, which he has reduced to writing and intends to sign a--an order this morning reflecting those--those findings.

Some of those findings include as—as follows: "The Court next considers the position of the Appellant that even if this matter is not justiciable under the Political Question Doctrine, the Court should nonetheless intervene by staying the proceedings of the House Select Committee because Representative Wright's Constitutional rights as a criminal defendant will be adversely affected in the parallel criminal case pending in Wake County. Allowing the House Select Committee's proceeding to continue, Representative—Representative Wright argues, would cause irreparable harm by depriving him of a right to a fair trial in criminal court.

"Next, while it is axiomatic that a

criminal defendant is entitled to a fair trial by an impartial jury free from outside influence, the law also provides adequate remedies to protect defendants from having these rights abridged. For example, to the extent that Representative Wright is concerned that his testimony at a hearing before the House Select Committee will be used against him at a subsequent criminal trial, an adequate remedy already exists in the Constitutional privilege against self-incrimination.

"Likewise, N.C. General Statute 15A-957 provides the means by which a criminal defendant can petition the Court to change venue of a criminal trial if the defendant believes that pretrial publicity or other factors have caused so great a prejudice that he cannot receive a fair jury trial."

The Court went on to say as follows:
"Moreover, it is not unusual for a criminal
defendant to be subjected to parallel proceedings,
such as civil trials or administrative hearings,
involving the same subject matter as the criminal
trial." He then cited several cases from the
United States Supreme Court and various federal

-35-

circuits.

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The Court went on as follows: "While the decision on whether to participate in the parallel proceedings or invoke one's Constitutional privilege against self-incrimination may present a difficult choice for a criminal defendant, the fact that this choice must be made does not in and of itself deprive the defendant of Constitutional rights. For these reasons, the Court finds that Representative has--Wright has not, for the purposes of his application for a temporary restraining order, demonstrated that he is likely to sustain irreparable harm unless the application is granted."

The Court went on to conclude that

Representative Wright had not demonstrated a

like--likelihood of success on the merits and had

not demonstrated that he is likely to suffer

irreparable harm which can only be prevented by an

issuance of an injunction.

So many of the same arguments about the pollution of the jury pool were made before Judge Ridgeway, and Judge Ridgeway found that there was not--not a sufficient basis to restrain this

Committee from moving forward.

PROF. JOYNER: Mr. Chairman?

THE CHAIR: Dr. Joyner?

PROF. JOYNER: If--if I may-
THE CHAIR: Sure.

PROF. JOYNER: --I was involved in the hearing in the Wake County Superior Court, and I certainly acknowledge that we dealt with in that session what we dealt with.

What we did not deal with, however, was the specific claim that Attorney Harris is making of disparate treatment. That was not an issue that was before the Wake County Superior Court, and that is certainly the basis of the claim that Attorney Harris has made this morning before this Committee. And he has made it before this Committee because this is the Committee that is involved in these--in this proceeding. That would not have been a matter that would have been raised in the Wake County Superior Court and was not raised in the Wake County Superior Court.

So my--my point is that the--the--the focus of Attorney Harris' comment is not--has absolutely nothing to do with what we dealt with in

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the Wake County Superior Court. 2 THE CHAIR: All right. I think I understand the -- the arguments. First, what I'm going to do on this--as the motion initially started out, which was a motion entitled to renew a 5 prior motion, for all the reasons stated by Judge Ridgeway and for the reasons we stated in our order denying it initially, the motion is denied. 9 Exception is noted. 10 And does that particular ruling cause any 11 member of the Committee to seek to overrule the Chair? That's as to the initial motion.

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Dr. Joyner, I do agree with you, though, that the motion as it was argued by Mr. Harris took a different twist as it was subsequently argued. And as to that subsequent motion as it relates to any claim of disparate treatment, that is a new motion, a dispositive motion potentially, that was not ever briefed, ever argued, or given to us consistent with the scheduling order for dispositive motions, and it is new. In that matter and for that reason, I could summarily deny the motion, but will not.

What I will ask you to do is to submit

that motion in writing, and we will undertake a discussion of that motion and a ruling on that motion either at the end of the day, or if it's impossible to get it done by today, then in the morning. And I understand the difference, and I understand the disparity—disparate treatment argument being made. But if you wish to pursue that motion, it will be in writing, as dispositive motions should be. And I will ask you to serve Mr. Hart and Mr. Peters so they can respond. And I will hear it as best that I can hear it and make a decision at a later time in these proceedings as to that motion—the twist on that motion that came.

But as to the renewed motion as it started out, nothing is new, nothing different than from what was argued before that was denied or that Judge Ridgeway denied, and that is overruled for the same reasons. And exception's noted. All right.

Any further motions?

MR. HARRIS: I--I-
THE CHAIR: Mr. Harris?

MR. HARRIS: I wanted to note that we

were not in the possession of this information -- it

-39-

-40-

would be our position we should have been informed of this information, since it has exact parallels to Tom Wright--but we heard this as a result of a--of a contact from former representative--former senator Fern Shubert. She contacted us on Thursday. This is brand-new information for us. And she indicated that she was--although she is a Republican, that she was disgusted at the treatment of Tom Wright and she thought there were clear parallels with Pryor Gibson, and she didn't understand why he was being treated differently. So that's how it came to our attention. THE CHAIR: That's fine. Mr. Harris, I will receive your written motion on it, allow Mr. Hart to respond. We'll examine it, and we'll go from there. All right. Any further motions? There being none, we will return to exactly why we are here, back to the issue, and that issue is whether or not there is clear and convincing evidence as to any count. And we will open the hearing on those matters with opening statement by Mr. Hart.

MR. HART: Mr. Chairman, Members of the

Committee, we are here to present evidence in the

matter of Representative Thomas Wright that will show you, by clear and convincing evidence, that between the years 2000 and 2006 Representative Thomas Wright engaged in a pattern of improper, unethical, and criminal conduct while a legislator in this General Assembly.

The types of conduct that are involved in what we will be showing in evidence involve a failure to disclose approximately one hundred and eighty-five thousand dollars (\$185,000) in campaign contributions during that time period; a failure to disclose the existence of a number of different campaign accounts and personal accounts that he funneled his campaign contributions into during that time period; solicitation of a letter from a State employee, Torlen Wade, falsely stating that funding would be forthcoming for his museum project in the amount of one hundred fifty and thousand dollars (\$150,000); fraudulent presentation of that letter to a representative of Coastal Federal Bank to obtain a loan in the amount of a hundred and fifty thousand dollars to purchase property for that museum project; solicitation of funds from three different corporations for charitable

-41-

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donations to the Community's Health Foundation, Incorporated, stating that it was a 501(c)(3) corporation, which it was not; and then depositing those charitable deduct--those charitable contributions that came from those three corporations that were intended for charitable purposes into his own account and for his own personal use.

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As matters of evidence, you will learn that on April 18th, 2001, Representative Thomas Wright filed incorporation papers with the Secretary of State for a corporation entitled the Community's Health Foundation, Incorporated. You will also find out that that particular foundation never had any board meetings, never approved any bylaws, and never approved any of Representative Thomas Wright's activities over the years that we will be going into. You will also find out that it was never approved by the IRS as a 501(c)(3) charitable corporation.

You will learn that on March 5th of 2002 Representative Thomas Wright applied for a loan at Coastal Federal Bank in the name of the Community's Health Foundation, Incorporated, with the purpose being to purchase a building for an 1898 memorial museum. You will learn that at that time he informed Ronnie Burbank of Coastal Federal Bank that the source of repayment was to be grant money from state and federal government.

You will learn that on March 13th, approximately eight days later, in 2002, Representative Thomas Wright called Torlen Wade, then director of the Office of Rural Health, and solicited him to write a letter that committed a hundred and fifty thousand dollars to his museum project, a commitment that Torlen Wade could not make, funding that he did not have available.

When Torlen Wade informed Representative Wright that he could not make that kind of a commitment, Representative Wright began to be urgently insistent that there was some way that could be done, and that he would not need to ever get the money that Torlen Wade was committing, that he was going to seek other funding, but he needed to be able to have a letter to go to a financial institution to be able to get a hundred-and-fifty-thousand-dollar loan.

You will learn that shortly after that

-44-

-43-

phone call an e-mail came from Representative Wright's office to Torlen Wade with all of the details that needed to be put into the letter that he was asking Torlen Wade to sign and send to him.

You will then learn that Torlen Wade did, in fact, comply with the urgings of Representative Wright because Representative Wright-Wright was a legislator, because Representative Wright was the chairman of the main committee that Torlen Wade had to deal with, with the Office of Rural Health, and because Representative Wright was a board member on the--a member of the appropriations committee that also dealt with Torlen Wade's office.

You will learn that Torlen Wade did draft and sign a letter and sent it to Representative Wright on March 15th, 2002, putting all the details that Representative Wright asked him to include that he had set forth in the e-mail. And you will learn that Representative Wright provided that letter to Ronnie Burbank at Coastal Federal Loan sometime prior to actually completing the loan to have the loan completed to be able to buy the property for the museum project.

You will also learn that on September

26th of 2003 Representative Wright, on Foundation stationery for the Community Health Foundation, Incorporated, sent an invoice to AT&T Corporation seeking fifteen hundred dollars (\$1,500), that that—the purpose of that invoice was to seek a charitable contribution.

You will learn that on November 14th of 2003 Representative Wright sent a letter to AstraZeneca Pharmaceuticals seeking a charitable contribution to the Community Health Foundation, a letter signed by Representative Wright and seeking twenty-four hundred dollars (\$2,400) as a charitable contribution to help him provide for healthcare services for the underserved population in the Wilmington/New Hanover County area.

You will learn that on December 15th of 2003 AstraZeneca Pharmaceuticals sent a check to the Community Health Foundation, Incorporated, in the amount of twenty-four hundred dollars (\$2,400) in response to Representative Wright's request for a charitable contribution, and that Representative Wright deposited that check in his own personal account.

You will learn that on February 6th of

-45-

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2004 Representative Wright sent another letter, to Anheuser-Busch Companies, Incorporated, seeking a charitable contribution to the Community Health Foundation, a letter on their stationery, signed by him, and asking for a contribution so that he could help build the 1898 Race Riot Museum.

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You will learn that on February 12th of 2004 AT&T Corporation sent an order to pay the invoice that had been sent by Representative Wright in September of oh thousand--of 2003 to provide him with a check for fifteen hundred dollars (\$1,500) as a charitable contribution to the Community Health Foundation, Incorporated.

You will learn that on March 5th, 2004,
Anheuser-Busch issued a check to the Community
Health Foundation for five thousand dollars
(\$5,000) and sent it to the Community Health
Foundation at the address on the letterhead in the
letter provided by Representative Wright, and that
Representative Wright deposited that check into his
own personal account.

You will also learn that on April 1st, 2004, AT&T Corporation sent a check to the Community Health Foundation, Incorporated, at the

address on the invoice that Representative Wright sent to them, a check in the amount of fifteen hundred dollars (\$1,500). That check was deposited by Representative Wright in his own personal account.

You will learn that in the early part of 2007 the North Carolina Board of Elections received a complaint about Representative Wright and that Kim Strach, an investigator with the Board of Elections, began an investigation and compared-among other things, compared disclosure reports of Representative Wright's campaigns from 2000 to 2006 to his personal and campaign bank accounts, several different bank accounts that she found that he had. And you will learn that by her audit of the campaign disclosure reports and his bank accounts she came up with approximately one hundred and eighty-five thousand dollars (\$185,000) in check contributions that were not reported from 2000 to 2006 but were deposited in one or -- in one of Representative Wright's personal or campaign accounts.

You will also learn that as Ms. Strach conducted her investigation she found three checks

-47-

purposes of the opening statement?

from corporations to the Community Health
Foundation, Incorporated, in Representative
Wright's accounts. Those three checks are the
checks that I spoke about earlier to AT&T--from
AT&T, from Anheuser-Busch, and from AstraZeneca
Pharmaceuticals.

And, finally, you will hear that on--in September and October of 2007 SBI Agent Johnnie Umphlet requested that Representative Thomas Wright speak to him about the allegations that came up during the investigation, and that Representative Wright agreed to meet with Johnnie Umphlet, that during that--those interviews that Representative Wright videotaped most of the interviews. He asked to be allowed to videotape them; that was granted. Most of the interviews were taped. However, at one point during the interview process--

PROF. JOYNER: Mr. Chairman, we would object to this reference. It's irrelevant to any of the charges that have been filed against Representative Wright.

THE CHAIR: So the objection is relevancy? Mr. Hart, without going further into that, can you tell me what the relevancy is for

MR. HART: I'm simply showing the Committee what the counsel's--Special Counsel's evidence is going to show, which includes an interview of Representative Wright where he made certain admissions that deal with the allegations involved in the counts.

-48-

THE CHAIR: All right. And--and--all right. I think I understand. For purposes of the opening statement, the objection's overruled. Exception's noted. Thank you.

MR. HART: You will learn that at some points during the interview Representative Wright turned off the videotape and talked with Agent Umphlet off--off tape. You will learn that Representative Wright told Agent Umphlet that he didn't want to answer some questions, that some answers he was going to reserve for future times, and that he wanted to be careful and not say things that would hurt him. You will learn that he wouldn't give copies of certain documents that he had to Agent Umphlet as he showed them to him when the tape--when the videotape was off.

You will learn that initially he told

-49-

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Agent Umphlet that there were no board meetings for the Community Health Foundation, there were no minutes, and there were no bylaws. You will learn that at the next interview Representative Wright said that he had come up with some bylaws, but that he would not give Agent Umphlet a copy of those.

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You will learn that he could not recall his conversation with Torlen Wade but that he would have authorized the e-mail that he reviewed, though he didn't recall it. You will learn that he told Agent Umphlet that he did not intend for Torlen Wade to be hurt by all this, that he tried to get funding for the property and the loan but couldn't, and that the loan was ultimately defaulted.

You will learn that as Agent Umphlet showed him each one of the letters and--each of the two letters to Anheuser-Busch and AstraZeneca Pharmaceuticals for the charitable contributions that Representative Wright said that he recognized those letters and that he sent those letters to those corporations in order to get charitable contributions; he said, however, that he did not recognize the invoice, but that he did, in fact, seek a charitable contribution from AT&T.

You will learn that he told Agent Umphlet that he received the three checks that you will see made out to the Community Health Foundation and that he put those checks into his own personal account. He told Agent Umphlet that the use of those checks was not restricted by those three companies and that he considered that sweat equity.

That is what the evidence will show,

Ladies and Gentlemen of the Committee, and shortly
you will hear the witnesses who will testify to
those facts.

THE CHAIR: All right. Thank you very much, Mr. Hart. Dr. Joyner or Mr. Harris, opening statement?

PROF. JOYNER: We will reserve our opening statement.

THE CHAIR: All right. And I will allow you to do that pending--and--and just, Members of the Committee, so you know, what Dr. Joyner is doing is reserving the ability to do an opening statement until after the Committee counsel's case is completed before he begins Representative Wright's case.

All right. With that, I think it is

-52-

-51-

probably as good a time as any for us to take just a few minutes of a break before we get started in the evidence. But before I do that, Members of the Committee, I have an instruction, and everyone in the room, please.

Before we take our first break, I want to remind members of the Committee, the attorneys for the Committee, and the attorneys for Representative Wright, Representative Wright, and members of the public that because we are now in the deliberative, fact-finding stage, the Chair thinks it would be appropriate that the members of the Committee refrain from discussing this matter with the press, the Committee's outside legal counsel, Representative Wright's attorneys, Representative Wright until the Committee deliberations end up being completed in this case.

I will ask Mr. Hart, Mr. Peters,
Mr.--Dr. Joyner, Mr. Harris, Representative Wright
as well to refrain from discussing the evidence
with you individually outside the context of this
room and during our time together.

 $\ensuremath{\text{I}}$  will also ask the members of the public to not approach Committee members or witnesses

until the matter is completed, at least as far as Committee deliberations are concerned. I believe that this process will allow the hearing to fair--fair to all parties if we follow these suggestions, and I am requesting the sergeant-at-arms to assist in ensuring compliance with this request.

(SIXTEEN-MINUTE RECESS)

THE CHAIR: All right. We are back in session. Mr. Hart, we begin--since there's been a waiver of the opening argument by Representative Wright until his case, first witness is with you.

 $\label{eq:mr.hart:} \text{MR. HART:} \quad \text{Special Counsel would call}$  Torlen Wade.

THE CHAIR: Mr. Wade, Torlen Wade, if you'll come up, the witness chair will be to my left. The court reporter will be swearing in all witnesses--okay--Mr. Wade, if you'll be sworn by the court reporter.

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-53-

1		. 1		THE CHAIR: All right. Thank you. And
2	Whereupon,	2		let's try and get that fixed as fast as we can.
3	TORLEN L. WADE,	3		Mr. Hart, if you need to stop at any point, or if
4	having been first duly sworn,	4		that happens on either side, let me know. But go
5	was examined and testified	5		ahead.
6	as follows:	6	Q	(By Mr. Hart) Mr. Wade, are you currently
7		7		employed?
8	THE CHAIR: Mr. Wade, if you'll be	8	A	No. I'm a private consultant right now.
9	seated, please. Mr. Hart?	9	Q	All right. Have you retired from state government,
10	DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. HART:	10		sir?
11	Q Would you state your name, please, sir?	11	A	Yes, I have.
12	A Torlen L. Wade.	12	Q	Would you tell us what position?
13	Q Mr. Wade, are you currently employed?	13	A	I'm retired as a
14	A I am a consultant right now, private consultant.	14		MR. HART: Hold on just a minute. I
15	MR. HART: Mr. Chairman, I don't believe	15		don't think this mic is working either.
16	my microphone's working.	16		(DISCUSSION OFF RECORD)
17	THE CHAIR: Let'sdo you want to try th	ne 17		THE CHAIR: Mr. Hart, the witness is with
18	lapel mic? Oh, that's what you were using? Okay	18		you.
19	Let's hold on, and let's see what we can do. We's	re 19	Q	(By Mr. Hart) Mr. Wade, would you tell usyou
20	at ease for a moment.	20		said you retired from state government. What did
21	(DISCUSSION OFF RECORD)	21		you do in state government, please, sir?
22	MR. HART: Mr. Chairman, I'm going to	22	A	I waswhen I retired, I was director of the Office
23	proceed with the button mic while they're working	23		of Rural Health and Community Care.
24	out the mechanical problems.	24	Q	And how long were you withthat's in the

-55- -56-

1		Department of Health and Human Services?	1	know, business and county leaders over the issue of
2	A	Right, Health andyes.	2	health access, particularly for under-served
3	Q	How long were you in that particular office?	3	residents, inin New Hanover County, and I met
4	A	I was in that office for thirty-three years.	4	Representative Wright. He was part of that group
5	Q	And what were your duties in that office?	5	inin Wilmington, and I met him thatat that
6	A	Well, originally I was aa community health worker	6	time.
7		helping communities organize health centers	7 Q	And did he have a position at that time?
8		throughout ruralmainly in the western part of the	8 A	He, I believe, was a member of the Wilmington city
9		state.	9	council.
10	Q	Okay. At some point, did your emphasis shift to	10 Q	From time to time thereafter, did you have occasion
11		the eastern part of the state?	11	to work with Representative Wright?
12	A	Well, we were a fairly small staff, so we had to	12 A	Well, out of thatout of that meeting in
13		kind of go back and forth. So II had projects	13	Wilmington there was a decision toto try to
14		bothmore projects in the west, but I did have	14	develop a health center mainly for the inner-city
15		projects in the east as well.	15	area in Wilmington. And our office agreed to work
16	Q	At some point during your time with the Office of	16	with the leadership down there, and Representative
17		Rural Health, did you come to know Representative	17	Wright was awas theone of the key people on
18		Thomas Wright?	18	that effort. So I worked very closely with him
19	A	Yes, I did.	19	between 1992 and '94, when we put together a
20	Q	Tell us about that, please.	20	federal application to get a community health
21	A	It was in approximately 1991. Jim Bernstein, who	21	center ininin New Hanover County, whichwhich
22		was then the director of the Office of Rural	22	waswhich was successful.
23		Health, and myself were invited down toto	23 Q	Okay. Sometime thereafter, did you become aware
24		Wilmington to meet with a group of medical and, you	24	that he was elected to the General Assembly?

-57--58-

1	A	Yes. II wasI was aware of that.	1	A	Yes.
2	Q	Okay. After that, did you have occasion to again	2	Q	In what ways?
3		work with him in any way?	3	A	Well, onon issuesboth on health-center issues
4	A	Well, wewe worked veryvery closely, you know,	4		and Medicaid issues. On health-center issues,
5		throughout the '90s, and even the 2000s, because	5		Representative Wright asked us to helphelp get a
6		hisone of his main focus was onon health care,	6		health center into Columbus County, into theinto
7		getting health care for under-served populations,	7		theinto Whiteville, town of Whiteville. And so
8		which was the mission of ourour office. So we	8		we workedwe provided the staff, and
9		had a verywe sharedwe shared a very common	9		Representative Wright helped organize thethe
10		mission.	10		community pieces down there. And wewe staffed it
11	Q	I want to direct your attention to the time period	11		and then eventually funded the health center, which
12		of 2002 and ask you, what was your position at that	12		is still in operation today.
13		time with the Office of Rural Health?	13	Q	Now, you mentioned funding. Was there a process in
14	A	At that time, II had become director of the	14		place for committing funds to different programs?
15		office.	15	A	Yes, therethere was a process thatyou know,
16	Q	And what were your duties as director of the Office	16		once weonce we had gotten to a point where a
17		of Rural Health?	17		project wasyou know, looked like it would be aa
18	A	Mainly providingyou know, overoverseeing	18		fundyou know, a good funding possibility, there
19		program operations, as well as, you know,	19		would be a requirement, an initial step of having
20		supervising the, you know, staff within the office.	20		to submit a formalyou know, a formal request
21		I also didyou know, continued to do some program	21		letter, you know, along with details on the
22		work as well, mainly on Medicaid program areas.	22		project, budget, howyou know, whatwhat State
23	Q	During that time period, were you continuing to	23		funds would be needed, you know, wherewhat other
24		interact with Representative Wright?	24		funds would be coming in to help the project, and

-60-

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1		how those funds would behowhow those funds	1		in the legislature in terms of committees or
2		would be obtained.	2		subcommittees?
3		And then after that, ifyou know, if	3	A	Well, as I recall, hehe was chair of the Health
4		thatif that was all in order, then there'd be a	4		Committee by that point, as well as a member of the
5		formal contract process that would be typical of	5		Health and Human Services Appropriations
6		anyyou know, anyany State contract before money	6		Subcommittee. Thatthat's what I recall.
7		could be committed.	7	Q	Did your office have to deal with either one of
8	Q	In your position, were you involved in the approval	8		those committees?
9		ofof the funding?	9	A	Well, primarily ourour budget and program went
10	A	Yes, II was. And I hadanybelow two	10		through the appropriation subcommittee. The Health
11		hundred thousand, I had authoritywas delegated	11		and Human Services Appropriations Subcommittee
12		authority to approve those requests. Anything	12		would have to approve anyyou know, any budget or,
13		above two hundred thousand then wentI approved,	13		you know, expansion or continuation.
14		but then it also went over toto the Department's	14	Q	How about the other committee that he was chairman
15		budget office foryou know, for final approval.	15		of?
16	Q	Even in the instances where the funding was under	16	A	That wasthat was an important committee for
17		two hundred thousand dollars (\$200,000), was there	17		health issues but was not ayou know, not a money
18		still this formal process	18		committee, did not approveyou know, there was no
19	A	Yes.	19		appropriation with that committee.
20	Q	that you're discussing?	20	Q	Did there come a time in 2002, in March of 2002,
21	A	Yes, there was.	21		that Representative Wright called you about a
22	Q	During this time period ofof early 2000,	22		project?
23		specifically in February and March, were you	23	A	Yes.
24		awaredid Representative Wright hold any positions	24	Q	Do you remember when that was?

-61-

1	A	II don't remember specifically when thewhen the	1		needed my help on aon aon a project, that he
2		call came in, other than it was around the time of	2		hadhe had an opportunity to secure the building
3		theyou know, the letter and so forth.	3		that was needed for the museum and thatand while
4	Q	I'm going to ask you, if you wouldthere's a book	4		he had funds that were coming to support the
5		in front of you. If you would, turn to Document 2,	5		project, they were not in hand, and he needed to
6		which should be right near the beginning of that	6		get this thing jump-started, he needed my help to
7		book, Exhibit Number 2.	7		do that.
8	A	Yes.	8		And as I recall, Iyou know, Iwe
9	Q	If youlook at the date on the top of that and see	9		discussed that I couldn'tI didn't have any
10		if that refreshes your recollection as to when that	10		authority to fund a museum project, even though I
11		conversation might have occurred.	11		supported it, I could not fund that, and that
12	A	Yeah, I mean, based on the, you know, letter and	12	Q	Why is that?
13		e-mail, it was somewhere around, you know, March	13	A	Because my authority wasI hadI had funding that
14		13th.	14		was, you know, for health-related projects andand
15	Q	To the best you can remember, tell us what you	15		for under-served populations. That was myyou
16		recall aboutwell, let me ask you first, didyou	16		know, that was the funding authority that I had.
17		said you received the call from Representative	17	Q	And youyou said he told you that he needed your
18		Wright?	18		help. Wascan you tell us how he was asking for
19	A	Yes.	19		this?
20	Q	To the best that you can, tell us what you remember	20	A	Well, as I recall, he washe was asking for, you
21		of that conversation.	21		know, both a letter of commitment for the project
22	A	You know, as best I can remember, I was in my	22		as well as a, you know, financial commitment.
23		office that day, and I gotreceived a call from	23	Q	Once you told him that you had no authority to
24		Representative Wright saying thatthat hehe	24		commit to that, did he respond in any way?

-63-

Now, you--you mentioned that the--the--part of the

```
Well, then it--as I recall, it--it switched over,
 1
                                                                                     1
                                                                                          0
 2
             well, I--could I help do health offices within that
                                                                                     2
                                                                                                  That was my recollection of--of his words.
             facility, 'cause there had been discussion about--
                                                                                                  So you--apparently there was some urgency to this
                                                                                     3
              about getting additional health offices for the
                                                                                                  letter?
             Community Health Center, which was right across the
                                                                                                  That was the -- that was the --
 5
                                                                                     5
                                                                                          Α
             street. And I--I responded that I--I could--I
                                                                                                            PROF. JOYNER: Objection.
             could--I could help on that.
                                                                                                            THE CHAIR: Basis? I'm sorry. The basis
             And, if you would, tell us what--what you remember
                                                                                                  for the objection?
             from that point on.
                                                                                                            PROF. JOYNER: Well, it's leading, first
 9
                                                                                                  of all, putting words in his mouth. I want--want
10
             Well, from that point on, you know, I--as--the best
                                                                                                  to hear the witness testify. Mr. Hart can get on
11
             I recall, the discussion was around, well, if--if--
                                                                                    11
             before I could do that I would--you know, we'd need
                                                                                    12
                                                                                                  the stand and testify if he wants to. We can
13
             to go through this--the formal request process and
                                                                                    1.3
                                                                                                  cross-examine him.
                                                                                                           THE CHAIR: All right. Objection
14
             get information on the project and how the State
                                                                                    14
15
             piece would fit with the museum piece. And--and--
                                                                                    15
16
             and that I--what I recall is that Representative
                                                                                    16
                                                                                                  (By Mr. Hart) Did he indicate to you that he might
                                                                                          0
17
             Wright said there, you know, really wasn't time for
                                                                                    17
                                                                                                  be able to wait for a letter?
             that, the opportunity was now, "And--and--and plus,
                                                                                                  No.
18
                                                                                    18
             I didn't really need the funds, I had the funds
                                                                                    19
                                                                                                  Why not?
             coming, I just needed the letter."
2.0
                                                                                    2.0
                                                                                                  Because the opportunity -- the opportunity was
21
             Now, when you said you--to quote you, you said, "I
                                                                                    21
                                                                                                  available right then, and he wanted--you know, he
             didn't really need the funds." Is that your words
                                                                                                  wanted my help then at that point. He needed my
2.2
                                                                                    22
23
             or his--
                                                                                    23
                                                                                                  help then.
```

2.4

No, that was--

-65-

	process, if there was going to be multiple uses for	1	the letter to?
	this project, was that you would have to know a	2 A	Not that I recall.
	breakdown inin budgets and things like that.	3 Q	Diddid he indicate that it was a financial
	What is the reason for that?	4	institution of some sort?
A	Well, we have to have someyou know, some	5 A	That's my recollection, yes.
	assurance that ourour State funds are going to	6	PROF. JOYNER: Objection. I'm going to
	the purpose that we haveyou know, we have	7	this is leading.
	authorization to commit funds for. And that	8	THE CHAIR: Well, the
	thatthat has to be spelled out, you know, in a	9	PROF. JOYNER: He's putting words in his
	formal process so that we have awe have a record	10	mouth.
	inin our files andand can see all the different	11	THE CHAIR: Thethe objection comes a
	pieces and how they fit together.	12	little late. The answer's already given.
Q	When Representative Wright told you that he needed	13	PROF. JOYNER: Well, move to strike.
	something now, what did you tell him, sir?	14	THE CHAIR: Are you moving meare you
A	Well, IIyou know, I told him that ityou know,	15	moving to strike?
	I reallywe had a process, and, you know, we	16	PROF. JOYNER: Moving to strike the
	needed to stick to it, andandbut then the	17	answer.
	discussion was around that he didn't really need	18	THE CHAIR: All right. I'm going to
	thethe funds, that the fundthe funds for the	19	allow the motion to strike the answer, and will ask
	project werewere coming.	20	Mr. Hart if you'll rephrase the question. Thank
Q	And what did he say he needed the letter for?	21	you.
A	Toas I recall, to getyou know, to get a loan	22 Q	(By Mr. Hart) Mr. Wade, I take it from your
	toyou know, to purchase the building.	23	earlier answer that you didn't know a particular
Q	Did he indicate to you who he was going to present	24	organization oror agency thatthat he might be
	Q A Q A	this project, was that you would have to know a breakdown inin budgets and things like that. What is the reason for that?  A Well, we have to have someyou know, some assurance that ourour State funds are going to the purpose that we haveyou know, we have authorization to commit funds for. And thatthatthat has to be spelled out, you know, in a formal process so that we have awe have a record inin our files andand can see all the different pieces and how they fit together.  Q When Representative Wright told you that he needed something now, what did you tell him, sir?  A Well, IIyou know, I told him that ityou know, I reallywe had a process, and, you know, we needed to stick to it, andandbut then the discussion was around that he didn't really need thethe funds, that the fundthe funds for the project werewere-were coming.  Q And what did he say he needed the letter for?  A Toas I recall, to getyou know, to get a loan toyou know, to purchase the building.	this project, was that you would have to know a  breakdown inin budgets and things like that.  What is the reason for that?  Well, we have to have someyou know, some  assurance that ourour State funds are going to  the purpose that we haveyou know, we have  authorization to commit funds for. And that  thatthat has to be spelled out, you know, in a  formal process so that we have awe have a record  inin our files andand can see all the different  pieces and how they fit together.  When Representative Wright told you that he needed  something now, what did you tell him, sir?  Well, IIyou know, I told him that ityou know,  I reallywe had a process, and, you know, we  needed to stick to it, andandbut then the  discussion was around that he didn't really need  thethe funds, that the fundthe funds for the  project werewere coming.  And what did he say he needed the letter for?  A Toas I recall, to getyou know, to get a loan  22 Q  toyou know, to purchase the building.

-67- -68-

Representative Wright's office to--to me.

1		going to submit thethe letter to. Did you know	1		thisand it was the combination of that plus, with
2		thethe general nature of an agency that he might	2		the other funding coming, I thought it was more,
3		be submitting the letter to?	3		you know, I was helping jump-start it, then, you
4	A	Yeah. Yeah. My recollection, yes.	4		know, the moneythe money would be there and the
5	Q	And what was that?	5		project would go on.
6	A	That was ayou know, a bank.	6	Q	You thought no one would be hurt?
7	Q	Once he told you that, that he would not actually	7	A	Yes.
8		be needing the money, what was your response to	8	Q	Do you remember anything else about the phone
9		that, sir?	9		conversation?
10	A	Well, itit didn't change it completely, but it	10	A	No.
11		made it a little lessyou know, it wasthat I	11	Q	Okay. After the phone conversation, what, if
12		was, you know, more open to, you know, help	12		anything, happened?
13		withknowing that I didn't have to put money out	13	A	The nextnext thing Iyou know, I recall is that
14		to the project.	14		an e-mail from RepresenRepresentative Wright's
15	Q	You knew, I take it, at that point, that you	15		office came over with the, you know, details on
16		weren't going through the usual process?	16		thewhat should be in the letter.
17	A	Yes.	17	Q	All right, sir. I'd ask you, if you would, if
18	Q	Did that concern you?	18		you'll look at Exhibit Number 2 in the book in
19	A	Yes.	19		front of you there, do you recognize what that is,
20	Q	Then why did you agree to do the letter?	20		sir?
21	A	Well, it was a combination ofyou know, it was the	21	A	Yes.
22		urgency and pressure from Representative Wright	22	Q	And what is that?
23		toyou know, tothis is very important to him and	23	A	That isthat's the e-mail that waswas sent from

24

24

he--he made it very clear he needed my help on

-69-

-72-

1	Q	Okay. And that isthat's an accurate copy of what	1		Representative Wright, Mr. Wade, had you gone
2		you remember the e-mail to be?	2		through the formal process that you go through to
3	A	Yes, it is.	3		approve such a commitment?
4	Q	Have you had a chance to examine that?	4	A	No.
5	A	Yes.	5	Q	Was this letter an accurate statement, that you
6	Q	After you received that e-mail, what, if anything,	6		were committing a hundred and fifty thousand
7		did you do?	7		dollars (\$150,000) to the project?
8	A	After Iafter I received that e-mail, II drafted	8	A	No.
9		the, you know, commitment letter to Representative	9	Q	Why did you send that false document to
10		Wright.	10		Representative Wright, sir?
11	Q	If you'd turn the page, sir, to Exhibit Number 3,	11	A	'Cause IIthe funds that were needed for the
12		I'd ask you if you recognize that document.	12		project were coming, and so I thought I wasyou
13	A	Yes, I do.	13		know, nonono foul, no harmno harm, no foul.
14	Q	And what is that?	14	Q	And he had assured you, as you said, thatthat he
15	A	That'sthat's a letter that I wrote on March 15th,	15		was going to be able to get other funding; is that
16		you know, toto Thomas Wright as chairman of the	16		correct?
17		Community Health Foundation.	17	A	That's correct.
18	Q	And is that your signature on that page?	18	Q	Mr. Wade, would you have short-circuited the formal
19	A	Yes, it is.	19		process and sent this letter if Representative
20	Q	And is that an accurate copy of the letter that you	20		Wright had not been a legislator?
21		sent to Representative Wright after your	21	A	No.
22		conversation with him and after his e-mail?	22	Q	Mr. Wade, did you everdid Representative Wright
23	A	Yes, it is.	23		ever come back for the funding in the letter?
24	Q	At the time that you sent that letter to	24	A	No.

Did you have any contact from the bank or anybody point you had a discussion about these events with 2 regarding the letter? an agent of the State Bureau of Investigation. Is Not that I recall. that correct? Did you ever become aware of what happened with the How--how many conversations did you have with SBI 5 project? 5 0 Many, many months later I--I heard--and I'm not agents about this? sure from whom I heard this--Just one--Α PROF. JOYNER: Objection to what he 9 heard. 9 Α --that I recall. THE CHAIR: All right. And I'm assuming Okay. Do you recall when that conversation was 10 10 11 that the basis of the objection's hearsay? 11 12 PROF. JOYNER: That's correct. 12 Α Sometime in--in December. I don't remember exactly 13 THE CHAIR: All right. Mr. Hart, any 13 when. Is that December of 2007? 14 response? 14 0 15  $\ensuremath{\mathsf{MR}}\xspace$  . HART: I'll withdraw the question. 15 All right. Now, do--do you recall if during that 16 TH CHAIR: Question's withdrawn. 16 0 17 MR. HART: That's all the questions  $\ensuremath{\text{I}}$ 17 conversation the agent prepared notes of the have, Mr. Chairman. conversation? 18 18 THE CHAIR: All right. Cross-19 Yes, they did. 19 examination? And will that be you, Dr. Joyner? And after preparing notes, were you given an  $% \left\{ 1\right\} =\left\{ 1\right$ 2.0 20 Ο PROF. JOYNER: Yes. 21 21 opportunity to review those notes? THE CHAIR: All right. Cross? Yeah. Later on, I was. 22 22 Okay. And by--by "later on," when--when do you 23 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY PROF. JOYNER: 23 0

24

mean?

-71-

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Yes. Mr. Wade, my understanding is that at some

-73-

soungel for the Committee

1	A	About, you know, a week ago.	1	counsel for the Committee
2	Q	About a week ago?	2	PROF. JOYNER: I don't have it.
3	A	Yes.	3	THE CHAIR:Committee for [sic] counsel
4	Q	Couldcould you just kind of describe the	4	doesn't have it, so it is not available to us.
5		circumstances under which you had a chance to	5	PROF. JOYNER: Well, Mr. Chairman, I'm
6		review those notes?	6	under the impression that those notes would be
7	A	I wasit was at the courthouse, in the DA's	7	available to us for the purpose of cross-examining
8		office, and was given copy of theof the notes,	8	witnesses. I mean, it certainly isn't sufficient
9		the SBI notes, andand was asked to go through	9	to say, "I don't have them" when they exist. And
10		them and see if they were accurate.	10	this witness has indicated that as late as last
11	Q	All right. And weredid you determine that the	11	week he was given these notes toto review. And
12		notes accurately reflected what you told thethe	12	it would seem to me that it wouldn't take the
13		SBI agent at that time?	13	movement of a mountain to get a copy ofof those
14	A	Yes.	14	notes.
15		PROF. JOYNER: Mr. Chairman, I'd like to	15	THE CHAIR: Well, we'll see what we can
16		get a copy of thatthose notes.	16	do, but I'm indicating what I've been told, which
17		THE CHAIR: Well, do we have a copy of	17	is the Committee doesn't have it, Mr. Hart doesn't
18		those notes, Mr. Hart?	18	have it. If you don't have it, then I'm assuming
19		MR. HART: Mr. Chairman, my understanding	19	that the notes lie and sit totally with
20		is that the interview of Torlen Wade was provided	20	Mr. Willoughby's office, as a result. But at this
21		to Representative Wright in discovery by Colon	21	point I'm going to have you to continue to proceed,
22		Willoughby. I don't have a copy of that interview.	22	and we'll do what we can to see if we can get the
23		THE CHAIR: All right. Well, then either	23	notes.
24		weeither you have itif you don't have it,	24	MR. HART: Mr. Chairman?

-75-

1 THE CHAIR: Mr. Hart? 2 MR. HART: This may be a situation that we had earlier where Mr. Harris and Mr. Joyner may need to confer about this, as we have understood all along Mr. Willoughby provided some seven 5 thousand pages--Mr. Harris has--has talked about this in two different forums, both Wake County Superior Court and here, about the--having a complete copy of the SBI report. Mr. Joyner 9 10 indicated to the Chair one other time that we were 11 here that he did not have that report. However, Mr. Harris certainly did, and therefore 13 Representative Wright did. THE CHAIR: Mr. Harris, do you have a 14 15 copy of the full SBI report for Torlen Wade--with the notes from the interview of Torlen Wade? 16 MR. HARRIS: I think, Mr. Chairman, this 17 goes to the heart of my motion earlier that we 18 haven't had adequate time to prepare, because when 19 2.0 you're looking through seven thousand pages it's 21 difficult to judge what you have and what you don't 22 have. I will state that I have seen--I have seen a 23 summary of what Mr. Wade said taken by the head of

the elections board, which is not the statement

24

we're talking about here.

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Interestingly enough, I received the corrections from Colon Willoughby's office this past week, and so I'm aware there is such a statement, 'cause I got the corrections, but--but I don't have the original statement, either. I understand there should be handwritten notes and there should be some kind of summary, and I don't have either one.

THE CHAIR: Well, let me-well, let me ask--now, you've indicated you don't have it, but then you first indicated that you don't know if you had it, because you haven't had the chance to go through it. So I need to know which it is. Do you not have it and you know that you don't have it, or are you not sure whether you have it?

MR. HARRIS: I don't believe that I do have it. I've looked through the--I've looked through the notes, and it's--I mean, it's--I don't know how long it is, how many pages it is. I guess it's remotely conceivable it got stuck in the middle of something else. For example--I have already noticed this: In the course of looking through hundreds of checks, I'd be flipping along

-77-

1	and all of a sudden there'd be a statement right in	1		that's the first question, because I don't have
2	the middle of it. So we could have a situation	2		authority to order him to ship them over. But I
3	like that where Iit's stuck to another page or	3		want to find out whether we've got them or not, and
4	something like that. But II haven't seen it.	4		we'll go from there.
5	I'll put it that way.	5		All right. Well, let's continue
6	THE CHAIR: All right. Let's do this:	6		cross-examination for a few more minutes. Thank
7	We're going to continue with the cross-examination.	7		you. Dr. Joyner?
8	Obviously, we may have more cross-examination after	8		PROF. JOYNER: I'm assuming, then,
9	lunch. Over the lunchtime break, Mr. Hart, if	9		Mr. Chairman, that this witness will still be
10	you'll call Mr. Willoughby's office and see if he	10		available
11	can assure that the documents were or were not a	11		THE CHAIR: Sure.
12	part of the discovery package sent, Mr. Harris, if	12		PROF. JOYNER:at such time that we
13	you can check with your office and see if we can be	13		receive those notes.
14	sure thatthat in the section you've marked for	14		THE CHAIR: I absolutely will make the
15	Torlen Wade that these documents do or do not	15		witness available afteryou know, I will not
16	exist, we'll see if we can iron it out right after	16		relieve him from the subpoena until after you
17	lunch.	17		finish your examination after lunch.
18	MR. HARRIS: I guess we're talking about	18		PROF. JOYNER: All right.
19	four or five pages. It may be smarter just to ask	19	Q	(By Prof. Joyner) All right. Mr. Wade, you
20	the district attorney to ship them on over or fax	20		indicated in your direct testimony that your first
21	them on over. That would be simpler. That way	21		meeting with Thomas Wright was somewhere around
22	we'd have them	22		1991; is that correct?
23	THE CHAIR: Well, I'm going to ask the	23	A	That's my recollection, yes.
24	district attorney if they've been shipped over, and	24	Q	All right. Now, the purpose of that contact had to

-79- -80-

1		do with health-related matters; is that correct?	1		just recently; is that correct?
2	A	That's correct.	2	A	That's correct.
3	Q	And since that time, basically your contacts with	3	Q	Now, when did you actually leave the Office of
4		him have been around health-related matters,	4		Healthwas it Healthcare
5		issues, and concerns?	5	A	Office of Rural Health and Community Care.
6	A	Yes.	6	Q	RuralRural Health and Community Care?
7	Q	And some of those issues and concerns had some	7	A	Yes.
8		impact orimpacted the legislative process, but	8	Q	Okay. When did you actually leaveleave that
9		many of them didn't?	9		position?
10	A	Correct.	10	A	June 30th of 2007.
11	Q	Now, in addition to that, did not the two of you	11	Q	Okay. During that timenow, youyou mentioned
12		form a personal relationship?	12		thatthat Representative Wright was a member of
13	A	Yes.	13		two health-related committees, one having
14	Q	You were friends?	14		appropriation responsibilities or authority; the
15	A	Yes.	15		other one did not have those type of appropriation
16	Q	Right. And you had interactions with each other	16		authorities. Is that correct?
17		asas friends?	17	A	That's correct.
18	A	Uh-huh (yes).	18	Q	Now, was it unusual for Representative Wright to
19	Q	And if you'd just say "yes"	19		come to you outside of the legislative process or
20	A	Yes.	20		outside of his role as a member of either of these
21	Q	for the record, that would	21		committees to discuss health-related issues and
22	A	Yes, sir.	22		concerns?
23	Q	Okay. All right. Andand this friendship	23	A	No. That was notnot unusual.
24		continued fromfrom 1991 right up until, I guess,	24	Q	That would not be unusual?

-81-

1	A	No.	1	A	Yes.
2	Q	And it happened quite often	2	Q	Is that your recollection as to why you responded
3	A	Yes.	3		positively?
4	Q	is that correct?	4	A	Why it wasyou know, whyhe asked me about
5		All right. Now, in your conversation	5		beingas a legislator, yes, also as a person I
6		with him on or around March 13th of 2002well, let	6		worked with for ten years on health issues. So the
7		me ask you this first: How fresh is your	7		personal side was important, too.
8		recollection of those events?	8	Q	Someone you trusted?
9	A	You know, it's six years, so it's not terribly	9	A	Yes.
10		fresh.	10	Q	Right. Andand y'all had a relationship, and in
11	Q	All right. How positive are you of the	11		the past you felt that youyou could trust what he
12		conversation and the dialogue that the two of you	12		had to say and what he was doing?
13		had?	13	A	Absolutely.
14	A	I'mI'm fairlyI'm very positive about thethe	14	Q	Okay. So in that conversation, Representative
15		you know, the basic key pieces of the conversation,	15		Wright never threatened you that your department
16		yes.	16		was going to lose any funds or anything if you
17	Q	All right. But thethe specific conversation	17		didn't write this letter?
18		you're kind of vague on; is that correct?	18	A	That's correct.
19	A	Yes.	19	Q	So he didn't put any pressure on you at any point
20	Q	Okay. Nowand the reason I raise that is that you	20		vis-a-vis his legislative position to get you to do
21		indicated in a response to MisterAttorney Hart's	21		what you did?
22		question that you authored or responded positively	22	A	Yeah, that's correct.
23		to Representative Wright's request because he was a	23	Q	Okay. Now, you indicated in your testimony that
24		legislator?	24		because of the urgency which Representative Wright

-83-

					01
1		exhibited to you about getting the building	1	Q	Okay. Now, are you familiar with the Community
2	A	Uh-huh (yes).	2		Health Center?
3	Q	that you wanted to help him?	3	A	Yeah, I'm very familiar with it.
4	A	Yes.	4	Q	Okay. Could you justjust explain to the members
5	Q	All right. Why did you want to help him?	5		of this Committee exactly what the Community Health
6	A	Well, II mean, I recognized it was a veryyou	6		Center did and was?
7		know, a very important project to Representative	7	A	The Community Health Center wasit's a federally
8		Wright, and, I mean, I also supported the project	8		funded, you know, community health center. It is
9		personally. Andbut I was, you know, inclined to,	9		set up toto provide health care, fairly
10		you know, want to help him get what was important	10		comprehensive basic care to residents in
11		to him done.	11		particularly the low-income, African-American areas
12	Q	All right. Do you recall his description of what	12		of New Hanover County, and it provided basic
13		it was that he was trying to do withwith this	13		primary medical care, dental care, pharmacy care,
14		building?	14		and provided a lot of social support for patients
15	A	Well, I recallas best I recall, it was, you know,	15		beyond that.
16		two-part. The main part was theyou know, the	16	Q	And you were aware that Representative Wright had
17		black history museum, and then there was the part	17		helped to put thatthat organization into
18		about the health offices in thein the upstairs	18		existence?
19		part of the building and the Foundation offices in	19	A	Yes. I worked with him on it.
20		the upstairs. That was my recollection.	20	Q	Right. And, indeed, at that point he was serving
21	Q	All right. Now, heat the time, Representative	21		as the chair of the board of that organization; is
22		Wright was the chairperson of the Community Health	22		that correct?
23		Center, I believe, in Wilmington?	23	A	That's correct.
24	A	Yeah, that's mythat was my recollection, too.	24	Q	Now, what was your role specifically in helping to

-85-

1		start thatthat organization?	1	able to maximize the program effort that they were
2	A	Well, I workedour office, basically committed,	2	engaged in at that time?
3		you know, some of my time to work with, you know,	3 A	Yes, I was certainly aware of that.
4		Representative Wright and other folks in Wilmington	4 Q	Right. What
5		to put together a federal application to get those	5	THE CHAIR: I'm going to interrupt you a
6		federal funds to get the center developed andand	6	minute, Dr. Joyner. I thinkunless you want to go
7		operated. And, again, as I said earlier, that	7	with a few more questions, is this a good time to
8		that happened in, I think, 1994. It was	8	take a break for lunch, since we need to do that at
9		successfully funded andand then developed.	9	some point?
10	Q	All right. And, in fact, your office also provided	10	PROF. JOYNER: It's always a good time to
11		some funds to thatto that operation, did it not?	11	break for lunch.
12	A	Afterafter it became operational, we provided	12	THE CHAIR: All right. What we're going
13		the best I recall, we provided some funds toboth	13	to do, then, isMr. Wade, your subpoena continues.
14		on the facility piece, to do some expansion, and on	14	We'll need you back right after lunch.
15		operation, where theythey wanted to bring in a	15	We're going to take a break for one hour,
16		other physician and we provided some seed money to	16	and we'll be resuming at two o'clock. This
17		do that. Andso, you know, we had provided funds	17	Committee stands in recess until two P.M.
18		several times since the Center started, yes.	18	
19	Q	And as a part ofof that expansion that youyou	19	(LUNCH RECESS)
20		just mentioned, you were aware, were you not,	20	
21		thatthat the organization had kind of outgrown	21	THE CHAIR: All right. Mr. Wade, just a
22		its capacity?	22	reminder that you are under oath. And crossI'm
23	A	Yes.	23	sorry. Mr. Hart?
24	Q	And that they needed some additional space to be	24	MR. HART: Mr. Chairman, during the lunch

-87-

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the room, who is an investigator for  ${\tt Colon}$ Willoughby at the Wake County District Attorney's office. He checked with Colon Willoughby and people from his office, and he has assured me that 5 the entire district attorney's file, which includes every bit of the SBI file has, in fact, been turned over to Representative Wright, and that specifically Torlen Wade's interview reports are 9 Bates-stamped pages 6799 through 6804, and that was 10 11 part of the material that was turned over at the 12 end of December of 2007. 13 THE CHAIR: All right. Thank you very much. I think that concludes that matter. 14 15 Cross-examination will continue. Dr. Joyner? PROF. JOYNER: Well, let--I still don't 16 have the statement, so it doesn't conclude it, to that extent. The request that we had was to have 18 19 2.0 THE CHAIR: Dr. Joyner, are--I understand, though, that the material was handed over to you, to Mr. Harris. So I--it seems to me 22

that concludes the matter. It's in your files, and

I--I don't know what else to do. I'm not--

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recess I spoke with Bill Dowdy, who is present in

PROF. JOYNER: No, it's--it's not--it's not in my files. Mr. Chairman, we have--and this is not the Wake County Superior Court. This is the North Carolina General Assembly, working with the rules that you created. And among the rules that you created was a discovery one which said that you had to provide me with that information, not that Colon Willoughby had to provide it.

Now, I presume that if you used that information as the basis for getting these charges that you have that information from the—from the outset. But at any rate, I'm still entitled to get from this body that information so that I can complete my examination—cross—examination of this and other witnesses.

I mean, if--if the investigator came from Colon Willoughby's office, all he had to do was make a copy of the document and bring it up--and bring it up here and deliver it.

THE CHAIR: Mr. Hart, would you please repeat for Mr. Harris the copy of the statement and the pages--the Bates stamps that are in their file that has been handed to them in December of 2007?

 $\mbox{MR. HART:} \ \mbox{Yes, sir.} \ \mbox{The Bates-stamp}$ 

-90-

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numbers are 6799 through 6804, and that information
was actually provided to Representative Wright, I
believe, on December 31st of 2007.

THE CHAIR: The statement is in your
possession. It is in Representative Wright's
possession. It has been for months. We are moving
on. Cross-examination, Dr. Joyner.

PROF. JOYNER: Well, I'm still going to

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state my objection to this Committee not providing me with a copy of the statement that the rules of this Committee indicate that I am entitled to receive.

THE CHAIR: Objection is--I'm sorry.

Mr. Hart?

MR. HART: Mr. Chairman, the rules actually provide that we have to provide Representative Wright with a copy of everything we intend to introduce. We have done that.

THE CHAIR: I understand and agree.

Dr. Joyner, cross--I mean, I'm sorry--your
objection is--

PROF. JOYNER: Mr. Chairman-THE CHAIR: Dr. Joyner, your objection is

overruled. The exception is noted. Does any

member of the Committee seek to overrule the ruling of the Chair? Seeing none, please proceed with cross-examination.

PROF. JOYNER: Mr. Chairman, I want to respond. This witness has testified that the basis of his testimony was recorded in a statement that presumably was in the possession of this Committee. Now, to suggest that that statement is irrelevant to our going forward belies the reality. Now, you can--you're the Chair. You can do whatever you want to do. But I want to note my objection to these proceedings and the failure of this Committee to live up to the obligation and requirements of the rules that it established.

THE CHAIR: The objection is overruled. The Chair finds that the Committee counsel has fully complied with the rules set out. It also finds that the statement that is being referred to has been and is in the possession of Representative Wright for the last three months. The objection is overruled. The objection is noted as frivolous. Exception to the ruling is noted. You may continue your cross-examination.

MR. HARRIS: Before you go any further,

-92-

- 91 -

when you say "to Representative Wright," I suppose you're really talking about to me. And Colon Willoughby has repeatedly sent me letters and said that if I notice anything that's missing, to let him know, and he'll supply it. Now, I'd like to note that in order to determine where these matters were, they would have had to go through—they would have had to go in a file, look at the numbers, flip through and see it went from this number to that number, then—then a man has come all the way down here from Colon Willoughby's office, which is some blocks away.

So in the time we've spent messing with this, they could have Photostatted the thing and brought the doggone thing, just to be just a tiny bit fair--just a tiny bit fair. Now, I've said repeatedly I don't have that. I'm going to ask for it. I don't have it. I've looked at his file. And I don't like the Chair repeatedly saying we--we have it when we say we don't have it.

THE CHAIR: Mr. Hart?

MR. HART: Mr. Chairman, first of all,
Mr. Dowdy was here in the hearing room, and I
simply talked with him at--at the lunch recess. He

conferred with Mr. Willoughby to confirm what he already believed to be true, and that is that the entire district attorney's file had been turned over.

I'd also let the Chair know that on Friday, as Mr. Harris has indicated, he received a faxed communication from Mr. Willoughby which not only included the fact that he was going to try to reset the trial for March 31st, included the corrections that Torlen Wade--a couple of minor corrections, apparently, to the statement that Mr. Willoughby had that Mr. Wade reviewed, and he also at that time told him that if there was anything that he did not have, to please let him know. And as of lunch today Mr. Willoughby had not heard anything from Mr. Harris or Mr. Joyner as to not having Mr. Wade's statement or any other item.

THE CHAIR: Mr. Harris?

MR. HARRIS: As noted, I received that Friday. In fact, just for the record, because I was occupied in other cases, I received my mail very late Friday, after--after the close of business. Am I to understand that in the midst of this hearing I was supposed to run over there to

-94-

Mr. Willoughby and tell him what I've already told minimum you've gone and just made sure that the 2 this Chair, that we need that? 2 Bates-stamped pages are sequenced. I mean, this Chair requested it. It If you could let me know specifically could be provided to us if--if we hadn't been which pages of the Bates-stamped pages are missing provided. And instead of being provided, we're sequentially, I would appreciate that. And if you 5 5 getting a little song and dance about why it can't will let me know that in the morning, we'll proceed be provided. Now, we're talking about fifty pages to seeing what we need to do. But if you will here. Can nobody run a Photostat machine? I check your file just to find out what pages are 9 mean--I mean, how far are we prepared to go in this 9 missing by number -- I don't know what's on them, 10 sham to make this look like a fake hearing? How 10 don't care what's on them, just want to know the 11 far are we prepared to go? 11 sequencing numbers that are missing. THE CHAIR: Mr. Harris, do you have your MR. HARRIS: The numbers you were just 13 Bates-stamped file present in the courtroom--in 13 given, I don't have. If--if somebody will get us those numbers you were just given just a moment 14 this room? 14 MR. HARRIS: I've got such portions of 15 ago, that's what I need. 15 the file as I needed for this hearing, and that--THE CHAIR: Do you have any other numbers 16 16 we're talking about -- we're talking about, at this in the seven thousand pages that are missing? 17 17 point, four boxes of stuff. No, I haven't brought MR. HARRIS: Yes. 18 18 the whole Bates-stamped file, no. THE CHAIR: Will you please get us the THE CHAIR: Well, my understanding, and 2.0 2.0 numbers of the pages that are missing in addition? my question, is this: I know that you spent a good Thank you. Now, we'll proceed again with crossexamination. Thank you. 22 portion of your holiday break reviewing that 22 23 discovery that came in December and January from 23 (By Prof. Joyner) Mr. Wade, you indicated earlier 0 24  $\operatorname{Mr.}$  Colon Willoughby's office. I assume that at a 24 that you've worked with Representative Wright and

-95-

1		Dr. Gottovi, I believe it was, in work with the	1
2		Community Health Center inin Wilmington. How	2
3		extensive was your contact with the two of them	3
4		around the specific healthcare needs existing	4
5		inin Wilmington?	5
6	A	Yeah, it was very extensive during the period '92	6
7		through '94.	7
8	Q	All right. Well, subsequent to '94 and up until	8
9		20062005, what kind of contact did you have with	9
10		thewith the two of them?	10
11	A	After that it was more sporadic. I had, you know,	11
12		contact here in the General Assembly with, you	12
13		know, Representative Wright on different issues.	13
14		And as I mentioned earlier, we also, you know,	14
15		helped getting a health center down in Columbus	15
16		County, and I worked with him on that. And I've	16
17		worked with Dr. Gottovi off and on for, you know,	17
18		twentytwenty plus years.	18
19	Q	All right. And Dr. Gottovi was also involved in	19
20		the Columbus County	20
21	A	No, he was not involved in that.	21
22	Q	He was not involved in that?	22
23	A	No. But he's very involved in New Hanover	23
24		Community Health Center.	24

1 0 Has Dr. Gottovi worked with you as a--as a health 2 consultant--Yes. 3 --on projects? 5 Α Yes. And in what counties did that work cover? That -- that work covered a five-county area. New Α Hanover, Columbus, Pender, Bladen, and Brunswick County, around developing a Medicaid network in 9 10 that -- in that area. 11 0 Now, do you recall having some conversations with 12 both Representative Wright and Dr. Gottovi about 13 the 1898 Wilmington race rebellion issues and concerns? 14 15 Yes, I do. And--and in those conversations, I believe you 16 0 indicated that you were supportive of their efforts 17 and the kinds of things that they were doing around 18 those issues. Is that correct? 19 2.0 Α That's correct. 21 Do--do--do you recall how much--how extensive your 22 conversations with the two of them were about --23 around those issues?

Well, I don't--I don't remember discussing it with

-97-

1		Dr. Gottovi. I do remember discussing it with	1		Health Center involved, at least in the plans
2		Representative Wright andand did haveat one	2		around thisin the securing of this building ,but
3		point I recall him taking me over and showing me	3		also was the Community Health Foundation?
4		the building and talking about hisyou know, his	4	A	Well, I don'tI don't recallthe Community Health
5		plans and so forth.	5		Center hadwas trying to get additional space
6	Q	Okay. And this was downdown in Wilmington?	6		'cause of crowding. So the issue of space was
7	A	Yes, that was in Wilmington.	7		certainly on their agenda. I don't know if they
8	Q	So you actually saw the building	8		specifically had any involvement in thein thein
9	A	Oh, yes.	9		the building, though.
10	Q	thatthat they were talking about?	10	Q	All right. Now, thethe building that we're
11		And did you go into the building?	11		talking about is right across the street from the
12	A	II think so. I can'tI don't remember for sure,	12		Community Health Center; is that correct?
13		but I think so.	13	A	Correct. Yes.
14	Q	All right. Now, did this occur before there was	14	Q	All right. Nowand you are familiar with theat
15		the request for this letter	15		least some of the work of the Community Health
16	A	Yes.	16		Foundation, are you not?
17	Q	fromfrom you?	17	A	NotI'm not familiar with the work. I don'tyou
18	A	That's my recollection, yes.	18		know, the point I knew about it, I think it was
19	Q	Do youcan you say about how long before you had	19		still being put together.
20		those conversations you went down to see thethe	20	Q	You knew about itswell, at the time that you knew
21		building?	21		about it, it was in a formative state?
22	A	My recollection was, you know, a month or so before	22	A	Correct.
23		or something like that.	23	Q	All right. And the formative state, as you
24	Q	And you knew thatthat not only was the Community	24		understood it, had to do withor hadwas focused

-99- -100-

1		on the purchase of the building and the conversion	1		was involved in?
2		into the museum, and then the use of additional	2	A	The only two requests that I recall were for the
3		space for the Community Health Center and the	3		New Hanover Community Health Center, for help on
4		Community Health Foundation?	4		operations, and then, you know, a capital project,
5	A	Yes.	5		and then the request for help to put together a
6	Q	Okay. So when Representative Wright came to you to	6		health center in Columbus County.
7		talk about the need for this letter and the urgency	7	Q	All right. Andand on occasions when
8		asasas you've described it, you were fully	8		Representative Wright had come to you to make
9		familiar with the background of the building and	9		requests for assistance or support or help, on some
10		the people who were going to be involved in it?	10		occasions youyou've had to turn him down; isn't
11	A	I wouldn't say "fully." You know, it was at that	11		that correct?
12		point still, you know, an idea. It wasn'tthere	12	A	Iprobably. I don't recall, you know, any
13		wasn't a firm plan as to what was going to go where	13		incidents, though, right now.
14		andI mean, that had not been, you know, laid out	14	Q	All right. But you have a general recollection
15		at that point.	15		that on some occasions you've said "no" to him?
16	Q	Well, I guess in its broaderin a broader sense,	16	A	I can't recall any specific right now.
17		you were familiar with what the goal of the	17	Q	All right. Now, you indicated that once the letter
18		individuals and organizations were with respect to	18		was preparedand this tracked what you identified
19		securing this building?	19		as Exhibit 2 in thein the bookthat you then
20	A	Yes.	20		sent the letterwell, let medid you mail the
21	Q	Okay. Now, in the pastand I'm referring now from	21		letter to Representative Wright, or did you
22		1991 up to 2001had you received other requests	22		physically hand it to him?
23		from Representative Wright for grants or support,	23		THE CHAIR: Let me interrupt for one
24		assistance in other projects and programs that he	24		second. Are we talking Exhibit 2 or Exhibit 3?

-101-

-104-

1		PROF. JOYNER: Well, I'm using Exhibit 2	1		the money would be awarded by June 30ththat was
2		as the basis for what Exhibit 3 is.	2		then based upon what Representative Wright had said
3		THE CHAIR: All right. Thank you.	3		to you about his ability to obtain these funds by
4	A	I recall giving it to my secretary, who typed it,	4		that date?
5		and then she, I think, sent it to, you know,	5	A	Well, that plus theyou know, my commitment is
6		Representative Wright.	6		based on a fiscal year, so I couldn'tI had funds
7	Q	(By Prof. Joyner) Okay. Do you recall if she put	7		during this fiscal year that I could commit.
8		it ininin the mail and mailed it to him?	8		Beyond June 30th, I had noyou know, I hadI
9	A	Ithat's my recollection, but I do notit wasn't	9		didn't know what kind of funds I'd have at that
10		handhand-delivered, no.	10		point. So it's probably a standardyou know, a
11	Q	Okay. And that letter isis basically Exhibit 3?	11		standard commitment letter, as well.
12	A	Yes.	12	Q	All right. Nowwell, what I'm asking you now is,
13	Q	All right. Now, you indicated in that letter that	13		it was your understanding that Representative
14		the funding will be awarded by June 30th, 2002.	14		Wright was going to be able to get this money from
15		Now, at the time, were you under the impression	15		some other source; is that correct?
16		when you wrote thatthat letter that funding would	16	A	That's correct.
17		be acquired by Representative Wright by that time?	17	Q	And you were operating under the assumption that he
18	A	That was my understanding.	18		was going to be able to get this money from some
19	Q	All right. But you knew that thatwhatever the	19		other source?
20		funding was, it was not a commitment that binded	20	A	Yes.
21		[phonetic] you in any way?	21	Q	Hadin the past, had Representative Wright
22	A	Well, it certainly wasn'twas not an expectation	22		demonstrated his ability to get large sums of money
23		thatthat I would pay this money, right.	23		for various projects?
24	Q	All right. So then to say thatto suggest that	24	A	II don't know, you know, large sums of money.

All I know is that -- my work with him, he always --1 0 And you don't have any information about what when he said he would do something, he did it. 2 happened with that letter once it was received by And--and so that's what I was basing it on. him? 3 4 Q And in the past, he had been able to get No, I don't. appropriations and grants and other financial And did you have any other conversation with him 5 5 support that undergirded or supported the about this letter? organizational efforts that he was engaged in--Not that I recall. Α PROF. JOYNER: Mr. Chairman, could I just --is that correct? 9 Ω 9 have a moment? All right. And that was the history that THE CHAIR: Sure. 10 10 you had had with him? 11 11 (DISCUSSION OFF RECORD) 12 Correct. 12 PROF. JOYNER: Mr. Chairman, we have no 13 And there was no reason at this point for you not 13 further questions of this witness at this time. We to believe that he could, in fact, do that? do want him to remain on standby until we can 14 14 15 15 resolve this question about the prior statement and if there is to be some further questioning of him 16 0 So the only part about this letter that is not 16 17 truthful is the--your endorsement that your office 17 pursuant to that. THE CHAIR: Well, we're--and--and we'll was committing a hundred and fifty thousand dollars 18 18 (\$150,000) in funding? get to that, actually, when we get through the rest 19 19 of the questions on him, so I appreciate that. 2.0 Α Correct. 2.0 Okay. You indicated, I believe, that as far as you 21 21 Redirect examination, Mr. Hart? MR. HART: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 2.2 know, the letter was sent only to Representative 22

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REDIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. HART:

Mr. Wade, you said that, in response to

-103-

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Wright?

That--that's my understanding.

-105-

1		Mr. Joyner's question, that the only part of the	1		process plus the request from Representative
2		letter that was not true was the commitment of a	2		Wright.
3		hundred and fifty thousand dollars (\$150,000) in	3	Q	Okay. So that commitment was false, not only in
4		funds; is thatis that correct?	4		the amount of a hundred and fifty thousand, but
5	A	No, I mean, the part that wasn't true was the	5		that it was going to be done by June 30th?
6		funding would be awarded by June 30th.	6	A	(Nods head.)
7	Q	Okay. You never attended to award funding by	7	Q	And you conveyedI'm sorry. You need to answer
8		June 30th, did you?	8		that question
9	A	No.	9	A	Yes.
10	Q	And that was in his e-mail to you, that it had to	10	Q	All right. And you had conveyed that information
11		bethat the funds would be forthcoming by June	11		to Representative Wright, correct, that that was
12		30th, correct?	12		false, that there would be no money forthcoming
13	A	Well, I don't know.	13		from you?
14	Q	You can refer back to the e-mail.	14	A	Well, hehe expressly said he didn't need the
1.5	A	Yeah, it says no later than July oror August.	15		money, so I didn'tI didn't restate that.
16	Q	Okay. So that statement that you put in the letter	16	Q	Okay. Now, Mr. Wade, what is the reason you're no
17		which was false, that the funding would be awarded	17		longer with state government?
18		by June 30th, was in response to that portion of	18		PROF. JOYNER: Objection. Objection.
19		the e-mail that the funding would be forthcoming by	19		THE CHAIR: Basis?
20		July or August, correct?	20		PROF. JOYNER: Irrelevant.
21	A	That, plus, as I said to MisterDr. Joyner, that	21		THE CHAIR: Mr. Hart?
22		our fiscal year ends June 30th, so our	22		MR. HART: I think if you allow him to
23		commitmentyou know, I could commit funds beyond	23		answer, Your Honor, you'll see that it is relevant.
24		that. So it was a combination of, you know, our	24		THE CHAIR: I will allow you to connect

-107- -108-

1		it. Overruled for the time being.	1		have that by theby July or August?
2	Q	(By Mr. Hart) Mr. Wade?	2	A	Correct.
3	A	I wasI was givenafter this Board of Elections	3	Q	And youas toas toas to that promise, you had
4		hearing, I was put on administrative leave and then	4		no reason to believe that he was not able tohe
5		givenbasically given the option of retiring or	5		was not going to be able to deliver on that?
6		going on leave without pay. But that was not	6	A	Correct.
7		open-ended and notso I elected towithwith	7		PROF. JOYNER: I have no other questions.
8		strong encouragement, elected to retire.	8		THE CHAIR: All right. That concludes
9	Q	And wasand was that based upon your having given	9		the counsel's examination. I'll now go in order of
10		Representative Wright this false letter?	10		the Committee members. And, Mr. Wade, we're in
11	A	Yes.	11		asince it's a Committee hearing, the Committee
12		MR. HART: That's all the questions I	12		members also get to ask questions, and then we'll
13		have, Mr. Chairman.	13		conclude with one last round of counsel, questions
14		THE CHAIR: Recross? Thank you.	14		if there are any.
15	RECROS	SS-EXAMINATION BY PROF. JOYNER:	15		First, Representative Stam.
16	Q	Mr. Wade, inin your conversations with	16		REP. STAM: No questions.
17		Representative Wright, do you recall a conversation	17		THE CHAIR: All right. Representative
18		in which he indicated that it was his intention to	18		Lucas?
19		be able to get an appropriation to cover the	19		REP. LUCAS: No questions.
20		hundred and fifty thousand dollars (\$150,000)?	20		THE CHAIR: All right. Representative
21	A	No, I don't recall whatthe source of the money	21		McGee?
22		that hehe said he had lined up, I don't recall	22		REP. McGEE: No questions.
23		that.	23		THE CHAIR: Representative Warren?
24	Q	But he did indicate that it was his intention to	24		REP. WARREN: No questions.

-109-

1	THE CHAIR: Representative Wiley?	1	your position, the history museum?
2	REP. WILEY: One question.	2	THE WITNESS: No.
3	THE CHAIR: Certainly.	3	THE CHAIR: So that also was something
4	REP. WILEY: And this may beI'm not	4	outside of the ability of your office to engage in
5	sure who to direct this to.	5	any letter?
6	On this letter, Exhibit 3, is that a	6	THE WITNESS: Well, definitely awarding
7	legally binding letter if Representative Wright	7	funds for it. IfI guess I couldI could write a
8	insisted on the hundred and fifty thousand dollars	8	letter of support for a history museum and, you
9	(\$150,000) in funding?	9	know, there's no commitment beyond that.
10	THE CHAIR: If you can answer, Mr. Wade	10	THE CHAIR: All right. In your
11	THE WITNESS: It's not ait would not be	11	conversation with Mr. WrightRepresentative Wright
12	sufficient to convey the funds, no.	12	early on, just so that I'm clear in my notes, I
13	THE CHAIR: Further questions,	13	think you indicated, did you not, that you told him
14	Representative Wiley?	14	that funds would not be available for this project.
15	REP. WILEY: No. Thank you,	15	Is that correct?
16	Mr. Chairman.	16	THE WITNESS: Well, I told him thatthat
17	THE CHAIR: All right. And the Chair has	17	funds could not be made available for the museum
18	several questions, Mr. Wade.	18	part, but of the health pieces, I had authority and
19	If you'll look at Exhibit Number 3, in	19	funds to do that.
20	the first paragraph you note that you're	20	THE CHAIR: And that was based on filing
21	enthusiastically endorsing the effort of the	21	for the process that you laid out
22	Community Health Foundation to move into the	22	THE WITNESS: Correct.
23	Foundation offices, the health center, and a	23	THE CHAIR:in order to get that?
24	museum. Did you have any capacity to endorse, in	24	THE WITNESS: Correct.

-111- -112- THE CHAIR: And that was never done? 1 A Corr--yes. I could not.

	THE WITNESS: No.	2	Q	But you were able to provide and had the present
	THE CHAIR: All right. Thank you. Any	3		ability to provide funds to support the Community
	questions that that leavesMr. Hart, any further	4		Health Center?
	from you?	5	A	Yes.
	MR. HART: No, sir.	6	Q	Okay.
	THE CHAIR: Dr. Joyner, any further from	7		PROF. JOYNER: Thank you.
	you?	8		THE CHAIR: I think that's all theI'm
	PROF. JOYNER: Yes, Mr. Chairman.	9		sorry. Mr. Hart?
FURTHER	RECROSS-EXAMINATION BY PROF. JOYNER:	10		MR. HART: I have a couple of questions
Q	And I just want tojust for clarification, in	11		based on the new area that Mr. Joyner went into.
	terms of your ability and your authority as the	12		THE CHAIR: Re-redirect.
	director of the Office of Rural Health Development,	13	FURTHER	R REDIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. HART:
	you were able, had you chosen to do so, make a	14	Q	Mr. Wade, you had authority to fund projects for
	commitment to fund the Community Health Center?	15		the Community Health Center, but only if you went
A	Correct.	16		through the proper process that your office had set
Q	And efforts, programs under the rubric of the	17		up; is that correct?
	Community Health Center?	18	A	That's correct.
A	Yes.	19	Q	So in doing this letter, you were actually outside
Q	But you were not able in the capacity that you were	20		of that proper
	in to provide funding for the renovation of the	21	A	Yes.
	building or the purchase of the buildingwell, the	22	Q	process and had no authority to fund that Center,
	renovation of the building to a history museum or	23		even though you stated so in the letter, correct?
	the purchase of the building?	24	A	I could not convey the funds based on that letter,
	Q A Q	THE CHAIR: All right. Thank you. Any questions that that leavesMr. Hart, any further from you?  MR. HART: No, sir.  THE CHAIR: Dr. Joyner, any further from you?  PROF. JOYNER: Yes, Mr. Chairman.  FURTHER RECROSS-EXAMINATION BY PROF. JOYNER:  And I just want tojust for clarification, in terms of your ability and your authority as the director of the Office of Rural Health Development, you were able, had you chosen to do so, make a commitment to fund the Community Health Center?  A Correct.  A And efforts, programs under the rubric of the Community Health Center?  A Yes.  But you were not able in the capacity that you were in to provide funding for the renovation of the building or the purchase of the buildingwell, the renovation of the building to a history museum or	THE CHAIR: All right. Thank you. Any questions that that leavesMr. Hart, any further from you?  MR. HART: No, sir. THE CHAIR: Dr. Joyner, any further from 7 you?  8 PROF. JOYNER: Yes, Mr. Chairman. 9 FURTHER RECROSS-EXAMINATION BY PROF. JOYNER: 10 Q And I just want tojust for clarification, in terms of your ability and your authority as the director of the Office of Rural Health Development, 3 you were able, had you chosen to do so, make a commitment to fund the Community Health Center? 15 A Correct. Q And efforts, programs under the rubric of the Community Health Center? 18 A Yes. 9 But you were not able in the capacity that you were in to provide funding for the renovation of the 21 building or the purchase of the buildingwell, the 22 renovation of the building to a history museum or 23	THE CHAIR: All right. Thank you. Any questions that that leavesMr. Hart, any further from you?  MR. HART: No, sir. THE CHAIR: Dr. Joyner, any further from you?  PROF. JOYNER: Yes, Mr. Chairman.  PROF. JOYNER: Yes, Mr. Chairman.  Q And I just want tojust for clarification, in terms of your ability and your authority as the director of the Office of Rural Health Development, you were able, had you chosen to do so, make a commitment to fund the Community Health Center?  A Correct.  A Correct.  A Madefforts, programs under the rubric of the Community Health Center?  But you were not able in the capacity that you were in to provide funding for the renovation of the building or the purchase of the buildingwell, the renovation of the building to a history museum or  23

-113-

1		right.	1	
2	Q	So that was a false letter, regardless of whether	2	Whereupon,
3		it was for the Community Health Center or the	3	DAN ROSE,
4		museum?	4	having been first duly sworn,
5	A	Yes.	5	was examined and testified
6		THE CHAIR: All right.	6	as follows:
7		MR. HART: That's all.	7	
8		THE CHAIR: Any re-recross?	8	THE CHAIR: All right. Thank you.
9		PROF. JOYNER: No.	9	Mr. Hart?
10		THE CHAIR: Thank you, Mr. Wade. You may	10	DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. HART:
11		step down. Mr. Hart, if you'll call your next	11	Q Would you tell us your name, please, sir.?
12		witness please	12	A My name is Daniel Rose.
13		MR. HART: Before doing that, sir, I'd	13	Q Mr. Rose, how are you employed?
14		like to move to introduce Exhibits Number 2 and 3	14	A I'm employed at the Internal Revenue Service.
15		that were identified by Mr. Wade.	15	Q And what is your job with the Internal Revenue
16		THE CHAIR: Any objection, Dr. Joyner?	16	Service?
17		PROF. JOYNER: No objection.	17	A I'm the group manager of the Internal Revenue
18		THE CHAIR: No objection. Both Exhibits	18	agents in Greensboro, North Carolina, and in South
19		2 and 3 are admitted.	19	Carolina that examine exempt organizations.
20		MR. HART: The next witness for Special	20	Q All right. And how long have you been with the
21		Counsel is Dan Rose.	21	Internal Revenue Service?
22		THE CHAIR: All right. The court	22	A Nineteen eighty-six (1986), very end of it.
23		reporter will swear the witness, please.	23	Q Are you familiar, sir, with charitable corporations
24		* * * *	24	under 501(c)(3)?

-115-

1	A	Yes, sir.	1	Q	And isisdoes that have anything to do with
2	Q	Telltell the Committee a little bit about what	2		obtaining an identification number?
3		that involves.	3	A	No.
4	A	Well, IRC Section 501(c)(3) allows exempt from	4	Q	What doestell us about an identification number.
5		exemption from federal income taxes based on their	5	A	An employer identification number isit's
6		activities such as charitable, educational,	6		analogous to a Social Security number for an
7		literary, scientific research, that type of thing.	7		individual. It identifies the entity by number.
8	Q	Okay. And what exactly does "IRC" mean?	8		So it'sthat's all. But they can be obtained
9	A	Internal Revenue Code. I'm sorry.	9		it's an SS-4 form, I believe. It's not something I
10	Q	All right. And essentially, does that allow a	10		normally get involved in, but I've seen the form.
11		corporation that wants to be a charitable	11		It can be obtained through submitting that form.
12		corporation to receive contributions from anyone	12		It can be obtainedor it could have been obtained
13		and have those contributions be tax-exempt	13		years ago through a telephone number and this kind
14	A	Well, it allows	14		of thing. But it's simply an identification
15	Q	or deductible for tax purposes?	15		number.
16	A	It allows donor deductibility for those	16	Q	Okay. So if a corporationsomeone forming a
17		contributions for those purposes, correct.	17		corporation were to send in an SS-4 numberan SS-4
18	Q	Okay. What does a corporation that wants to be a	18		form or call a certain location, they could get an
19		charitable corporation, a 501(c)(3) corporation,	19		identification number, but that would not make them
20		have to do to obtain that status?	20		a 501(c)(3) corporation; is that correct?
21	A	In general, organizations that want to be exempt as	21	A	That's correct.
22		described in Section 501(c)(3) are required to fill	22	Q	You indicated a Form 1023, 1-0-2-3; is that
23		in a Form 1023 and submit it to the Internal	23		correct?
24		Revenue Service for consideration.	24	A	Yes, sir.

-117-

1	Q	Whatwhat exactly is that form?	1	Q	Okay. I'm going to ask you if youif there's come
2	A	It's a form that is submitted that identifies the	2		a time where you have been asked to look to
3		organization by name and address andand gives	3		determine whether or not a corporation called the
4		them the general outline of their activities, their	4		Community Health Foundation, Incorporated, in
5		purposes, and this kind of thing so they can be	5		Wilmington, North Carolina, ever filed for
6		that would purport them to follow the guidelines as	6		501(c)(3) status.
7		described in 501(c)(3).	7	A	Yes.
8	Q	Okay. Once a corporation submits that Form 1023,	8	Q	And what did you determine from that investigation?
9		is there an approval process that has to be gone	9	A	There's athe determinations process is centered
10		through at the IRS?	10		in Cincinnati, Ohio. That's what we call our
11	A	There is. It's considered as to whether their	11		records unit, and I have reason to call them every
12		activities conform to those guidelines, and they're	12		once in a while. And I've called and asked about
13		either approved or denied.	13		thisit's Community's Health Center, I believe.
14	Q	And ifif that process is approved, how ishow	14		We have no record of that organization being given
15		would we know that?	15		exempt status under 501(c)(3).
16	A	There are various public places where the	16	Q	Have you checked through other means, as well?
17		organizations identifiedthe Internal Revenue	17	A	I checked on the Web sites, and they don't show up
18		Service has a publication that's probably as thick	18		there. We've looked in Publication 78 thatthe
19		as a phone book called the Publication 78, and the	19		Internal Revenue Service document. It does not
20		501(c)(3) organizations are listed there. There	20		show up there.
21		are, you know, in recent years Web sitespublic	21	Q	Do you have any way of determining whether or not
22		access Web sites have come available that you can	22		anything was ever even filed to obtain that status?
23		look organizations up there. And I use those Web	23	A	Well, I was wondering about that, and I asked the
24		sites regularly.	24		records unit. Apparently, if an application is

-119- -120-

1		filed and it is not granted exempt status, there is	1	A	I looked under several variations. At first I
2		no record of that filing.	2		thought it was "Communities," as in plural. We
3	Q	Okay.	3		looked under that. We looked under "Community."
4		MR. HART: That's all the questions I	4		We looked under "Community's," as in possessive.
5		have of Mr. Rose.	5		And there was no recordno record of it.
6		THE CHAIR: Cross-examination,	6	Q	Okay. So you didn't find a record of that?
7		Dr. Joyner?	7	A	Correct.
8	CROSS-E	XAMINATION BY PROF. JOYNER:	8	Q	Now, you said you've been an IRS agent for how
9	Q	Yes, Mr. Rose. Just for clarity, first of all, you	9		long?
10		said that you checked the records for "The	10	A	Well, I've been with the Internal Revenue Service
11		Community Health Center"?	11		since 12-29 of '86. I became a Revenue agent in
12	A	It's the Community's Health Center, yeah,	12		May of '94. I came to North Carolina July 1st of
13		Foundation.	13		'05.
14	Q	Okay. Now, areare	14	Q	And, now, 501(c)(3) status, asas you understand
15	A	I've got it written down if you	15		it, is conferred upon organizations that are
16	Q	Okay. Do you want to look at your notes, then, and	16		engaged in charitable and community activities; is
17		figure out which one it is?	17		that correct? Or at least it meets the criteria
18	A	The Community's Health Foundation, Incorporated.	18		for a 501(c)(3) status?
19	Q	The Community's	19	A	Well, theSection 501(c)(3) has several areas that
20	A	The Community's, T-Y, apostrophe, S.	20		it confers the exempt status on. It's
21	Q	You didn't look under "The Community"	21	Q	Well
22	A	I'm sorry.	22	A	I can't promise you I remember every one of them,
23	Q	Did you look under "The Community Health	23		but they're such as charitable, educational,
24		Foundation"?	24		scientific research, literary, this kind of thing,

-121-

-124-

1		medmedical care, this kind of thing.	1		for exempt status, but all of the others do.
2	Q	But 501(c)(3)	2	Q	Well, are you familiar with Section 508(a) of
3	A	Right.	3		theof the Code?
4	Q	is specific as to corporations that are operated	4	A	Not very much, no.
5		exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific,	5	Q	You're not familiar with that?
6		testing for public safety, literary, or educational	6	A	No.
7		purposes; is that correct?	7	Q	508(a) says that new organizations must notify the
8	A	Yes, if it's awarded.	8		Secretary that they are applying for recognition of
9	Q	And if a corporation meets that criteria, then it	9		501(c)(3) status. Are you familiar with that?
10		is a 501(c)(3) organization?	10	A	Well, I'm familiar with the requirement, yeah.
11	A	No.	11	Q	And
12	Q	It's not?	12	A	That's what the Form 1023 is for.
13	A	No. That's thethat's the reason for the	13	Q	But this notification procedure inin theby law
14		application process. It comes in, and weweit's	14		creates two mandatory exceptions, does it not?
15		a letter called a determination letter that is sent	15	A	Well, you asked me if I was familiar with it, and
16		out once we have determined that the application	16		I'm not that much, so
17		meets the criteria.	17	Q	Oh, you're not. Okay. Well, let me
18		Now, there'sthe first one you mentioned	18	A	508(a) or (e), you said?
19		was a religious organization, and churches, I	19	Q	Well, fivelet's look at 508(c).
20		believe, are the only ones that do notare not	20	A	Okay.
21		required to file an application. It's the	21	Q	26 USCA 508(c)(1)
22		separation-of-church-and-state thing. So churches	22		REP. STAM: Mr. Chairman, I have a
23		don't have to file a Form 990, which is the	23		THE CHAIR: Representative Stam?
24		information return, and they do not have to apply	24		REP. STAM: If someone's being asked

about a piece of paper, should they not be given a THE WITNESS: Yeah, but I can't remember copy of the piece of paper? everything I've read here. This is not a section THE CHAIR: Well, I'm going to let we deal with. That's what I'm trying to tell you.  $\ensuremath{\text{Dr.}}$  Joyner ask his question, and then if we think THE CHAIR: Let's hang on for a minute. that--that it will help Mr. Rose to see that, then All right. If you'll return that to Dr. Joyner, 5 5 we can do that. But I'll let Dr. Joyner go ahead please--all right. Dr. Joyner, if you'll go ahead and ask his question. and pose the question, Mr. Rose, then you can PROF. JOYNER: Well, I'll let him--I only answer the question. have one copy of this, but I'll let him see it. I (By Prof. Joyner) All right. Let me--let me start 9 9 Ο mean, he's supposed to be an expert. That's what I with this, then. 26 USCA 508--that is a statute 10 10 11 understand. 11 enacted by Congress dealing with Internal Revenue 12 Well, let me explain something--12 matters; is that correct? 13 PROF. JOYNER: But I'll let him see it. 13 Yes, looks to be. THE CHAIR: No, no, no. Let's let there And specifically it refers back to the recognition 14 14 15 be a question first. 15 of 501(c)(3) organizations; is that correct? 16 THE WITNESS: I'm sorry. 16 It looks to, yes. 17 THE CHAIR: So why don't we go ahead and 17 All right. And that is under 501--508--I'm sorry--(c), a section called "Exceptions to the let him take a look at the paper and then--let him 18 18 read it for a minute, and then if you'll--after you Notification Process." Do you recall seeing that? 19 read it, let me know--return it to Dr. Joyner, and 2.0 2.0 Α 21 we can proceed with the questions. Thank you. 21 And one of those exceptions, as you indicated, (Examines paperwritings.) I guess whether I'm 22 2.2 deals with churches, their integrated auxiliaries,

23

24

conventions, and associations; is that correct?

Church organizations, yes.

-123-

23

2.4

familiar--

THE CHAIR: Are you done reading?

-125-

1	Q	And as to them, they need not file or notify the	1	A	I remember seeing that just now, yes.
2		Secretary of the claim of 501(c)(3) status. Is	2	Q	All right. And that's whatand that's what the
3		that your understanding?	3		statute says?
4	A	Yes.	4	A	I remember seeing that just now, yes.
5	Q	Andbecause there is a presumptionwell, not that	5	Q	Okay. And is that what the statute says?
6		there's a presumption, but they are treated	6	A	It's what it says there, yes.
7		differently, and if challenged, then they have to	7	Q	All right. Is there anywhere else that this
8		establish theirthe fact that they are a	8		information would be?
9		legitimate 501(c)(3) organization; is that correct?	9	A	Well, see, this is the determination process. You
10		Or you're not familiar with that, either?	10		know, to put this into context, when we go to find
11	A	No. You say if they're challengedI don't	11		if an organization has been granted exempt status,
12		understand your question, if you'd restate it.	12		we look it up in various places. We might even
13	Q	You do understand that religious organizations,	13		call that records unit that I was mentioning. But
14		based on the statute	14		this is not an area that our group gets into, you
15	A	Yes.	15		know. We're not in the determination process.
16	Q	don't have to notify or apply	16	Q	Okay.
17	A	Correct.	17	A	That's centralized in Cincinnati.
18	Q	for 501(c)(3) recognition?	18	Q	Okay. Well, I wasn't asking you about that. I was
19	A	Correct.	19		just asking, is there not, based on United States
20	Q	And in addition to that, it says any organization	20		Code Annotated statutes, an exception for
21		which is not a private foundation and the gross	21		organizations, just like churches, that they need
22		receipts of which in each taxable year are normally	22		not register for 501(c)(3) status?
23		not more than five thousand dollars ( $\$5,000$ ), they	23	A	Correct. Churches do not need to register or
24		need not apply for recognition either, doesn't it?	24		apply.

-127-

24

1	Q	And I'm talking about now organizations.
2	A	Other than churches?
3	Q	Isn't that what the statute says, Mr. Rose?
4		THE CHAIR: All right. We're
5	A	It saysit looks like there's two exceptions
6		there. One is churches.
7		THE CHAIR: We're going to take a break
8		at this point. I'm going to recess us for ten
9		minutes, staff, sergeant-at-arms, if you'll make
10		copies, please, of that statute, give it to
11		Mr. Rose, to Mr. Hart, to the Committee members.
12		We're in recess for ten minutes until a copy of the
13		statute can be made.
14		
15		(TWELVE-MINUTE RECESS)
16		
17		THE CHAIR: All right. We'll come back
18		to order, and I'm going to take my coat off, so I'm
19		certainly going to allow anybody else who wants to
20		to do that. All right. We're back on cross-

examination with Dr. Joyner. I think everyone has

a copy of the statute. Committee members should

have it. Mr. Hart and Mr. Peters should have it.

Dr. Joyner, the witness is back with you.

21

22

23

24

(By Prof. Joyner) All right. Mr. Rose, have you 1 2 had a chance now to review the federal law? I'm looking at it, yes. 3 You're looking at it now? Have you had a chance to read it? 5 This part, yes. THE CHAIR: Hang on. You're going to need to speak into the microphone so the court reporter can hear. Thank you. 9 10 11 0 Do you see 508(b)? 12 508(b), yes. 13 (B). All right. And does not that section basically stand for the proposition that if--if the 14 15 notification of 501(c)(3) status is not given to 16 the Secretary, that there should be a presumption 17 that the organization is a private foundation? Yes. That's what it says. 18 19 All right. And by giving notification of 501(c)(3)eligibility, that authorizes the Secretary to 20 designate the organization as a public or a 21 charitable foundation; is that correct? 22 There are two designations of 501(c)(3). On is a 23

private foundation. One is a public charity.

-129-

1		They're determined by the range of donations coming	1	Q	One is for religious organizations or churches,
2		in. So organizations are private foundations until	2		because it really doesn't say "religious
3		they're determined to be public charities. That's	3		organizations," it says "churches"
4		what 509(a) talks about, yes.	4	A	Correct.
5	Q	But if it's deemed to be a private foundation	5	Q	right?
6		without notifying the Secretary of 501(c)(3)	6		And for any organization which is not a
7		status, then it is not tax-deductibletax-exempt?	7		private foundation and the gross receipts of which
8	A	Yes. I believe you're correct.	8		isin each taxable year are normally not more than
9	Q	I mean, the law is right there in front of you.	9		five thousand dollars (\$5,000)
10	A	Yeah, but the way you said it is what I'm	10	A	Yes.
11		questioning.	11	Q	Do you see that there?
12	Q	Well, a private foundation that has been designated	12	A	Yes.
13		as a 501(c)(3) organization is tax-exempt?	13	Q	So those two groupings would not be required to
14	A	Yes.	14		notify the Secretary for 501(c)(3) classification;
15	Q	And a private foundation which has not received a	15		is that correct, based on the statute?
16		501(c)(3) notification is not tax-exempt?	16	A	Well, I think you're missing that 508508(b) says
17	A	Correct.	17		that if you do not"does not notify the Secretary
18	Q	All right. And the private foundation becomes	18		that it is not a private foundation shall be
19		tax-exempt because it gives notice to the Secretary	19		presumed to be a private foundation"and the
20		in the form of your Form 1023; is that correct?	20		exceptionsyou're saying that an organization that
21	A	It applies for exempt status through Form 1023.	21		is not a private foundationnow, if they do not
22	Q	Then the statute goes on to make mandatory	22		apply, they're presumed to be a private foundation.
23		exceptions to that requirement?	23		This is the way I'm reading this.
24	A	Yes.	24	Q	Well

-131
1 A If they do not apply, then they're presumed to be a 1 A No, I'm trying to understand-
2 private foundation and--which negates 508(c)(b). 2 Q --the statute.

3 Q Well, let's see if I can help you with your--with 3 A --your questions, sir.

2 Well, let's see if I can help you with your--with 3 your reading of this. Do you see (c)(1)? Do you want me to go back again? Well, let's start from the section where it says, 5 Α Yes. 5 Α And do you see right next to the term "mandatory "Subsections (a) and (b) shall not apply to (a) and exceptions"? (b)." All right. Well, let's--let's--let's--let me ask you this way: When it says, "Subsection (a) and 9 Ω What does -- what does that say? 9 "Subsections (a) and (b) shall not apply to." (b) shall not apply," that means that it is 10 10

A "Subsections (a) and (b) shall not apply to."

10 (b) shall not apply, "that means that it is

Q Okay. So that means those two organizations need 11 mandatory from Congress--

not comply with either 508(a) or 508(b)? 12 A Right.

11

13 A Correct. 13 Q --that those two groupings need not file a Form 14 Q So that's correct? 14 1023?

15 A That is correct. 15 A Correct. You're right. Okay. All right.

16  $\,$  Q  $\,$  Okay. 16  $\,$  Q  $\,$  So once we have determined that the organization

17 A That's what it says. 17 fits into the (c)(1)(b) exception, it need not file

18 Q So all we have to do is to show that the 18 a Form 1023?

19 organization fits into the (c)(1)(b) designation, 19 A Doesn't need to file one, no.

and it need not file a Form 1023? 20 Q So the fact that you looked for and did not find a It does not need to file a 1023 if it doesn't wish 21 designation for the Community Health Foundation, if

to have exempt status, correct.

22 it received less than five thousand dollars

23 Q Mr. Rose, you're--you're trying to redraft in your

24 mind-
25 it received less than five thousand dollars

26 (\$5,000) normally per year, means absolutely

27 nothing with respect to a determination of whether

-134-

	it's a 501(c)(3) organization?	1		So in spite of that mandatory language,
A	See, I'm getting hung up on where it saysin (b)	2		now you want to read into this statute some
	it says, "Any organization which is not a private	3		requirement that it apply or that it utilize
	foundation and the gross receipts of which in each	4		Section (b) when the statute says that it shall not
	taxable year are normally not more than five	5		apply? Do you see that section that says
	thousand dollars (\$5,000)""any organization which	6		"Subsections (a) and (b) shall not apply"?
	is not a private foundation"but when you look	7	A	Yeah.
	under 508(b), if they do not notify the Secretary	8 (	Q	So if it says "shall not apply," then how can you
	that it is not a private foundation, it shall be	9		go back to (b) and use that as justification for a
	presumed to be a private foundation.	10		requirement that there be some notification?
	And I also want to tell youI'm trying	11 7	A	What I'm questioning is whether (b) is met. It
	to answer this the best I can, but this is not an	12		says, "Mandatory exceptions. Subsections (a) and
	area we get into. But by the reading of this, it	13		(b) shall not apply to." Let's leave (a) alone. I
	seems, honestlyit seems they have to tell us that	14		think we can agree (a) is irrelevant; is that
	they are not a private foundation before exception	15		right?
	(b) fits.	16 (	Q	Well, wewehowever you want to read it.
Q	Well, let'slet's go back, because I know this	17		THE CHAIR: Okay. And, Mr. Rose, you
	reading sometimes is hard. I understand	18		answer the question, but we're not going to engage
A	Sorry.	19		in
Q	it's hard sometimes.	20		MR. ROSE: I'm sorry.
A	I'm trying to follow you.	21		THE CHAIR: Okay. Thank you.
Q	All right. 508(c), 508(c)(1)	22	A	All right. "Subsection (b) shall not apply to any
A	Yes.	23		organization which is not a private foundation and
Q	says, "Subsections (a) and (b) shall not apply."	24		the gross receipts of which in each taxable year
	Q A Q A Q A	A See, I'm getting hung up on where it saysin (b) it says, "Any organization which is not a private foundation and the gross receipts of which in each taxable year are normally not more than five thousand dollars (\$5,000)""any organization which is not a private foundation"but when you look under 508(b), if they do not notify the Secretary that it is not a private foundation, it shall be presumed to be a private foundation.  And I also want to tell youI'm trying to answer this the best I can, but this is not an area we get into. But by the reading of this, it seems, honestlyit seems they have to tell us that they are not a private foundation before exception (b) fits.  Well, let'slet's go back, because I know this reading sometimes is hard. I understand  Sorry. it's hard sometimes.  I'm trying to follow you.  All right. 508(c), 508(c)(1) Yes.	A See, I'm getting hung up on where it saysin (b)  it says, "Any organization which is not a private  foundation and the gross receipts of which in each  taxable year are normally not more than five  thousand dollars (\$5,000)""any organization which  is not a private foundation"but when you look  under 508(b), if they do not notify the Secretary  that it is not a private foundation, it shall be  presumed to be a private foundation.  And I also want to tell youI'm trying  to answer this the best I can, but this is not an  area we get into. But by the reading of this, it  seems, honestlyit seems they have to tell us that  they are not a private foundation before exception  (b) fits.  Well, let'slet's go back, because I know this  reading sometimes is hard. I understand  A Sorry.  Qit's hard sometimes.  A I'm trying to follow you.  Q All right. 508(c), 508(c)(1)  A Yes.  23	A See, I'm getting hung up on where it saysin (b)  it says, "Any organization which is not a private  foundation and the gross receipts of which in each  taxable year are normally not more than five  thousand dollars (\$5,000)""any organization which  is not a private foundation"but when you look  under 508(b), if they do not notify the Secretary  that it is not a private foundation, it shall be  presumed to be a private foundation.  And I also want to tell youI'm trying  to answer this the best I can, but this is not an  area we get into. But by the reading of this, it  seems, honestlyit seems they have to tell us that  they are not a private foundation before exception  (b) fits.  Well, let'slet's go back, because I know this  reading sometimes is hard. I understand  Sorry.  Well, it ying to follow you.  I'm trying to follow you.  All right. 508(c), 508(c)(1)  A Yes.

-135- -136-

		133			130
1		are normally not more than five thousand dollars	1	A	Correct.
2		(\$5,000)." I have no idea what the revenue of this	2	Q	Now, do you know what 509(a) says?
3		organization was, so the five thousand dollars to	3	A	509(a) says that an organization is presumed to be
4		me doesn't mean anything.	4		a private foundation unless it fits one of the
5		But it says, "Subsections (a) and (b)	5		criteria of (a) (1), (2), (3), or (4). And (a)(1)
6		shall not apply to any organization which is not a	6		and (2) have to do with the type of funding that
7		private foundation." If(b) says that if they do	7		they receive.
8		not notify us that it is not a private foundation,	8	Q	Well, do you have 509(a) there in front of you?
9		it shall be presumed to be a private foundation.	9	A	No. I've seen it.
10		So an organization that does not apply	10	Q	Oh, you've seen it?
11		for (c)(3) status is presumed to be a private	11	A	That one I'm
12		foundation. And (c)(b) looks to me to bethe	12	Q	Well, do I need to show you a copy of that?
13		conditions are not met. That's the way I'm	13	A	No. What do you feel it says? WhichI'm not
14		reading.	14		understanding your question about 509(a).
15	Q	All right. Mr. Rose, let's work through this	15	Q	Well, "any organization which is not a foundation
16		again, now.	16		as defined by 509(a)"
17	A	All right.	17	A	Right.
18	Q	Subsection (1)(b)(c)(1)(b)	18	Q	that's one criteria"and the gross receipts of
19	A	(C)(1)(b). Yes.	19		which in each taxable year are normally not more
20	Q	relates to an organization which is not a private	20		than five thousand dollars (\$5,000)"
21		foundation as definedyou do see that there, don't	21	A	Uh-huh (yes).
22		you	22	Q	and my question was, assuming that the income in
23	A	Sure.	23		each taxable year is normally not more than five
24	Q	in Section 509(a)?	24		thousand dollars, would that organization be

-137-

1		required to file a Form 1023?	1		situation?
2	A	Well, there's two conditions in (b), and you're	2	A	The regulations? Well, where it saysno, I
3		only alluding to the second one. It says, "Any	3		haven't looked at the regulations recently. To be
4		organization which is not a private foundation and	4		honest with you, when these things come up, I read
5		the gross receipts"I don't know what the gross	5		the regulations. I don't try to commit
6		receiptsif the gross receiptsif it's not a	6	Q	So if an organization
7		private foundation and gross receipts are not more	7		REP. STAM: Dr. Joyner, let's let him
8		than five thousand dollars (\$5,000), you're	8		finish his answer.
9		correct, they do not have to apply.	9	A	To be honest with you, when these things come up, $\ensuremath{\mathtt{I}}$
10	Q	All right. So you do agree	10		look at the regulations. I don't try to commit
11	A	Yes, sir.	11		them to memory.
12	Q	you do agree that thatthat that would apply and	12	Q	And looking at this statute
13		you would not have to file	13	A	Yes.
14	A	If they	14	Q	which is not a regulation
15	Q	a Form 1023?	15	A	Correct.
16	A	If they meet both of those criteria, I agree with	16	Q	but the law
17		you.	17	A	Yes.
18	Q	Okay. Soso those are at least two mandatory	18	Q	it says that the Secretary can exempt other
19		exceptions?	19		organizations not mentioned and not covered by (a)
20	A	Yeah, (a) and (b) you're talking about. Yes.	20		and (b); is that correct?
21	Q	And then the statute goes on to say that the	21	A	Yes.
22		Secretary may, by regulation, exempt other	22	Q	And you have not checked the Secretary's
23		organizations. Have you checked the Secretary's	23		regulations to see how the Community Health
24		exemptions to see if they might apply in this	24		Foundation might or might not apply to thoseto

-139- -140-

1		those exceptions?	1	Representative Stam?
2	A	I'm looking at Number 2 here. Just a moment,	2	REP. STAM: Thank you, Mr. Chair. In
3		please. (Examines paperwritings.) Well, it says	3	looking at Exhibit 1, which is the name of the
4		it may exempt from those provisions (a) and (b) or	4	entity in question, the Community's Health
5		both, educational organizations, which is, a,	5	Foundation, Inc., my question is this: We've had a
6		described in 170(b)(1)(A)(iii), and, b, any other	6	forecast of evidence that this corporation, the
7		class of organizations with respect to which the	7	board of directors never met, that thethere were
8		Secretary determines the full compliance with the	8	no bylaws and that the chairmanthat the chairman,
9		provisions of Subsections (a) and (b) is not	9	Mr. Wright, Representative Wright, deposited in his
10		necessary to the efficient administration of the	10	own personal bank account contributions of several
11		provisionsokay. Okay. Well, to answer your	11	thousand dollars to his own account. Could a
12		question, now that I read this, no, I have not	12	corporation like that qualify as a corporation to
13		looked at the regulations.	13	which contributions are tax-deductible under
14	Q	Okay. And thatand thatand that was	14	501(c)(3)?
15		my question.	15	PROF. JOYNER: Objection.
16	A	Okay.	16	THE CHAIR: Basis for the objection?
17		PROF. JOYNER: Mr. Chairman, I don't have	17	PROF. JOYNER: One, I don't know that
18		any other questions.	18	thisthis witness is qualified to interpret the
19		MR. CHAIR: I'm sorry. Redirect	19	statute and to make designations ofof tax-exempt
20		examination?	20	status. That's not what he was represented to be
21		MR. HART: No questions, sir.	21	able to do when he was presented as a witness.
22		THE CHAIR: All right. Actually, we've	22	THE CHAIR: Mr. Hart?
23		got a slightly different process. Hang with me.	23	MR. HART: He's just spent twenty minutes

24

24

You may or may not be done. Question,

 $$\operatorname{MR}.$$  HART: He's just spent twenty minutes asking the witness for his interpretation of the

-141-

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1 statutes, Mr. Chairman.
2 THE CHAIR: I agree, and the objection on
3 that grounds is overruled. You can answer the
4 question if you can.
5 THE WITNESS: Organizations are required
6 to provide organizational documents—there's—
7 there's two tests to be designated an exempt
8 organization. One is the organizational test. One
9 is the operational test.

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The organizational test is demonstrated by organizational documents. We require the organizational documents to identify the purpose of the organization, and it has to comply with the purposes described in the particular subsection. So if they don't have bylaws, I don't--I don't--that's not fatal to their exempt status.

501(c)(3) goes on, after it describes the various purposes of the--the section or organizations described in the section--it goes on to ban certain activities. There's an absolute ban on political activities. There's a ban on substantial legislative activities, and there's a ban on inurement of funds to any shareholder--is the word they use, but it means that--inurement

means excess benefit or benefit beyond reasonable benefit to people that have control of the organization.

We have--you know, we do examinations of these organizations, and several--often what we find is the people that control the organizations use the money for their own purposes. This is what inurement is. And this is what can cause the exempt status of the organization to be--proposed to be revoked.

THE CHAIR: Representative Stam?

REP. STAM: Looking at Page 2 of

Exhibit 1, if you look under "Prohibited

Activities"--and this is the articles filed by

Representative Thomas E. Wright--is that what

you're referring to, "No part of the net earnings

of the corporation shall inure to the benefit of or

be distributable to its members, directors,

officers, or other private persons"?

THE WITNESS: Yes.

REP. STAM: So if--if the testimony
that's to come later under the forecast of evidence
would be that AstraZeneca gave twenty-four hundred
and Anheuser-Busch gave five thousand and AT&T gave

-143-

fifteen hundred dollars that went straight into the 2 pocket of Representative Thomas Wright, would that mean that this corporation--that contributions to this corporation would not be tax-exempt under federal tax law? 5 THE WITNESS: Contributions would be not tax-exempt -- I think -- would they be not deductible? REP. STAM: I'm sorry. Not be deductible 9 against the income tax. 10 THE WITNESS: Well, the -- what happens 11 when an organization applies for exempt status and is granted the exempt status, the--as I alluded to 13 before, the organization's identified in Publication 78 and--and other various places. If 14 an organization gives a donation to--if a company, 15 Anheuser-Busch, whoever, gives a donation to an 16 organization that is listed by the Service in its 17 Publication 78, for example, they get the donation. 18 They get the donation because they're taking the Service's word that it is an exempt organization 2.0 under 501(c)(3). 22 REP. STAM: A final question, if I could? 23 THE CHAIR: Certainly.

REP. STAM: Well, in this case where

there is no listing, if these corporations had given this money thinking that it was going for the charitable purpose, would they now have to amend their returns and instead of claiming charitable contributions, just not claim that deduction?

THE WITNESS: I don't examine for-profit organizations, sir. I--I believe you're correct, but--but I don't examine for-profit corporations.

THE CHAIR: Any further questions,

Representative Stam?

REP. STAM: No, sir.

THE CHAIR: All right. Representative

Lucas?

REP. LUCAS: No, sir.

THE CHAIR: Representative McGee?

REP. McGEE: No questions.

THE CHAIR: Thank you. Representative

Warren?

REP. WARREN: No questions.

THE CHAIR: Representative Wiley?

REP. WILEY: No questions.

THE CHAIR: All right. And the Chair has no questions. Now, redirect examination as the result of any questions asked by Committee members,

-145--146-

1		Mr. Hart?	1	The next witness, Mr. Hart?
2		MR. HART: No questions.	2	MR. HART: May Agent Rose be excused,
3		THE CHAIR: All right. Thank you.	3	please?
4		Any recross, Dr. Joyner?	4	THE CHAIR: Let mehang on, Agent Rose.
5	RECROS	S-EXAMINATION BY PROF. JOYNER:	5	Any reason, Dr. Joyner, he cannot be excused?
6	Q	Mr. Rose	6	PROF. JOYNER: There's no reason he can't
7	A	Yes, sir.	7	be excused.
8	Q	in your search of the records, did you find any	8	THE CHAIR: And Mr. Hart?
9		record which showed that the 501(c)(3) status of	9	MR. HART: Yes.
10		the Community Health Foundation had been revoked?	10	THE CHAIR: Thank you very much. You're
11	A	Had been revoked?	11	excused from your subpoena. Thank you, Agent Rose.
12	Q	Right.	12	Next witness, please?
13	A	No, sir.	13	MR. HART: Special Counsel calls Ronnie
14	Q	Now, my understanding of the law is that once the	14	Burbank.
15		501(c)(3) status is granted	15	THE CHAIR: Mr. Burbank? If the court
16	A	Yes.	16	reporter will go ahead and swear Mr. Burbank in,
17	Q	by whatever method it's granted, that the	17	please?
18		organization keeps it until such time as it's been	18	* * * *
19		revoked; is that correct?	19 -	
20	A	Yes.	20	Whereupon,
21	Q	Okay.	21	RONNIE L. BURBANK,
22		PROF. JOYNER: No further questions.	22	having been first duly sworn,
23		THE CHAIR: All right. Thank you very	23	was examined and testified
24		much, Mr. Rose. You may step down.	24	as follows:

		-147-			-148-
1		THE CHAIR: Mr. Burbank, ifwhen you	1	A	I did.
2		speak, you will need to speak into the mic, since	2	Q	Do you remember about when that was in that year?
3		everyone needs to hear you and the court reporter	3	A	January, maybe. It could have actually been late
4		is taking it down. Thank you. Mr. Hart?	4		2006, November or December. I'm not real certain
5	DIRECT	EXAMINATION BY MR. HART:	5		on the date.
6	Q	Would you tell us your name, please, sir?	6	Q	Two2001?
7	A	Ronnie L. Burbank.	7	A	I'm sorry. Yes, 2001.
8	Q	Mr. Burbank, how are you employed?	8	Q	Okay. All right. And tell ustell us a little
9	A	I'm currently employed with North State Bank as a	9		bit about that. How did you know Representative
10		commercial lender.	10		Wright, and how did you come to have conversations
11	Q	And prior to North State Bank, how were you	11		with him about that property?
12		employed?	12	A	Well, I had met Representative Wright through a
13	A	I was employed by Coastal Federal Bank from October	13		couple of social functions. I had served on the
14		2001 until February 2007.	14		board of a nonprofit organization called Wilmington
15	Q	And where is that located, sir?	15		Downtown, Incorporated, and I had the pleasure to
16	A	Itour office was located at 109 Market Street in	16		meet him on a couple of social occasions. So
17		Wilmington. It's since been closed.	17		that's really how I was introduced to
18	Q	All right. While you were with Coastal Federal	18		Representative Wright.
19		Bank, did you have occasion to come into contact	19	Q	Okay. And in regard to the possible purchases of
20		with Representative Thomas Wright?	20		land and a loan, how did that come about? Did you
21	A	I did.	21		approach him, or did he approach you?
22	Q	At some point in the year 2002, have conversations	22	A	I'm not real sure. I know that at one point we did
23		with him about a piece of land that he wanted to	23		tour the Community Health Center. I had been
24		purchase?	24		calling in that area on North Fourth Street trying

-149-

-152-

1		to develop business, and so he was gracious to give	1		Andand the conversations went on to where we
2		us a tour of that one afternoon. And I think this	2		ended up approving the loan.
3		came about as aas part of that visit.	3	Q	All right. Now, you said the conversation included
4		Eventually, he called me when he had a need to	4		how the loan was going to be collateralized. What
5		purchase some property.	5		do you mean by that?
6	Q	Okay. And do you remember much about the	6	A	Well, obviously we were going to have a deed of
7		conversation when he did call about the purchase?	7		trust on the property that was being purchased.
8	A	No, sir. I really can't give a lot of detail other	8		The bank was secured by first deed of trust on the
9		than he did want to buy a building to eventually	9		property that ultimately was purchased by the
10		renovate and commemoratecommemorate the 1898 race	10		Community Health Foundation.
11		riots, and to use it for some office space for the	11	Q	Okay. And waswell, let me just back you up just
12		health center.	12		a little bit. When you talk about collateral for a
13	Q	Okay. And after that conversation, did you become	13		loan, for those of us who may not fully understand
14		interested in possibly providing a loan for that	14		that process, whatwhat is the purpose of
15		purpose?	15		collateral for a loan?
16	A	I did.	16	A	Well, it's protection for the bank in the event
17	Q	And can you tell us about that? Whatwhat kind of	17		thethe loan defaults.
18		a process did you go through, and what transpired	18	Q	Okay. And by a loan defaulting, that's the
19		between you and Representative Wright?	19		borrower does not pay the payments; is that
20	A	Well, we took a look at the request andand	20		correct?
21		overall need for purchasing the building and the	21	A	That'sthat's correct.
22		fact that it would be good for the neighborhood.	22	Q	Okay. And athow didhow did the loan process
23		And certainly we asked for how we were going to get	23		work at Coastal Federal Bank?
24		repaid, how it would be collateralized, obviously.	24	A	Well, thethe loan request was submitted to me,

along with an offer to purchase and contract on the 1 And is that your signature in the lower left-hand subject property. And the determination to make 2 corner of that document? the loan was made either by a loan officer with the It is. 3 appropriate loan authority or a committee. In this All right. If you would, walk us through that-case, it was me. I had the authority to approve well, let me ask you this: Is that an accurate 5 5 the loan request. copy of the actual document that you filled out All right. And did you have a -- an amount limit regarding the loan that you discussed with that you could--could approve by yourself, or--Representative Wright? Yes, I did. I can't give you the specifics, but it 9 9 It does appear to be, yes. certainly was at least a hundred fifty thousand 10 10 All right. MR. HART: Your Honor--Mr. Chairman, at 11 dollars (\$150,000) at the time. 11 12 Q Okay. All right. I want to ask you, if you would, 12 this time I would move to introduce Exhibit 13 sir, if you'll look at the notebook in front of you 13 Number 4. and go to Exhibit Number 4. Do you recognize that THE CHAIR: Any objection, Dr. Joyner? 14 14 15 one-page document, sir? 15 PROF. JOYNER: No objection. 16 I do. 16 THE CHAIR: Without objection, it is Α 17 And what do you recognize that as being? 17 admitted. Thank you. That is our Report of Loan. That is my basic loan (By Mr. Hart) If you would, sir, walk us through 18 18 Ω application, if you will. 19 that document, and--and tell us a little bit about 19 All right. And is that particular document, what's in there. For instance, the--the purpose of 2.0 Ω 2.0 the credit and amount, what--what did you put in Exhibit Number 4, regarding the loan that you have 21

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there, and what does that mean?

Well, the purpose of the credit states that it is

to purchase a lot and building for the 1898

-151-

begun--begun to discuss with us here today about

Representative Wright?

It is.

2.2

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-153--154-

1		memorial on North Fourth Street.	1	Q	At the time that you filled out this particular
2	Q	And what was the loan amount?	2		paper, was that March 5th, 2002, as indicated on
3	A	One hundred and fifty thousand dollars (\$150,000).	3		the top of that sheet?
4	Q	And the next block is "Source of Repayment," is	4	A	It is.
5		that correct?	5	Q	Was that the first part of the loan application
6	A	That is correct.	6		process?
7	Q	And you have a primary and a secondary source.	7	A	Yes.
8		What iswas the primary source that was indicated	8	Q	At that time, did you know what the grant was going
9		as the loan?	9		to be?
10	A	Grant money from state and federal government.	10	A	Specifically, I'm not certain. Yes, I knew that it
11	Q	And the secondary source?	11		was going to be from a state agency, but I can't
12	A	Conversion of assets.	12		say specifically the agency at that time, on the
13	Q	And when you say "conversion of assets," what does	13		5th of March.
14		that mean?	14	Q	Okay. On some loans, sir, do you have awhat's
15	A	Well, basically, liquidation of the collateral.	15		called a guarantor?
16	Q	Foreclosure on the property?	16	A	Yes, we do.
17	A	Yes, sir.	17	Q	Tell us what a guarantor is.
18	Q	Okay. But at least for the primary source, you	18	A	A guarantor is someone who will pledge personal
19		were looking for, according to here, grant money	19		assets, in essence, toin case the loan to the
20		from state and federal government?	20		company defaults, they guarantee repayment of the
21	A	That is correct.	21		loan.
22	Q	Is that information that was provided to you from	22	Q	And what is the reason for having a guarantor?
23		Representative Wright?	23	A	Well, it's additional security for the bank.
24	A	That is correct.	24	Q	All right. Is that pretty important?

-155--156-Early April?

1 Q

_			_	×	
2	Q	You did not require a guarantor on this particular	2	A	I think that's correct.
3		loan, did you?	3	Q	Okay. Was there further discussion between you and
4	A	No, sir, I did not.	4		Representative Wright about the grants and any kind
5	Q	And why is that?	5		of documentation of the grants?
6	A	Because it was to a nonprofit, and it was for	6	A	At some point prior to closing, I received a copy
7		community development. At this stage, I didn't	7		of the letter from Mr. Wade.
8		think one was necessary.	8	Q	All right. And when you speak of "the letter," I
9	Q	All right. And was it also based, in part, on your	9		want to ask you to look at Exhibit Number 3 that's
10		knowledge of Representative Wright?	10		before you. Have you had a chance to look at that,
11	A	In part. II can't say that I knew Representative	11		sir?
12		Wright that well at that time, but, in part, yes.	12	A	Yes, sir, I have.
13	Q	Okay. All right. You said thisthis was the	13	Q	And do you recognize that?
14		paperwork that you filled out initially, and you	14	A	I do.
15		signed it. Did you have to submit that to anyone	15	Q	What do you recognize that as being?
16		else for approval?	16	A	That appears to be the letter that I received to
17	A	No, sir.	17		confirm grant money was the primary source of
18	Q	And youwas that because this was within your	18		repayment for our loan request.
19		limits?	19	Q	All right. And you did receive that letter or see
20	A	That is correct.	20		that letter fromreceived it from Representative
21	Q	All right. Thethe actual loan and the purchase	21		Wright; is that correct?
22		of the property tookwas about another month	22	A	II recall receiving the letter. I can't
23		later; is that correct?	23		specifically say that Representative Wright handed
24	A	I think that's correct, yes.	24		it to me or delivered it to me, but I do recall

1 A It is, indeed.

-157--158-

-160-

All right. And as--as you indicated, there was

habit. That's all the questions I have for this

THE CHAIR: Thank you very much,

witness, Your Honor.

1		getting a copy, as I stated in my interview.	1		process?
2	Q	All right. And did you take that letter at face	2	A	Yes.
3		value?	3	Q	Did you rely upon this letter to grant the loan?
4	A	I did.	4	A	Yes.
5	Q	Did you call, in any way, to check with the	5	Q	And I believe you indicated earlier that at some
6		Department of Health and Human Services, or Torlen	6		point the loan was, in fact, granted and the
7		Wade, or anybody else?	7		property was purchased. Is that correct?
8	A	I did not.	8	A	That is correct.
9	Q	And why is that?	9	Q	At some point after that, sirnow, thisthis was
10	A	I didn't feel the need to do so.	10		not a thirty-year mortgage or a fifteen-year
11	Q	Did youdid you trust Representative Wright to be	11		mortgage, as we usually think about it; is that
12		giving that to you in good faith?	12		correct?
13	A	I did.	13	A	That is correct. It was a short-term note.
14		PROF. JOYNER: Objection.	14	Q	And was that a ninety-day note?
15		THE CHAIR: Overruled.	15	A	I believe. I'm trying to get back to my exhibit,
16	Q	Mr. Burbank, would you have authorized this loan	16		but I do believe that was correct, yes.
17		without a guarantor if it had not been for that	17	Q	So that the note would have come due sometime in
18		letter, Exhibit Number 3?	18		July and AugustJuly or August of 2002?
19	A	Possibly not. I don't think so. I really can't	19	A	Excuse me. The schedule of repayment on the March
20		answer that, because I had the letter. I	20		5th note was a hundred and eighty days, which would
21	Q	All right. Let me ask you this: Asas a banker	21		have made it a six-month loan.
22		and as someone concerned with repayments,	22	Q	Six-month loan? Okay.
23		collateral, as you said, guaranteeing the loan, was	23	A	Yes.
24		this letter at least a factor in your approval	24	Q	All right. Did there come a time where there was a

There did, yes. still some discussion about still trying to get And what--what happened on that? grant money; is that correct? 3 It--we were not paid at maturity. So therefore-- $\ensuremath{\mathsf{I}}$ Yes, that's correct. think it--we may have renewed the note a couple of If you would, sir, look at Exhibit Number 5, which 5 5 0 times past maturity, waiting on the grant money to is the next exhibit. That one-page document, come in. But ultimately it never did. and. of "Notice of Foreclosure," is that a document that course, the loan was declared in default. And I was from your bank? had no further contact with the loan at that time. 9 9 Α It appears to be, yes. And that's the foreclosure notice that you 10 Okay. So--and when you say the loan went into 10 indicated on the--the actual property because of 11 default, that means that the loan was not paid 11 12 back, and--and Coastal Federal Bank was out that 12 nonpayment on the loan; is that correct? 13 money unless it foreclosed on the property; is that 13 It does appear to be, yes. MR. HART: Your Honor, please, I correct? 14 14 15 That's correct. At some point, interest payments 15 introduce Exhibit Number 5. 16 were no longer being made to renew, and we 16 THE CHAIR: I appreciate the promotion, 17 defaulted the loan, yes. 17 but--Dr. Joyner, any--any objection? Okay. You indicated that there was some efforts PROF. JOYNER: No objection. 18 Ο 18 during that time period of the default to try to THE CHAIR: No objection? Without 19 19 keep the--the loan going; is that right? objection, Exhibit 5 is admitted. Thank you. 2.0 2.0 MR. HART: Sorry, Mr. Chairman. Force of 21 Α Indeed, yes. 21

1 0

22

23

24

-159-

problem with payment of the -- the loan amount?

And was that both Representative Wright and Dan

I believe that would be correct, yes.

Gottovi, Dr. Gottovi?

2

22 0

23

2.4

-161-

-164-

with him about the particulars of this purchase and

Did he provide you with the documents which

1		Mr. Hart. Dr. Joyner, cross-examination?	1	Q	Okay.
2	CROSS-E	EXAMINATION BY PROF. JOYNER:	2	A	It had been
3	Q	Mr. Burbank, with respect to the loan process	3	Q	Let me
4		involved here, did you have an independent	4	A	six years.
5		recollection of your conversations with the people	5	Q	Let me just kind of walk through this just a little
6		who were involved in conversations with you about	6		bit. Did Representative Wright have a banking
7		thisthis loan?	7		relationship with the Coastal Federal Bank?
8	A	Other than Representative Wright?	8	A	Not at the time, no, sir.
9	Q	No, I said did you have an independentdid you	9	Q	And your testimony was that prior to this time you
10		have an independent recollection of your	10		had met Representative Wright at a couple of
11		conversations with people who were involved in this	11		socialsocial events in Wilmington?
12		loan process?	12	A	Yes, sir.
13	A	Other than what I've testified to, no. I can't	13	Q	All right. And did you have any extended
14	Q	Well, now, didis your recollection of what	14		conversations with him on any of these occasions?
15		happened based on your review of the file?	15	A	I wouldn't say "extended," just general
16	A	Yes, sir. Most of my memory was from the review of	16		conversations about Wilmington, and particularly
17		the file, yes.	17		North Fourth Street and that area. Yes.
18	Q	All right. So without referring to the file	18	Q	Now, are you familiar with Wayne Loftin [phonetic]?
19		itself, you didn't have an independent recollection	19	A	I am.
20		of any conversations that you had with people	20	Q	And how are you familiar with Wayne Loftin?
21		involved with this loan?	21	A	Wayne was a customer of mine at the time.
22	A	Not in great detail.	22	Q	So Wayne Loftin had a banking relationship at the
23	Q	Not in great detail?	23		Coastal Federal Bank; is that correct?
24	A	Not in great detail, no.	24	A	That is correct, and at my previous bank. I had

2 Okay. And what was your previous bank? the--the particulars of the purchase and the It was Carolina First Bank. purpose for the building being purchased from--from 3 And--and, in fact, you and Mr. Loftin had, I guess, his family? contact outside of the banking business; is that We did have that discussion, yes. 5 5 Α All right. And the--well, in the bank file, did Occasionally we would play golf, yes. you have a copy of the offer to purchase? Α All right. So you had a--a personal relationship, I'm assuming, sir. I--I don't have the file here. I would think there would be a copy in there, yes. as well? 9 9 All right. So you don't have a copy of that with 10 10 11 0 All right. And the -- the property that was the 11 12 subject of this mortgage was property owned by 12 No, sir, not that I'm aware of. No. 13 Mr. Loftin's parents? 13 Do you recall if you gave a copy of that to the That is correct. investigator involved in--in--in questioning you 14 Α 14 15 All right. And--and, in fact, Mr. Loftin was 15 about this matter? 16 intimately involved in the discussions leading to 16 I provided nothing to anyone during this 17 the granting of this loan; isn't that correct? 17 investigation. The bank was--the bank that I He may have been involved, but he had nothing to do 18 formerly worked for, I assume, provided the loan 18 Α with the loan approval. file to the investigators. I've not provided 19 19 Well, did not Mr. Loftin make the initial contact 2.0 Ω 2.0 anything to anyone. 21 with you about securing a mortgage for this 21 At the point that you--I think you were interviewed by Mr. Umphlet? 2.2 building? 22 23 That's very possible, yes. 23 Umphlet. Yes. Α

2.4

-163-

done business with Wayne prior to Coastal Federal.

And is it not true that you had some discussion

24

-165-

1		purported to come from the file in thisfor this	1		as a part of the file?
2		loan?	2 .	A	Yes, sir, it was. I recall seeing this Report of
3	A	I'm not certain, at the initial interview. I think	3		Loan.
4		when another interview took place with Agent Rufus	4	Q	Okay. So you specifically remember the
5		Brown, I do believe at that time they had the file	5		investigator providing you with that document?
6		documents or some of the file documents at that	6 .	A	Yes, I do.
7		time.	7	Q	And you can identify that document as one
8	Q	Okay. But you don'tyou don't remember that?	8		thatthat youthat you completed?
9	A	I remember the interview when they did have some of	9 .	A	Yes, sir.
10		the loan documents. It was not the initial	10	Q	All right. Now, the title of that report is the
11		interview. It may have been the second interview	11		"Report of Loan"?
12		that we had.	12	A	That is correct.
13	Q	All right.	13	Q	Right. Thisthis is not the loan application?
14	A	But they did come to Wilmington with some of the	14	A	Technically, no, it is not. It's an internal bank
15		loan files.	15		document to identify what the loan is.
16	Q	Okay. And in that second interview, did they	16	Q	All right. Now, where is the loan application?
17		provide you with a copy of the offeroffer to	17 .	A	There is no loan application.
18		purchase and contract?	18	Q	There is no loan application?
19	A	Sir, I wouldI'm not sure if it was in the	19 .	A	For a commercial loan, we typically did not take a
20		documents that they showed me. I do not have	20		loan application as you would for a consumer loan
21		copies of any documents. But it may have been in	21		or a credit card or mortgage loan. No.
22		there. I'm not certain.	22	Q	All right. Now, looking further now at Exhibit
23	Q	Okay. What about thethe item that's been	23		Number 4, it indicates at the bottom of this that
24		introduced as Exhibit 4, was that provided to you	24		the loan was approved; is that correct?

-167- -168
1 the--in the--I'm sorry--you need to answer that

1	A	That is correct.	1		thein theI'm sorryyou need to answer that
2	Q	All right. And does your signature here attest to	2		question.
3		the fact that the loan was approved?	3	A	Yes. That is correct.
4	A	It does.	4	Q	Okay. And you're not involved in the closing of
5	Q	And it was approved on the date given on theon	5		the loan?
6		this document; is that correct?	6	A	That is correct.
7	A	That appears correct.	7	Q	Okay. So it was the closing of the loan that took
8	Q	Okay. And it was for a hundred and fifty thousand	8		place a month later; is that correct?
9		dollars (\$150,000), which was the amount of the	9	A	Yes. That's correct.
10		loan?	10	Q	All right. And in thatin those closing
11	A	Yes, sir.	11		instructions, you would have any requirements that
12	Q	All right. Now, you indicated thatwell, in the	12		the person who was receiving the loan had to
13		file, the bank file dealing with this loan, did you	13		provide to the closing attorney?
14		have adid you have closing documents?	14	A	Correct.
15	A	Yes.	15	Q	Okay. Now, I want to just kind of take us back.
16	Q	And do you recall who closed the loan?	16		You had indicated that you had seen a copy of this
17	A	The attorney may have been Alan Solana. He did	17		letter identified here as Exhibit 3?
18		some work for our bank at the time. I'm not real	18	A	Yes, sir.
19		confident of that, though. But it's possible.	19	Q	Okay. When did you see that letter?
20	Q	And in thein the closing process, there is	20	A	As I told the Agent, I can't pin that down. I
21		typically closing instructions?	21		don't recall. I believe it was between March the
22	A	That is correct.	22		5th and the closing, however, 'cause it confirmed
23	Q	Andand those closing instructions are given to	23		the repayment source of the loan as being grant

24

money.

the closing attorney. So you're not involved in

-169-

1	Q	Well	1	Q	diddid you see those closing documents
2	A	But I can't give you a date. IIit's been six	2	A	Did I see the closing
3		years. I really cannot recall.	3	Q	You don't have a present recollection that you saw
4	Q	Okay. Now, you don't have with you the closing	4		those closing documents?
5		instructions for this loan?	5	A	Since the loan was done, no, sir. II think that
6	A	No, sir, I do not.	6		maybe the note and security agreement may have been
7	Q	Okay. And you don't have a present recollection of	7		provided by the agents in the file when they came
8		what the closing instructions were?	8		for the second interview. They may have had the
9	A	Other than the general things that go in it, no,	9		complete file, but I don't recall all the documents
10		sir, I do not.	10		that were in it. I do believe that the note,
11	Q	Okay. And so youyou're not able to say that a	11		security agreement, and so forth, maybe the deed of
12		condition of the closing or a closing instruction	12		trust, was in that file, along with the Report of
13		was that this letter be provided?	13		Loan that we've already discussed.
14	A	It would typically not have been in the closing	14	Q	Now, during thisthis process, this loan-granting
15		letter. No, sir.	15		process, can you identify how many conversations
16	Q	That would not have been in the closing letter?	16		you had with Wayne Loftin about it?
17	A	No, sir. That is not something I would have	17	A	No, sir, I cannot.
18		typically required to be in a closing letter.	18	Q	But you do know that there were several
19	Q	All right. Now, do you recall the date that this	19		conversations that you had with him?
20		loan was closed?	20	A	I wouldn't say "several." I would probably say
21	A	Sir, I cannot without looking at the loan	21		that we certainly had the one to get the detail as
22		documents.	22		to what the transaction was about, but he had
23	Q	Just to refresh my recollection	23		absolutely nothing to do with the loan that I made
24	A	Sure.	24		to Community Health Foundation. Therefore I would

-171-

in a second position, no.

		•			-
2		him.	2	Q	You would not have done that?
3	Q	But he was the one who first approached you about	3	A	No, sir. I would not have made the loan in a
4		making the loan?	4		second position.
5	A	That could be the case, yes. Or providing loan	5	Q	Okay. But typically that'sthat's the way it's
6		funding for it, yes.	6		done?
7	Q	And you were aware thatthat the Loftins took a	7	A	Well, it can be done that way, but I don't know
8		second position on theonon the security for	8		that many banks will follow a second on a
9		this loan?	9		commercial mortgage.
10	A	Yes, I was made aware of that.	10	Q	All right. So that means basically that if there
11	Q	Okay. Now whatjust explain to the members of the	11		was a problem with the loan, the bank would have
12		Committee what that means.	12		the first dibs at any recovery of funds from the
13	A	Well, that means they took a second deed of trust	13		sale, and then the person with the second deed of
14		for typically your equity portion in the property,	14		trust would then come in to take what was left?
15		which is, againI don't know how to explain it any	15	A	That is correct.
16		better than that. Theythey basically put their	16	Q	All right. And then in this instance, the Loftins
17		interest behind the bank to allow us to make the	17		had the second position?
18		loan.	18	A	That is correct.
19	Q	All right. So that was anow, typically it's done	19	Q	Now, diddid the Loftin family also bank at
20		the other way?	20		Coastal Federal?
21	A	Meaning? I'm not sure	21	A	No, sir.
22	Q	Thatthat thethe seller, if there is an equity	22	Q	Okay. So just Wayne Loftin was the only one?
23		deed of trust, would take the first position?	23	A	That is my recollection.
24	A	Not with bank funding. I would not have done that	24	Q	Okay. And did not Wayne Loftin sign the offer to

not have discussed any of those loan deals with

-173 -

-176-

1		purchase?	1		the payment of the interest?
2	A	Sir, I'm not sure. I don't know. Until I saw the	2	A	That is correct.
3		offer to purchase, I couldn't say. I can't	3	Q	All right. Do you recall how many times the loan
4		remember who signed it.	4		was extended?
5	Q	Now, you indicated that youyou saw the letter,	5	A	Without the file, my best recollection is maybe
6		but you don't know where the letter came from?	6		twice.
7	A	That is correct.	7	Q	All right. And do youdo you recall how it was
8	Q	Or when you saw the letter?	8		extended?
9	A	That is correct.	9	A	Well, the interest was paid, and of course, a
10	Q	Okay. So you don't have a present recollection	10		modification agreement would have been done at that
11		that Representative Wright gave you that letter?	11		time to extend it for an additional period of time.
12	A	That's correct, sir.	12	Q	Okay. And do you have a present recollection of
13	Q	You also indicated that thethe initial loan was	13		extending thatof providing that modification?
14		for a six-month period?	14	A	Yes, sir, I do.
15	A	Yes.	15	Q	And whom did you provide that with?
16	Q	And this was a interest-only loan?	16	A	Representative Wright, and Dr. Gottovi, I think,
17	A	A single-pay note with all principal and interest	17		signed the modification agreement.
18		due at maturity.	18	Q	All right. And did they come in and provide the
19	Q	Okay. So atso at the outset, at the end of six	19		interestmonies for the interest on that loan?
20		months, then the entire hundred and fifty thousand	20	A	Yes, sir. That would have had to have been done.
21		dollars (\$150,000) plus interest was due?	21	Q	Okay. Now, do you have a present recollection of
22	A	That's correct.	22		either or both of them coming in to provide
23	Q	And when the hundred and fifty thousand dollars was	23		thethe interest payment?
24		not available at the end, then it was extended by	24	A	I can only recall one meeting with Dr. Gottovi when

he came in and paid the interest for it. So I-
that's the only one I can specifically remember.

2 A I was given the file to review some documents, yes.

Q Okay. And you don't have a recollection of meeting

3 Q Right. And-but you don't have a credible

3 Q Okay. And you don't have a recollection of meeting 3 Q Right. And—but you don't have a credible 4 specifically with Representative Wright and his 4 recollection that any of those documents were in 5 paying the—the interest? 5 it?

A It's very possible. I just can't recall that 6 A I can't recall those--no, sir--specifically.

specifically, no. 7 Q So the answer to that is that--

Q All right. Now, is it possible that the extension 8 A No.

Q All right. Now, is it possible that the extension 8 A No.

-175-

would have been three times? 9  $\,$  Q  $\,$  --no, you don't have a present recollection?

10 A It's very possible, yes. 10 A No.

A It s very possible, yes.

9

14 15

16

11 Q All right. The extensions would have covered 11 Q Okay. Now, with respect to--I just want to take 12 ninety days, or six--six months? 12 you back to Exhibit 4. Do you have a present

innery days, of six--six months?

13 A I would suspect ninety days, though, again, without 13 recollection of the specifics of the conversation

looking at the documentation, I can't say. 14 that you had with Representative Wright

Q All right. Now, do you recall if those documents 15 regarding--regarding the source of repayment?

were in the file that the investigators provided to 16 A No.

you? If they should have been. If they had the locality of they should have been. If they had the locality of the document, that that was the locality of the file, they should have been. I can't locality of the document, that that was provided?

20 specifically say I recall seeing them during my 20 A That is correct.

21 interview with them, but they should have been in 21 Q All right. So the specific conversation you don't 22 the file. Yes. 22 remember?

23 Q All right. But you were given the file to look 23 A No.

24 through for the various documents in there; is that 24  $\,$  Q Is--was there anything other than--than this

-177-

1		document in the file that would have refreshed your	1	Q	All right. Well, in thedo you have Exhibit 4 in
2		recollection about the specific conversation that	2		front of you?
3		you had with Representative Wright?	3	A	Yes, sir. Iyes, sir, I do.
4	A	Unless there were some handwritten notes, which I	4	Q	And would you just look down at the section dealing
5		don't recall seeing, no.	5		with required accounts relationship?
6	Q	Now, in this loan, the value of thethe building	6	A	Yes.
7		far exceeded the loan amount; is that correct?	7	Q	Now, are youis your testimony here that that was
8	A	That is correct.	8		not a requirement but a suggestion?
9	Q	And that's why it was a good source of security for	9	A	It was a requirement, but unenforceable. We can't
10		thefor this loan?	10		force them to do that, but we did ask that the
11	A	Well, I'm not real certain as to the value on this	11		account be opened at Coastal Federal Bank, yes.
12		Report of Loan, other than I knew the tax value by	12	Q	But you couldn't require that, so it was required
13		New Hanover County tax assessed records at the time	13		that they open up an account at the Coastal Federal
14		was a hundred and ninea hundred and eighty-four	14		Bank?
15		or a hundred and eighty-five thousand dollars,	15	A	That's just boilerplate language on the bank form,
16		which gave us a very good margin at a hundred-and-	16		and so that was put into the proper section on the
17		fifty-thousand-dollar loan, yes.	17		form.
18	Q	And you also required, based on the reportyour	18	Q	Now, you have listed as the principals on the loan
19		loan reportyour loan approval form, that the	19		Thomas Wright and Dan Gottovi. Whatwhat does
20		Foundation open an account at the Coastal Federal	20		that mean?
21		Bank?	21	A	They were the ones that were part of the
22	A	Yes. We were hoping to establish a relationship	22		Foundation. I'mI'm assuming that we had
23		with the Foundation and asked for their checking	23		Foundation incorporation documents or something
24		account to be a part of the loan process.	24		that would identify those were the positions they

-179-

1 A No, sir, I'm not.

2	Q	Well, and did you have conversations with both of	2	Q	So you didn't actually see anyone sign the closing
3		them regarding thisthis loan?	3		document?
4	A	I don't recall any pre-conversations with	4	A	No, sir, I did not.
5		Dr. Gottovi till he signed the loan documents.	5	Q	And, in fact, you didn't haveyou didn't review
6	Q	All right. And by signing the loan documents,	6		the documents involved in the closing in this
7		whatwhat are you referring to, the closing?	7		matter until the SBI agent brought it to you; is
8	A	I believe at closing they were required I know	8		that correct?
9		one, possibly both, were required to sign the loan	9	A	No. I thinkI would say that we probably reviewed
10		documents.	10		them post-closing to ensure if my signature was in
11	Q	So you don't recall any individual conversation	11		the proper places. I had a loan assistant who did
12		withwith Dr. Gottovi, but you do recallwell,	12		doc preparation for us on loan closings and so
13		let me just ask you that first. You don't recall	13		forth, so it would have been reviewed by her to
14		any individual conversation that you had with	14		make sure all signatures were in place and so forth
15		Dr. Gottovi before the loan closed?	15		before it was sent toto our home office.
16	A	No.	16		PROF. JOYNER: Could I have a moment
17	Q	And your recollection of Dr. Gottovi's involvement	17		THE CHAIR: Sure.
18		in the loan was at the point that he signed the	18		PROF. JOYNER:Mr. Chairman?
19		closing documents, which would have been with	19		(DISCUSSION OFF RECORD)
20		thewith the closing attorney?	20	Q	(By Prof. Joyner) All right. MisterMr. Burbank,
21	A	That is correct.	21		do you have a present recollection regarding the
22	Q	Now, you weren't present at the closing?	22		distribution of the funds from thein the closing
23	A	No, sir, I was not.	23		of this loan?
24	Q	Typically, you're not there for that?	24	A	Without reviewing the HUD statement, I'm certain

held with the Foundation.

-181-

1		some of the funds went to pay off a previous	1		examination?
2		mortgage on the subject property.	2		MR. HART: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
3	Q	Okay. But youyou don't have an independent	3	REDIREC	T EXAMINATION BY MR. HART:
4		recollection?	4	Q	Mr. Burbank, do you know the date of default of the
5	A	No, sir, Ino.	5		loan?
6	Q	You're just speculating on that?	6	A	No, sir, I do not. That was not handled by me.
7	A	Yes.	7		Our collections department makes that
8	Q	Okay. So youyou don't know how the loan proceeds	8		determination, not me.
9		were divided?	9	Q	How long before notice of foreclosure wouldwould
10	A	No.	10		that actually be? Is there a set time?
11	Q	And so you can't say Representative Wright received	11	A	II'm not certain. There is a time period where
12		any of the loan proceeds?	12		the borrower is notified of default, and they have
13	A	No, I cannot.	13		a period of time to correct the default before
14	Q	Okay. Wouldwould that information have been in	14		proceedings are taken. But I can't give you the
15		the file?	15		specific time frame.
16	A	It should be on the HUD-1 statement from the	16	Q	Okay. The application, Exhibit Number 4, thenot
17		closing.	17		an application, but the form that you filled out,
18	Q	Oh, so there was a HUD-1 statement that should have	18		the Report of Loan, that's a contingency; is that
19		been in the file that should be available forfor	19		correct? You fill that out, but there are still
20		everybody to see?	20		things that have to be done before a loan will
21	A	And that wouldyes. That's correct.	21		actually be processed; is that right?
22		PROF. JOYNER: No further questions at	22	A	It's actuallyit was an internal bank requirement
23		this time.	23		that it be filled out, but, yes, there were things
24		THE CHAIR: Thank you. Redirect	24		that had to take place beyond this toto close,

-183-

1		yes.	1		SBI officers when they were investigating this
2	0	Okay. And so I take it that the letter that you	2		matter, was a copy of this letter in the file?
3	×	said you got from Representative Wright was one of	3	A	No, sir, it was not.
_					
4		the things that occurred between the time you	4	Q	Now, typically, all of those documents that are
5		filled out this paper and the time of closing; is	5		important and required and involved in a closing
6		that correct?	6		would be in the file; isn't that correct?
7	A	That's correct.	7	A	Yes, sir, it is.
8	Q	And Mr. Joyner asked you some questions about	8	Q	But this letter was not in the file?
9		thethe letter. Did you get this from someone	9	A	No, sir, I did not see it in the file.
10		other than Representative Wright?	10	Q	With respect to this Report of Loan form, now, you
11	A	Sir, as I told Agent Umphlet, I can't be certain	11		indicatedand I'mand I'm somewhat confusedthat
12		who gave it to me. I'm assuming it came from	12		even though the loanthis form, says "approved,"
13		Representative Wright or his office, but I cannot	13		that it was nowit's now contingent. In response
14		specifically say.	14		to Mr. Hart's question, you say that this was a
15	Q	Okay. And it came sometime prior to the actual	15		contingent report, yet the form itself says that it
16		closing, correct?	16		was approved.
17	A	Yes, to confirm my repayment source. Yes.	17	A	Sir, I don'tsemantics. The letterthe loan was
18	Q	Okay.	18		nottrying to word this correctly. There's
19		MR. HART: That's all I have,	19		nothingthere's nothing on this form that says
20		Mr. Chairman.	20		there's any contingencies to close a loan. Does
21		THE CHAIR: I'm sorry. Recross?	21		that answer your question?
22	RECROS	S-EXAMINATION BY PROF. JOYNER:	22	Q	Right.
23	Q	Mr. Burbank, when youwhen you reviewed the	23	A	Yes, sir. That would be a correct statement.
24		filewhen you reviewed the file provided by the	24	Q	Right. So the document does not require from its

-185-

1		face the presentation of anything else to effect	1	THE WITNESS: That would be correct, I
2		the approval of it?	2	think. Yes.
3	A	That's correct. If you'll pay attention to the	3	REP. STAM: So that reflects fairly low
4		bottom right-hand corner of that document, where it	4	risk; is that
5		says "conditions of approval," had there been any	5	THE WITNESS: No, thatthat reflects
6		contingencies that were required to be met, I would	6	fairly high risk. Risk Grade 1 is the lowest risk
7		have put them in that box.	7	loan. That's basically secured by cash or CDs.
8	Q	All right.	8	And then, of course, they go down accordingly so.
9		PROF. JOYNER: No further questions.	9	Risk grade does have a reflection in the pricing.
10		THE CHAIR: Representative Stam?	10	REP. STAM: Oh. When you say recommended
11		REP. STAM: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.	11	risk grade is low, you mean low risk or lowlow
12		Recommended Risk Grade 5, what does that	12	THE WITNESS: No. Five (5) would be not
13		mean?	13	necessarily a high-risk loan, but it is certainly
14		THE WITNESS: Loans are graded based on	14	one of the more risky loans that we would do.
15		risk for our loan-loss provision. Risk Grade 5 was	15	REP. STAM: Okay. More risky?
16		based on the risk in the loan, which we knew that	16	THE WITNESS: Yes.
17		I knew that there was some going into the loan, was	17	REP. STAM: Okay.
18		the lowest risk grade possible without putting it	18	THE WITNESS: The lower the number.
19		on the watch list. So again, that just indicates	19	Number 1 would be no risk whatsoever.
20		the level of risk that I assess in a particular	20	REP. STAM: All right. I understand.
21		debtor.	21	Now, two places I see state and federal grant
22		REP. STAM: All right. Low risk, and	22	money, both under "Source of Repayment" and under
23		then the interest rate is primelooks like prime	23	"Debt Service Coverage"
24		plus one and a half.	24	THE WITNESS: Yes.

-187- -188-

this year and the following year. At closing,

1	REP. STAM:we've seen the indication	1	THE WITNESS: That has nothing to do with
2	about the state grant money.	2	that.
3	Why do you have the federal grant money	3	REP. STAM: So, no guarantors?
4	there?	4	THE WITNESS: That just meant I did not
5	THE WITNESS: I can't recall, unless it	5	require Representative Wright or anyone else to
6	was part of the conversation I had with	6	give a personal guarantee.
7	Representative Wright. But I can't honestly answer	7	REP. STAM: All right. The sales price
8	that question.	8	was three hundred and fifty thousand, apparent
9	REP. STAM: Well, did you talk to anybody	9	according to the item about two-thirds of the way
10	other than the borrower about the sortwould you	10	down on the left, which I guess you got from the
11	have talked to anybody other than the borrower	11	contract?
12	about the source of repayment?	12	THE WITNESS: Sir, I can't say at this
13	THE WITNESS: No.	13	point in time. Yeah, that's what it says on this
14	REP. STAM: Okay. When you have, at the	14	form. But I'm assuming that's where I got that
15	bottom left, "loan policy exceptions requested,"	15	number, yes, sir.
16	you mentioned non-recourse financing, what is that?	16	REP. STAM: Diddid the borrower,
17	THE WITNESS: That we required no	17	Community Health Foundation, put any money into it
18	guarantors on the loan.	18	at all, or was it all hundred and fifty from you
19	REP. STAM: Okay. Was the sellers, the	19	and seller financing from the seller?
20	Loftins, who took a second deed of trust?	20	THE WITNESS: I can't answer that
21	THE WITNESS: I think that's correct,	21	question without reviewing the HUD.
22	yes.	22	REP. STAM: Okay. TheI want to talk
23	REP. STAM: All right. Is that maybe the	23	about the gross receipts for this corporation for

non-recourse financing for the secondary financing?

24

-189-

1	y'all provided, I presume, a loan check of a	1	REP. STAM: It was a six-month note, and
2	hundred and fifty thousand; is that correct?	2	they immediately went into default?
3	THE WITNESS: It would have been provided	3	THE WITNESS: That doesn't constitute
4	to the closing attorney, yes.	4	default, because the loan was not paid in six
5	REP. STAM: And the corporation received	5	months. Yeah, it was extended on multiple
6	that hundred and fifty thousand; is that right?	6	occasions; therefore, the loan would not be in
7	Maybe that's redundant.	7	default due to the extensions that we gave at the
8	THE WITNESS: I don't think that would be	8	time.
9	the case.	9	REP. STAM: Okay. The time, then, when
10	REP. STAM: Well, it was provided on or	10	they paid thewhen Dr. Gottovi and Representative
11	on behalf of it to purchase property?	11	Wright paid, do you recall, was that the next year,
12	THE WITNESS: Well, yes. But	12	in 2003?
13	REP. STAM: I'm not saying that a check	13	THE WITNESS: I would guess the first one
14	was written to them.	14	had to have been six months or shortly thereafter
15	THE WITNESS: Yes, sir. The check was	15	the original note date. Again, looking at the
16	provided to the trustee in trust for the Community	16	modifications, whatever dates the modifications are
17	Health Foundation.	17	dated would be when the interest was paid.
18	REP. STAM: In order to provide property?	18	REP. STAM: And they did thatthe
19	THE WITNESS: That's correct.	19	foreclosure was mid-2004, so as far as you know,
20	REP. STAM: All right. So the	20	they also paid the interest in 2003?
21	corporation received it. Now, in approximatelyI	21	THE WITNESS: Yes, sir.
22	understand that they went into default in the fall	22	REP. STAM: All right. Well, what is the
23	of '02. Is that right?	23	yearly interest, prime plus one and a half, on a
24	THE WITNESS: Looking at the	24	hundred and fifty thousand, back in 2003? Do you

-191-

all bankers take in consideration.

2	THE WITNESS: Sir, without my calculator,	2	REP. STAM: Okay.
3	I could not. And not knowing what prime rate at	3	THE WITNESS: Not that we wanted to, but
4	the time was, there'd be no way for me toto do	4	certainly it was a consideration.
5	that.	5	REP. STAM: No bankno bank looks only
6	REP. STAM: All right. But it would be	6	at foreclosure in deciding whether to
7	more than five thousand dollars (\$5,000), wouldn't	7	PROF. JOYNER: Objectionobjection to
8	it?	8	what no bank
9	THE WITNESS: I'm not certain that that	9	REP. STAM: Well, your bank. I'll ask
10	would be the case, again. I relyI rely on a	10	I'll withdraw that and make it to your bank.
11	calculator for that. I really am not good enough	11	THE CHAIR: Yeah. Sustained.
12	at math to calculate it in my head. So I'm very	12	REP. STAM: Your bank, for any loan, you
13	sorry. I don't know that it would have been five	13	would never grant a loan where your only source of
14	thousand dollars. It could have been, sir. I	14	repayment was foreclosure?
15	don't know. I can't answer your question without	15	THE WITNESS: That's correct.
16	my calculator.	16	REP. STAM: All right. No further
17	REP. STAM: I would think it would	17	questions.
18	justit could not be less than, or it would be	18	THE CHAIR: All right. Thank you.
19	below zero.	19	Representative Lucas?
20	So the only source of repayment was grant	20	REP. LUCAS: No questions.
21	money, that you know of?	21	THE CHAIR: Representative McGee?
22	THE WITNESS: That would be incorrect.	22	REP. McGEE: One question, if I may.
23	The secondary source would have been the	23	THE CHAIR: Certainly.
24	liquidation of collateral. That's something that	24	REP. McGEE: I think that we have that

remember?

-193-

1	Wayne Loftin was one of the guarantors.	1	THE WITNESS: Yes, ma'am.
2	THE WITNESS: No, sir, he was not. He	2	REP. WILEY:and federal, correct?
3	washis family, I think, was the seller of the	3	THE WITNESS: Yes, ma'am.
4	property, but he had nothing to do with this loan.	4	REP. WILEY: In between that time and
5	REP. McGEE: One further question: I	5	filing, would it be accurate to say that that
6	noticed thatthat one of the officers or the	6	letter would have been presented to someone in
7	incorporators was James Loftin. Is James Loftin	7	order to facilitate that closing as proof of
8	and Wayne Loftin one and the same, or are they not?	8	monies?
9	THE WITNESS: Sir, I don't think so. I	9	THE WITNESS: That would be accurate.
10	think that may be his father, but I'm not certain.	10	REP. WILEY: Third question, if I may.
11	REP. McGEE: Thank you.	11	THE CHAIR: Yeah.
12	THE CHAIR: Is that it, Representative	12	REP. WILEY: At the first extension, I
13	McGee?	13	let me back up. I would assume this is part of the
14	REP. McGEE: Yes, sir.	14	record now, this letter. At the first extension,
15	THE CHAIR: All right. Representative	15	would it be a normal course of banking business to
16			
	Warren?	16	look down and say theread the letter"The
17	Warren?  REP. WARREN: No questions.	16 17	look down and say theread the letter"The funding will be awarded by June 30th, 2002." Would
17 18			•
	REP. WARREN: No questions.	17	funding will be awarded by June 30th, 2002." Would
18	REP. WARREN: No questions.  THE CHAIR: Representative Wiley.	17 18	funding will be awarded by June 30th, 2002." Would someone question why that grant did not come
18 19	REP. WARREN: No questions.  THE CHAIR: Representative Wiley.  REP. WILEY: Thank you, Mr. Chair. I'm	17 18 19	funding will be awarded by June 30th, 2002." Would someone question why that grant did not come through before granting the extension? Would
18 19 20	REP. WARREN: No questions.  THE CHAIR: Representative Wiley.  REP. WILEY: Thank you, Mr. Chair. I'm  not an attorney, so I may be a little more clumsy	17 18 19 20	funding will be awarded by June 30th, 2002." Would someone question why that grant did not come through before granting the extension? Would someone question that?
18 19 20 21	REP. WARREN: No questions.  THE CHAIR: Representative Wiley.  REP. WILEY: Thank you, Mr. Chair. I'm  not an attorney, so I may be a little more clumsy at this. I'm trying to go back and establish in	17 18 19 20 21	funding will be awarded by June 30th, 2002." Would someone question why that grant did not come through before granting the extension? Would someone question that?  THE WITNESS: Yes.
18 19 20 21 22	REP. WARREN: No questions.  THE CHAIR: Representative Wiley.  REP. WILEY: Thank you, Mr. Chair. I'm  not an attorney, so I may be a little more clumsy  at this. I'm trying to go back and establish in  between when thisit's not an application, but	17 18 19 20 21	funding will be awarded by June 30th, 2002." Would someone question why that grant did not come through before granting the extension? Would someone question that?  THE WITNESS: Yes.  REP. WILEY: Did anyone question that?

-195- -196-

1 past the date of the letter, so--

2	THE WITNESS: Well, that funding would	2	REP. WILEY: Thank you.
3	still be forthcoming, so we continued to extend the	3	THE CHAIR: The Chair has several
4	note. Iat that point, we were already into the	4	questions.
5	loan. And it was my hope that we would eventually	5	Did you ever, at any occasion, speak to
6	get repaid with grant money or any source of funds	6	Torlen Wade?
7	so that we didn't have to go to foreclosure. So	7	THE WITNESS: No, sir. I do not recall
8	the extensions were done toto give time for the	8	ever speaking to Mr. Wade.
9	funding to take place.	9	THE CHAIR: Have you ever met him
10	REP. WILEY: Okay. Who told you that the	10	physically, other than seeing him in the courtroom
11	grant money was still possibly forthcoming?	11	today?
12	THE WITNESS: Well, Representative	12	THE WITNESS: No, sir. I do not.
13	Wright, in our conversations, had indicated grant	13	THE CHAIR: Do you recall ever receiving
14	money was forthcoming, so we agreed to extend	14	a fax or letter from Mr. Wade, directly from him?
15	REP. WILEY: One last questionI'm	15	THE WITNESS: No, sir. I can't say that
16	sorry	16	I have.
17	THE WITNESS:from whatfrom what	17	THE CHAIR: All right. When you put on
18	sourcewhat source I can't specify at that time,	18	the Exhibit 4 that you have, "grant money"and we
19	but there would be funding forthcoming.	19	later saw a copy of the letter from Mr. Wadedid
20	REP. WILEY: I guess it'd be more	20	you understand that that letter was committing
21	accuratedid anybody call Mr. Wade to verify that	21	funds for the project consistent with what you were
22	those monies were forthcoming?	22	told would be grant funds?
23	THE WITNESS: No, ma'am. By that time,	23	THE WITNESS: Yes, sir.
24	there would be no need. We didn'tit was already	24	THE CHAIR: Were you ever dissuaded of

1

receive?

-197--198-

1	that notion by anything that Representative Wright	1		Wright?
2	said to you?	2	A	I'm not surewhen you say "present recollection,"
3	THE WITNESS: No, sir.	3		I remember our initial conversation, sir, to know
4	THE CHAIR: Was it Representative Wright	4		that grant monies were going to be a source of our
5	who told you that grant money would be forthcoming?	5		repayment. I'm not sure if I answered your
6	THE WITNESS: In our initial	6		question properly, but
7	conversations, yes.	7	Q	No, I'm just saying if your testimony today
8	THE CHAIR: That's all the questions the	8		regarding grant money is based upon your review of
9	Chair has. Did my questions lead to any questions	9		the document and the reference here to "grant
10	further, Mr. Hart?	10		money" under "primary source"or is it based on
11	MR. HART: No, sir.	11		your present recollection of the conversation that
12	THE CHAIR: Dr. Joyner?	12		you had with Representative Wright at that time?
13	PROF. JOYNER: Yes, Mr. Chairman.	13		THE CHAIR: I'm sorry. Let me ask, do
14	THE CHAIR: I'm sorry. Nono	14		you understand the question, of what he means by
15	PROF. JOYNER: Yes.	15		"present recollection"?
16	THE CHAIR: Oh, I'm sorry. Go ahead.	16		THE WITNESS: I'm not sure I do, sir, no.
17	FURTHER RECROSS-EXAMINATION BY PROF. JOYNER:	17		No.
18	Q Okay. I'll just try to get some clarifications	18		THE CHAIR: All right. All right. Could
19	here again, and this is with respectwhen you say	19		you explain a little better to him in the question,
20	that Representative Wright told you that grant	20		Doctor
21	monies would be forthcoming, is that statement	21	Q	Is this based on your personal memory, or on your
22	based on your review of the notes that's here as	22		review of the document?
23	opposed to your present recollection of the	23	A	Well, I have a personal memory that when the loan
24	conversation that you had with Representative	24		requests began, that the source of repayment would

-199--200-

		-199-			-200-
1		have been grant money.	1		that didn't have cash flow, didn't have a typical
2	Q	Okay. And that specifically Representative Wright	2		stream of operating cash flow, and that the source
3		told you that?	3		of repayment was a little unusual. And therefore,
4	A	Yes. During our initial conversation about how we	4		there was some risk involved, and that's why it was
5		were going to finance the building, yes.	5		graded accordingly.
6	Q	Did he indicate that thatthat thatthat they	6	Q	Well, let me ask you, do you have a present
7		hadthat he was trying to get an appropriation for	7		recollection that you asked Representative Wright,
8		this money?	8		"What source of payment do you have if the
9	A	Correct.	9		appropriation doesn't come through?"
10	Q	Okay. He did not indicate that he had the grant	10	A	I can't give you ano, I don't recall a present
11		money in hand?	11		recollection of that.
12	A	No. And that I did not have a specific agency at	12	Q	So you don't recall asking him that?
13		this time that was going to provide it.	13	A	No, sir. I can't say that.
14	Q	Andbut your recollection is that he told you that	14	Q	But you were aware that he was seeking an
15		he was seeking an appropriation that would cover	15		appropriation for this?
16		thisthis amount?	16	A	That is correct.
17	A	That is correct.	17	Q	All right. Now, when you got to the modifications
18	Q	Okay. Now, when you answered the question	18		of the loan, the extensions of the loan, which, I
19		regarding the risk grade at 5, itdid not that	19		guess, ran somewhere from April 2002 through June
20		riskthat determinationwas not that	20		2004, did you have further inquiries about the
21		determination based on the fact that grant money	21		presence of theof the appropriation?
22		had not been received at that point?	22	A	Beyond the first renewal, I can't say, no.
23	A	No, sir, not necessarily. The risk was based on my	23	Q	All right. Were youwere you aware that the
24		assessment ofwe were making a loan to a nonprofit	24		legislative session had ended in August 2002?

-201-

1	A	Sir, I can't say that I was aware of that, no.	1		THE CHAIR: But go ahead, if
2	Q	Okay. At some point when this loan went into	2		PROF. JOYNER: That's what I was hoping
3		foreclosure, you had some conversation with Wayne	3		hoping to do.
4		Loftin and his mother; is that correct?	4		THE CHAIR: Okay. ButI'll let you ask
5		THE CHAIR: And I'm going to issue my own	5		it again and see if it just focuses on that.
6		sustained objection on that. I think we're, at	6		Thanks.
7		this point, only asking questions that follow the	7	Q	(By Prof. Joyner) You had conversation with
8		questions of the Committee as opposed to engaging	8		WayneWayne Loftin, and his mother about the
9		in new territory. So unless you can explain to me	9		foreclosure; is that correct?
10		where we questioned that	10	A	I do recall a conversation with them, yes.
11		PROF. JOYNER: Well, thethe question	11	Q	All right. And this was sometimethis was after
12		was raised about Wayne Loftin or James Loftin and	12		the foreclosure had occurred, or at least the
13		their association with this loan	13		property had gone into foreclosure?
14		THE CHAIR: I think the only question	14		THE CHAIR: Well, again, I don'tthe
15		that was asked on Committee questions was James	15		objection is sustained. We'reagain, if it just
16		Loftin and Wayne Loftin the same person. And the	16		relates to
17		answer was no, I think it was not. Now, if your	17		PROF. JOYNER: If I can ask my next
18		question goes directly to that, I'll be glad to	18		question, Mr. Chairman
19		allow it. But if it's engaging a new area, I don't	19		THE CHAIR: All right. Don't answer that
20		want to reopen it	20		question. Go ahead and ask your next question,
21		PROF. JOYNER: Well	21		Doctor.
22		THE CHAIR:after everybody's	22	Q	(By Prof. Joyner) Did you havewell, first, do
23		questioning.	23		you know who James Loftin is?
24		PROF. JOYNER: Well	24	A	I'm not sure I've ever met Mr. Loftin, James

-203- -204-

want to take home.

Third, Committee members, if you'll leave

1		Loftin, no.	1	can, but only if it's going to be a fairly short
2	Q	Okay. So youso the conversations you had did not	2	witness. Mr. Hart, can we do that?
3		include James Loftin?	3	MR. HART: I do have one witness who I
4	A	That is correct.	4	think will take a very short period of time, at
5		PROF. JOYNER: That's my questions.	5	least for my questioning.
6		THE CHAIR: Oh, I'm sorry. Anything	6	THE CHAIR: All right. Well, let's take
7		furtherI'm sorry. Did you say you were finished?	7	a ten-minute break tofor everybody, and then
8		I'm sorry.	8	we'll be back to try to do one more witness today,
9		PROF. JOYNER: I mean, I could go on.	9	and then we'll finish up. Thank you.
10		THE CHAIR: No, no. No, no. That's	10	
11		okay. If that's it, then we arewe are done with	11	(FOURTEEN-MINUTE RECESS)
12		this witness. And thank you very much. You may	12	
13		step down.	13	THE CHAIR: All right. And we are all
14		MR. HART: May thismay this witness be	14	back. A couple of logistics matters. This is the
15		excused, Mr. Chairman?	15	last witness of the day that we're going to do.
16		THE CHAIR: Let me just ask. Is there	16	Secondly, what we're going to do this evening is
17		any reason that this witness may not be released	17	this room, after everyone clears, will be locked,
18		from the subpoena? All right. And	18	so you can leave anything that you want in here in
19		PROF. JOYNER: I know of no reason.	19	the positions that they're in. There'll be no one
20		THE CHAIR: And Mr. Hart?	20	and no access to it until tomorrow morning when we
21		All right. Thank you very much,	21	reconvene. That'll save everybody from having to
22		Mr. Burbank. You're released from the subpoena. I	22	pull everything and move everything that they don't

23

24

just want to ask this before we take a break: I do

want to try and get through one more witness if we  $% \left( 1\right) =\left( 1\right) \left( 1\right) \left($ 

23

24

-205-

your notebooks here, there's one document that we 1 obviously don't have anything before me. So we'll 2 need to redact some information from, and we'll 2 do that, and I think that takes care of the deal with that overnight so that we do that. logistics matters so that when we're clear with Number 4, as to the motion to dismiss this witness, everyone can actually leave and we that was made earlier today on the basis of can get the room locked. 5 5 disparate treatment, Dr. Joyner, if you want to Is there any other logistics matter I pursue that motion, if you will file, please, by need to note? Mr. Reagan, Miss--anybody? Anything tomorrow morning at nine A.M., the motion in the 9 clerk's office that sets out those grounds--I don't 9 REP. STAM: I believe we start at ten 10 expect--you don't have time to be briefing the 10 tomorrow. 11 motion, but I certainly would want it in writing to 11 THE CHAIR: We do start -- we do start at be able to set it out. You can attach whatever 12 ten o'clock tomorrow in this room. All right. 13 evidentiary material you want us to consider. 13 With that, Mr. Hart, your next witness? Mr. Hart, it will then be available and MR. HART: Thomas John Policastro, 14 14 served, I'm sure, on you at that point. I know 15 15 please. there won't be time for you to respond before ten THE CHAIR: And the court reporter will 16 16 o'clock. I'll take a look at it between nine and swear Mr. Policastro. 17 17 \* \* \* \* \* ten. If I think that a response is needed, then 18 18  $\ensuremath{\text{I'm}}$  going to set it for either the end of the day 19 2.0 or Wednesday morning to be heard and -- and dealt 20 Whereupon, with, but giving you time to--to at least formulate 21 THOMAS JOHN POLICASTRO, an oral response. If I -- if I think that it -- it is 22 22 having been first duly sworn, 23 not something that needs a formal response, then 23 was examined and testified 24 we'll proceed from there. But at this point, I 24 as follows:

-207-

1	DIRECT	EXAMINATION BY MR. HART:	
2	Q	Will you state your name, please, sir?	
3	A	Yes. T. John Policastro.	
4	Q	Mr. Policastro, how are you employed?	
5	A	I'm currently employed with the North Carolina	
6		Automobile Dealers' Association as general counsel.	
7	Q	All right. And that isis that here in Wake	
8		County?	
9	A	It is.	
10	Q	When were you employed there?	1
11	A	Beginning January of 2006, January 1st or 2nd,	1
12		2006.	1
13	Q	Prior to that, at some point did you work for the	1
14		corporation called AT&T?	1
15	A	I did.	1
16	Q	And do you recall the time period that you worked	1
17		for them?	1
18	A	Yes. It would have been some point in late 1997	1
19		through December of 2004.	1
20	Q	Okay. What was your position with thewith AT&T	2
21		while you were with them?	2
22	A	I held various positions. I started as a	2
23		legislative manager representing AT&T, or assisting	2
24		in representing AT&T, before the North Carolina	2

duties, as well, representing the company in North Carolina before the North Carolina Utilities Commission, and then at some point, I think in 2003, became the state director of -- of AT&T's Law 5 and Government Affairs Department here in the state. And what did that position entail? 9 Α It basically entailed the same duties. I ended up 10 pretty much taking on that role as the sole person 11 remaining in the government affairs office of North 12 Carolina. It was pretty much the same role. 13 All right. During the time that you were with 0 AT&T, did you come to know the respondent in this 14 action, Representative Thomas Wright? 15 Yes, I did. 16 Α And in what capacity did you come to know him? 17 As a member of the North Carolina General Assembly. 18 19 Did you have much interaction with him? 2.0 Α From time to time. I'm not sure what "much" would 21 be, but from time to time, sure, certainly. All right. Did there come a time when you became 22 23 aware that he had in some way sought a charitable 24 contribution from AT&T to a group called the

General Assembly, but quickly took on regulatory

-209-

	Community's Health Foundation, Incorporated?	1	Q	Okay. Was it Community Health Center, or the
A	Yes, sir.	2		Community's Health Foundation, Incorporated?
Q	Do you recall about when you became aware of that?	3	A	Well, Iitit ended up being the Community's
A	I think it would be in the late fall, September	4		Health Foundation. When it was first relayed to
	time frame of 2003.	5		me, it was described as, as I recall, as being on
Q	And whatwhat do you rememberhow-how do you	6		behalf of theof the Community Health Center down
	remember finding out about that?	7		there.
A	I recallthe best of my recollection is that	8	Q	Okay.
	thean inquiry or a recommendation into this	9	A	And then thesethe information that was received
	entity was relayed to me through one of our outside	10		specifically identified the organization's name.
	consultants at the time, with thewith the query	11	Q	All right. And the formal request that you had
	being along the lines of what was needed to make a	12		indicated, how did you indicate that that should be
	formal request. I recall vaguely relaying that	13		made?
	back, that certain things were needed to do that,	14	A	AT&T's process at the time was tofor these kind
	and then receiving documentation after that with	15		of things was whenwhen it wascertainly, when it
	that formal request.	16		was an obvious thing, like a health center, or we
Q	All right. And waswas thatthe information you	17		had given to other small entities like a battered
	had and relayed to the person you were talking to,	18		women's shelter, soup kitchens, homeless shelters,
	was it with the idea that it would be sent back to	19		that kind of thingwas to acquire an invoice to be
	the person making the request?	20		submitted. It didn't have to be detailed. It
A	That or the underlying entity.	21		could be simple, it could be extensive, whatever.
Q	Okay.	22		It just needed to beit was required, it's my
A	It wasour understanding thatthat it was for the	23		understanding, through the corporate requirements,
	Community Health Center in Wilmington.	24		in order to establish thethe entity in thein
	Q A Q	A Yes, sir.  Q Do you recall about when you became aware of that?  A I think it would be in the late fall, September time frame of 2003.  Q And whatwhat do you rememberhowhow do you remember finding out about that?  A I recallthe best of my recollection is that thean inquiry or a recommendation into this entity was relayed to me through one of our outside consultants at the time, with thewith the query being along the lines of what was needed to make a formal request. I recall vaguely relaying that back, that certain things were needed to do that, and then receiving documentation after that with that formal request.  Q All right. And waswas thatthe information you had and relayed to the person you were talking to, was it with the idea that it would be sent back to the person making the request?  A That or the underlying entity.  Q Okay.  A It wasour understanding thatthat it was for the	A Yes, sir. 2  Q Do you recall about when you became aware of that? 3  A I think it would be in the late fall, September 4     time frame of 2003. 5  Q And whatwhat do you rememberhowhow do you 6     remember finding out about that? 7  A I recallthe best of my recollection is that 8     thean inquiry or a recommendation into this 9     entity was relayed to me through one of our outside 10     consultants at the time, with thewith the query 11     being along the lines of what was needed to make a 12     formal request. I recall vaguely relaying that 13     back, that certain things were needed to do that, 14     and then receiving documentation after that with 15     that formal request. 16  Q All right. And waswas thatthe information you 17     had and relayed to the person you were talking to, 18     was it with the idea that it would be sent back to 19     the person making the request? 20  A That or the underlying entity. 21  Q Okay. 22  A It wasour understanding thatthat it was for the 23	Yes, sir.  Q Do you recall about when you became aware of that?  A I think it would be in the late fall, September  time frame of 2003.  Q And whatwhat do you rememberhowhow do you  remember finding out about that?  A I recallthe best of my recollection is that  thean inquiry or a recommendation into this  entity was relayed to me through one of our outside  consultants at the time, with thewith the query  being along the lines of what was needed to make a  formal request. I recall vaguely relaying that  back, that certain things were needed to do that,  and then receiving documentation after that with  that formal request.  Q All right. And waswas thatthe information you  had and relayed to the person you were talking to,  was it with the idea that it would be sent back to  the person making the request?  A That or the underlying entity.  Q Okay.  21  A It wasour understanding thatthat it was for the

-211- -212-

		-211-			-212-
1		the payment system, to establish a kind of vendor	1		recall ever having a specific conversation. That
2		ID number and that kind of thing, and then also a	2		doesn't mean down the road it wasn't mentioned as
3		tax ID number to be identified on an IRS W-9 form.	3		a, you know, "thank you forfor contributing to
4	Q	All right. And atat some point did you become	4		that organization," that kind of thing. But I
5		aware that an invoice had been submitted by the	5		don't recall discussing it specifically. I just
6		Community Health Foundation, Incorporated?	6		recall getting thisgetting this back from them.
7	A	Yes. At someat some point in that time frame, I	7	Q	All right. Were you involved in the approval
8		did receive this.	8		process for this charitable contribution to that
9	Q	All right. I want to point you to Exhibit Number	9		foundation?
10		11 in the book that's before you, a single-page	10	A	Not specifically in the approval process. II
11		document. Do you recognize that, sir?	11		would have sent this on up to our folksthe people
12	A	I do.	12		who handle contributions like this from, basically,
13	Q	What do you recognize that to be?	13		AT&T's corporate, I guess, accounts, so to speak,
14	A	I recognize this as being the invoice that we	14		andor AT&T's foundation. Our direct liaisons
15		received at that time to process this formal	15		were our publicpublic relations department, so
16		request for thisthis contribution.	16		this would have been passed on to ourour PR folks
17	Q	All right. Now, when you first observed that, had	17		in the normal process. And then that would be
18		you personally had any conversation with anybody	18		submitted on upup the chain, up AT&T's corporate
19		from the Community Health Foundation, Incorporated,	19		levels for approval.
20		or specifically, Thomas Wright?	20	Q	All right. Looking at Exhibit Number 11, is that
21	A	I don't recall specifically talking to	21		an accurate copy of the document thatthat you
22		Representative Wright about this particularthis	22		observed at that time?
23		particular donation. I recall it coming through	23	A	It is without the handwriting with the circling.
24		thisthis third party. I'm not sure ifI don't	24	Q	And diddid you make those notations

-213-

1	A	No, I did not.	1	A	I believe it was.
2	Q	or were those done after you	2	Q	by AT&T?
3	A	I didI don'tno, I did not make these. I	3	A	II believe it was.
4		thinkI believe these were done at some point in	4		PROF. JOYNER: Objection to what he
5		the approval process.	5		believes.
6	Q	All right. I'd also ask you to look at Exhibit	6		THE CHAIR: I'm sorry. Objection
7		Number 12. Do you recognize that document, sir?	7		PROF. JOYNER: Objection to what he
8	A	I don't specifically recognize it. I recognize	8		believes. If he knows, he can answer.
9		what it is.	9		THE CHAIR: Sustained. Do you know?
10	Q	And what is that?	10		THE WITNESS: I don't specifically know.
11	A	Thewhat itwhat it reads to be is a supplier	11		THE CHAIR: All right, sir.
12		order to pay accounts payable third-party request.	12		THE WITNESS: But
13		This, I believe, is a form thatwell, I don'twe	13		THE CHAIR: Thank you.
14		didn't usually receive it ourback at our level.	14	A	I do recognize one of the names on here.
15		This was kind of an internalappears to be	15	Q	(By Mr. Hart) All right. Andand what name is
16		internal documentation on this request thatafter	16		that?
17		it went on up the chain.	17	A	I don't know theI never met the gentleman
18	Q	All right.	18		specifically, but I do rememrecognize Robert
19	A	So I would not have received a copy ofof this	19		ShowShower's [phonetic] name as being an
20	Q	All right.	20		upper-level person in the AT&T public relations
21	A	necessarily.	21		department at that time, a very higher-level
22	Q	All right. Was that a form that was typically used	22		offnot officer, but a higher-level person in the
23		to authorize payments, charitable contributions, to	23		corporation.
24		agencies	24	Q	All right. And do youdo you recognize him as

-215- -216-

		-213-			-210-
1		being one of the people who would authorize	1		sir?
2	A	Yes.	2	A	I can't say I recognize thisthis particular
3	Q	payments of charitable contributions?	3		document. I don't know for certain if I ever
4	A	Yes. I had seen his name on other documents that	4		received this check back in
5		PROF. JOYNER: Objection to the	5		PROF. JOYNER: Objection.
6		characterization of approving charitable	6		THE CHAIR: I'm sorry. Basis?
7		contributions.	7		PROF. JOYNER: He said he didn't know.
8		THE CHAIR: Can you rephrase the	8		THE CHAIR: Would you repeat the
9		question?	9		question, please, Mr. Hart?
10	Q	(By Mr. Hart) Did you recognize him as being a	10		MR. HART: Yes, sir.
11		person within AT&T who authorized charitable	11	Q	Mr. Policastro, do you recognize the document
12		contributions to various agencies?	12		that's shown in State'sin Special Counsel's
13	A	Yes.	13		Exhibit 13?
14		PROF. JOYNER: Objection.	14	A	Yes. It appears to be a check written
1,5		THE CHAIR: Basis?	15		PROF. JOYNER: Objection as to what it
16		PROF. JOYNER: The characterization as	16		appears to be. Does he know that this is what it
17		someone who would approve contributions to	17		is?
18		charitable organizations.	18		THE CHAIR: Objection is overruled. I'm
19		THE CHAIR: Overruled.	19		going to let him answer, but I will hear you on a
20	A	II recognize him asasthethe name that was	20		motion to strike if it's not hooked up. Go ahead.
21		usually on theseon these forms for approval,	21		You can answer, Mr. Policastro.
22		onon forms beyond this form here.	22	A	It appears to be a check from AT&T's corporate
23	Q	All right. I'd ask you to look at Exhibit Number	23		account, or one of AT&T's corporate accounts,
24		13. And do you recognize that particular document,	24		written to the "Community's Health Foundation, I."

-217-

1		I suppose the line was too long, and it was	1 .	A	But, obviously, the check was written on that date.
2		supposed to be "Incorporated."	2	Q	All right.
3	Q	Okay. And did you	3 .	A	The approval could have happened some time before.
4		PROF. JOYNER: Move to strike.	4	Q	Okay.
5		THE CHAIR: Denied.	5		MR. HART: Mr. Chairman, at this time I
6	Q	Do you recognize that as being the form that checks	6		would move to introduce to Exhibit Number 11.
7		issued by AT&T came in during that time period?	7		THE CHAIR: Any objection to Exhibit
8		PROF. JOYNER: Objection to what form the	8		Number 11, Dr. Joyner?
9		checks came in.	9		PROF. JOYNER: No.
10		THE CHAIR: Do you know, Mr. Policastro,	10		THE CHAIR: All right. Without
11		the form	11		objection, Exhibit Number 11 is admitted.
12		THE WITNESS: I have seenIyes. Yes,	12	Q	(By Mr. Hart) Mr. Policastro, over the years, have
13		Mr. Chairman, I have seen other checks in other	13		you been a board member in any charitable
14		circumstances beyond charitable contributions that	14		organizations?
15		look like this check.	15	A	I've been a board member in nonprofit
16		THE CHAIR: All right. Overruled.	16		organizations, not necessarily charitable.
17	Q	(By Mr. Hart) Mr. Policastro, are you aware, was,	17	Q	Okay. Anyapproximately how many different
18		in fact, an approval made for a fifteen-hundred-	18		nonprofit organizations have you been a board
19		dollar donation, charitable contribution, to the	19		member in?
20		Community Health Foundation, Incorporated, by AT&T	20	A	I'd say one or two.
21		back in April of 2004?	21	Q	Okay. In that capacity, were you a volunteer board
22	A	I know the approval waswas openly made. I'm not	22		member?
23		sure theI'm not sureaware of the specific date.	23 .	A	Yes.
24	Q	Okay.	24	Q	Did you ever receive any compensation from those

-219- -220-

1		organizations for being a board member?	1		Again, the question was, Did you intend it to be a
2		PROF. JOYNER: Objection, Mr. Chairman.	2		contribution to a 501(c)(3)? And I understand you
3		Relevancy.	3		to say, "Yes." Is that correct?
4		THE CHAIR: I'm notI'm not sure it's	4		THE WITNESS: Yes.
5		extraordinarily relevant, but I will allow it to go	5		THE CHAIR: All right. Then that
6		at least to the witness' credibility for whatever	6		question subsumes that he does know and did then,
7		purpose it has for this testimony. I'll allow it	7		so it's overruled.
8		for right now. Overruled.	8	Q	(By Mr. Hart) Regardless of whether it was a
9	A	No.	9		specifically a $501(c)(3)$ , did you intend it to be a
10		THE CHAIR: I'm sorry. Would you repeat	10		charitable contribution to the Community's Health
11		the	11		Foundation, Incorporated?
12	A	I'm sorry. No. No.	12	A	Yes, sir.
13		PROF. JOYNER: Move to strike.	13		MR. HART: That's all the questions I
14		THE CHAIR: Denied.	14		have, Mr. Chairman.
15	Q	(By Mr. Hart) Mr. Policastro, from your knowledge	15		THE CHAIR: All right. Cross-
16		involving this particular contribution, was it	16		examination, Dr. Joyner?
17		intended to be a charitable contribution to a	17	CROSS-	-EXAMINATION BY PROF. JOYNER:
18		501(c)(3) corporation?	18	Q	Mr. Policastro, I just need somesome
19	A	Yes, sir.	19		clarification here. My understanding is that
20		PROF. JOYNER: Objection	20		youyou did not approve this request. Is that
21		THE CHAIR: Basis?	21		correct?
22		PROF. JOYNER:unless he knows, but he	22	A	That is correct, sir.
23		said he knew.	23	Q	All right. So what you intended to do is

24

irrelevant, then?

24

THE CHAIR: Well, could--let me ask.

-221-

1	A	I'm not sure it's irrelI'm not sure how to	1	Q	All right. So you make contributions to community
2		answer	2		groups, nonpublic groups, and nonprofit groups,
3	Q	You didn't approve this request?	3		charitable groups, as well?
4	A	That's correct.	4	A	Yes, sir.
5	Q	All right. You merely passed it on?	5	Q	Is the approval process the same for each of the
6	A	That's correct.	6		groups?
7	Q	And it was approved by someone who's not here	7	A	Not necessarily. I'm not surecharitable
8		today	8		contributions, I think, at times require different
9	A	That is correct.	9		internal documentations. Not necessarily.
10	Q	as far as you know, somebody that you don't know?	10	Q	All right. Let me just direct your attention to
11	A	I know the name, but no, I don't know him	11		Exhibit Number 11 and ask you to identify what part
12		personally, sir.	12		of that document indicates that this is a 501(c)(3)
13	Q	Okay. Now, the general information is that AT&T	13		organization.
14		makes grants to community groups, nonprofit groups,	14	A	There's no part of this particular document that
15		and charitable organizations; is that correct?	15		does.
16	A	I believethe overall corporation, not just in	16	Q	Is there any part of this document which would
17		North Carolina?	17		indicate that this is a charitable organization?
18	Q	Yes, AT&T.	18	A	Just the word "Foundation, Incorporated," would
19	A	That'sthat's $my$ I'm sure they do, yes. I'm sure	19		give me thatthat thought.
20		they do	20	Q	And is there anything about this document that
21	Q	Well, I mean, this check was paid out of Illinois;	21		would indicate this is a nonprofit?
22		is that correct?	22	A	Again, just the word "Foundation" would seem
23	A	(Examines paperwritings.) Thatthat is the	23		towould give me the impression that it was a
24		address of the bank, yes, sir.	24		nonprofit, but

-223-

1 THE CHAIR: No, sir. I want the witness

When we--when it was first relayed to  $\ensuremath{\mathsf{me}}$ 

2	A	I can'tI can't confirm that.	2	to finish his answer, and then I'll hear you.
3	Q	So you can't confirm any of that?	3	PROF. JOYNER: Well, I want to object to
4	A	That it was a nonprofit?	4	the hearsay that the witness is preparing to
5	Q	That it	5	testify to.
6	A	No, sir.	6	THE CHAIR: All right. Go ahead and
7	Q	was a nonprofit or charitable organization or	7	finish your answer, and then if he starts into the
8	A	No. II relied on the representations that were	8	hearsay, I'll hear you on the objection. Go ahead.
9		made to us.	9 A	What I was saying was that when it was first
10	Q	And the representation that was madethe	10	relayed to us what this entity was, was that
11		representations that were made is containedare	11	PROF. JOYNER: Objection.
12		contained in Exhibit 11; is that correct?	12 A	it was a nonprofit.
13	A	Those were not all the representations. Like I	13	PROF. JOYNER: It's hearsay.
14		indicated earlier, when thewhen thewhen it was	14	THE CHAIR: All right. Hold on. The
15		first relayed to me through ourthrough our	15	objection's hearsay. Mr. Hart?
16		outside consultant, it was described as a non	16	MR. HART: Mr. Chairman, it doesn't go to
17	Q	Well, let mebecause, I mean, I don't know who	17	the truth of the matter asserted. It goes to his
18		your outside consultant was. Let me just ask	18	understanding.
19		MR. HART: I ask he be allowed to finish	19	THE CHAIR: I agree completely.
20		his answer.	20	Objection is overruled. It's not hearsay. You may
21		THE CHAIR: The witness may allowis	21	answer.
22		allowed to finish his answer before	22 A	I'm not sure where I finished. I'll start from the
23		PROF. JOYNER: Well, Your Honor, to the	23	beginning again.

24

1 Q All right. So--

24

extent that he is--

-225-

1	as toas to what this was, was theon behalf of	1		THE CHAIR: All right. The objection is
2	the Community Health Center down there. I didn't	2		overruled. Motion to strike is denied.
3	see the Foundation's name, or for that matter,	3	Q	(By Prof. Joyner) Looking at Exhibit 11, that does
4	Representative Wright's name on this until we	4		not request a grant from AT&T, does it?
5	received the invoice. I mean, at the time I knew	5	A	It does not.
6	there was some connection with Representative	6	Q	Okay. And you don't have a present recollection
7	Wright, but I didn't realize there was a direct	7		that you've ever had any conversation with
8	connection till the invoice waswas received.	8		Representative Wright about this invoice?
9	It wasI'm not sure it specifically said	9	A	That's correct.
10	it was a $501(c)(3)$ , but the terminology used was a	10	Q	And the only thing that remotely ties
11	noncharitable nonprofit, and that, to me, is a	11		Representative Wright into this request is that he
12	501(c)(3). We've seen other ones before.	12		is listed and identified on the letterhead as the
13	PROF. JOYNER: Mr. Chairman, I would	13		president?
14	object and move to strike.	14	A	Well, on this particular document, that's correct.
15	THE CHAIR: Basis?	15		My understanding, as I indicated earlier, was that
16	PROF. JOYNER: It was hearsay	16		I had information beyond this document as to that.
17	THE CHAIR: All right.	17	Q	And that was from this unidentified person that
18	PROF. JOYNER:and it was offered for	18		you've referred to?
19	the assertion of the truth of the matterit was	19	A	Certainly. Yes, sir.
20	offered for the truthfulness of the matter	20	Q	Now, you in(pauses)
21	asserted.	21		PROF. JOYNER: If I could have a moment
22	THE CHAIR: Mr. Hart?	22		THE CHAIR: Certainly.
23	MR. HART: A response is before you	23		(DISCUSSION OFF RECORD)
24	[phonetic].	24		PROF. JOYNER: We have no further

-227- -228-

you got the invoice, which did not have assets

2	THE CHAIR: Redirect?	2	except one that was in foreclosure?
3	MR. HART: Nothing, Mr. Chairman.	3	PROF. JOYNER: Objection.
4	THE CHAIR: All right. Representative	4	THE CHAIR: Sustained. Representative
5	Stam?	5	Stam, you may want to
6	REP. STAM: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.	6	REP. STAM: Shorten that?
7	Just a couple of things.	7	THE CHAIR:shorten that, yeah.
8	Who was the outside consultant?	8	REP. STAM: At the time youokay. At
9	THE WITNESS: It's a Mr. Lawrence Beally	9	the time you approved the
10	[phonetic].	10	PROF. JOYNER: Mr. Chairman, I'm going to
11	REP. STAM: And had the Community Health	11	object to that because he testified he didn't
12	Foundation, as far as you know, provided any	12	approve anything.
13	services to AT&T for which Mr. Wright was asking	13	THE CHAIR: Sustained.
14	for payment?	14	REP. STAM: Excuse me. At the time you
15	THE WITNESS: No, sir. No, sir.	15	passed on the request to higher levels, did you
16	REP. STAM: Had the Community Health	16	understand the difference between the Community
17	Center provided services to AT&T for which you were	17	Health Center and the Community Health Foundation?
18	recommending payment for services?	18	THE WITNESS: I'm not sure I could say I
19	THE WITNESS: No, sir.	19	understood the difference. It was my impression
20	REP. STAM: And Iat the time you	20	this was directly related to it. And my thought
21	approved the invoice, did you understand the	21	was it was the fundraising arm or the charitable
22	difference between the Community Health Center,	22	arm of thatof that entity.
23	which was an operating, functioning health	23	REP. STAM: Would it have made a
24	provider, as opposed to the Foundation, from which	24	difference in your passing this on to higher levels

questions.

-229-

-232-

[phonetic] to--to AT&T--to myself at AT&T.

1	ifif AT&T knew through you that, in fact, this	1	Representative Wright as a legislator by
2	foundation had not received a charitable tax	2	supporting his charity?
3	determination from the IRS?	3	THE CHAIR: Okay. Let'sobjection
4	PROF. JOYNER: Objection. Speculation.	4	sustained. Let's break it up, if we can. First,
5	THE CHAIR: I'm going toI'm going to	5	do you want to break that into several questions?
6	overrule it and let you answer, if you can answer	6	REP. STAM: Firstyeah.
7	with some certainty about whether it would have	7	The first question is, did, in fact, you
8	made a difference. If you cannot, please say so.	8	tell the Special Counsel that you recommended
9	THE WITNESS: Yes, sir. I would not	9	through AT&T's approval process that the
10	haveI would've not passed this along had I not	10	contribution be approved to support Wright as a
11	thought it was a $501(c)(3)$ charitable organization.	11	legislator by supporting Wright's local charity?
12	REP. STAM: And finally	12	THE WITNESS: No, I did not.
13	PROF. JOYNER: Move to strike.	13	REP. STAM: Okay. No further questions,
14	THE CHAIR: Denied.	14	then.
15	REP. STAM: Finally, in the notice-of-	15	THE CHAIR: All right. RepresentativeI
16	witness list, there was a statement of your	16	don't have my list. I'll just go in this order.
17	proposed testimony that Mr. Policastro"he	17	Representative Warren?
18	recommended through AT&T's approval process that	18	REP. WARREN: No questions.
19	the contribution be approved to support Wright as	19	THE CHAIR: Representative McGee?
20	a legislator by supporting Wright's local	20	REP. McGEE: No questions.
21	charity." How	21	THE CHAIR: Representative Lucas?
22	PROF. JOYNER: Objection.	22	REP. LUCAS: No questions.
23	REP. STAM: My question is, if that was	23	THE CHAIR: Representative Wiley?
24	why you did it, how does this support	24	REP. WILEY: No questions.

that were asked cause any further questions, 2 Ω Okay. And is Mr. Beully [phonetic] still with Mr. Hart? 3 MR. HART: No, Mr. Chairman. No, he's--I do not believe he's a registered THE CHAIR: All right. Dr. Joyner? lobbyist for AT&T, or--or a consultant with AT&T. 5 5 PROF. JOYNER: Yes. Do you know if he's alive? RECROSS-EXAMINATION BY PROF. JOYNER: Yes. sir. he is. Α You mentioned Mr. Beully [phonetic]? But he's not here. Yes, sir. That's correct. 9 Α 9 Α Is that someone different than the source of PROF. JOYNER: No further questions. 10 10 11 information that you were not able to identify 11 THE CHAIR: All right. That, actually, 12 earlier? 12 leaves the Chair having one other question, if the 13 I wasn't asked to identify him. I mentioned he was 13 mic will--Mr. Poli--Mr. Policastro, are you aware an outside consultant. It is the same person. from any conversations you've had with any other 14 14 15 Okay. So you don't have any information that he 15 governmental relations colleagues--and I use that term broadly--of any other requests that your 16 was involved in any way in--in procuring this--16 17 this money? 17 colleagues received for similar amounts of money Procuring the money? 18 or similar donations to the Community Health 18 Α 19 Right. Foundation, Inc., in Wilmington? 19 No, sir. I testified that, without mentioning his Not through direct conversations. I've seen some 2.0 2.0 name until I was asked by Representative Stam--21 of the evidence that's--

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Okay.

No. No, sir.

All right. Thank you.

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THE CHAIR: All right. Did the questions

that it was my recollection that the initial

would be made did come through Mr. Beully

inquiry into how this would--how formal requests

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1	PROF. JOYNER: Move to strike his answer	1	because we are now in deliberative, fact-finding
2	and the question.	2	stage, I think it would be appropriate that the
3	THE CHAIR: I'll certainly strike the	3	members of the Committee refrain from discussing
4	part about he's seen anyany in evidence. The	4	this matter with the press, the Committee's
5	answer, as far as I take it, was, no, he does not	5	outside legal counsel, Representative Wright's
6	know that from any colleagues.	6	counsel, Representative Wright, until after the
7	All right. I think thatthank you, Mr.	7	Committee deliberations are completed.
8	Policastro. Anyany reason Mr. Policastro cannot	8	And I will also ask all of those folks to
9	be released from his subpoena, Dr. Joyner?	9	refrain from discussing evidence in the case with
10	PROF. JOYNER: No.	10	Committee members other than the Chair during this
11	THE CHAIR: Mr. Hart?	11	period of time.
12	MR. HART: No, sir.	12	I will also ask members of the public, in
13	THE CHAIR: All right. You're released	13	its broadest sense, do not approach the Committee
14	from the subpoena. Thank you, Mr. Policastro.	14	members or witnesses in this matter until after
15	All right. Anything before we adjourn	15	the deliberations are completed. I believe that
16	for the evening till tomorrowor recess for the	16	this hearing can proceed fairly to all parties
17	evening until tomorrow? Anything else? No?	17	involved if we all follow these suggestions, and I
18	Okay. Yeah, let me do this. If I could,	18	will ask the sergeant-at-arms to assist in
19	Members of the CommitteeI want to remind the	19	assuring compliance with this request.
20	members of the Committee and the attorneys for the	20	With that, we are in recess until ten
21	Committee and Representative Wright,	21	o'clock tomorrow morning. Thank you.
22	Representative Wright and members of the public	22 ——	
23	and I use the term "members of the public" in its	23 (WH	GREUPON, THE PROCEEDINGS WERE ADJOURNED AT 5:21 P.M.)
24	broadest sensethat because we are now in	24 ——	

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

-235-

COUNTY OF WAKE

# CERTIFICATE

I, Katherine M. Becker, a Notary Public in and for the State of North Carolina, duly commissioned and authorized to administer oaths and to take and certify hearings, do hereby certify that these proceedings were held before me at the time and place aforesaid, that all parties were present as hereinbefore stated, and that the record as set forth in the preceding Pages 2 through 234 represents a true and accurate transcription of the proceedings, to the best of my ability and understanding.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereto set my hand this the 4th day of March, 2008.

Notary Public Notary Public No. 20023570191

My Commission Expires 12-29-2012

Katherine M. Becker
PACE REPORTING SERVICE
P. O. Box 252
Cary, North Carolina 27512
Telephone: 919/859-0000 - Raleigh
910/790-5599 - Wilmington

# ALSO IN ATTENDANCE

Rep. Thomas E. Wright Prof. Irving Joyner, Counsel to Rep. Wright Mr. Douglas Harris, Counsel to Rep. Wright

 ${\tt Mr.}$  William Hart, Outside Counsel to the Committee  ${\tt Mr.}$  Alexander Peters, Outside Counsel to the Committee

Ms. Carin Savel, Committee Clerk

Mr. O. Walker Reagan, Staff Attorney Ms. Kory Goldsmith, Staff Attorney Mr. Brad Krehely, Staff Attorney Ms. Heather Fennell, Staff Attorney Ms. Denise Huntley, Research Assistant Ms. Amanda Smith, Research Assistant -i-

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Witness	Examination/By Whom	Page No.
T. Wade	Direct/Hart	53
T. Wade	Cross/Joyner	71
T. Wade	Redirect/Hart	104
T. Wade	Recross/Joyner	107
T. Wade	Committee	108
T. Wade	Further Recross/Joyner	111
T. Wade	Further Redirect/Hart	112
D. Rose	Direct/Hart	114
D. Rose	Cross/Joyner	119
D. Rose	Committee	140
D. Rose	Recross/Joyner	145
R. Burbank	Direct/Hart	147
R. Burbank	Cross/Joyner	161
R. Burbank	Redirect/Hart	182
R. Burbank	Recross/Joyner	183
R. Burbank	Committee	185
R. Burbank	Further Recross/Joyner	197
T. Policast	tro Direct/Hart	207
T. Policast	cro Cross/Joyner	220
T. Policast	cro Committee	227
T. Policast	cro Recross/Joyner	231
T. Policast	cro Committee	232

MEETING OF THE HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE
TO INVESTIGATE ALLEGED MISCONDUCT AND OTHER MATTERS
INCLUDED IN INDICTMENTS REGARDING
REPRESENTATIVE THOMAS E. WRIGHT

#### TRANSCRIPT OF THE PROCEEDINGS

(Volume II)

March 4, 2008

#### THE SELECT COMMITTEE:

Rep. Rick Glazier, Chair Rep. Paul Stam, Vice-chair Rep. Marvin Lucas Rep. William McGee Rep. Edith Warren Rep. Laura Wiley

In Raleigh, N.C. 9:59 A M

Reported by: Katherine M. Becker THE CHAIR: If I could, I'm going to very, very briefly call this meeting to order only to do this: There's been a motion this morning that I think that was just filed, and we need--I think Mr. Harris hasn't arrived yet and will be arguing the motion. Mr. Hart and Mr. Peters need a little bit of time to read the motion and formulate a response, so we will be in recess until ten-thirty. And if we need a little more time after that, we'll do it, but right now, we're in recess until ten-thirty, and we'll pick up the motion at that point. Thank you.

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### (THIRTY-SEVEN-MINUTE RECESS)

THE CHAIR: All right. This Committee is now officially back in session at ten-thirty-seven on Tuesday.

There was filed this morning--and I appreciate the prompt filing of the motion by Mr. Harris and Dr. Joyner--for Representative Wright a motion for the Chairman to recuse himself and for the Committee to stay this matter and refer to the Speaker for further action. And with that,

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what I will do at this point -- I think since it's a recusal motion, it ought to be heard up front. And Mr. Harris, we waited for you, obviously, and also to give counsel time to 5 prepare. What I'm going to do is let you go ahead and argue that motion. I know there were attachments. Committee members have received it. so that they've had an opportunity to start looking 9 at it. Then what we'll do, Mr. Hart and 10 Mr. Peters, I'll have you respond, and then I'm 11 going to take a few minutes to read through 12 everything and--and rule, so that we can either 13 move on with a new chairman or otherwise move on. Mr. Harris? You'll need to put that--14 15 there you go. MR. HARRIS: Thank you. Mr. Chairman, 16 Members of the Committee, sometimes something new 17 and different happens in the world, and when it 18 19 does, it's time to sit up and take notice. And 2.0 when you see Republicans coming forward to help 21 Democrats, as when you see cats coming forward to 22 help dogs, it's something new and different, and 23 you ought to -- you ought to pay attention. 24 I was speaking to Fern Shubert this

morning, and I--I said to her, "I don't mean to embarrass you, but this is something of a Profiles in Courage moment, because, you know--for a Republican to come out like this, and I know you don't have anything great going with Representative Wright. I know you've fought many times on the floor, and you've--you've opposed each other almost always. For you to come forward and help Representative Wright under these circumstances is--is really quite remarkable. I admire you for it."

And she said, "Well, you know, what they're doing to Representative Wright is just wrong. To take a situation where"--she--she was speaking--said, "When I make a complaint about somebody, and I as a representative and as a former senator come forward and say that somebody has misled by written document all the--all the people in the House, all--all the legislators in the House, and there's not even a hearing, it's not even anything, it's just dismissed for lack of jurisdiction, and that person's white, and then--and then Tom Wright comes along and the same situation exists, there is no jurisdiction"--

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1	MR. HART: Mr. Chairman, I object to the
2	testimony that Counsel is apparently trying to put
3	into the record.
4	MR. HARRIS: I'm not putting any
5	testimony. I'm
6	THE CHAIR: Letlet me rule on the
7	objection, please, Mr. Harris.
8	MR. HARRIS: All right.
9	THE CHAIR: And I understand the
10	objection, and II'llI'm going to give
11	Mr. Harris some significant leeway to make his
12	argument. But I would ask you if you would try to
13	limit it to matters that you do have in evidence in
14	terms of what's filedand there's plenty, I think,
15	that's filed
16	MR. HARRIS: Yes.
17	THE CHAIR:and attachedokay.
18	MR. HARRIS: And then you take
19	Representative Wright, who is in the same
20	situation, without jurisdictionasas the members
21	of the Committee will remember, that youryour
22	Committee, when you were sitting as the Legislative

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treat them differently--one has a great, big hearing, one even has a conclusion that he's probably guilty, and the other has nothing, it makes the most stark contrast.

And when you look for the difference, it's hard to find any difference anywhere except that one is white and one is black.

And that is what we lawyers call prima facie evidence. And what that means is it may not be true, but it puts the burden on the other side to say why it's not true, to bring out some satisfying explanation as to why somehow something else is true other than black and white.

And when we look at the gravity of what we are doing here, we are taking an elected representative of the people who was put in his place by the people from New Hanover County, as each—as each of you were put in your place by—by the people in your district, and we are proposing, at least, to take him out of that seat, to take him out of what the people—where the people put him, I think it's important in that instance particularly not only to have propriety, but not to have the appearance—even the appearance of impropriety.

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And I suggest to you that this is a strong appearance of impropriety, if it is nothing else.

Ethics Committee, ruled there was no jurisdiction--

and take two people in identical situations and

And I doubt very seriously that if, indeed, there is some kind of explanation, lame [phonetic] or otherwise, offered today as to why this is okay--I doubt very seriously that--that explanation will be very satisfying to the black citizens of North Carolina. I doubt very seriously it will be very satisfying to Fern Shubert and a lot of Republicans that can see that this is internecine war--warfare in the Democratic Party and it ought not be conducted unfairly. And it certainly won't be satisfying to me.

certainly won't be satisfying to me.

And a solution is at hand which I propose which is very simple, and that is that this

Committee recognize that, unfortunately, you've gone down this road too far. You've gone down this road so far that no matter what you do, it's going to have an appearance of impropriety. It will be embarrassing to all concerned. It will be something talked about for years, things people for years say, "Look what they did to that black man who got in a position of power from New Hanover County. Look what they did to him, and look

what--how nothing happened to his counterpart who was white." We don't need that in North Carolina. We don't need it.

The easiest way to handle this is for you to vote to say, "We think that this is a mistake. We don't want the appearance of impropriety." I'm not going to ask any of you to say that you did anything wrong, just acknowledge that there is an appearance of impropriety here.

This often happens to lawyers. It often happens to judges. Sometimes we have to withdraw, not because we did anything wrong, but because it looks bad. For example, if I talked to--if I talked to a client and, unbeknownst to me, I inadvertently talked to someone on the other side, I've got to get out of that case. It's an appearance of impropriety. And that's what we have here on--on different grounds.

And so what I'm asking this Committee to do is to refer this back to Speaker Hackney and say, "Because of what has occurred here, which we did not intend, but because of what has occurred here, we think, Speaker Hackney, you need to appoint a brand-new committee, one that was not

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involved with the Legislative Ethics Committee that—that made this double—standard error. We think that the Committee should not be chaired by the—by the—by the Chairman who made rulings that directly contradicted one another. We don't want the appearance of impropriety over something this important, taking someone out of office who was elected. And therefore, Speaker Hackney, we would like you to do one of two things. Either appoint a brand—new committee that has none of the taint of being associated with the Legislative Ethics Committee and—and decisions that went both ways, or, in the alternative, refer this in the legislature and let the legislature give guidance as to what they want."

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Now, what could the legislature do?
Well, they could do what was done down in Georgia.
They could pass an act specially appointing a
committee to consider this. They did that for
Julian Bond [phonetic] many years ago. Now, that
happened to be a free-speech issue, and maybe not
the best example, because it turns out that that
was a discriminatory act, too. But the fact is the
Georgia legislature did go about it in a proper way

in the sense that the legislature passed a law and made a committee, and a committee was specially made by the legislature. There could be no doubt, and they considered it from the first.

Now, whether you wish to do that or have Speaker Hackney take care of it, that's your business. But it is certainly somewhat beyond your business where we find ourselves. If you vote in this fashion, this will be a tainted decision. It will be a decision that's embarrassing. It could be a decision that makes us look like racists that we are not, make it look like a state we are not. And we don't need this in North Carolina.

So I ask you respectfully to look over these documents. I ask you respectfully to realize that they are—they have far too much in common to ignore and—and to vote accordingly. Thank you.

THE CHAIR: Thank you, Mr. Harris.

Mr. Hart or Mr. Peters? Mr. Hart? Yes.

Let me--let me--before Mr. Hart responds, obviously yesterday in the oral motion that was discussed, it discussed a particular member, and again the written motion today discusses a particular member.

So let me make the following preliminary notes,

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and -- so that there can be a response.

First, complaints and actions on complaints filed with the Legislative Ethics
Committee, which is a joint House and Senate
Committee, are confidential, and they are not matters of public record until the matter is referred to the appropriate house or an evidentiary hearing before the Legislative Ethics Committee commences. As a matter of law, no member of the Legislative Ethics Committee can disclose the existence of the complaint or the contents of the complaint that is not of the public record.

 $\label{eq:Two.} The confidentiality of the $$\operatorname{complaint lies}$ with the respondent legislator and $$\operatorname{can}$ only be waived by that respondent.$ 

Three. Under North Carolina General Statute 120-103.1(g), if the Joint Legislative Ethics Committee determines at the end of its preliminary inquiry that the complaint does not allege facts sufficient to constitute a violation of matters over which the Committee has jurisdiction, the Committee must dismiss the complaint and provide written notice of the dismissal to the complainant and to the respondent.

Four. Fern Shubert was the complainant in the case of Representative Pryor Gibson. She was not bound by the confidentiality limitations and was free to disclose the Legislative Ethics Committee disposition, and apparently did so. The Legislative Ethics Committee could only release the information and can only release the information upon Representative Gibson's waiver of his confidentiality right.

-12-

In order to--next number. In order to allow the Legislative Ethics Committee to respond today to Representative Wright's motion alleging disparate treatment based on race, Representative Gibson as the respondent has waived confidentiality with respect to certain documents contained in the Legislative Ethics Committee complaint entitled C-LEC-2007-001.

Next number. The jurisdiction of the Legislative Ethics Committee is defined by General Statute 120-103.1.

And at this point, I am going to hold at that. And I've given and told Mr. Hart and Mr. Peters of Representative Gibson's decision. They, therefore, are able to argue consistent with

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Representative Gibson's waiver what--the action 1 there's disparate treatment and therefore a strong 2 involved and the consequences of that action, just appearance of impropriety. We contend to you that 2 that's simply not the case. All this is is a bald as Mr. Harris was able to based on what Ms. Shubert 3 allegation of race without any--any facts to So with that, we'll hear a response from support it. There's absolutely no similarities in 5 5 the two situations, and I'll address that--I Mr. Hart or Mr. Peters. Yes, please. PROF. JOYNER: Mr. Chairman? We've-believe you may be getting copies of -- of the THE CHAIR: Dr. Joyner? complaint disposition. 9 PROF. JOYNER: Yes. We've not been 9 10 served with the response. Has--has--10 wait till everyone gets that for a moment. I THE CHAIR: There's been no--there's been apologize. You may proceed. Thank you, Mr. Hart. 11 11 no written response. 12 13 PROF. JOYNER: No formal -- okay. 13 First of all, there--there are some distinctions THE CHAIR: Right. This is just that need to be drawn between the Gibson case that 14 14 strictly--I've asked them to do an oral response. has been raised and the Wright case. And that is 15 15 that the LEC actually had a hearing and made a MR. HART: Mr. Chairman, Members of the 16 16 Committee, we received this response just about disposition in the Gibson case, and there has been 17 17 forty minutes ago, and so we have not had an no hearing--the matter of the--of Representative 18 18 opportunity to provide a written response, but I Wright -- there has been one matter, as you know, 2.0 will be presenting our argument against the -- the 2.0 retained by the LEC, but a decision was made by the 21 motion. 21 LEC that it did not have jurisdiction over the 22 Essentially, I think Mr. Harris did in a 22 matters that are pending before this Committee, and 23 nutshell what his motion says, and that is same 23 the matters were referred to the House for any 24 circumstances, one is white and one is black, 24 possible treatment by the House. So there is a

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distinction there just in terms of procedure and how things were dealt with.

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The importance then moves to the actual disposition of the complaint against Representative Pryor Gibson. A review of the materials there will show that, first of all, the LEC found that it did not have jurisdiction over a House Rules violation due to the statutory constraints that were involved. This Committee does not have statutory restraints. We--we have discussed that in various motions both before the LEC and the -- and this Committee in prior hearings. But the LEC did have constraints of statutory provisions as to what it could and couldn't consider.

The second situation that--that you need to be aware of -- and that's when you review the actual disposition -- is that the LEC determined that there was insufficient basis to proceed forward on any kind of an ethics violation because of the confusion about what ethical standards were out there regarding this kind of a representation of a bill not being controversial and no specific quidelines.

In the Wright case, on the contrary, you

had a situation where the LEC determined that it did not have jurisdiction of the matters that were set forth in the charges that had been brought by the Wake County grand jury, but the LEC was aware that not -- that the Wake County grand jury had found probable cause as to six serious felony charges against Representative Wright, and that certainly was more basis to proceed to send this matter to the -- to the House Committee than in the situation that was present in the Gibson case.

THE CHAIR: It is, and you may want to

MR. HART: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

In addition, the LEC was aware that there had already been probable cause for further investigation by the Board of Elections and was also aware of the findings by the DHHS audit.

The next thing that I would ask you to look at is the difference in the nature of the charges. And again, Mr. Harris argues that these are similar situations. These situations could be further from similarity. There's absolutely no relationship, whatsoever.

I would contend to you that in the Gibson matter, what you have is at least, at best, an opinion that the bill was not controversial and then a dispute about that opinion. In the Wright

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case we have, again, probable cause having been found by the Wake County grand jury that

Representative Wright has committed six serious felony charges that are now before this Committee in similar form of drafting of the counts before the Committee.

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On the claim of disparate treatment, the courts in looking at Constitutional violations have determined that more has to be involved than what Mr. Harris has told you. It's not simply one is white and one is black and there's an allegation of disparate treatment and an allegation that there are same circumstances. There actually have to be similar circumstances. And that is not present in this case. There actually has to be some prima facie case shown by the complaining party that—that there are similar circumstances, and that's not been shown. There simply are not similar circumstances here.

There's no pattern of conduct. That's another thing that--that the courts have looked to, whether there is a pattern of conduct on behalf of the particular person or body that's being alleged to--being involved in disparate treatment. And

there simply is none. There's no showing by theby Representative Wright that there is any pattern of conduct by the LEC, by Representative Glazier, or by any members on this Committee in their actions at the LEC or--or here that would show that there's any kind of disparate treatment between blacks and whites.

The third factor the courts have looked at to determine whether there's disparate treatment that would be a Constitutional violation is any evidence of insidious comments, that is any statements made by the accused party that would show that there was any kind of racial bias.

There—there simply has been no showing to that effect as to Representative Glazier or any other member of this Committee or any member of the LEC.

The final thing that I want to discuss is the standard that the courts have used in terms of recusal motions for judges and some of the--some of the law regarding recusal. And first of all, I would argue that this is--this is similar, certainly, to the Judicial Standards Commission procedures. This is similar to situations where trial judges rule in cases every day and may make

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pretrial rulings on motions involving different defendants or even the same defendants and appellate courts who sometimes consider cases involving the same defendant or similar defendants.

What the courts have held is that there must actually be shown some actual bias or some evidence that a judge cannot be fair and impartial, that there is an appearance of impropriety. And I suggest to that there has--has actually been no showing that anyone on this Committee or the Chair has in any way shown that it cannot be fair and impartial in this situation or that it has been involved in any kind of disparate treatment.

I'd like to cite a couple of cases, if I might. The first is the case of State versus Mitchell John Pakulski, which is a Court of Appeals case. And this--the Court of Appeals opinion was--was later appealed to the North Carolina Supreme Court and--or petitioned, and the petition was denied, no review. But in that case, the defendant made an allegation that the judge had made a statement prior to trial to the effect that the defense counsel needed to go ahead and--and plead his clients guilty because they--they were--

they were quilty.

And a motion to recuse was filed in the--during the trial of the case, and the judge held a hearing and specifically found that he did not make the comments that the defendant had related. There were also other witnesses that testified that--that those comments were not made. And the Court held that the trial judge properly denied the recusal motion and that there was no necessity for that motion to be heard by another trial judge, since the judge was able to determine that the allegations were--were frivolous and had no merit.

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And I think that's the same situation you have here. I think this--this Committee can determine, based on the lack of evidence that's been presented to the Committee, that there simply is no basis for any kind of finding of disparate

I'll simply cite a couple of other cases, also, to the Committee. One is *Love versus*Pressley in 34 N.C. Appeals 503, a 1977 case in which the Court found that rulings by a trial judge that were adverse to a defendant were no basis for

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THE CHAIR: All right. Thank you,

MR. HARRIS: Yes, sir. Since

Representative Gibson has--Pryor Gibson has waived

his rights under this and we can discuss it, I--it

would be -- it would be important to note precisely

which you're all familiar with, of course, that he

represented that he'd gotten permission from the

other people in his district to put that -- to put

a short session. How it came to light was that

when the bill came on the floor, members of the

know anything about that. You don't have our

permission." That's how it came to light.

entire House, as to what was going on.

House rose up and said, "Wait a minute. We don't

It means that in a written document, he told a lie

to his fellow legislators and all of them, to the

Attorney General's position that that's not an

ethical violation, then why isn't it? And if it is

Now, I say to you that if it is the

And you know, of course, what that means,

that bill out there in a -- in a special session, in

What was said was on the local bill,

what it is that he was accused of doing.

Mr. Hart. Any response, Mr. Harris?

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finding that the trial judge could not be fair and impartial from that point forward.

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And I know there has--have been a lot of allegations in--in this case that the Committee has already made determinations and has already decided what it's going to do. I think coupled with the allegations of disparate treatment, this Committee can certainly find that there's absolutely no basis to find that any of those allegations are true and find no reason to find disparate treatment or that anyone should be recused.

The last case I would cite is State versus Fie, a Supreme Court case, 320 N.C. 626, and that is simply the basic law dealing with recusal motions. But again, it supports the -- the same basic findings that these other cases have--have cited, and that is that there--there has to be some legitimate basis, some evidence to show that there is impropriety in continuing forward.

And I would submit to you the comparison of these two cases should convince you that there's simply no basis for a finding of disparate treatment, no reason for recusal, and no reason for this Committee to continue forward.

an ethical violation, then why wasn't it dealt with? The Attorney General seems to be saying it's--it's permissible to tell a lie to all the legislators, and that's no problem. If that's not an ethical problem, we've got a problem.

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Next, it was represented there was a hearing, and it was passed out this sheet saving there were conclusions. Well, here's the difference. There wasn't any sort of hearing. A hearing is when the cameras are there and your dirty laundry, for better or worse, is laid out in front of everybody to see, and--and witnesses come and witnesses testify on both sides. That's a hearing.

Fern Shubert didn't know anything about this. She didn't know when it was. She didn't get a chance to tell her side of the story. The legislators who were--represented that they had given permission for him to introduce that local bill, they weren't given an opportunity to testify. This was not a hearing. It's just a private meeting.

And so the fact remains that with the allegation of serious ethical violations, one man, a black man, had to have a hearing out in public, and there were conclusions out in public; the other man, a white man, didn't have to have a hearing, wasn't any hearing of any variety, any public variety, and there were no conclusions.

And in each case, there was a finding there was no jurisdiction. Well, if there's no jurisdiction, what do you even--what are you even having a hearing for? If there's no jurisdiction, what kind of legal entity has a hearing and reaches conclusions on something they've got no jurisdiction on?

Because after all, you know--in the package, you see there's a letter written by the Chairman and signed by the Chairman to--to--to Speaker Hackney, and it says, "This Committee has no jurisdiction." And a day before that, also in your packet, there is a letter also signed by this Chairman saying that -- that charges had been brought and conclusions had been reached about Thomas Wright. Well, there's either jurisdiction or there's not. If there's not jurisdiction, what are we reaching conclusions for? And if--and if there is, why did it have to be moved over here because

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there wasn't any jurisdiction? And wasn't one man told--wasn't Pryor told in the summertime, on July 24th of 2007, just this past year, that "with no jurisdiction, we can't do anything"? Well, wasn't Thomas Wright --said, "Well, with no jurisdiction, we can do something, by golly. We can rake you over the coals. We can have you out in front of the TV cameras. We can make conclusions. We can pass out stuff to the press. We can do a lot with no jurisdiction" -- wasn't Thomas Wright told that? And you have the power. If you want the power, you can keep on going, if you think that's the wise choice. You've got the power. But you 

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power, you can keep on going, if you think that's the wise choice. You've got the power. But you know, they say that discretion is the better part of valor, and I would suggest to you respectfully that discretion is the better part of the appearance of impropriety, too. I don't see how you get out of this thing untainted.

I heard what the Attorney General had to say. Maybe it'll satisfy some people, maybe it won't. But wouldn't it be better--wouldn't it be better for all concerned if a different committee was to hear this and a different committee was to

make its own conclusions without any of this stuff involved here that I've just named? 'Cause we can eliminate this entire issue just by a different committee hearing it, another two or three days with that committee instead of this committee.

Thank you.

THE CHAIR: Thank you, Mr. Harris. Any member of the Committee wish to be recognized before the Chair considers--Representative Stam?

REP. STAM: Yeah, Mr. Chairman, just very briefly before you rule, essentially the motion says that you should recuse yourself because of racial bias. And knowing the House, I would just like to posit the thought that I don't think there's any member of the House that would put any credence in an allegation that you are racially biased, and there's certainly been no evidence of it.

THE CHAIR: Any other member of the Committee need to say anything or want to say anything at this point before I rule?

All right. I want to take a moment, if you don't mind, to put some things together, so we're at ease for a moment.

-27-

# (DISCUSSION OFF RECORD)

THE CHAIR: All right. The Chair is ready to rule. Again I'm going to ask the Committee's indulgence. My ruling will be oral and going through a series of findings. Obviously, I'm going to reserve the right to add citations or change grammar or text within the writing. And I'll reduce this to a written form at a later date when I've had more opportunity to do that, but you'll get the general tenor of it so that we can make the decision and—and move on, one way or the other.

The Chair has taken account--going to take into account the filings which he read this morning by Representative Wright, as well as the oral--brief oral motion yesterday, a review today and for a great deal of time last night of the full record in this case, the record in the Gibson matter, the law on recusal and disparate treatment, as I worked on with my clerk last night and again this morning, the cases cited.

And with that, the first finding: This matter is before the Chair on motion of the Chairman to recuse himself and for the Committee to

stay this matter and refer to the Speaker for further action filed this morning at eight-fiftynine A.M. by Representative Wright. The motion has been argued by both sides expertly and is ripe for disposition.

-28-

Number 2. Representative Wright essentially argues that he is being treated differently than another representative, Pryor Gibson, against whom a complaint had been lodged in the LEC, with Representative Gibson's complaint being dismissed and Representative Wright's complaint being referred to the House of Representatives and this Committee being formed and prosecuting the case before us today. He argues that that is disparate treatment and, in addition, that that's a basis to--for the Chair, who was Chair of both this Committee and the LEC, to

Number 3. Mr. Hart argues that there is no evidence of a need to recuse as the cases are not comparable and, in addition, that there is no basis under the law for a recusal to take place of either the Chair or the Committee, since there's no evidence that inappropriate decisions have been

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made and, in addition, no evidence of racial bias or prejudice exists.

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Number 4. The issue, therefore, is whether the ethics prosecution of Representative Thomas Wright is disparately selective on the basis of race in violation of the Equal Protection Clause and similar North Carolina Constitutional provisions, a subissue of which is whether for almost identical basis and for any violation of procedure the Chair or the Committee as a whole should be recused.

Number 5. The only evidence presented in support of the motion is the evidence with regard to the prior complaint before the LEC of the Representative Pryor Gibson.

 $\label{eq:Number 6.} \mbox{Representative Gibson is}$  Caucasian and Representative Wright is African-American.

Number 7. No evidence has been proffered that any member of the Committee, including the Chair, is otherwise racially biased or prejudiced. And in fact, the record will reflect that two weeks ago--and the transcript will show--that that specific issue was asked of Mr. Harris and

Mr. Harris conceded that there was no evidence of racial prejudice or bias by any member of the Committee. Nothing has occurred in the interim which would change that, and no evidence was presented today to show that.

Number--next number. The evidentiary issue on this motion becomes how to view the Gibson case, that is, is it a likely comparable. This requires an examination of the Gibson file, which you now show, as the waiver of his confidentiality, the basis of that decision, the makeup of the LEC, and the determination that was made.

In this case before us, Representative Wright is charged with eight counts alleging conduct of fraud, corruption, and in most counts, a violation of the criminal law.

Next number. This conduct was found to be questionable after full and fair hearings before the State Board of Elections, who found probable cause to believe that a number of state-law violations had occurred by Representative Wright and referred the matter for review for prosecution. No allegation, let alone proof, has been made today or exists in any motion filed that suggests that

-31-

any member of the State Board of Elections was racially biased, prejudiced, or in any way unfair or impartial.

Next number. A second investigation was conducted against Representative Wright by the Department of Health and Human Resources [sic]. A referral was made for consideration of prosecution from that investigation. Again, no allegation, let alone proof, exists today or filed in any motion that any member of the HHS investigative team was racially prejudiced, biased, or motivated to make that conclusion.

Next number. The grand jury of Wake
County, made up of diverse citizens of Wake County,
found probable cause to believe that Thomas Wright
was--should be charged with six counts of a
violation of criminal law. No allegation has been
made, let alone proved, that any member of the Wake
County grand jury or the grand jury as a whole was
racially motivated, biased, or in any way unfair
and partial in their determination.

Next number. The Joint House and Senate Legislative Ethics Committee met and found probable cause to believe--probable cause to exist as to one count with regard to Thomas Wright and held that the remaining counts against Thomas Wright before the LEC they were without jurisdiction to proceed on, but they should be referred to the House Select Committee for—should be referred—I'm sorry—to the House of Representatives for action by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, who then formed this Select Committee to proceed. The LEC's referral indicated that they believed that the conduct alleged before the LEC, if proven, would constitute probable cause for further counts, which is what the House Select Committee then found.

-32-

Next number. This Committee, which contains three Democrats and three Republicans and is diverse, then unanimously found probable cause on eight counts of alleged misconduct, seven of which are being proceeded on in this hearing.

Next number. As to the Pryor Gibson
matter, the Pryor Gibson matter was before the LEC
on a complaint from Former Senator Fern Shubert,
who filed a complaint with the Committee on
January 9, 2007, by delivery to Senator Dan
Clodfelter and Representative Nelson Cole,
co-chairs of the 2005 Committee. The complaint

-33-

alleged two things with regard to Representative 1 law would apply to offenses committed on or after Gibson, and it was all with respect to a House January 1, 2007, and prosecutions for offenses or 2 bill, 2726, that was filed on May 17, 2006. ethic violations committed before January 1, 2007, Specifically, the complaint alleged, were not abated or affected by the new law. The number one, that Representative Gibson had filed statutes that were in effect prior to the effective 5 House Bill 2726 for personal benefit. The date of the new law would remain applicable to allegation was a conflict of interest occurred in prosecutions arising on or before January 1, 2007. that Representative Gibson introduced the bill to All of the allegations against Representative move the date of a public referendum on the meals 9 Gibson arose from conduct committed before January tax to a year in which he was not up for 10 re-election; second, that in conjunction with the 11 Next number. Representative Gibson filing of the bill, Representative Gibson had 12 introduced House Bill 2726 on May 17, 2006, and the falsified a local bill certificate for House Bill 13 bill had two provisions: First, that Section 1 2726 in that he said the bill was not controversial would have allowed the Towns of Wingate and 14 when it, in fact, was, and that each member of the Marshville to exercise extraterritorial 15 local delegation had not approved the introduction jurisdiction within one mile of their municipal 16 of the bill when the certification indicated that borders without a vote of the Board of 17 there was no controversy. Commissioners of Union County, and second. 18 Number 3 as to--I'm sorry. Next number Section 2 have allowed the Town of Monroe to hold a as to Representative Gibson's complaint. The law 2.0 referendum on the prepared food and beverage tax defining jurisdiction and investigative procedures 21 authorized under Senate Law 2005-261 in either 2006 or 2007. Senate Law 2005-261 required the of the Joint Legislative Ethics Committee changed 22 effective January 1, 2007. SL 2006-201, which 23 referendum to be in 2006.

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represented the western part of Union County, which encompassed the towns of Wingate and Marshall [phonetic] and the western half of Monroe.

Representative Blackwood, Curtis Blackwood, represented the eastern part of Union County, which encompassed the eastern half of Monroe. Senator Goodall represented the entirety of Union County and was the only senator to represent Union County.

changed the law in this area, provided that the new

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Next number. The complaint by Senator
Shubert alleged that at the time the bill was
filed, the other members of the Union County
delegation did not approve the filing.
Representative Blackwood wrote an e-mail to the
House Principal Clerk on May 30, 2006, stating his
opposition to the bill. Subsequently, so did
Senator Goodall to the House Principal Clerk.

Next number. Senate Joint Resolution
1184 of the 2005 session, the adjournment
resolution at the end of--for the 2005 session,
stated in part that "any local bill that had been
submitted to bill drafting must be accompanied by a
certificate signed by the principal sponsor stating
that no public hearing will be required or asked
for by a member on the bill, that the bill is not

controversial, and that the bill is approved for introduction by each member of the House of Representatives and Senate whose district includes the area to which the bill applies."

Next number. Representative Gibson

Next number. The House principal clerk attached a local bill and certificate to House Bill 2726 which Representative Gibson signed.

The conclusions -- next number. The conclusions that were made following any prolonged discussion in the Legislative Ethics Committee on this issue was, Number 1, that the law in effect prior to January 1, 2007, would apply to the matter; Number 2, that the conflict of interest under General Statute 120-88 is present when a legislator has an economic interest in the legislation. It would not be a conflict of interest as then defined under 120-88 for a legislator to act on legislation affecting issues on a ballot merely because the legislator is a candidate on the ballot. Acting on legislation that might result in possible political gain but no financial gain to a legislator did not present a conflict of interest under law for the legislator.

Number 3. The local bill certificate

-37-

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signed by Representative Gibson was required by a joint resolution of both the House and Senate. The rule concerning the introduction of local bills in the adjournment resolution was a rule of procedure and not a rule of ethics. The Committee lacked jurisdiction to consider whether a violation of a procedural rule would arise under old law to an ethical violation.

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Next number. N.C. Gen. Stat. 121-03(a) directs the Committee on its own motion or in response to a sworn complaint to inquire into any alleged violation of the provisions of the Legislative Ethics Act, which is the bribery statute, the use of the legislative position to effect personnel actions, disclosure of confidential information, conflicts of interest, statements of economic interest [phonetic] violations, and the rules of ethics adopted by the House and Senate, or the criminal law by a legislator while acting in the legislator's capacity or participant in the lawmaking—as a participant in the lawmaking process.

Next number. The jurisdiction of the Committee did not include, found the LEC, the

application and enforcements of rules of procedure in each individual house. Issues instead arising from the application of rules of procedure are within the exclusive jurisdiction of the house of which the legislator is a member, and an alleged violation of a rule or procedure is fundamentally subject to a point of order, which is subject to appeal in either the House or the Senate, an issue which is debatable and requires a vote of the chamber.

The Committee--the LEC then, by a unanimous vote of all present and voting, which included senators and representatives, Republicans and Democrats, black and white, voted, Number 1, that Allegation Number 1 against Pryor Gibson was to be dismissed, as alleging conduct that even if true would not constitute an ethics violation, and Number 2, Allegation Number 2 was dismissed as not being within the jurisdiction of the Committee.

Number 3. The complaint against
Representative Gibson as filed by Fern Shubert was
dismissed by the LEC with no further action by the
Committee.

Now--next number--the law in this case

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challenged action.

and the motion before us is clear. First, as to the disparate treatment, in a disparate-treatment case, the movant attempts to demonstrate that he is the victim of intentional and often covert discrimination, that is, that he is being treated less favorably than others because of his race or, in other cases, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

Next number. In a disparate-treatment case, proof of discriminatory intent is critical, and the ultimate factual inquiry in this type of case is whether the defendant or, in our case, whether the House or this Committee intentionally discriminated against Representative Wright. Representative Wright maintains the burden of proof from which any fact-finder can infer that if the conduct remains unexplained, then more likely than not the action was based on discriminatory, illegal criterion. In other words, to establish discrimination on the basis of disparate treatment, it must be shown that the person being alleged as the discriminating official bore a racially discriminatory animus against Representative Wright and that the animus manifested itself in the

Next number. The analytical framework for claims governing-governing disparate treatment has been set forth at length by the United States Supreme Court in the case of McDonnell Douglas Corporation v. Green, as well as the Fernco, Burdine and Aikens [phonetic] cases that succeeded it. These cases suggest several ways that a plaintiff alleging discrimination may show and a court or, in this case, a Committee may find liability exists for disparate treatment.

First, Representative Wright could show discriminatory intent through direct evidence of discrimination, that is, by introducing invidious statements of any one of the Committee members, the Chair, or a member of the House of Representatives.

Second—or--second, since discriminatory intent is seldom capable of proof by direct evidence, indirect or circumstantial evidence can also be used to prove state of mind. Thus, the second method of establishing the prima facie case referred to by Mr. Harris is through the use of indirect evidence whose cumulative, probative force, apart from the operation of any presumption,

-41-

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shows that as a reasonable probability, but for the--in this case, Representative Wright's race, he would not have suffered an adverse action.

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The Supreme Court has also provided explicit guidance for the order of proof in that circumstance, and it goes like this--next number. The plaintiff has the burden, in this case, Representative Wright, of proving by a preponderance of the evidence a prima facie case of discrimination. If he succeeds, second, in proving the prima facie case, the burden shifts to the Committee and Committee counsel to articulate some legitimate, nondiscriminatory reason for the Committee's action.

And third, should the Committee counsel have carried that burden, then the ultimate burden is on Representative Wright to have an opportunity to prove by a preponderance of the evidence that the legitimate reasons offered were pretextual.

The burden of going forward-next number. The burden of going forward and establishing a prima facie case on behalf of Representative Wright is not a heavy one. He need satisfy that burden only by raising an inference that the Committee

acted with discriminatory intent, that is, that the adverse action occurred under conditions which more likely than not were based on impermissible racial considerations.

Various circumstances can give rise to this inference of discrimination, including evidence of irregular or suspect procedures, evidence of a general pattern of racial discrimination within the decision-making process of the Committee. In addition, an inference of discrimination adequate to create prima facie case of disparate treatment can be shown by meaningful statistical evidence or by showing that decisions that were made by the Committee depended largely on excessively subjective factors.

Most frequently, however, the basis is the McDonnell Douglas test, and that is to show simply that Representative Wright is a member of the protected class, that he was treated differently because of his race, and that someone of a different race was treated in a same category in a different manner.

Next number. Applying that law to this case, the Chair finds, first, the two cases cited,

-43-

that of Representative Gibson and that with Representative Wright, are so incomparable that any argument suggesting otherwise is profoundly absurd. The rule-making authority issue in the House that was the subject of the Gibson case was essentially a political vote. This case involves allegations of criminal misconduct, fraud, failure to report

The Gibson case involved one incident in one session regarding one House bill. This case literally contains allegations of violations of hundreds of campaign violations over twenty-two reporting periods and seven years.

campaign contributions, and corruption in office.

The Gibson case involves an interpretation of what the Committee found to be an ambiguous requirement on what is controversial and, in fact, then issued a remedial order, which is called a P and G [phonetic], which was circulated to all members of the House and Senate following that hearing to clarify what is meant by "noncontroversial" and what the requirements are for all House and Senate members to respond.

Here, campaign-contribution reporting requirements at issue have been clear for years.

And the law, so far as I know, of fraud and corruption has been in the civil law since the common law. There is no ambiguity about the requirements.

-44-

Thus, the two cases are not remotely comparable on any plane, and even a cursory review of the Gibson complaint would and should have revealed to any reasoned observer their utter lack of comparability.

Next number. I find under McDonnell

Douglas that Representative Wright has not met his prima facie case of showing disparate treatment.

Next number. Even assuming he did so, the House proceeding in the Gibson case--I'm sorry--the House proceeding in the Wright case is based on a patently legitimate, nondiscriminatory basis, that is, probable-cause findings by three prior investigating groups, the Board of Elections, Health and Human Services, and the Wake County grand jury, not to mention the issues and findings of the Joint House and Senate LEC. No such finding existed in any capacity in the Gibson case.

Next number. And it goes without saying that no evidence of pretext has been produced

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against any member of this Committee, against the House, or against the House leadership in pursuing this investigation.

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restriction.

A few final comments are in order, I think, at this point, as I conclude my order, and then we'll turn it over to the Committee. First, let me make--I'm sorry--two other findings.

As to the issue of recusal, the law with regard to the issue of recusal as set out in the cases cited by Committee counsel, that is the cases of Fie, Paluski [phonetic], and Love versus Pressley, it requires essentially that there be some showing that the presiding officer or the particular Committee have made or relied on evidence outside of the proceedings or be so unfair and impartial that their judgment is thus skewed and unable to give a fair hearing to the particular person involved. No such showing has been made in this case.

Now, returning to my final comments--you know, written some time ago, and thought I'd never have to give this--these comments in a different context, but I will.

Racism and all its collateral effects is

a doctrine abhorrent to any modern, civilized society. And at its core, it is an act of violence and a denial of another's right to equal dignity. We all know, sitting here, that, unfortunately, in the not very distant past racism was openly acknowledged as an official policy of the United States and North Carolina governments, and laws designed to ensure the inferiority of black citizens remained on the books until well into this century and last century.

Fortunately, the policy of both governments has changed. And notwithstanding that fact, significant effects and results of previous policies still linger. Prior state-condoned racism encouraged similar attitudes among our citizens which have persisted long after state policy has been reversed. Many claims of discrimination today deal with systemic and subtle and stereotypical practices which developed when overt discrimination was lawful and remained embedded in basic institutional structures.

Invidious discrimination in the form of racial prejudice is the result of subjective, irrational perceptions which drain individuals of

-47-

their dignity because of their perceived equivalence as members of a racial group and the misperception that lies at the heart of prejudice, and the animus formed of that ignorance shows malice and hatred wherever it operates without

Notwithstanding this, this nation, in my opinion, can point with some pride to the remarkable progress made in the last decades in overcoming the effects of past discrimination, and some of that improvement is directly attributable to the anti-discrimination laws passed by this legislature and Congress, but more so from the educative institutions, substantially more powerful than the courts or the political branches of government, that is, schools and churches and synagogues of this nation, as well as enlightened public leaders representing all aspects of society.

And with notable exceptions, widespread segregation in the nation's academic institutions, public facilities, in the legislature, and in places of employment has ended. Racial discrimination at the ballot box and in the halls of justice is not tolerated. And equal academic,

equal employment opportunities, and this year, finally, in many respects, equal political opportunity, has become the rule rather than the exception.

Race, however, remains one of the most divisive problems in our society, despite all of that. And thus, whatever prejudice continues to manifest itself in society at large, we have all in the legislature and in Congress flatly ruled it will not be allowed with prejudice to operate, whether blatant or subtle, practiced by black or white, invoked by those wearing blue or white collars or wearing an officer's uniform or a gray flannel suit.

Having said that, I have been a lawyer as a defense lawyer and a civil-rights lawyer for many years, and I think I understand fairly well the issues of discrimination. I am a minority member of a religion and have been discriminated against in that capacity a number of times in my life, and I understand the pain that goes with it. And thus it is my view that it is up to all of us in public office to fight wherever bigotry exists, wherever hatred exists, and wherever intolerance exists by

-48-

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confronting that and educating. And I find acts of 1 we are in recess for ten minutes. racism abhorrent and an utter denial of a person's 2 2 right to equal protection and equal dignity. (FIFTEEN-MINUTE RECESS) 3 Now, I find equally abhorrent racism labels tossed out capriciously and discrimination THE CHAIR: All right. Mr. Hart, we're 5 5 allegations charged against people where no goodback in session. I believe that the next witness faith basis exists in law and fact to do so. An is yours to be called. individual may hold the keys to the litigation MR. HART: The next witness is Daniel 9 door, but it does not imply that he or she may 9 Gottovi. 10 enter with disregard for their actions or distain 10 THE CHAIR: Mr. -- Dr. Gottovi? 11 of the rights of everyone else. 11 MR. HART: Dr. Gottovi. Charges of racism, if proved, carry an 12 THE CHAIR: Okay. Dr. Gottovi, if you'd 13 enormously stigmatizing effect, and they should 13 come on up. Dr. Gottovi, if you'll be sworn in by only be leveled after careful investigation, 14 14 the court reporter, please. thoughtful deliberation, and always with a 15 \* \* \* \* \* 15 reasonable basis in law and in fact. 16 16 I find in this case that the filing of Whereupon, 17 17 this motion was patently without a good-faith basis 18 18 DANTEL GOTTOVI. in law and fact and is, in my opinion, beneath the 19 having been first duly sworn, dignity of those who raise it. I deny the motion 2.0 2.0 was examined and testified as frivolous, groundless, and meritless. Exception 21 as follows: 22 is noted. 22 23 This Committee is now asked, do you wish 23 THE CHAIR: Mr. Hart, the witness is with 24 to overrule the ruling of the Chair? Seeing none, 24 you.

-51-

there. I remember meeting him in the emergency

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                        MR. HART: Thank you, Mr. Chair.
                                                                                                   Raleigh, so I came here, and I've been--my clinical
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     DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. HART:
                                                                                                    practice is at the Open Door Clinic, a free clinic
             Would you tell us your name, please, sir?
                                                                                                    at--run by Urban Ministries in the old Budweiser
     Ω
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              It's Daniel Gottovi. That's G as in "gun," O, T as
                                                                                                    plant on Capital Boulevard.
             in "Tom," T as in "Tom," O, V as in "Victor," I.
                                                                                                             And I also do--I'm working on a hospital
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                                                                                      5
             And Mr.--Dr.--it's Dr. Gottovi; is that correct?
                                                                                                    harm study for IHI. I'm still doing some work with
             Yes. Either one is fine.
                                                                                                   Denise Levis -- now that Torc [phonetic] Wade has
     Α
             All right. And you are a medical professional; is
                                                                                                    left, still working on the Medicaid access program
                                                                                                   with Denise.
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             that correct?
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                                                                                                   Now, you indicated that for thirty-four years you
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             What--what exactly was--are you still practicing
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                                                                                                   were practicing medicine in the Wilmington area,
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             medicine?
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                                                                                                   correct?
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     Α
             Yes.
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             What is your -- what is your practice?
                                                                                                   During that time period, at some point did you come
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              I'm an internist with a specialty in pulmonary
                                                                                                    to know the Respondent, Representative Thomas
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                                                                                     15
             medicine.
                                                                                                   Wright?
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                                                                                                    Yes, I did. Knew him well.
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             All right. And you are currently practicing in the
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                                                                                                   And tell us about that. How did you come to know
             Raleigh area?
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             How long have you been practicing in the Raleigh
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                                                                                                   Actually, I came to meet his--his brother, Joe,
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             area?
                                                                                     21
                                                                                                    first, and his sister, who taught my son some
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     Α
             Since--I practiced in Wilmington for thirty-four
                                                                                     22
                                                                                                    skills--some acting skills, and then--and then
23
             years. I retired from my--the practice that I
                                                                                     23
                                                                                                    Thomas probably within a few years of arrival
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started there in 1971. Karen was still working in

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1		room. He was an EMT. Andand that'sthat was	1 Q	All right. And at some point, Dr. Gottovi, did
2		our first	2	Representative Wright talk with you about being
3	Q	You said when he was an EMT?	3	part of the Community's Health Foundation,
4	A	Yes.	4	Incorporated?
5	Q	Okay. And do you remember about when that was?	5 A	Yes, he did.
6	A	I'm not sure. I think when we moved there in '71	6 Q	Tell us about that, please.
7		I don't thinkI think it was probably '72 or '73.	7 A	Well, heI can't remember exactly where the
8		I'm not sure exactly when he started working as an	8	conversation was, whetherit probably was in $\ensuremath{\mathtt{m}} y$
9		EMT, but I would say in the early '70s.	9	office. I was very aware of the healthcare needs
10	Q	All right. Did you have any kind of business	10	in his district. In addition to working on the
11		dealings with him at all?	11	community health center in New Hanover County, I
12	A	Over the yearearly on, not, but we became	12	had helped him with the community health center
13		involved in hisKaren and I both took a day off to	13	that he established in Columbus County. I had made
14		work the phone bank when he ran for city council.	14	a presentation to the medical staff at Columbus
15		He lost by seven votes, unfortunately, butand	15	County Hospital, as I recall.
16		then later on he was very involved inin inner	16	And Ihe told me that he had formed this
17		cityparticularly in healthcare issues, and we	17	foundation to help provide funds for the indigent
18		worked together over probably a ten-year period on	18	medical needs in his district andwhich I knew
19		what became the New Hanover Community Health	19	very well were certainly there and felt that was an
20		Center, and then worked on the Access III of the	20	important thing to do.
21		Lower Cape Fear, which is the now six-county	21	He also said, though, that a separatea
22		Medicaidmanaged Medicaid program in southeastern	22	project in part of that was the museum that he had

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that.

it was presented to me.

be part of the board of directors?

North Carolina. So we worked hard together on

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MR. HART: Yes.

1 A Yes, I did.

hoped to establish commemorating the atrocities committed in Wilmington in 1898. And so that's how

2	Q	Okay. At some point did he ask you to be a member	2 Q	Did you know any of the other members of the board?
3		of the board of directors of the Community's Health	3 A	Yes. At the time we talked about it, Bessie
4		Foundation, Incorporated?	4	Funderburg, who was again another close political
5	A	Yes, he did.	5	friend of ours and who had been involved in the
6	Q	Would that have been sometime in early 2001?	6	formation of the Community Health Centerat the
7	A	I think so. I'm not sure exactly.	7	time, I understood that Bessie and I and Thomas
8	Q	Okay. All right. I'll ask you, if you would	8	were to be the board. I didn'tI didn'tI don't
9		there's a notebook in front of you there.	9	recall James Lofton. I knew James Lofton, but I
10	A	Right.	10	don't recallI didn't recall his being on that
11	Q	If you would, look at the first document. It's	11	board, but I know that from the articles of
12		Exhibit Number 1 by number there.	12	incorporation that he was, as well.
13	A	Okay. I have it.	13	THE CHAIR: Mr. Hart, let me interrupt
14	Q	Do you recognize that, sir?	14	you just so I'm clear on what we're looking at. On
15	A	I don't think I've seen it before, but I recognize	15	Exhibit Number 1, your question was whether he
16		it as articles of incorporation of the Community's	16	this shows that he's a member of the board of
17		Health Foundation.	17	directors. But I think that theNumber 6 says an
18	Q	Okay. Thatthat particular document lists you	18	"address of an incorporator." Am I correct that it
19		asas being one of the board of directors, does it	19	was an incorporator as opposed to theon that
20		not?	20	Exhibit 1?
21	A	Correct.	21	MR. HART: Thatthat's correct, as to
22	0	And you indicated that heRepresentative Wright	22	the exhibit.
	Q	And you indicated that hekepresentative wright	22	the exhibit.

24

-57-

1	Q	(By Mr. Hart) So you're listed as one of those	1		incorporated, toothe New Hanover Community Health
2		incorporators on Exhibit 1	2		Center was a 501(c)(3), and we had gone through the
3	A	Yes.	3		steps of doing that together, having attorneys
4	Q	is that correct?	4		prepare the papers, having accountants prepare the
5	A	Yes, that is correct.	5		work with the IRS. And then for the Access III of
6	Q	Were you also supposed to be part of the board of	6		the Lower Cape Fear, we had gone through that
7		directors of the	7		process together, as well. And I knew that he was
8	A	Yes.	8		familiar with howhow to do that, so Imy
9	Q	corporation?	9		understanding was that that was in process.
10	A	Yes. That's what Ihow I understood it.	10	Q	Okay. So you have actually been involved with two
11	Q	Okay. And	11		other incorporations and two other boards with $\ensuremath{\text{\text{him}}},$
12	A	Bessie, he, and I were going to make up this board,	12		as well?
13		was my understanding.	13	A	That's correct.
14	Q	All right. Did you havewere you told what your	14	Q	And that was the New Hanover Community Health
15		title was going to be on the board?	15		Center?
16	A	I think I was to be treasurer, Bessie was to be	16	A	Center.
17		secretary, Thomas was to be president.	17	Q	And you also said Access III
18	Q	All right. Now, asas you note, your signature	18	A	Of the Lower Cape Fear. That'sthat's the
19		isis not on this document, correct?	19		Medicaidthe managed Medicaid program that started
20	A	It is not.	20		out in two pilots, one in the Greenvillewell,
21	Q	Okay. Were you part of the filing of that document	21		three, one in Cabarrus County, one in the
22		with the Secretary of State?	22		Greenville area, one inin Asheville. And the
23	A	Only in my name being there. I knewI was sure	23		Secretary was anxious that it be a statewide
24		that it was being done. Thomas and I had	24		program, which iswhich it is now. But inI

-59-

1		think at about this same timeexcuse meat about	1		Carolina's foundation. There are different models
1			1		
2		this same timeat about this same timeI'm sorry.	2		of this around the state. Most of them, though,
3		I sort of lost my train of thought here with my	3		arehave involved the formation of $501(c)(3)s$ in
4		spilling of coffee.	4		an area.
5		THE WITNESS: Thanks.	5		Ours started out with New Hanover,
6	A	I'm sorry. Just give me a second here.	6		Pender, Brunswick, Columbus, and Bladen Counties,
7		I'm sorry. I sort of lost where I was in	7		and then we later added Onslow County. That was
8		that	8		added later.
9	Q	I'llI'll bring you back.	9	Q	Okay. Let me make sure I understand. Did you say
10	A	Okay.	10		that you were both involved in the incorporation of
11	Q	I may have misunderstood. II thought I heard you	11		each of those agencies as well as being on the
12		say "Access Three." Is it Access Free, F-R-E-E?	12		board of directors of each of those?
13	A	No, Access III of the Lower Cape Fear.	13	A	Well, I'm sureI've been through a lot of startup
14	Q	Is that the number three?	14		community organizations. The Hospice program in
15	A	A-C-C-E-S-S Three. There was Access I	15		our area was the first. The Community Health
16	Q	Okay.	16		Center was the second, and then Access III the
17	A	This is how the Medicaidmanaged Medicaid started	17		third major one that Ithat I helped with.
18		out with Access I. That was requiring Medicaid	18		And you start these out with a steering
19		recipients to pick a doctor. Access II involved	19		committee forand Thomas and Bessie Funderburg and
20		some funding intowell, involved some per-patient,	20		other folks along North Fourth Street, where the
21		per-month funding to the doctors who would sign up	21		Center ended up being, were involved in a steering
22		for Medicaid. It also involved some funding	22		committee for that. While you're getting the legal
23		flowing to the 501(c)(3), or in Duke's case, to	23		help and thethe accounting help, it takes about a

24

year. And the same is true with Access III of the

24

Duke, and in East Carolina's case, to East

-61-

1	Lower Cape Fear.	1		And it took us, really, an even year. I
2	Thomas and Torlen Wade and Jim Bernstein	2		can still remember the first meeting at my office
3	and Bill Atkinson, who's now here in Raleigh, were	3		with those people I just mentioned, and then a
4	theand I were the steering committee that sort of	4		meetingour final meeting after multiple drafts of
5	started that effort. It started out we were going	5		bylaws at the library in Bladen CountyEd Nye was
6	to do New Hanover-Pender, 'cause that's where the	6		there as a speaker that day, justhe was very
7	hospital hadand the medical society had its	7		supportive of the effortand finally adopting
8	overlap. Bladen County was already working on it.	8		those bylaws.
9	And Bill Atkinson, who's a blue-sky thinker, said,	9		But at that point neither of us were on
10	"Well, let's just do the whole southeastern corner	10		that board at that point
11	of the state." So we did. But it took about a	11	Q	And that
12	year, and Thomas and I traveled all over those five	12	A	but we'd been on the steering committee that got
13	counties visiting health departments.	13		it going.
14	We hadon the board was made up of a	14	Q	And that's as to Access III?
15	representative of the health department, a	15	A	Access III of the Lower Cape Fear, yes.
16	representative from DSS, a physician, and a	16	Q	Okay. But youyou and Representative Wright were
17	representative from the hospital in each of those	17		both involved in thethe planning, the
18	five counties. So it was a twenty-person board.	18	A	Exactly.
19	Representative Wright asked early on that	19	Q	preparation of bylaws, approval of bylaws?
20	he not be on that board. Andand I was in process	20	A	Yes. Exactly.
21	of making the steps to end my practice in	21	Q	Okay. And on the New Hanover Health Center, were
22	Wilmington over the next few years, and so I chose	22		youthe same kind of process, you were involved
23	not to be on that board, as well. I chaired the	23		in
24	steering committee.	24	A	Same thing there. He and I and Bessie and Dallas

-63- -64-

1		Flood and some other folks, residents of the
2		community there in the inner city of Wilmington,
3		were involved in that steering committee, got
4		through, again, those legal hurdles and accounting
5		hurdles to get it set up and established.
6		And in that situation, I did become
7		chairman of that board, and Thomas was vice-
8		chairman, and so we didwe worked as the steering
9		committee. We both were on that board as
10		volunteers. There was no compensation involved in
11		that.
12	Q	Okay. Isthat's your understanding ofof most
13		boards of directors, thatand I believe you've
14		been on a number of boards of directors over your
15		time?
16	A	Correct, yeah.
17	Q	And they don'tdo not involve compensation to the
18		board members, correct?
19	A	Usually not. There are some instances where they
20		do.
21	Q	Okay. Now, you said you and Representative Wright
22		were both involved in the New Hanover Health Center
23		as incorporators. Diddid you prepare and approve
24		bylaws for that organization?

Yes. Yes, we did. 1 Α 2  $\operatorname{Did}$  you have regular meetings of the board of directors? Did you approve money issues that came up as far as 5 0 expenditures and donations and things of that nature? Α 9 When it came time that you were involved in the 0 incorporation of the Community's Health Foundation, 10 11 Incorporated, with Representative Wright, was there 12 a similar process as what you had gone through in 13 these other two? I think that--this was not my project, so I wasn't 14 15 really focused on that. This was Thomas's project. 16 And I--and I knew it would take about a year or 17 more to get through the--I assumed that that 18 was--was going on. 19 Did you participate in any preparation of bylaws for the Community Health Foundation, Incorporated? 20 I did not. 21 22 Q Was there any passage of bylaws for that--Not during that--23 Α 24 Q --organization?

-65-

1	A	that year or eighteen months that I was involved.	1		that?
2		Apparentlythere was testimony yesterday	2	A	I don't recall being asked to do that.
3		that they do exist	3	Q	Now, at some pointyouyou-you spoke of this as
4		THE CHAIR: No, no, no	4		being Representative Wright's organization. And
5		THE WITNESS: I'm sorry.	5		what do youwhat did you mean by that?
6	A	Okay.	6	A	Well, this isI hadwell, there were lots of
7	Q	At least factoring 2001, 2002, 2003, were you aware	7		people involved, butin the Hospice project that
8		ofof any meetings of the board of directors of	8		I'd worked on and the Community Health Center
9		the Community Health Foundation?	9		project, and I had been involved as ain a major
10	A	Only the meetings thatthat Thomas and I had.	10		way and took responsibility for getting the legal
11		Bessie Funderburg became very ill late in that	11		help, getting the contributions in to fund the
12		period, and actually died, unfortunately, sobut	12		legal help, to fund the accounting help, that sort
13		we did notwe did not meet other than issues	13		of thing. And I was not in that role in this
14		Thomas and I met regarding the building that was	14		situation.
15		purchased.	15		This was Thomas's project, andand I
16	Q	Okay. But were there actually any board meetings,	16		felt that he was carrying out those roles that I
17		as such?	17		had carried out in those other projects.
18	A	No.	18	Q	All right. Were you ever asked by Representative
19	Q	Were there any bylaws passed by you and	19		Wright to do any act as treasurer of the Community
20		Representative Wright?	20		Health Foundation, Incorporated?
21	A	No.	21	A	Yes, weI was asked to meet him at an attorney's
22	Q	Were you asked by Representative Wright at any time	22		office to sign the loan papers for the building
23		about approval of any expenditures or how to	23		for a building on North Fourth Street, which was
24		receive contributions, any of thatanything like	24		right across the street from the Community Health

-67- -68-

1		Center, and had some historic significance in	1 A	That's correct. And I felt good about doing that.
2		thatat least urban legend in Wilmington is that	2	II wasI felt that it was an important thing to
3		the first black person murdered and shot in the	3	do and was certainly very enthusiastic and
4		streets was shot right there between the Community	4	sympathetic with what Thomas was trying to do
5		Health Center and that building. So(pauses)	5	there.
6	Q	And to the best you can recall, was that the first	6 Q	And I take it in addition to signing thethe
7		time that you were asked to do anything as	7	papers for the purchase of the property, you also
8		treasurer?	8	signed the loan papers for Coastal Federal Bank.
9	A	Yes.	9	Is that correct?
10	Q	Tell ustell us what you remember about that	10 A	II guess so. III guess they were part of
11		particular experience.	11	that.
12	A	Well, it was aa typical closing. I guess I've	12 Q	Okay. Were you involved in any way in the loan
13		sat there through most of them with Karen over the	13	application process at Coastal Federal Bank?
14		yearsyou know, there's a big pile of papers that	14 A	I was not. When Iwhen Thomas called me about
15		the lawyer hands you, and you sign it and	15	"It's time to get on with this," that was all in
16		hopehope for the besthas been what I've done	16	place, and I just went and met him and got on with
17		for the most part. And it's turned out pretty	17	that act.
18		well. Soso it was one of those occasions. There	18 Q	All right. During the time preceding you going and
19		were huge piles of paper that II signed and	19	signing the papers, had you had any discussions
20		Thomas signed and	20	with Representative Wright as to how he was going
21	Q	All right. So you were simply there to sign your	21	to be able to pay the payments for the loan?
22		name as treasurer of the organization	22 A	No. But I didafterI remember walking out of
23	A	That'sthat's correct.	23	the lawyer's office, 'cause I, you know,
24	Q	the Community Health Foundation, Incorporated?	24	signedthe practice that a friend of mine and I

-70-

-69from Chapel Hill started in '71 when I retired had, 1 testimony? you know, over seventy doctors and twenty-five Pas, Α Yes. 2 and during the course of thirty-four years, I had You--were you able to hear the testimony of Torlen 3 0 put my name on a lot of loans. I tried not to ever Wade and the letter that--hear about the letter sign anything that I couldn't pay off myself. And that he wrote--5 the -- I certainly could have paid this off myself, but -- so I asked him as we left, you know, "Thomas, -- for Representative Wright? 0 how are we going to pay for this?" And--and he said that he felt that 9 0 Were you aware of that letter at all prior to the he -- there would be a combination of three things, 10 time you signed the loan application? that -- some State appropriations that he was working 11 No. I was not. Α on; he was working with the federal government, the 12 Did there come a time, Dr. Gottovi, that you became 0 Parks Service, on their historic -- I'm not sure what 13 aware that the -- the loan was not being repaid? the actual name of it is, but it has to do with 14 Yes. Α historic properties, and hoping to have some grant 15 Tell us how you first became aware of that. funds from them, and then was hoping for private I went home from work one day and went out to the 16 Α donations and corporate donations to the mailbox and got the mail, and there was a certified 17 Community's Health Foundation that would end up letter from the bank saving that the loan was 18 putting together enough funds to take care of this overdue and going into foreclosure. That was the money that we had just borrowed. 2.0 first that I was aware that there was a problem

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-71--72-

to see--

Is that Ronnie Burbank?

Yes. Yes. That was the first time I'd ever met

was a problem.

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1
             Okay. And was--that was a short-term loan, was it
 2
             not, a six-month loan, hundred and eighty days? Do
             you--you recall--
 3
              Yes, I--when the--Agent Umphlet went over things
     Α
 5
              with me, apparently midway through the year I had
              signed a renewal of that loan. And I think--I--I
              think it was renewed without any request at that
             point for further funds. So I had signed
 9
              something -- I think it was six months, and then at
10
              the end of twelve months is when I think the -- the
11
             bank became concerned that no money had flowed in
              to pay on the interest or the principal on the
13
             loan. And that's when they sent out a letter to me
              and I--and, I guess, the other board members that
14
              it was in default, or going into default.
15
             All right. And what happened at that time?
16
     0
              Well, I--I--I called Thomas. And--and he said, you
17
             know, "I'm still working on it," that it had not--
18
19
              "This was not a good year in the legislature," and
2.0
              I know that that happens, and there weren't a whole
              lot of funds to draw on for special projects. So
22
              that -- those funds had not come through. And it
23
             did--didn't surprise me that--that a black
             legislator, Democratic legislator was probably not
24
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And--so I felt--I'd--I had worked

on--with him for a long time, and I felt confident

Okay. You were here yesterday during the

that that would happen. So --

2

5

9

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2.0

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24 0

> having a whole lot of success with the Department of the Interior, which was controlled by others. And so, you know, the -- there was still a grant process going on there with the historic-people that did historic properties, but that --5 those funds did not come through. And I think at that point there had been no personal or corporate contributions to the Foundation either. 9 0 Okay. At some point, were you asked to pay some 10 monies on the loan? 11 No, I wasn't asked to. I -- after talking to Thomas, Α 12 I went--I never had defaulted on anything in my--in 13 life. I'm not a very good financial person. Karen knows I balance my checkbook at the ATM machine. 14 But I had never defaulted on anything. I'd 15 always--you know, sort of basic rules of life, you 16 17 know, pay your mortgage and your utilities, and then pay your lawyers and your accountants -- that's 18 19 in--in business--and keep on their good side. 2.0 But any--anyway, no, I went down and--and 21 talked to--to the gentleman that was here yesterday

there. I had assumed that what had been proposed

hadn't. So that's when I became aware that there

was happening during the course of the year, and it

-74-

-73him. He was not at the closings. In the closings, 1 I--again, I--those papers--between our move from 2 all that paperwork had been done in an attorney's Wilmington here, we've got storage units in three 2 places, I think, and--I--I haven't been able to office. So, anyway I said, "What--what can we do find--but--but Agent Umphlet was able to find those about this?" And he said, well, he would--you documents. 5 5 know, that was a branch of a bank--I think the bank So, I think it ended up about--let's is South Carolina-based--"I'm just getting some see--forty-six hundred dollars (\$4,600) or so to pressure -- I did this in good faith 'cause I felt it get a ninety--that was the interest to extend the 9 was a -- a good project, and I knew it was somewhat 9 loan for ninety days, because I wanted to give 10 risky"--and he talked--I'm sorry. I'm not supposed 10 Thomas some more time and--and--and felt that we 11 to talk about what was said yesterday. 11 might be able to intro--interest some of the folks But, well, he--he did say to me, "I--I in Wilmington. There's a very active development --13 wanted to do something--our bank wanted to do 13 was very active development going on along the something in this community, and that's why I North Fourth Street corridor. I felt the, you 14 14 willing to do this." know, developers, inner-city developers that I knew 15 15 So I--I asked if there was any way we well might be interested in helping with this or 16 16 could extend it. And I volunteered--I wasn't 17 17 taking over this property. asked, 'cause--it's interesting, I--in all that The mayor of Wilmington at the time was 18 18 pile of paper flying by, I wasn't sure that I a--is a downtown businessman, has several 2.0 hadn't signed a personal quarantee. But he hadn't 2.0 restaurants, several businesses. I talked to him. required--as he said yesterday, he had not required He was actually very excited and tried to put 22 a personal quarantee. 22 together a group to consider it. 23 So--but I asked if I could extend the 23 So anyway, the ninety days was to give

24

1 Α

2 0

-75--76-

Exactly. Exactly.

that--the developers--it really didn't fit with 2 their business plan. The mayor was not able to come up with any funds. So at the end of the ninety-day period it was going to go -- I'd sort of done what I was 5 willing to put into that personally. And at the end of the ninety-day period the bank was actually going to put it up on the auction block at the 9 courthouse. And I -- I think the inner-city 10 developers were going to go down and probably try 11 to steal it at that point, but the bank decided to 12 take over the ownership and -- of the building. And 13 that's -- that's how it was left. All right. The -- the time period where you said you 14 Ω paid the forty-six hundred dollars (\$4,600) in 15 interest, you said that was twelve months after the 16 original loan? 17 About that, yeah. 18 Α 19 And that would put it at about spring of 2003? 2.0 Α I--I guess so, right. 21 And then it--there was another ninety-day 22 extension? 23 Right. Α

And then after that was when it was--

loan. So I--I did--I paid the interest personally.

24

24

Ω

after that? No. No. 5 0 Okay. And is that -- that's when it went into default? Α Yes. Okay. During the time period from when you first 9 became involved in signing the loan papers and 10 there were all these issues about whether you'd be 11 able to pay the loan, were the any board meetings 12 of the Community Health Foundation, Incorporated? 13 There were not as such. I mean, I had times with Bessie Funderburg. I had times with Thomas. I 14 don't think we were ever necessarily together at a 15 16 time we talked about these matters the three of us, though. So I think -- I think not. 17 Aside from being asked to sign the -- the loan papers 18 0 19 and the property purchase papers, were you ever 2.0 asked to anything as far as treasurer of the 21 Community Health Foundation, Incorporated? 22 No, no, not that I can recall doing. 23 I'm going to ask you, sir, if you'd look at Exhibit 0 24 Number 6 in your notebook.

some time to do that. Unfortunately, none of

Okay. And you didn't make any further payments

-77-

-80-

1	A	Okay.	1		THE CHAIR: Overruled. You may answer
2	Q	Would you take a look atat that letter? Have you	2		the question.
3		ever seen it before?	3	A	We did not, but II do not knowthere may well
4	A	II have not.	4		have been bylaws that allow him to do that. So
5	Q	Okay. Did you have anything to do with authorizing	5		II can't say that there weren't contingencies or
6		or sending that letter to Anheuser-Busch,	6		bylaws in place that allowed him to do that. I
7		Incorporated?	7		don't know.
8	A	I did not.	8	Q	Okay. Well, letlet me ask you this, Dr. Gottovi:
9	Q	Okay. If you'd look at Exhibit Number 7, please	9		You told me that the board never met?
10	A	I have it.	10	A	That'sthatthat's correct, not in a formal way.
11	Q	You've not seen that before?	11		Correct.
12	A	No.	12	Q	And never prepared or approved any bylaws?
13	Q	Diddid there come a time in March or April of	13	A	That'sthat's correct.
14		2004 that you became aware that Anheuser-Busch had	14	Q	So there couldn't be any bylaws that would allow
15		contributed five thousand dollars (\$5,000) to the	15		him to do this, correct?
16		Community Health Foundation, Incorporated?	16	A	II don't know the
17	A	No.	17		PROF. JOYNER: Objection.
18	Q	You were never aware of this contribution?	18	A	I
19	A	No.	19		THE CHAIR: Wait a minute. Basis?
20	Q	Did you or the board approve Thomas Wright putting	20		PROF. JOYNER: Because his answerthe
21		that money in his own account?	21		answer speaks for itself.
22		PROF. JOYNER: Objection.	22		THE CHAIR: Yeah, I'mthatthat one's
23		THE CHAIR: Basis?	23		sustained.
24		PROF. JOYNER: Speculation.	24	Q	But at least you're not aware of any approval of

Representative Wright being able to take this check of other things, sort of closing down my practice and deposit it into his own personal account, there, mending a relationship with my wife--just had a lot of other things on my mind. correct? PROF. JOYNER: Objection. Same Q Okay. I'll ask you, if you would, to look at Exhibit Number 8. 5 objection. 5 THE CHAIR: Overruled as to that. Please Do you recognize that particular document, sir? answer. Ο  $\ensuremath{\text{I'm}}$  not aware of it. Α Okay. You were not part of any approval process? 9 Ω 9 Ω Were you as a board member, as the treasurer, involved in sending a letter to AstraZeneca 10 10 11 And you were still on the board at that time and 11 Pharmaceuticals, Mr. Brian Shank, requesting a 12 still treasurer, as far as you know? 12 charitable contribution for the Community Health 13 I didn't think I was. I thought that when this 13 Foundation? building project collapsed that -- that the I was not. 14 14 15 Foundation had as well. So--but I never, you know, 15 Okay. I'll ask you, if you would, sir, to look at Exhibit Number 10. Do you recognize that document, 16 checked with the Secretary of State or submitted a 16 17 formal letter of resignation, even after I had 17 sir? moved up here. So I--I--Nο. 18 18 Α Was part of the reason that you thought that the Did you at any time handle that particular check? 19 Q 19 Foundation had essentially ended the fact that 2.0 2.0 Α 21 there were no board meetings? 21 At any time, did you become aware that AstraZeneca Pharmaceuticals in 2003 or 2004 had contributed 22 No, I--I just felt the main project that we had 22

23

24

twenty-four hundred dollars (\$2,400) to the

Community Health Foundation, Incorporated?

-79-

23

24

taken on had--had failed, and I--I really didn't

think much more about it. I was involved in lots

-81-

1	A	No, I did not, not until SBI Agent Umphlet met with	1	Q	Dodid you at some point become aware, as
2		me and asked me that same question.	2		treasurer of the Community Health Foundation and as
3	Q	All right. As to that particular contribution and	3		a board member, of the fact that AT&T had sent a
4		that particular check, sir, did you or the board	4		check for fifteen hundred dollars (\$1,500) to the
5		ever approve Representative Wright cashing that	5		Community Health Foundation as a charitable
6		check or putting that check in his own personal	6		contribution?
7		account?	7	A	I was not aware of that.
8	A	No, we did not.	8	Q	Did you andand/or the board approve
9	Q	I'll ask you to look at Exhibit Number 11, sir.	9		Representative Wright taking that check and putting
10	A	I have it.	10		it into his own personal account?
11	Q	Do you recognize that document?	11	A	I did not.
12	A	No.	12	Q	Are you aware of any board action in doing so?
13	Q	Were you in September of 2003 or thereabouts	13	A	I am not.
14		involved in seeking a charitable contribution from	14	Q	Okay.
15		AT&T for the Community Health Foundation,	15		MR. HART: Mr. Chairman, wemay I have
16		Incorporated?	16		just a moment?
17	A	I was not, personally.	17		THE CHAIR: Certainly.
18	Q	Diddid you or the board approve that request?	18		(DISCUSSION OFF RECORD)
19	A	I did not.	19	Q	Dr. Gottovi, earlier you testified that when you
20	Q	Okay. I'll ask you to look at Exhibit Number 13,	20		were involved in the incorporation of the Community
21		sir.	21		Health Center and Access III that you were involved
22	A	I have it.	22		with the process ofof setting up the
23	Q	Do you recognize that particular check?	23		organizations. And you spoke about knowing that
24	A	No.	24		attorneys had worked on the files and accountants

-83-

1		had worked on the files to obtain 501(c)(3)	1		members were entitled to some kind of compensation.
2		recognition, correct?	2	A	I can't think of any that I was involved in
3	A	That's correct.	3		personally.
4	Q	Were you aware of any similar planning and	4	Q	Okay. Did you, as treasurer of the Community
5		preparation, working with attorneys or accountants,	5		Health Foundation, ever open a checking account for
6		on the Community Health Foundation, Incorporated?	6		that organization?
7	A	I assumed it was going on. I wasn't aware of it,	7	A	I did, when I was working with thethe banker who
8		though. I wasn't involved in any conversations,	8		was here yesterday, open an accountI mean, I
9		but	9		wrote a check forI think for a hundred dollars
10	Q	All right. When you were involved in those	10		out of my checkingour family checking account to
11		conversations and the other two organizations, was	11		get an account under way. And then when I put the
12		Representative Wright also involved in that as	12		funds in to pay for the ninety-day extension, they
13		well?	13		went inwell, I think they wereit was really
14	A	III believe so. We worked really as a team on	14		pretty much a pass-through.
15		thoseboth of those projects. So II think, in	15		I wrote the checks to the Community's
16		terms of picking attorneys and picking accounting	16		Health Foundation, Inc., there at the desk at the
17		firmswe tried totried to use firms that either	17		bank andand signed them over immediately toto
18		were minority firms or had minorities involved in	18		the bank. The hundred dollars did remain in that
19		them in a major way. So Iyes. I'm sorry.	19		checking account.
20	Q	Okay. Earlier you indicated that usually board	20	Q	So the accountthe actual checking account that
21		members are not entitled to compensation. Have	21		you're talking about you passed the funds through,
22		there beenit leads me to ask you whether or not	22		that was open from the time that you signed the
23		there have been some occasions where you were aware	23		loan papers and purchased the property?
24		that organizations you were involved inthat board	24	A	No. Therethere may well have been a checking

-85-

1		account opened. It was opened at the time that I	1		account that, you know, showed thethe bank
2		received the notice that the property was going	2		charges. And overI'm not sureI don't remember
3		into default and went down totoand arranged	3		how many months it was, but over a period of time
4		with the banker for a ninety-day extension, which I	4		my hundred dollars was gone inin bank charges,
5		paid for personally.	5		and I think the bank closed the account at that
6	Q	Okay. So that's the first time, at least that you	6		point. And I'm notI don't remember what the date
7		were aware, that there was an actual checking	7		was. I know Agent Umphlet has that information.
8		account for the Community Health Foundation?	8	Q	Okay. Dr. Gottovi, did you ever seek reimbursement
9	A	Thatthat's correct, yes.	9		for the forty-six hundred dollars (\$4,600) in
10	Q	And that would have been in the spring of 2003,	10		interest that you paid fromfrom the Community
11		approximately somewhere in that range?	11		Health Foundation, Incorporated?
12	A	I guess so. I'mI'mI get those dates	12	A	No, I did not.
13	Q	Okay. That was thatthat twelve months	13	Q	Other than the one-hundred-dollar deposit and the
14	A	Yes. Right.	14		forty-six-hundred-dollar deposit that you made for
15	Q	after the original closing?	15		interest, did you make any deposits or withdrawals
16	A	Exactly. Exactly.	16		from that account?
17	Q	Okay. Did you at any point thereafter close that	17	A	I did not.
18		account?	18		MR. HART: That's all the questions I
19	A	No, I did not.	19		have, Mr. Chairman.
20	Q	So as far as you know, that account would still	20		THE CHAIR: Thank you very much. Cross
21		have been open in 2003 and 2004?	21		cross-examination?
22	A	I think not. Again, SBI Agent Umphlet actually	22		PROF. JOYNER: Dr. Gottovi, thank you for
23		came back to our house to ask me specifically about	23		your testimony. Let melet melet me just raise
24		that, andand had the monthly statements on that	24		with the Chair as to your plans for lunch.

-87- -88-

1	THE CHAIR: The Chair would be delighted	1 Q	Andand as a result of or during that turmoil, I
2	to share those. I'm going to ask us to go to close	2	believe, you had occasion to meet Representative
3	to one, and then if you have cross to continue,	3	Wright's brother?
4	we'll continue it after lunch. I don't anticipate	4 A	Yes, I did.
5	being finished with this witness till after lunch.	5 Q	Andand Representative Wright's brother was
6	I know that there will be some Committee questions.	6	eventually involved in the Wilmington Ten case?
7	Theso I'd like to go ahead and get as much done	7 A	That's correct. He was hauled out from under his
8	as we can, but youif you have questions after	8	bed, where he was hiding, by the police.
9	lunch, I'll hold the witness.	9 Q	And you were involved pretty actively in those
10	PROF. JOYNER: Well, I was trying to	10	defense efforts, were you not?
11	avoid breaking up the examination, but if that's	11 A	Yes.
12	how you want to handle it, that'sthat's fine.	12 Q	Andandand as a result of that, you formed a
13	THE CHAIR: I'd like to at least get as	13	relationship with the Wright family?
14	muchsince we were delayed in starting andbut	14 A	I did.
15	I'll be glad to allow you time after lunch as well.	15 Q	And pretty close relationship with the Wright
16	PROF. JOYNER: Thank you.	16	family?
17	THE CHAIR: Sorry, Dr. Gottovi.	17 A	Veryvery close.
18	THE WITNESS: No, that's okay.	18 Q	And you knew Representative Wright's parents well?
19	CROSS-EXAMINATION BY PROF. JOYNER:	19 A	Yes.
20	Q Dr. Gottovi, you indicated that you came to	20 Q	As well as his sister, Dale?
21	Wilmington around 1971, 1972. And if I'm correct,	21 A	Yes.
22	that was around the time that there was significant	22 Q	Andand I believe atat that time Representative
23	racial turmoil in Wilmington; is that correct?	23	Wright was a lot younger

24 A

He was.

24 A

That is--that is very correct.

-89-

1	Q	certainly than he is right now?	1		county commissioner at the time and helped him get
2	A	He had dark black hair all over his head when I	2		employment through theat the Department of Social
3		first met him in the emergency room.	3		Services. So we wereand one of our mutual
4	Q	And since that time, could you kind of describe	4		friends was a city councilman thatwho lived ina
5		your involvement with the Wright family and	5		Caucasian city councilman, who lived downtown,
6		Representative Wright in particular?	6		though, and had a monthly social gathering at their
7	A	Well, let me speak to the Wright family first.	7		home. Andand Thomas's mother and Joe andand
8		Karen and I were both very upset about the way	8		Thomas and Dale were often there.
9		these tentenI guess nine of them were	9		So we had a lot of social contact with
10		teenagers, and Mr. Chavis was not a teenager. But	10		them in addition to the projects that weI think
11		Thomas' brother was a teenager when this happened,	11		the things we've worked on all happened later,
12		andand frightened, andand sick, too. He had	12		after that. Butbut it wasit was verya very
13		sarcoidosis, and died prematurely because of that	13		close relationship with his family.
14		disease and our state's inadequate healthcare	14	Q	And it was as a result of that close relationship
15		well, anyway, that's another matter.	15		that you formed with the family that you then got
16		But wewe did become involved. We were	16		involved in these other community self-help efforts
17		involved politically with Governor Hunt's campaign	17		that Representative Wright was involved in?
18		and, I know, petitioned Governor Hunt along with a	18	A	II think that's accurate, yes.
19		lot of other people over what we felt was	19	Q	Andandand withwith respect toto these
20		inappropriate prolonged incarceration of his	20		efforts, though, some of those were efforts that
21		brother andand the others.	21		you initiated, and others were efforts that he
22		Andand whenwhen Joe was finally	22		initiated; is that right?
23		released, he came back to Wilmington and had a very	23	A	Yes. Yes.
24		hard time finding work. Karen was aI think a	24	Q	So you both were kind of thinking along the same

-91-

24

1		path?	1
2	A	Yes.	2
3	Q	All right. And he was involved extensively in	3
4		healthcare issues in thein the Wilmington	4
5		community?	5
6	A	Yes.	6
7	Q	Now, youyou talked aboutwell, let me just	7
8		youyou talked about your involvement with the	8
9		Community Health Center?	9
10	A	Yes.	10
11	Q	Now, is that one of the projects that you and	11
12		Representative Wright helped to put together?	12
13	A	Yes.	13
14	Q	Okay. Could you talk about howhow that	14
15		developed?	15
16	A	Sort of several steps involved.	16
17		Torlen Wade and Jim Bernstein came to the	17
18		New Hanover/Pender/Brunswick County Medical Society	18
19		meeting oneI remember it was a pretty cold	19
20		November nightto talk aboutand there was a	20
21		representative from the State medical society	21
22		theretalked withthe medical society had an	22
23		Access program that was developed in the Asheville	23

area that--they talked about that and trying to get

24

more physicians to accept Medicare assignment.

And--and the--when the whole issue--andand Bernstein and Wade were there to talk about, again, trying to get cooperation with this Access I, getting more primary-care doctors to be willing to take on Medicaid recipients into their practice.

And one of the pediatricians, actually one of my partners, raised his hand and said, "What if there"--you know, "What if there aren't enough family docs and internists and--and pediatricians in our three counties to take care of them?"

And Jim Bernstein, who--and Jim and Torlen Wade are really the heroes of health care for the poor in this state. And Jim Bernstein was the first person to mention in my presence, "Well, some communities form a community health center."

And that--you know, that--the meeting ended, and we all went home. And about four months later there was an article in the Wilmington Star-News that inner-city Wilmington had been declared pretty much a federal disaster area by the department--by the public health service, which made it eligible for community health service grants. And Torlen Wade, he and I had worked--he

-93-

and Jim and I had worked on a project --1 Torlen Wade, who's a superior grantsman, interestingly enough, Carolina Beach, which is now 2 got a grant from the -- I think, K.P. [phonetic] a thriving metropolis, was--was in the '70s still a Reynolds for forty thousand dollars to put rural area. And--and--I'm terrible--I'm trying to together--the application for a federally-qualified think of the senator's name--but worked with them health center is about three--is about that thick. 5 to get a rural health center on Carolina Beach. (Indicating.) And it -- it took the forty thousand Anyway, that's--that's--had worked on that. dollars to do the paperwork and get all the help to And--and so--but Torlen called me as he get that done. So--but Thomas and I worked got the word from the feds as well, "Hey," you 9 intimately. Thomas was pretty much the community know, "And what about our working on a community 10 representative from that part of the city that was health center?" So, again, the steering 11 involved, and worked on that -- again, that was committee--I think there's a famous woman who said, probably a year's process or more to do that. "Nothing--don't think that great things can't 13 So that -- that 's -- that was our happen in this world by a small group of people first really close work together, on that project. 14 working on it." 15 Okay. Now, did you--the steering committee that 0 you were referring to, did they engage in the And a steering committee was put 16 together -- this was before Bill Atkinson came, but effort of incorporating the Community Health--17 the hospital director at the time--Thomas Wright. Health Center in conjunction with Torlen Wade and 18 who was involved in the part of the community that 19 Jim Bernstein? was affected. I was there on behalf of the medical 2.0 Yes. Α society. The AHEC director, Bill McMillan, was 21 All right. Now, Torlen Wade, is that the same 0 there. I -- we had a group of about five or six 22 Torlen Wade that testified yesterday? people that, again, became the steering committee 23 THE WITNESS: Is it all right for me to

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answer that?

1 THE CHAIR: Sure. 2 Α Yes. 3 And who is Jim Bernstein? 0 Jim Bernstein--again, Jim Bernstein was in--getting 4 his Ph.D. in public health at Chapel Hill when I 5 was finishing my pulmonary fellowship there, and we worked on--started--sort of my legislative lobbying began then. We worked on day-care regulation, 9 day-care-center regulation, health regulations, 10 which were nonexistent in -- in North Carolina at 11 that time. The department of pediatrics and Jim 12 and I and others worked on that project. 13 Jim went on to form what became the Office of Rural Health and Community Development, 14 and--and Torlen was there in the School of Public 15 Health at the time, and the two of them then 16 carried that effort forward. 17 Jim. unfortunately--he was assistant 18 secretary for health. Karen and I lob--lobbied 2.0 hard to get him to be secretary, but Easley 21 didn't--or Hunt didn't listen, but anyway-- another matter. We--22 23 THE CHAIR: I think this is as good a 24 time as any--

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for that effort.

THE WITNESS: I'm sorry. I'm sorry.

THE CHAIR: --to take a break for lunch.

THE WITNESS: Oh, okay. I'm--I'm sorry

THE CHAIR: That's--oh, no, it's really-
THE WITNESS: --to drabble [phonetic] on.

THE CHAIR: Not a problem.

PROF. JOYNER: No, no, no. No, you're

doing fine. You're doing fine.

THE CHAIR: I think that what we'll do,

THE CHAIR: I think that what we'll do, if we can, is we'll come back--and I would ask that we kind of just stay to the hour, so we'll come back at ten of two. That'll give us an hour for lunch. And we'll pick up with cross-examination at that time. Thank you.

# (DISCUSSION OFF RECORD)

THE CHAIR: I'm sorry. Before we break, just--Members of the Committee, I need to give you this admonition: Before we break, I want to again remind members of the Committee, the attorneys for the Committee and Representative Wright, Representative Wright, and members of the public that because we are now in deliberative, fact-finding stage, I think it would be appropriate that

-98-

1	the members of the Committee refrain from	1	Q	(By Prof. Joyner) Dr. Gottovi, I believe when
2	discussing this matter with the press, the	2		wewhen we broke for lunch we were talking about
3	Committee's outside legal counsel, Representative	3		the creation of the Community Health Center
4	Wright's counsel, Representative Wright until after	4	A	I believe so.
5	the Committee deliberations are completed.	5	Q	and your involvement and the involvement of
6	I will also ask Mr. Hart, Mr. Peters,	6		Representative Wright, who I believe at that time
7	Dr. Joyner, Mr. Harris and Representative Wright to	7		was a city councilman; is that correct?
8	refrain from discussing evidence in the case with	8	A	I believe so. It was before his legislative
9	Committee members other than the Chair during this	9	Q	Before he became
10	time. I will also ask members of the public to not	10	A	career, yes.
11	approach Committee members or witnesses in the	11	Q	But he washe did have an official position with
12	matter until after deliberations are completed.	12		the City of Wilmington?
13	And I believe that this hearing can proceed fairly	13	A	I believe so. I don't remember the dates of that,
14	to all parties involved if we follow these	14		but I believe so.
15	suggestions. I have asked the sergeant-at-arms to	15	Q	Okay.
16	assist in assuring compliance with this request.	16	A	He was a city councilman, and I don't know if it
17	Have a good lunch. Thank you.	17		was at that time or not.
18		18	Q	All right. Now, inyou also indicated that you
19	(LUNCH RECESS)	19		worked on this Access III
20		20	A	Yes.
21	THE CHAIR: Dr. Gottovi, if you want to	21	Q	venture.
22	resume the stand, please. And just a reminder that	22	A	Yes.
23	you are under oath. Dr. Joyner, back with	23	Q	And diddid that involve an incorporation effort,
24	cross-examination for you?	24		as well?

-99-

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     Α
             Yes, it did.
                                                                                                   positions. So he did most of the work with health
 2
             And what was Representative Wright's role in that?
                                                                                                   departments and DSS's. I did the work with the
             He and I--well, we were on the steering committee.
                                                                                                  hospitals and medical societies to get a
 3
             Bill Atkinson, Thomas, myself were the local
                                                                                                   representative from each.
             members of that steering committee. We then
                                                                                                            I think we asked--as I recall, we
 5
             involved folks from each of the five counties
                                                                                                   approached, like, the head of DSS in, say, Bladen
             involved on a steering committee that -- that went
                                                                                                   County and said--told them what we were doing, "And
             forward. But he was very much involved in putting
                                                                                                   would you or one of your staff--would you appoint
             that together.
                                                                                                   one of your staff people to be on this committee?"
 9
                                                                                      9
                                                                                                   And then once we got through the incorporation
10
             All right. And you and he were really the
                                                                                     10
                                                                                                   process, they became the actual board, these
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             instigators of that effort; is that correct?
                                                                                     11
12
             Yes.
                                                                                     12
                                                                                                   representatives from each of those bodies.
     Α
13
             And did a lot of traveling around to meet with
                                                                                     13
                                                                                                  All right. So the people who actually worked on it
             people, and you basically chose the people who
                                                                                                  became the board?
14
                                                                                     14
15
             would become the steering committee, didn't you?
                                                                                     15
                                                                                                   That's--that's correct.
             We did. We--the model that was given to us by
                                                                                     16
                                                                                                  And during those efforts, both you and he incurred
16
     Α
                                                                                          0
17
             Jim Bernstein and Torlen Wade that was used in
                                                                                     17
                                                                                                   expenses associated with that, did you not?
             other areas had a representative from Department of
                                                                                                   We did.
18
                                                                                     18
                                                                                          Α
             Social Services, from the health department, the
                                                                                     19
                                                                                                   All right. And you were not--you were in private
             hospital, and the medical society in--in each
                                                                                                  practice, I believe?
2.0
                                                                                     2.0
             community. And so we--and--and Thomas knew,
                                                                                     21
                                                                                                   Yes.
22
             because a lot of these counties were in his
                                                                                     22
                                                                                                   All right. And with respect to the expenses that
23
             district or adjoined it, the rural counties--I
                                                                                     23
                                                                                                   you--that you incurred, how was--how was that
24
             didn't know as many of the people in those
                                                                                     2.4
                                                                                                  handled?
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-101--102-

1	A	WeJim Bernstein and Torlenthere was a	1		board members; is that right?
2		foundation called theit'sand still exists in	2	A	That's correct.
3		North CarolinaFoundation for Advanced Healthcare.	3	Q	Andand I believe at some point you became chair
4		It's a foundation that Bernstein had established.	4		of that board?
5		And we submitted monthly invoices to them forfor	5	A	Yes. Yes.
6		our time and our travels inin doing that work.	6	Q	Do you recall when you became chair of the board?
7	Q	All right. So the expenses that you incurred, you	7	A	I was the initial chair. Thomas was vice-chair. I
8		were reimbursed for those?	8		don't remember what year we actuallythat it
9	A	Yes. Yes.	9		actually happened. And we hired aan executive
10	Q	And that was from a grant that you were able	10		director and hired a medical director andand
11		towell, at least Jim Bernstein and Torlen Wade	11		hadwe hadinitial space was near thewhat had
12		were able toto put together; is that correct?	12		been the communitynot the community hospitalthe
13	A	Yes.	13		community hospital was the black hospital in
14	Q	Okay. And, now, there were other efforts as well	14		Wilmingtonbut near the old James Walker Hospital.
15		in which you andand Representative Wright dealt	15		It wasthe hospital had been demolished.
16		with the development and incorporation of community	16		The nurses' dorm was there, and there were several
17		efforts; is that correct?	17		doctors' offices across the street. And we rented
18	A	Well, the two that I recall in detail werewere	18		one of those doctor's offices asthat's where the
19		the New Hanover Community Health Center and the	19		Community Health Center started functioning.
20		Access III of the Lower Cape Fear. Those were the	20		And then with the help of Gene Merritt
21		two major ones thatif there were others, I need	21		[phonetic], were able to put together parcels of
22		to be reminded.	22		land on North Fourth Street where the current
23	Q	Now, whenonce the Community Health Center was	23		centerwe had a commitment of a million dollars
24		established, you and Representative Wright became	24		from the New Hanover Regional Medical CenterBill

		-103-			-104-
1		Atkinson was the head of that at that pointI	1		community health effort?
2		think a quarter of a million dollars from the City	2	A	That'sthat's correct.
3		to help with putting through the parcels of land	3	Q	Now, there was awell, around this time
4		putting together the parcels of land, and	4		Representative Wright was elected to the
5		ultimately were able to construct that facility.	5		legislature; is that correct?
6		We had a wonderful, actually, black	6	A	Yes.
7		architect with Ballard, McKim & Sawyer, who was the	7	Q	All right. And as a member of the legislature, did
8		architect who designed the facility, andanyway,	8		he continue his work in the healthcare area inin
9		we finally opened the doors and moved to that	9		Wilmington and Southern Cape Fear?
10		center that'sthe facility that's the current	10	A	Yes, he did.
11		site.	11	Q	All right. And was he, as a result of his position
12	Q	And Representative Wright was instrumental in	12		in the legislature, able to then get additional
13		obtaining those funds necessary for the building	13		state grants and appropriations for the work that
14		and purchasing of those parcels of land?	14		you were doing?
15	A	Yes, he was.	15	A	I believe so. II couldn't enumerate them, but
16	Q	Right. And, in fact, over the years, he was very	16		III think that probably is the case.
17		instrumental in obtaining quite a few grants and	17	Q	Right. From time to time, y'all talked about the
18		appropriations of both state and federal that went	18		fact that he was making an attempt toto get
19		into this community health initiative; is that	19		certain appropriations for the Community Health
20		correct?	20		Center?
21	A	Yes, he was.	21	A	Yes.
22	Q	All right. And you were familiar with the fact	22	Q	All right. There was a specific effort involved
23		that he had a lot of contacts that he was able to	23		where the Community Health Center was expanding its
24		utilize that brought in funds forfor the	24		facility?

-106-

1	A	Yes.	1	I alsowhenwhen Access III of the
2	Q	And there was a purchase of a building next door?	2	Lower Cape Fear finally became an entity, the
3	A	Yes. There was aa hardware store next door,	3	${\tt administratoradministrativethe\ director\ that\ we}$
4		andthatagain, we purchased the land and the	4	hired was looking for office space, and we wanted
5		store. It was a pretty contentious process, as I	5	to have that centered in the inner city of
6		recall. So	6	Wilmington. And Lydia looked at that space. We
7	Q	Uh-huh (yes). And for the purpose of that,	7	didn'twe hadn'tI don't think we had even made
8		Representative Wright was able to get State	8	the purchase at that point, but I know she looked
9		appropriations forto assist in that purchase and	9	at it. And it really didn'twasn't going to work
10		renovation of that building; is that correct?	10	out for her needs for the corps of nurses and
11	A	I believe so. I don't recall those details, but I	11	social workers that she was hiring, so thatthat
12		believe that is the case. We certainly needed that	12	didn't happen. But I know that we would like to
13		adjoining property. And I don't remember the	13	have had the option of office space in that
14		funding stream that ended up acquiring it, but	14	building across the street.
15	Q	Atat some point, the Community Health Center, I	15 Q	Okay.
16		believe, was involved in an effort to obtain the	16	REP. STAM: MrMr. Chairman?
17		building across the street as well?	17	THE CHAIR: Yes, sir.
18	A	We had conversations about that, because, again, we	18	REP. STAM: Question. I know we didn't
19		werewe had added dental services that were	19	have a forecast of evidence yet, like an opening
20		actuallyactually, barely had enough space to	20	statement, and we didn't have a forecast of
21		function, andand the thought of moving some of	21	witnesses. Isis there something we're coming to
22		the administrative offices across the street toto	22	that will be relevant to the charges?
23		the building thatthat we attempted to purchase	23	THE CHAIR: Well, I'm going to
24		those conversations definitely were held.	24	PROF. JOYNER: Wellwell

-107- -108-

1		THE CHAIR: I'm going tothis is	1	Q	That'syeah. And that is thethe same building
2		technically cross-examination, so I'm going to	2		that Representative Wright, through the Community
3		allow us to continue to proceed. Butbut	3		Health Foundation and yourself, signed the note for
4		obviously Dr. Joyner was creating background, but	4		the purchase of?
5		ifI'm sure he'll be moving fairly quickly toto	5	A	That'sthat's correct.
6		points that are related directly to the case, as	6	Q	Okay. Now, do you recall howthe time span
7		opposed to just background. But it seems to me	7		between the time that the Community Health Center
8		that this is fairly important background at this	8		had discussions about the purchase of thatof
9		point in the relationship and the understanding of	9		thatof the Lofton building and the time that
10		the transactions in Wilmington. Is that where	10		Representative Wright and yourself began to discuss
11		we're	11		the effort to purchase it foras a part of the
12		PROF. JOYNER: Well, that's what I'm	12		Community Health Foundation?
13		trying to do, Mr. Chairman.	13	A	Yeah. I really don't recall the details of the
14		THE CHAIR: Yeah. Okay. So we'll	14		timing there. I'm sorry.
1,5		REP. STAM: I withdraw my objection.	15	Q	But youyou do know that you and Representative
16		THE CHAIR: All right. Thank you. You	16		Wright had a discussion about creating this
17		may proceed.	17		Community Health Foundation for the purpose of
18		PROF. JOYNER: I mean, apparently I'm	18		purchasing the Lofton building, and then using that
19		losing somesomeone if they don't understand where	19		for an 1989 museum, for office space for the
20		we are.	20		Foundation, and possible office space for the
21	Q	(By Prof. Joyner) Dr. Gottovi, the building across	21		Community Health Center?
22		the street isand this is just my terminology	22		THE CHAIR: Well, let's hang on one
23		iswas the Lofton building; is that correct?	23		minute. Can we just break that up, 'cause that was
24	A	That'sthat's correct.	24		a whole lot in oneyou might want to ask him a

-110-

-112-

1		couple questions there	1		line in detail. But I believe so.
2		PROF. JOYNER: Okay.	2	Q	But this was an initiative that Representative
3		THE CHAIR:just so I'm clear what he's	3		Wright approached you with?
4		answering.	4	A	Yes.
5	Q	(By Prof. Joyner) You and Representative Wright	5	Q	Now, was that unusual?
6		had some discussion regarding the purchase of the	6	A	No. For him to approach me about something like
7		Lofton building?	7	Q	Right.
8	A	Yes.	8	A	No.
9	Q	All right. And the purpose of that purchase	9	Q	Would it havewould it have been unusual for you
10		wasor the projection for that purchase was to use	10		to approach him about an idea that you wanted to
11		that building for an 1989 museumWilmington	11		pursue?
12		museum?	12	A	No, not at all.
13	A	Yes. Yes.	13	Q	All right. So there was nothing out of the
14	Q	Office space for the Community Health Foundation?	14		ordinary about him coming to you to talk about what
15	A	Yes.	15		his projections were?
16	Q	And possible office space for the Community Health	16	A	No.
17		Center?	17	Q	Okay.
18	A	Yes.	18	A	That was
19	Q	And for other community efforts; is that	19	Q	And what was your response?
20	A	Yes.	20	A	II was happy to proceed. I had worked with him
21	Q	All right. And this was before the actual	21		and respected him and happy toand still doand
22		incorporation ofof thatof that organization; is	22		was happy to proceed with the effort.
23		that correct?	23	Q	And so you have a high level of trust
24	A	I believe so, but I don'tcan't recall that time	24	A	Yes.

All right. Did--did you talk about possible 3 Okay. 3 0 funding sources for this effort? --very--very intensive and extensive, lots of We did. community meetings over a period of a year or two, 5 Α 5 And do you recall what they were? really a--a--a major effort to heal that wound. 7 They were, hopefully, that things were going well 7 Now, would it be safe to--to say that based on your Ο with the revenues of the State of North Carolina, background, your history with Representative Wright, based on what he had been able to do in 9 to--to try to get some funds appropriated from the 9 prior efforts, that you felt pretty comfortable 10 legislature, to try to get some grant funds from 10 11 the federal government's Department of Interior, 11 that he would be able to--to secure the funding for the Parks Service that had--oversaw--oversaw 12 that effort? 13 historic sites in this country, and then from 13 Yes, I did. corporate and personal contributions to the All right. And--and that was one of the reasons 14 14 15 15 that you--you signed on with him? 16 And I believe around that time there was the work 16 Exactly. 0 Α 17 of the 1898 Wilmington Race Riot Commission? 17 Now, Mr. Hart asked you about subsequent meetings Yes. Yes. 18 between you and he regarding this Community Health 18

1

2 A

19

2.0

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23

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rebellion?

Yes, there were--

that unusual?

Foundation, and you indicated that there were--

there were not regular meetings. Why--why--was

I guess when we started the effort I thought--as

I said, I knew from having done this on several

occasions that it took a--a year or more to, you

-111-

1 Q

2 A

19

2.0

21

22 A

23 Q

2.4

Yes.

--in--in Representative Wright?

Right. And there was a lot of publicity around the

town and in the area about the efforts that they

And were there also a lot of community efforts in

the city around this 1898 Wilmington race--race

were engaged in?

-113-

1		know, put together all of the steps for a new	1		know, hishis effort andmore than mine at that
2		foundation. I guess I expected at some point we	2		point.
3		wouldwe would meet and we would talk aboutI	3	Q	That was his initiative. So you left it to him
4		knew there were other things in his district that	4	A	That's correct.
5		needed attention. I thought as funds came in we	5	Q	to basically work through all of the details?
6		probably would meet and talk about a grant for, you	6	A	That's correct.
7		know, a nurse-practitioner clinic in Brunswick	7	Q	All right. And when he approached you, then,
8		Countythatthat was what I envisioned.	8		aroundaround March of 2002 to sign loan papers,
9		But I also know, from having lived with a	9		were you under the impression that he had been
10		legislator, therethis is a complex life, and not	10		working successfully in putting together this
11		everything happens that you would like to happen.	11		Foundation effort?
12		So I wasn'tI didn't think about it during the	12	A	I was.
13		course of that year that that loan was ticking	13	Q	All right. And is that why you went with $\mathop{\text{\rm him}}\nolimits$ to
14		away, because I knew he was a busy man.	14		sign thethe mortgage papers?
15	Q	Oh. Well, I'm talking about now the period before	15	A	Yes.
16		you actually obtained the loan. From the period	16	Q	All right. Diddid you have any discussion at
17		thatthat the incorporation in April of 2001 up	17		that point about some of the things thatthat he
18		until the time that you came in to sign thethe	18		had been doing up until that point?
19		loan papers, was it unusual that you and	19	A	I don'tI don't recall any discussions, but they
20		Representative Wright didn't have regular	20		may wellcertainly may wellwe were together a
21		conversations about efforts that he werehe was	21		lot, and we mayI mean, we traveled a lot together
22		engaged in to promote the Foundation?	22		around that five-county area, so we certainly may
23	A	I don't think it would be unusual. I really wasn't	23		have talked about some of those things. I don't
24		involved in that part of the effort. That was, you	24		recall the specifics of those conversations,

-115- -116-

1		though.	1		that he was going to work on private and corporate
2	Q	But when he called on you toto advise you	2		contributions to the Foundation.
3		thatthat he had closed or worked out the plans	3	Q	All right. And was this response consistent with
4		for this loan, youyou weren't taken by surprise?	4		earlier conversation that you had with him about
5	A	No, no. I was not.	5		the Community Health Foundation?
6	Q	And that's pretty commoncommonly the way that	6	A	Yes.
7		you-all had operated in the past?	7	Q	All right. So this was inin line with what the
8	A	I would say so, yes.	8		initial projections were?
9	Q	Okay. Now, in response to a question from	9	A	Yes.
10		Mr. Hart, you indicated that after you had signed	10	Q	Now, you indicated that some things happened that
11		this stack of documents at the lawyer's office in	11		madefrom your perspective, made that impossible
12		thein the closing package, you then had some	12		to achieve?
13		discussion with Representative Wright about "Well,	13	A	I'm not sure what you're referring to. I'm sorry.
14		how do you plan toto come up with the money."	14	Q	Well, I don't knowyou hadyou said something
15	A	Or how do we plan to come up with the money.	15		aboutin response to a question from Mr. Hart,
16	Q	"How do we plan to come up with the money?"	16		something about the State budget crisis?
17	A	I felt that it was my responsibility, as well.	17	A	Oh, right. Well, Iwhenwhen-when theI got
18	Q	All right.	18		the notice that there hadn't been any payments on
19	A	Yes.	19		the loan, Iand talked to Thomas, it turned out, I
20	Q	And whatwhat is your recollection was his	20		think if you look at those years, that it was a
21		response to that?	21		difficult time in the State budget. There were not
22	A	Thatthat he was hoping to be able to obtain some	22		readily available funds for special projects. I
23		State appropriations, that he was working on a	23		think that was thethat was the difficulty.
24		grant with the federal Department of Interior, and	24	Q	Okay. And then he was not able to successfully

-117-

1		handle the appropriations then with respect to the	1		to sign related to both the primary mortgage or
2		state and federal grants that he was pursuing at	2		primary loan from the bank and also the second
3		that time?	3		mortgage to the Lofton family. There were two
4	A	That'sthat's correct.	4		separate stacks there. I don't remember ait
5	Q	All right. And he told you that as	5		probably was in those papers, but I don't remember
6	A	Yes.	6		seeing it.
7	Q	as the reason that he had not been successful?	7	Q	All right.
8	A	That's correct.	8	A	IweI signed as quickly as I could to get back
9	Q	Okay. Were you familiar withyou know, with any	9		to work, to be honest with you.
10		of this, well, with the fact that there were some	10	Q	All right. And duringand during thatthat
11		budget constraints?	11		signing and the review of the documents thatthat
12	A	Yeah, I'm sure I was at the time. I follow	12		were placed in front of you, was there any
13		politics pretty carefully bothat both levels, and	13		conversation by anyone about the necessity of
14		I'm sure I was aware of revenue issues andand	14		having a letter from any State agency guaranteeing
15		budget problems. I'm sure I was.	15		an appropriation to secure any of the payment of
16	Q	All right. Now, when you went in toto sign the	16		the funds?
17		loanthe mortgagewell, the closing package	17	A	No, there was definitely not.
18	A	Yes.	18	Q	All right. And you had absolutely no information
19	Q	did youdid you meet with an attorney?	19		or no one provided you any information whatsoever
20	A	Yes.	20		about any funds or any letter that had been
21	Q	And do you recall if there was a closing statement	21		provided or was to be provided by Torlen Wade?
22		prepared and circulated and signed?	22	A	No.
23	A	I don't remember that. I remember thethat there	23	Q	And youand you do know who
24		were a large number of documents that we both had	24	A	Oh, yes. Yes. I would have known that very

-119-

1		clearly, as we worked closely together on other	1		sign a six-month extension, which we did. And then
2		projects.	2		there was no more contact, at least with me, from
3	Q	How soon after thethe closingafter you signed	3		the bank until the end of that six-month period,
4		the closing documents did you receive a letteryou	4		which was a full year's period, then, since the
5		said a certified letter from thefrom the bank?	5		initial loan, at which time, you know, they were
6	A	It was a year later.	6		concerned about there not having been any payments
7	Q	About a year later?	7		on that
8	A	About a year later.	8	Q	So this initial renewal document that you signed
9	Q	Now, the initial loan was for six months; is that	9		was also signed by Representative Wright?
10		correct?	10	A	I believe so, yes.
11	A	That's correct. And Iand Iand I gatherand,	11	Q	Okay. Were the two of you together, or did you
12		again, SBI Agent Umphlet showed me my signature on	12		happen to see his signature on it?
13		a document, a renewal of that loan at six months.	13	A	III don't know if we were. Probably not,
14		So I think there probably was a call or a note to	14		because I think he was back and forth in the
15		come in andand do that, which I did. IIthere	15		legislative session. I think I probably just went
16		wereI know there were no funds requested at that	16		downit was right downtown near where I liked to
17		time, 'cause I know I didn't provide any funds	17		go for coffee in the morning, andand justI
18		until the end of that next six-month period, where	18		think I probably just went over and took care of it
19		we extended it for another ninety days.	19		one morning, my signature, the six-month signature.
20	Q	All right. Now, at any pointand I think each	20	Q	All right. At any point, do you know if anyone
21		time youyou paid some down [phonetic] to allow a	21		else paid any interest payments?
22		ninety-day extension?	22	A	II don't know.
23	A	That was after the year. Right. But the six-month	23	Q	You don't know that?
24		period, I think Thomas and I were both asked to	24	A	I don't know.

-121-

1	Q	You just know that you wereatat one point, that	1		a community need, they were happy to sort of step
2		you paid forty-six hundred dollars (\$4,600) to	2		out there and be a part of it.
3		extend for an additional ninety days?	3	Q	During that conversation, did Mr. Burbank say
4	A	That's correct. That was at the end of the year.	4		anything about a letter guaranteea letter from
5	Q	You indicated that around this time you also	5		Torlen Wade
6		hadhad a meeting with Mr. Burbank?	6	A	No. No, he did not.
7	A	Thatthat was at the end of the year when I got	7	Q	So that was never mentioned in any
8		the noticewhen we received the notice that they	8	A	No.
9		were going to foreclose, essentially. Yes.	9	Q	conversation that you had with him?
10	Q	And in that conin your conversation with	10	A	No.
11		Mr. Burbank, he talked to you about his motivation	11	Q	And this was at the point that there was some
12		for granting the loan?	12		crisis in the funding for thefor the purchase of
13	A	As I recall, he did, yes.	13		that building?
14	Q	And do you recall whatwhat basically his	14	A	Yes.
15		motivation was?	1.5	Q	All right. And did you talk with him about
16	A	It was that his bank wanted to do some things	16		thethe failure to beto obtain appropriations to
17		thatto help with developments in the inner city	17		pay for that?
18		of Wilmington. And hehe indicated that he knew	18	A	I did. I mean, we talked about the fact that
19		there was some risk to it but that the bank wanted	19		Thomas hadhad tried and not been able to get the
20		toto do that. And Ithat certainly is my	20		State funds. I think the grant request for the
21		experience with othersome of the other ventures	21		feds was still out there but not likely to be
22		we've talked about. Bankers stepped forward with	22		honored because of his political affiliation.
23		the Community Health Center, stepped forward with	23		Andand theyou know, there hadn't been any
24		the Hospice program. When they felt that there was	24		contributions, corporate or private, to the effort

-123-

1 Q All right. And do you recall that during those

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2	Q	Andbut at no point did Mr. Burbank say anything	2		meetings, or any of those meetings, that y'all
3		about having received aa letter from any	3		discussed this effort of the Community Health
4		department of the State of North Carolina	4		Foundation?
5		indicating that aan appropriation was	5	A	II don't remember that we did, but we may have.
6		forthcoming?	6	Q	Let me just ask you, as far you knew, who were the
7	A	No. He did not.	7		board members?
8	Q	And you said eventually the bank took over	8	A	I thought Thomas and BessieThomas Wright and
9		ownership of the building?	9		Bessie Funderburg and I were the board members.
10	A	That's correct.	10	Q	So if there was to be a meeting, it would have been
11	Q	All right. In response to questions from Mr. Hart	11		just the three of y'all?
12		about the failure of thethe Board of Directors to	12	A	That's correct.
13		meet, you indicated that there were no formal	13	Q	And once sheafter her death, the boardthe only
14		meetings?	14		members of the board that would meet would be you
15	A	That's correct.	15		and Representative Wright?
16	Q	All right. Now, during this time, though, you and	16	A	Thatthat's correct.
17		Representative Wright did meet?	17	Q	That'sthat's your understanding?
18	A	We did. And I also met with Bessie Funderburg, who	18	A	That was my understanding.
19		was the other board member I was aware of. I	19	Q	Now, at a later point, youyou found out that
20		wasn't aware that James Lofton was a member of the	20		Mr. James Lofton was also listed as an
21		board. So II was with Bessie Funderburg often,	21		incorporator?
22		and II think probably Thomas and I were with her	22	A	That's correct.
23		together at least on oneI'm sure on more than one	23	Q	Dodiddid you know if he was a designated member
24		occasion. But thisthis is a long time ago.	24		of the board?

1 up to that point.

-125-

		-125-			-126-
1	A	II did not.	1		mean, she's ajust a substantial, respected woman
2	Q	Okay. You had no information that he was a member	2		in the community.
3		of the board?	3	Q	All right. But James and Helen Lofton were the
4	A	No. In fact, I did not think he was. I thinkI	4		owners ofof the building that you were trying to
5		thought Thomas, when we talked about it, said that	5		purchase?
6		he and Bessie Funderburg and I would be the board.	6	A	Yeah, I believe so. I can't remember if Wayne
7	Q	So at any point that you and Representative Wright	7		their son Wayne was an owner or not. I know he had
8		met and talked about this building, that was, in	8		his business offices there, at least for a while.
9		essence, a board meeting?	9	Q	Okay. Now, we were talking about James and Helen,
10	A	I guess, in essence, it was.	10		and youyou interjected Wayne. Now, whowho is
11	Q	I mean, you were the only members of it, right?	11		Wayne? Is
12	A	That'sthat's correct.	12	A	Wayne is their son.
13	Q	All right. Just for thethis Committee's	13	Q	Wayne is their son?
14		information, who is James Lofton?	14	A	Yes.
15	A	James Lofton is a retired longshoreman.	15	Q	All right. And Wayne had an office in thein the
16		And(pauses)	16		Lofton building?
17	Q	Well, what is hisdodo you know his relationship	17	A	That's correct.
18		to the building that you were seeking to purchase?	18	Q	All right. So with respect to the work of the
19	A	Right. His wifeI believe the building was in	19		Community Health Foundation, one of its
20		James and Helen's name. Helen Lofton is aa nurse	20		incorporators was the owner of the building?
21		that I had worked with on the medical ward at New	21	A	That's correct.
22		Hanover Regional Medical Center since day one for	22	Q	But based on the information thatthat you had at
23		thirty-four years. And Helen is currently on the	23		the time, he was not a member of the board?
24		board of trustees of the hospital down there. I	24	A	That's correct.

-127- -128-

activity in that account, and it was closed out by

1	Q	Now, you indicated in response to a question from	1	A	II don't believe so. I don't believewe didI
2		Mr. Hart thatthat at some point you opened a bank	2		know we were together at the bank on at least one
3		account for the Community Health Foundation?	3		occasion. And I knowin fact, I think when that
4	A	That's correct.	4		account was opened, we may have been there
5	Q	Well, would you explain how that happened and when	5		together. And I know I was therethe Loftons were
6		that happened?	6		there on at least one occasion. But I can't
7	A	Yes. When I received the notice that the loan was	7		remember ifthe day I opened the account whether
8		going into default, I talked to Thomas and found	8		Thomas was there or not.
9		out that we weren't likely to have any sources of	9	Q	All right. Well, with respect to the opening of
10		revenue in the near term. I went down and talked	10		the account, who was the signatory on that account?
11		to Mr. Burbank about looking at some other options.	11	A	I thinkI think Thomas and I both had signatures
12		I really felt that if we could get a little more	12		on the account. I know I did.
13		time, there might be some investors in the	13	Q	All right. Now, do youdo you have a present
14		inner-city development community who would be	14		recollection that Representative Wright was with
15		interested. So II asked if there was any way of	15		you when you actually physically opened that
16		extending the loan.	16		account?
17		He said, "Yes, as long as you pay"or	17	A	III know we were there at the bank together.
18		someone pays the interest, which I was willing to	18		Whether it was thatthat day or not, I don'tI
19		do for a ninety-day extension, which I did. And	19		don't remember. He may well have been.
20		that's when the account was opened so that there	20	Q	Okay. But you're notyou're not sure?
21		would be a account in the name of the Community	21	A	I'm notI'm not sure.
22		Health Foundation.	22	Q	Okay. And the information that you received from
23	Q	All right. And when you had this conversation with	23		the SBI officer was that there was never any

24

24

Mr. Burbank, was Representative Wright with you?

-139-

-132-

1		the bank?	1		day, but I don'tI don't recall seeing it before.
2	A	That's correct.	2	Q	Okay. Diddid this documentwas this document
3	Q	Or the bank used up the fees	3		provided to you by the SBI officer when he came to
4	A	Exactly. Exactly.	4		see you?
5	Q	consumed the fees that were	5	A	I don't believe so. I don't think this is one of
6	A	Over several months, maybe about six months, yeah.	6		theI don't remember our looking at this.
7	Q	You indicated to the SBI officer that you were	7	Q	Okay. On the top right of that document in the
8		surprised that there was not a guarantor for	8		right-hand column, you are listed there as the
9		thefor the loan from the Coastal Federal Bank.	9		treasurer. The SBI officer didn't ask you about
10	A	I don't knowI mean, I was relieved that there	10		how your name ended up being listed there as the
11		wasn't, because I felt that I was theI felt that	11		treasurer?
12		I was the guarantor to some degree, and I was	12	A	I don'tI mean, I acknowledged being the
13		relieved to find that I hadn't signed a personal	13		treasurer. I knew that I was the treasurer. I
14		guarantee.	14		don'tI don't remember him asking me that, but
15	Q	Okay. Butbut as far as you knew prior to that	15		I
16		time, you didn't know ififwell, did you ever	16	Q	Okay.
17		see any of thelet me justdo you have the	17	A	I didI was the treasurer, and Thomas was the
18		notebook there in front of you?	18		president, and Bessie Funderburg, until she died,
19	A	Yes.	19		was the secretary, as I recall.
20	Q	All right. Would you look at Exhibit 4?	20	Q	Now, asas the president of the Community Health
21	A	I have it.	21		Foundation, diddid not Representative Wright
22	Q	Okay. Have you ever seen that document before?	22		basically run the affairs of the Community Health
23	A	I don't recall seeing it. It may well have been in	23		Foundation?
24		thatthose big piles at the lawyer's office that	24	A	He did.

1 All right. Would it have been necessary in his 1 Α I do not. 2 running of the affairs of the Community Health 2 You know that you didn't? Foundation to come back to you on a regular basis I did not. 3 to get approval for the day-to-day activities that All right. And none of those expenses came from he was involved in with this? the checking account that you -- that you set up; is 5 5 that correct? Was that an expectation that you had on your part? No. No, they did not. Ω Α All right. Were you aware that there were some All right. And, in fact, you ended up signing the expenses associated with this effort? 9 Ω 9 mortgage--that was an indication of the faith that I wasn't aware in detail. I knew that when we had 10 10 11 you had placed in him to handle the day-to-day 11 set up the other organizations there were several 12 operations of the this organization --12 thousand dollars of legal fees and several thousand 13 Α Yes. 13 dollars of accounting fees involved in setting up a --is that correct? foundation. 0 14 14 15 Α 15 All right. In the--16 0 So there was never any expectation on your part 16 But I don't know the details of the expendership Α 17 that before Representative Wright could receive any 17 [phonetic] on this foundation. funds or expend any funds that he had to have the In the closing package that you had with the -- that 18 18 Ο approval of yourself or any other member of the 19 you signed for the Coastal Federal Bank, do you 19 board? recall seeing an appraisal? 2.0 2.0 21 Α No. 21 I do not, but I--there probably was one there. All right. Who--do you know who paid the expenses Okay. Do you recall if there was a survey done for 22 22

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2.4

the property?

I do not, but I--I know that banks will not loan

-131-

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associated with the development of the Community

Health Foundation?

-133-

1		money without a survey and without an appraisal, so	1	A	Yes. They were definitely going to be needed. I
2		I suspect those documents, if not there, were	2		don't remember the details, but they definitely
3		available. I didn't seeI don't remember seeing	3		were going to be needed for it to be functional
4		them.	4		asas office space.
5	Q	All right. So you would expect, though, that those	5	Q	And you-all did discuss that?
6		expenses associated with just the putting together	6	A	I'm sure we did.
7		of the loan package and securing of the loan would	7	Q	All right. And
8		have been handled byby someone?	8	A	I know whenwhen the developers looked at it
9	A	Yes.	9		thatthat that clearly was going to be a major
10	Q	All right.	10		need, that it was going to require some major
11		PROF. JOYNER: Could I have a moment,	11		renovations, yes.
12		Mr. Chair?	12	Q	All right. And in order for there to be these
13		THE CHAIR: Certainly.	1.3		renovations, there would have to have been some
14		(DISCUSSION OFF RECORD)	14		type of architectural plan?
15	Q	(By Prof. Joyner) Dr. Gottovi, in thatin that	1.5	A	Right. And I sort ofI believe there was, and I
16		loan package, do you recall there being an	16		don't remember the details, though, of what kind of
17		architectural drawing?	17		changes were proposed. But II believe there were
18	A	I don't recall.	18		plans for major renovations. I know they had to be
19	Q	You don't recall thatthat item?	19		done.
20	A	No.	20	Q	Okay.
21	Q	Did you and Representative Wright have some	21		PROF. JOYNER: All right. We have no
22		discussion prior to the closing or after the	22		further questions. Thank you, Dr. Gottovi.
23		closing of the desire to renovate or have some	23		THE CHAIR: Thank you very much.
24		renovations done for the building?	24		Redirect examination, Mr. Hart?

-135- -136-

1		MR. HART: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.	1		with
2	REDIREC	T EXAMINATION BY MR. HART:	2		PROF. JOYNER: Objection.
3	Q	Dr. Gottovi, have you ever been a part of any other	3	Q	board business.
4		nonprofit organization that never met as a board?	4		PROF. JOYNER: It's argumentative.
5	A	I don'tI don't believe so.	5		THE CHAIR: I'll sustain the objection.
6	Q	And have you ever been a part of any other	6		If you want to rephrasethank you, Mr. Hart.
7		nonprofit board besides the Community Health	7	Q	(By Mr. Hart) Dr. Gottovi, were those board
8		Foundation that didn't have bylaws?	8		meetings?
9	A	I don'tI don't believe so.	9	A	I wouldn't have thought of them as board meetings.
10	Q	When you were answering Mr. Joyner's questions, you	10	Q	Okay. So you're not saying that every time the
11		said that you guessed whenever you and Bessie and	11		three of you got together in Wilmington or Raleigh
12		Representative Wright got together that that was a	12		or wherever for dinner or any other matter, that
13		board meeting?	13		that was necessarily a board meeting?
14	A	II think it could be construed as one. I don't	14	A	Not necessarily, but there may have been some where
15		recallI know that we were togetheractually,	15		we did discuss these matters. I don't recall,
16		Bessie was on the board for the Community Health	16		though.
17		Center, and we were together at least once a month	17	Q	And
18		for those meetings, andand we often met at Bessie	18	A	I don't recall them specifically.
19		Funderburg's home over political matters. II	19	Q	I take it, then, that you would agree with your
20		don't recall specific discussions of the Foundation	20		earlier testimony that the Community Health
21		on those occasions, but they may have occurred.	21		Foundation, Incorporated, board never met
22		They may have occurred. I don'tI don't know.	22		officially?
23	Q	Well, it would be hard to classify those as board	23	A	I don't recall specific meetings where we gathered
24		meetings if you didn't discuss anything to do	24		and Thomas called the meeting to order and we had

-137-

1		formal discussions. I can't recall anything like	1	Q	Waswas that after the default?
2		that.	2	A	I believe so, but I'mI'm not sure. I believe so,
3	Q	When didwere there ever any minutes for any of	3		yes.
4		the meetings that you might have had?	4	Q	Okay.
5	A	Not that I recall. Bessie was the secretary and	5	A	It was certainly after we took the loan, because I
6		had been on the Community Health Center board, but	6		know when we talked about the Community's Health
7		a staffperson usually, you know, took the minutes	7		Foundation board that Bessie was mentioned as the
8		and had them recorded and presented.	8		third board member, and II know that she was
9	Q	But there was never anything like that?	9		alive at that point. She was not well, but
10	A	I don'tI don't recall approval of minutes, no.	10	Q	Okay. Dr. Gottovi, whenyou spoke about being
11	Q	Okay. Now, you say that both you and	11		assured by Representative Wright on various
12		Representative Wright were signatories on the	12		occasions when you would talk with him that he was
13		Community Health Foundation account; is that	13		still seeking state grants, federal monies, various
14		correct?	14		things of that nature, correct?
15	A	I believe he was. I know that I was, and I think	15	A	Yes.
16		he was, as well.	16	Q	Did you ever see anything in paperwork where he
17	Q	When was it that Bessie Funderburg died?	17		actually was pursuing something, or was it simply
18	A	II'm not sure of that date. I know KarenKaren	18		your belief based upon his assurances?
19		was still commuting back and forth to Wilmington.	19	A	I did not see any paperwork. It was my confidence
20		Her ninety-year-old mother was still living there	20		inin him.
21		in an apartment near my office, and I know she came	21	Q	Okay. Did you ever see any paperwork in terms of
22		back for Bessie's funeral. I don'tI don't	22		any kinds of expenses or any activities that
23		remember the date, though. I'm sure that's in the	23		Representative Wright was doing on behalf of the
24		public records, though.	24		Community Health Foundation, Incorporated?

There was not any formal authorization, no.

1	A	I did not.	1	Q	Well, that's been true with all the boards that
2	Q	When you were chairman, was it, of the board of the	2		you've been on, is it not?
3		Health Center	3	A	That'sthat's true.
4	A	Yes.	4	Q	Because they had bylaws, they had board meetings,
5	Q	did you feel that you could make expenditures of	5		they had minutes. Correct?
6		funds without board approval?	6	A	That's correct.
7	A	I did not.	7	Q	And thatnone of that took place with the
8	Q	Was there any reason for you to believe that it was	8		Community Health Foundation?
9		appropriate for Representative Wright to do that as	9	A	It did not.
10		president of the Community Health Foundation,	10	Q	And essentially you trusted Representative Wright
11		Incorporated?	11		to do what needed to be done properly, and that's
12	A	It was a different organization, and so I don't	12		why you assumed that he could do whatever he wanted
13		know what the limitations were. I certainly didn't	13		to do?
14		inon the Community Health Center board, we had a	14	A	That's correct.
15		very formalit's a federally-qualified health	1.5	Q	Youyou're not really saying that he had the
16		center, federal funds providing probably two-thirds	16		authorization to do that?
17		of the budget and had an annual audit, so there was	17	A	III can't say either way
18		very close accounting of the funds there.	18	Q	Well
19		And I certainlyI would not have in that	19	A	whether he did or didn't.
20		board situation felt comfortable about any	20		I assumed that he would do things
21		expenditures without the formal process of going	21		properly.
22		through thethe treasurer and having it presented	22	Q	There was certainly no board authorization to do
23		at a board meeting. But that's a very different	23		it, correct?

24

setting.

-141-

1	Q	When you talked about discussions about renovations	1	A	or maybe two or three.
2		being needed, those were just vague, general	2	Q	day-to-day operations of the Community Health
3		discussions about the fact that a building would	3		Center was handled by whom?
4		need to be renovated, correct?	4	A	By the executive director.
5	A	No, I thinkI think there had been a formal	5	Q	By the executive director?
6		requestI don't know if it was from the architect	6	A	Right.
7		who helped us with the Community Health Center, but	7	Q	And whoand the executive director was a
8		I think there werethere had been a formal look at	8		staffperson?
9		the building andand a formal, I think, budget for	9	A	That's correct.
10		what was going to be needed. But II can't recall	10	Q	And that person was hired to handle the day-to-day
11		that clearly now.	11		operations of that organization?
12	Q	Was that prior to the purchase of the building?	12	A	That isthat's correct.
13	A	I don'tI can't recall that, either. I'm sorry.	13	Q	All right. Well, in that capacity, or in that
14		MR. HART: That's all I have,	14		role, would the executive director have to come to
15		Mr. Chairman.	15		the board to get approval to make day-to-day
16		THE CHAIR: All right. Thank you.	16		expenditures?
17		Recross?	17	A	No.
18	RECROSS	S-EXAMINATION BY PROF. JOYNER:	18	Q	So that person would have been authorized to do
19	Q	Dr. Gottovi, let's see if you can clear this up.	19		whatever was necessary to keep that organization
20		You were the chairman of the Community Health	20		going until they reported back to theto the board
21		Center board; is that correct?	21		in terms of thethethe financial reports?
22	A	That's correct, the initial chairman for two	22	A	That's correct. In most organizations I've been
23		years	23		involved in, expenditures over, let's say ten
24	Q	Right. And the	24		thousand dollars or something, you know, a

-143-

1		significant expenditure, would need to be brought	1	Q	All right.
2		to the treasurerthe volunteer treasurer and	2	A	We never hired ayou know, a full-time staff.
3		approved.	3	Q	Right. And it never had aan itemized budget that
4		But certainly the day-to-day operations	4		it was operating with?
5		and at the Community Health Center, they're veryI	5	A	No.
6		mean, it's a huge budget, and so thereit's	6	Q	All right. And any expenses incurred by the
7		thousands and thousands of dollars per day that the	7		Community Health Foundation was absorbed by the
8		executive director is managing there. And they	8		person who had the title of president and was
9		certainly don'tdidn't call me andfor approval.	9		handling the day-to-day operations; is that
10	Q	All right. But thatthat effort was significantly	10		correct?
11		different than was the Community Health Foundation?	11	A	II would say yes.
12	A	That's correct.	12		MR. HART: Objection.
13	Q	Right. With respect to the Community Health	13		THE CHAIR: The objection is sustained,
14		Foundation, the organization never really got	14		and that
15		started, did it?	15		MR. HART: Move to strike.
16	A	II would say no.	16		THE CHAIR: Direct motion to strike
17	Q	Right. It was really in the embryonic stage?	17		granted as to that last sentence and last answer.
18	A	Yes.	18	Q	(By Prof. Joyner) Who would have been responsible
19	Q	And thereyou were trying to get it going?	19		for thethe day-to-day operations of the Community
20	A	Yes.	20		Health Foundation?
21	Q	But it never really reached the point that it had	21	A	Thomas Wright.
22		regular day-to-day operations in the same manner as	22	Q	And were you, as one of the two other board
23		the Community Health Center?	23		members, responsible for overseeing his activities
24	A	That'sthat's correct.	24		on a daily basis?

-145-

1	A	No.	1		were notthere were not bylaws that I saw.
2	Q	And because the organization was still in the	2	Q	There were no bylaws adopted by the board of
3		embryonic stage, you never really had formal	3		directors?
4		meetings in the sense that there was a call for the	4	A	Correct.
5		meeting and minutes taken of the discussions that	5	Q	All right. And yourfrom your perspective, is it
6		you had?	6		necessary to have bylaws on day one?
7	A	We did not.	7	A	No, and you usually do not have them. I think I
8	Q	All right. But there were informal conversations	8		said it took us a year to develop the bylaws for
9		between you, Representative Wright, and Betsy [sic]	9		the Access III of the Lower Cape Fear. It was a
10		Funderburg about the operations or the things going	10		process of, you know, having an initial draft
11		on with the Community Health Foundation?	11		prepared by the attorney. Then we had monthly
12	A	I believe so. I don't recall them specifically,	12		board meetings with this group of twenty people
13		though.	13		from five counties thatand the composition of
14	Q	Okay. But you do at leastwell, or, more	14		thethis is duringbefore the adoptionthe
15		specifically, you do recall conversations and	15		composition and modifications would occur, and then
16		dialogue between you and Representative Wright	16		the final bylaws were approved in Elizabeth City
17		about the work of the Community Health Foundation	17		almost a year to the date after our initial
18	A	Yes.	18		steering-committee meeting.
19	Q	in its embryonic development?	19	Q	But you
20	A	Yes.	20	A	It took a long time, yes.
21	Q	All right. Now, you indicated that the boardthat	21	Q	Based on the other efforts that youthat you had,
22		the Community Health Foundation did not have	22		you recognized that it takes some time to put
23		bylaws?	23		together bylaws?
24	A	I don't know if they were drawn or not. Ithere	24	A	Yes.

-147- -148-

24

Health Foundation, Inc., ever provide any

1	Q	And you indicated that involved in the putting	1		Representative Wright would be preparing written
2		together of the bylaws would be some consultation	2		reports to you about his daily activities and any
3		with an attorney?	3		expenses which he incurred in the development of
4	A	That's correct.	4		this embryonic organization?
5	Q	Which is another incurring of expenses?	5	A	No.
6	A	Yes.	6		PROF. JOYNER: May I just have a moment?
7	Q	All right. And for a fledging organization, the	7		THE CHAIR: Certainly.
8		expenses to handle that may not be present at that	8		(DISCUSSION OFF RECORD)
9		time?	9		PROF. JOYNER: We have no further
10	A	Theythey were not.	10		questions at this time.
11	Q	They were not present at that time	11		THE CHAIR: All right. Thank you.
12	A	No.	12		Representative Stam?
13	Q	because you didn't have a budget to handle	13		REP. STAM: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
14		anything like that?	14		Dr. Gottovi, turning your attention to Exhibit 1 in
15	A	That's correct.	15		the notebook, which you said you weredidn't sign
16	Q	All right. Now, Mr. Hart asked you if	16		but were familiar with
17		Representative Wright ever brought you any	17		THE WITNESS: Yes, sir.
18		paperwork regarding hishis activities and	18		REP. STAM:would you turn to Page 2
19		expenses that he had incurred. Do you recall that	19		under "Purpose of Corporation"?
20		question?	20		Do you see where it says, "This
21	A	I recall the question.	21		corporation is organized for the following purposes
22	Q	Wasfrom your perspective, was that necessary?	22		checked"? The first one there is "Charitable."
23	A	No.	23		Did this corporation entitled The Community's

Q Was it an--was it an expectation on your part that

-149-

1	charitable services to anyone?	1	debt?
2	THE WITNESS: Not during that year and a	2	THE WITNESS: Well, it actually wasn't a
3	half or so that I was involved, that Ithat I'm	3	request or a demand. I volunteered to extend the
4	aware of.	4	loan, and it was an interest payment so that they
5	REP. STAM: Are you aware of any services	5	would extend the loan for ninety days so that we
6	after that year and a halfany charitable services	6	could work on other possible sources of revenue
7	that it has provided?	7	from within the community.
8	THE WITNESS: I'm not.	8	REP. STAM: And as far as you know, that
9	REP. STAM: All right. Do you know of	9	was credited to the account of Community Health
10	any educationalI see there's"Educational" is	10	Foundation, Inc.?
11	also checked. Has this corporation provided any	11	THE WITNESS: Itactually, the checks
12	educational services to anyone?	12	were done right there at the bank and written to
13	THE WITNESS: I don't believe so.	13	the Community Health Foundation, Inc., and I
14	REP. STAM: I see that "Scientific" is	14	immediately endorsed them over to the bank so that
15	checked. Has this corporation of which you're	15	they were paidpaid directly to the bank
16	treasurer and a board member, provided any	16	REP. STAM: Right.
17	scientific services to anyone?	17	THE WITNESS:through the Foundation.
18	THE WITNESS: I don't believe that we	18	REP. STAM: Did you deduct the forty-six
19	did.	19	hundred dollars (\$4,600) you paid toto the
20	REP. STAM: You testified that you paid	20	Community Health Foundation, which was then
21	forty-six hundred dollars (\$4,600) after about a	21	endorsed, against your federal income tax as a
22	year at the request or demand of the bank, and $\ensuremath{\mathtt{I}}$	22	charitable deduction?
23	assume that was to pay on the debt of the	23	THE WITNESS: I believe I did.
24	Community's Health Foundation, Inc., not your own	24	REP. STAM: So if it turns outwell,

-151- -152-

previously?

1 I'll withdraw the last part of the question.

2	THE WITNESS: Well, I understand the	2	THE CHAIR: Well, we're going to hear you
3	question you were going to ask, and no, that'sI	3	in a minute. But are there any other documents
4	THE CHAIR: The question wasn't asked.	4	you're going to want to examine him on,
5	THE WITNESS: Okay. Sorry.	5	Representative Stam?
6	REP. STAM: Mr. Chairman, I haveright	6	REP. STAM: Yes, one other also obtained
7	before the break I obtained a copy of the closing	7	right before the break, which is also signed by
8	statement, which is Bates-stamped, so I assume the	8	Mr. Wright and Mr. Gottovi, if we could hand
9	Respondent has it, but it wasn't in our package. I	9	THE CHAIR: If the sergeant-at-arms will
10	wonder if I could pass it out and see if anybody	10	please hand that to Dr. Joyner, Mr. Harris,
11	has any objection to	11	Mr. Hart, and Mr. Peters
12	THE CHAIR: If you'll give it to	12	MR. HARRIS: May I inquire where these
13	Dr. Joyner, Mr. Harris, Mr. Hart, and Mr. Peters,	13	came from once
14	and then we'll see if there's an objection.	14	THE CHAIR: I'll allow Representative
15	REP. STAM: And the witness.	15	Stam to answer.
16	THE CHAIR: Well, let's hold the witness	16	REP. STAM: I obtained it from Staff, who
17	till we	17	I think obtained it from Mr. Hart. And it looks
18	REP. STAM: Oh, okay.	18	like it has an SBI stamp, soand it has a Bates
19	THE CHAIR: Thanks.	19	stamp, 01798, which means you probably have it in
20	PROF. JOYNER: Mr. Chairman, are there	20	your file right there.
21	any other documents that	21	PROF. JOYNER: Mr. Chairman
22	REP. STAM: Yeah, right here.	22	REP. STAM: And the second document is
23	PROF. JOYNER:that we want to	23	1785, which was probably delivered to you
24	distribute that have not been provided to us	24	December 31.

-153-

1	THE CHAIR: Do you need a few minutes to	1	PROF. JOYNER: I do. I mean, and then
2	look at those documents?	2	why are we just getting to them now? Why weren't
3	PROF. JOYNER: I beg your pardon?	3	these in the packet of information thatthat we've
4	THE CHAIR: Do you need a few minutes to	4	been provided with previously?
5	look at those documents?	5	THE CHAIR: Well, the first answer, I
6	PROF. JOYNER: No. I'd like to know	6	think, to the question is they haven't been
7	where are the originals for these?	7	introduced or attempted to be introduced by
8	THE CHAIR: Well, I don't know that we	8	Committee counsel, soat this point they're just
9	have an answer to that. I'm assumingI mean, I'm	9	being shown to the witness to cross-examine, and
10	making an assumption looking at what I'm looking at	10	you can show anything to a witness to cross-
11	with the Bates stamp, that the document lies with	11	examine. They're not being sought to be
12	the district attorney's office right now.	12	introduced, or at least I don't know that they are,
13	PROF. JOYNER: Well, you know,	13	and Iand certainly haven't been by Committee
14	that'sthat's-really an assumption,	14	counsel.
15	because BatesBates stamp doesn't mean that it	15	Second, as to the authenticity issue,
16	came from the district attorney's office, since	16	what I need to know from you is if you want a
17	there are at least three other people with Bates	17	minute, 'cause then I'm going to want to know what
18	stamps that they could put on this.	18	the problems are with it.
19	THE CHAIR: Well, I understand that, so	19	PROF. JOYNER: Well, Mr. Chairman, as I
20	I'm going to ask this question: I want you to look	20	understand the rules of this Committee, if there
21	at the documents, and are youdo you have any	21	were any documents which bore on this subject,
22	concerns as to their genuineness or authenticity?	22	hearing matters here today, that we would have
23	PROF. JOYNER: Yes.	23	received them with enough time to look them over
24	THE CHAIR: All right.	24	and to make any inquiry about its authenticity or

-155-

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2 document. So I'm--I'm--I'm concerned about why we're just being shown these documents now, rather than last week when we got the other documents, and 5 then why these documents were obviously held in some secret location not available to the rest of us and now are to be delivered. So, yeah, I have 9 some -- some real concerns about this. THE CHAIR: I understand. I'm going to 10 11 go back to the first point, that the Committee rules are very clear documents that were in 13 Mr. Hart and Mr. Peters' possession that they intend to introduce were absolutely to be turned 14 15 over and were. This document is not coming from Mr. Hart 16 and Mr. Peters for introduction, and it is not 17 being sought, as I understand it, for introduction. 18 It's being sought to show the witness to ask 19

examination questions that I have -- I understand

anywhere near admitting the document as substantive

evidence on any basis. But a witness may be shown

anything for purposes of cross-examination, and  $\ensuremath{\mbox{I}}\xspace^*$ 

your concern, and--and I am not at this point

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any other question that we might have about the

certainly going to allow that to happen.

But my question, before I do that, if the

document is authentic and genuine--if you have

serious questions about authenticity and genuineness, that's what I want to know. And if you need a few minutes, I'll be glad to recess for you to look through the document and see if you've got specific questions about that.

PROF. JOYNER: Mr. Chairman-MR. HARRIS: I have a serious question.
THE CHAIR: No, I--I--one of you--who's arguing here?

PROF. JOYNER: I'm--I'm--I'm arguing.

THE CHAIR: All right. Thank you.

PROF. JOYNER: Whether Dr. Gottovi is
given these documents to review is not my issue. I
don't care. What I do care about is the integrity
of this process and why are we now being surprised
by members of this Committee going outside of the
appointed counsel to find and present documents for
review in this session?

So that's my concern. It's not whether Dr. Gottovi looks at this and makes whatever comments he wants to make about it. But if the

-157--158-

face it would appear suspect.

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Committee has now become outside counsel, I need to know that there's a shift in the arrangement, because we have been relying upon Mr. Hart and Mr. Peters as the party that will produce, present documented -- documentary evidence in -- on behalf. Now, the Committee members have now gone outside to become another source of -- of prosecution in this matter? That causes some concern. THE CHAIR: Let me ask this question so that I can see where we are, then I'm going to--I

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understand the legal argument. What I want to know first is do you have -- as looking at the document, are the documents in your mind not authentic and not genuine? And just help me to understand why. That's my first question. We'll get to the others. But help me to understand, if there's a problem with their authenticity and genuineness, what is it?

MR. HARRIS: We had the person on the stand, Mr. Chair, Mr. Burbank, who identified the--the bank documents. And the document he identified was the approval of a loan dated March 5th, 2002. He said that when he signed that, that was the day he approved it. I'd like to point been approved. Why would anybody be applying for a loan when they've already got the loan? Because Mr. Burbank, who was on the stand, who's already testified and left and been allowed to leave, 'cause we had no idea about this--Mr. Burbank

out this one document, which purports to be an

application -- a business credit application, is, in

fact, dated after that, April 5th, 2002. So on its

It's an application after it's already

testified that he approved it on March the 5th, 2002. That's the undisputed testimony by somebody who knows.

And I assume Mr. Stam does not know, I assume the staff doesn't know, and--and I assume nobody really knows where this document originated. We don't have the original, and it appears on its face to be suspect.

REP. STAM: If I -- Mr. Chairman, if I could--

THE CHAIR: Representative Stam? REP. STAM: First of all, as I said, the source where I got it was this afternoon from staff, who got it from Special Counsel, and it

-159-

appears to be from the SBI. It appears to have the Bates stamp. So therefore it was given to you December 31.

Secondly, in their questioning, they've asked about "wouldn't the HUD-1 statement show" so-and-so. This is the HUD-1 statement. Why wouldn't we want to have it? It appears to be signed by Mr. Wright. The other credit application appears to be signed by Mr. Wright and Mr. Gottovi -- Dr. Gottovi. What is the problem?

MR. HARRIS: If you can give me about five minutes with a copy machine, I can put your signature on here, and you'll see what the problem is.

THE CHAIR: Let's--let's--all right. We're going to--I think this is a good time for me to consider the arguments. We're going to take a recess until twenty after three. Thank you.

(TWELVE-MINUTE RECESS)

21 22 THE CHAIR: All right. Now, we're going 23

to--I've asked Representative Stam not to proceed with questions on the documents, and that gets us

out of that controversy. I--I will allow him to ask whatever questions he wants to ask as--as a Committee member generally. So, Representative

-160-

REP. STAM: Dr. Gottovi, just one other question: Do you recall that at the closing the seller was credited with twenty-five thousand dollars (\$25,000) of deposit or--deposit retained by seller, twenty-five thousand?

THE WITNESS: I do not recall that, Representative Stam.

REP. STAM: That was just not discussed at all, whether--

THE WITNESS: No.

REP. STAM: Okay. And if the corporation had twenty-five thousand that had already been paid, the corporation of which you were treasurer, you didn't know anything about it?

PROF. JOYNER: Objection.

THE CHAIR: I'm going to overrule the objection. If you know.

THE WITNESS: I -- ask the question again. I'm sorry.

REP. STAM: If the corporation had paid

-161-

1	twenty-five thousand earnest-money deposit on this	1	THE WITNESS: That'sthat's correct.
2	property before the closing, you as treasurer did	2	The money went essentially directly to the bank. $\ensuremath{\text{I}}$
3	not know anything about it?	3	did it asthrough the Foundation, as
4	THE WITNESS: No, I did not.	4	RepresentativeRepresentative Stam assumes, so
5	REP. STAM: Okay. Thank you.	5	that at least I could take a charitable donation
6	THE CHAIR: All right. Any further	6	for the money I was giving to the Foundation.
7	questions, Representative Stam?	7	THE CHAIR: Yes, sir?
8	REP. STAM: No, thank you.	8	REP. McGEE: My question is, then, did
9	THE CHAIR: All right. Representative	9	you deposit the check that you wrote into the
10	I'm just going to go this wayRepresentative	10	Foundation account and from the Foundation account
11	Warren?	11	write another check from the Foundation to the
12	REP. WARREN: No questions.	12	bank, which was deposited?
13	THE CHAIR: All right. Thank you so	13	THE WITNESS: I'mI'm really not sure on
14	much. Representative McGee?	14	that. I can remember standing at the counter at
15	REP. McGEE: Yes, I have a question.	15	the bank with the checkbook, and I don't recallI
16	THE CHAIR: Yes, sir.	16	think the SBI agent had all of those records of
17	REP. McGEE: Thank you. I'm still	17	things in and out of the Foundation checkbook, and
18	confused about the personal check that you wrote to	18	I don't believeI think it just went immediately
19	pay the interest.	19	to the bank itself.
20	THE WITNESS: Yes.	20	REP. McGEE: If I may follow up
21	REP. McGEE: You wrote the check made out	21	THE CHAIR: Certainly.
22	to the Foundation, then turned the check over and	22	REP. McGEE: I think I earlier heard you
23	endorsed the check over to the bank with you as	23	say that the one hundred dollars that you deposited
24	treasurer of the Foundation? Is that	24	into the account eventually disappeared because of

-163- -164-

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1	fees and charges?
2	THE WITNESS: That's correct.
3	REP. McGEE: Then, to follow up, was that
4	the onlyor were those the only transactions that
5	ever took place in that checking account?
6	THE WITNESS: Yes.
7	REP. McGEE: Thank you.
8	THE CHAIR: All right. Representative
9	Lucas?
10	REP. LUCAS: No questions.
11	THE CHAIR: Thank you. Representative
12	Wiley?
13	REP. WILEY: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I
14	know you've been up there a while. I'll
15	THE CHAIR: It's all right. I'm okay.
16	REP. WILEY:try and keep this short.
17	A couple of questions. After the closing, did you
18	ever go back to the building? Did youwere you in
19	the building that was purchased at all?
20	THE WITNESS: I wentI really didn'tI
21	didn't goI'd been there before, long before any
22	of this interest on behalf of the Community Health
23	Center, long before, I think, we even had thatthe
24	Health Center was built. I had been to Wayne

Lofton's office on one occasion. Wayne was Bob Jordan's minority affairs person, and I had gotten to know him in that context and--and, actually, I often had lunch with him over political discussions over the years.

So I had been to the building before any of this transpired, and then I went there at least one time during that ninety-day period where we extended the loan. I went there with Lydia Newman, now Lydia Newman Faulkner, who was the newly-hired executive director for Access III of the Lower Cape Fear, to see if that space might be appropriate for the offices for this new entity, hoping we--we were--I knew the new entity was going to have to be housed somewhere, and we wanted it in downtown Wilmington where the clients were, at least the New Hanover folks. So I did go there with her.

At that time I think Wayne Lofton still had some of his offices there, and the local sickle-cell program was occupying another part of the first floor.

But the building was in need of major renovations, and--and Ms. Newman did not feel it would be appropriate for offices for her new staff -165-

1	that she was putting together. So they ended up	1	know.
2	renting space in the Murchison Building downtown,	2	REP. WILEY: One more question?
3	which is an old office building downtown in	3	THE CHAIR: Certainly.
4	Wilmington.	4	REP. WILEY: At the time of closing, the
5	REP. WILEY: If I may	5	building itself was the only tangible collateral
6	THE CHAIR: Certainly.	6	atatfor closing?
7	REP. WILEY: Did you happen to notice,	7	THE WITNESS: That's correct.
8	were there any utilities turned on	8	REP. WILEY: Do you happen to remember,
9	THE WITNESS: Oh, yes, yes.	9	did they require the Foundation to purchase any
10	REP. WILEY:that you would have been	10	insurance on that building at the time of closing?
11	responsible for?	11	THE WITNESS: I don't recall. I'm
12	THE WITNESS: Yes. Iyeah, because I	12	sureI'm sure that insurance was required, but I
13	know the sickle-cell program waswas using that	13	don'tI don't recall documents related to that,
14	space during the time that we had this loan	14	and I don't know how it wasit was paid.
15	outstanding, and I think part of Wayne Lofton's	15	REP. WILEY: Last question
16	business waswas still there. So I believe there	16	THE CHAIR: Certainly.
17	were utilities goingbeing paid for. And I'm not	17	REP. WILEY: Were you aware, thenI
18	sure wherewhere that was coming from.	18	guess, as a whole question herewere you aware of
19	REP. WILEY: So you're not sure who was	19	any bills that were needing to be paid on an
20	responsible for the payment of those utility bills?	20	ongoing basis from the Foundation?
21	THE WITNESS: I think during that year	21	THE WITNESS: I was not, but II'm sure
22	that we owned the building andand that we	22	there were utility bills, I'm sure there were
23	wereI certainly wasn't writing checks for them.	23	insurance bills, but Ithey werethey were not
24	And Representative Wright may have been. I don't	24	bills that were presented to me, and I certainly

-167- -168-

REP. McGEE: --as well as a federal

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                       THE CHAIR: All right. Representative
                                                                                                  relationship with the representative in the Senate
             McGee, I think you had one other question. I
                                                                                                  and also in the House.
              apologize. I cut you short. I'm sorry.
                                                                                                            Since you were one of the people that has
                       REP. McGEE: No, you didn't. I just
                                                                                                  your name on this document, did you pursue perhaps
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              thought of a question I wanted to ask.
                                                                                                  receiving some funds from other sources, such as
                       I don't know if it's loud enough to
                                                                                                  contacting another senator or the U.S. House of
             hear--on the notice of foreclosure, Dr. Gottovi--
                                                                                                  Representatives -- a representative for your area,
                       THE CHAIR: Can you give him an exhibit
                                                                                                  yourself?
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                                                                                     9
             number?
                                                                                                            THE WITNESS: I did not. I did not.
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                                                                                                            THE CHAIR: Thank you. The Chair has
                       REP. McGEE: It's Exhibit Number 5.
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                       THE WITNESS: Number 5. Just a second. I
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                                                                                                  just several questions, and then I'm going to,
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             have that.
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                                                                                                  after I'm done, return for redirect and recross,
                       REP. McGEE: Okay. You're shown as one
                                                                                                  which I expect to be extremely brief so we can move
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             of the people to receive the notice of foreclosure
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                                                                                                            Dr. Gottovi, you indicated that this
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             as treasurer of the corporation?
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                       THE WITNESS: That's--that's correct.
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                                                                                                  organization really -- I think in your recross, never
                       REP. McGEE: And you stated earlier, I
                                                                                                  really got started, so there never really was an
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             believe, that you followed politics on levels of
                                                                                                  executive director hired or anything like that. Am
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             state and federal, and, of course, the district
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                                                                                                  I correct?
                                                                                                            THE WITNESS: You're correct.
             that Representative Wright serves also has a
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             senator in the State House--I mean, in the General
                                                                                                            THE CHAIR: All right. Now, as a member
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             Assembly--
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                                                                                                  of the Board, when you held any--well, strike that.
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                       THE WITNESS: Yes.
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                                                                                                            When you had your informal meetings with
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didn't write any checks for them during that year.

-169-

1	Representative Wright andI apologizecan you	1	THE CHAIR: All right. As the treasurer
2	give meI think it was	2	of this organization, would you have expected your
3	REP. STAM: Bessie Funderburg.	3	responsibility to be someone who received the bills
4	THE CHAIR: Bessie Funderburg? Is that	4	and then to issue checks for payment of those
5	correct?	5	bills?
6	THE WITNESS: Yes, Bessie Funderburg.	6	THE WITNESS: I would have.
7	THE CHAIR: When you held those informal	7	THE CHAIR: Other than the two
8	meetings, I'm assuming, 'cause I've never seen	8	transactions we talked about which were initiated
9	thembut I'm assuming there weren't any minutes	9	by you, did you ever receive a bill that you paid
10	taken in those meetings?	10	as treasurer of the organization?
11	THE WITNESS: There were not that I was	11	THE WITNESS: I don't recall that I did.
12	aware of, anyway.	12	THE CHAIR: All right. That's the only
13	THE CHAIR: Well, when the three of you	13	questions the Chair has. Mr. Hart, redirect?
14	were there, I assume you would have seen if minutes	14	MR. HART: No, sir. Thank you.
15	were being taken?	15	THE CHAIR: Dr. Joyner, recross?
16	THE WITNESS: Yes. No, I did not see any	16 FUR	RTHER RECROSS-EXAMINATION BY PROF. JOYNER:
17	minutes being taken, no werewere they ever	17 Q	Dr. Gottovi, is it your understanding that during
18	presented for approval.	18	the time that the Community Health Foundation was
19	THE CHAIR: And I'm also going to assume	19	in operation that Representative Wright functioned
20	that you never signed a written consent for	20	in the capacity as executive director?
21	specific actions to be taken by the association or	21 A	Not in a formal way, but hehe was really running
22	corporation, were youdid you?	22	the day-to-day operations of the Foundation, yes.
23	THE WITNESS: I don't recall signing	23 Q	So even though there was no formal document to
24	anything.	24	thetoto authorize it, he really ran the day-to-

-171- -172-

THE CHAIR: Agent Umphlet? Agent, you'll

1		day operations? Whatever was done on behalf of the	1		would be an in-kind charitable donation, letting
2		Community Health Foundation, he did it?	2		them stay there.
3	A	That's correct. Couldcould I go back to the	3	Q	And I guess my question is, any limitations on what
4		Chairman's question aboutI was actually relieved	4		they were able to do was due to the fact that
5		not to have those responsibilities of signing and	5		theyit never really got up and running?
6		receivingI had a lot on my plate at that point in	6	A	That'sthat's correct.
7		life, and I was relieved not to have to do that. So	7	Q	Okay.
8		I was relieved to have Thomas Wright sort of doing	8		PROF. JOYNER: No further questions.
9		whatever was needed to be done.	9		THE CHAIR: All right. Thank you. You
10	Q	Now, theyou were asked about whether the	10		may step down, Dr. Gottovi. Thank you. Next
11		Community Health Foundation ever engaged in any	11		witness, Mr. Hart?
12		charitable services, educational services, or	12		MR. HART: May Dr. Gottovi be excused?
13		scientific services. Was it your recollection that	13		THE CHAIR: Let me just ask Dr. Joyner.
14		the Foundation never got to the point that it could	14		Any reason to keep Dr. Gottovi here?
1,5		do any of those?	15		PROF. JOYNER: No. He can
16	A	I think that isthat is my recollection, but in	16		THE CHAIR: And, Mr. Hart, any reason?
17		thinking back, I guess housing the local	17		MR. HART: No.
18		sickle-cell organization during that year would be	18		THE CHAIR: All right. Dr. Gottovi,
19		a'cause I don't think it was charged anything. I	19		you're excused and excused from your subpoena.
20		think that was probablywould account to some	20		Thank you.
21		charitable in-kind service, butbut no other	21		THE CHAIR: Next witness, Mr. Hart?
22		formal efforts that I can recall, scientific or	22		MR. HART: Next witness is Agent Johnnie
23		educational. We did house theI thinkthe	23		Umphlet.

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sickle-cell group was housed there, and I guess it

-173-

	be sworn in by the court reporter.	1	Q	And are you located here in Raleigh?
	* * * *	2	A	The office that I work out of is located here in
	·	3		Raleigh. I actually reside in Greenville.
	Whereupon,	4	Q	Okay. How long have you been with the State Bureau
	JOHNNIE UMPHLET,	5		of Investigation, sir?
	having been first duly sworn,	6	A	I believe this upcoming August or September will be
	was examined and testified	7		ten years.
	as follows:	8	Q	And did you have any law-enforcement experience
	·	9		before that time?
	THE CHAIR: You may proceed,	10	A	Yes, sir, I did.
	Mr. Hart. Thank you.	11	Q	And where was that?
	MR. HART: Thank you, Mr. Chair.	12	A	Actually, with several different agencies. I
DIRECT	EXAMINATION BY MR. HART:	13		started back in 1989 with Greenville Police
Q	Would you state your name, please?	14		Department and worked there for approximately two
A	Johnnie Umphlet. And for the spelling, it's	15		years, left there to go work with probation and
	J-O-H-N-N-I-E U-M-P-H-L-E-T.	16		parole. I worked there for about two and a half
Q	How are you employed, sir?	17		years, then left there and went to East Carolina
A	$\ensuremath{\text{I'm}}$ an assistant special agent in charge with the	18		University Police Department and worked with East
	State Bureau of Investigation.	19		Carolina University Police Department until I went
Q	And are you assigned to a particular unit within	20		with the SBI.
	the State Bureau of Investigation?	21	Q	Did there come a time that you became involved in
A	I am assigned to a special unit. It is special	22		the investigation of allegations regarding
	investigations within the Professional Standards	23		Representative Thomas Wright?
	Q A Q A	Whereupon,  JOHNNIE UMPHLET, having been first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:  THE CHAIR: You may proceed, Mr. Hart. Thank you. MR. HART: Thank you, Mr. Chair.  DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. HART: Q Would you state your name, please? A Johnnie Umphlet. And for the spelling, it's J-O-H-N-N-I-E U-M-P-H-L-E-T. Q How are you employed, sir? A I'm an assistant special agent in charge with the State Bureau of Investigation. Q And are you assigned to a particular unit within the State Bureau of Investigation? A I am assigned to a special unit. It is special	Whereupon,  JOHNNIE UMPHLET, having been first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:  B  THE CHAIR: You may proceed, Mr. Hart. Thank you. MR. HART: Thank you, Mr. Chair.  DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. HART: Q Would you state your name, please? A Johnnie Umphlet. And for the spelling, it's J-O-H-N-N-I-E U-M-P-H-L-E-T. Q How are you employed, sir? A I'm an assistant special agent in charge with the State Bureau of Investigation. Q And are you assigned to a particular unit within the State Bureau of Investigation? 21 A I am assigned to a special unit. It is special	******  2 A  Whereupon,  JOHNNIE UMPHLET, having been first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:  8 Q  THE CHAIR: You may proceed, Mr. Hart. Thank you. MR. HART: Thank you, Mr. Chair.  DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. HART: Q Would you state your name, please? A Johnnie Umphlet. And for the spelling, it's J-O-H-N-N-I-E U-M-P-H-L-E-T. Q How are you employed, sir? A I'm an assistant special agent in charge with the State Bureau of Investigation. Q And are you assigned to a particular unit within the State Bureau of Investigation? 21 Q  A I am assigned to a special unit. It is special

-175- -176-

1	Q	And you	1		and specifically in September of 2007, did you
2	A	Yes, there was.	2		request thatdid you call Representative Thomas
3	Q	When waswhen was that? When did you first become	3		Wright and ask him to speak with you about the
4		involved in that?	4		allegations?
5	A	Sometime during the month of May 2007.	5	A	Yes, sir, I did.
6	Q	All right. Were you the only agent involved in	6	Q	And could you tell us what you remember about that
7		this investigation, sir?	7		conversation?
8	A	No, sir, I was not.	8	A	I hadwithout looking at my notes, I believe I had
9	Q	Were you assigned specific duties involving the	9		one or two telephone conversations with Mr. Wright,
10		investigation?	10		asking for an interview with him in reference to
11	A	Yes, sir, I was.	11		these allegations, at which time he advised that he
12	Q	And what iswhat is that? What duties did you	12		would meet with me to discuss anything that I
13		have?	13		needed to discuss with him.
14	A	I was assigned as the case agent for this	14	Q	All right. Did he say anything else at that time
15		investigation, which is the lead investigator for	15		that you recall?
16		the investigation.	16	A	Without looking specifically at my notes, nothing
17	Q	All right. And what are the duties of the case	17		in particular stands out.
18		agent?	18	Q	All right, sir. After talking with him on the
19	A	The duties of the case agent would be to conduct	19		phone, at some point did you meet with him?
20		the investigation and to ensure that the	20	A	Yes, sir, I did, on two different occasions.
21		investigation is conducted to obtain any assistance	21	Q	All right. Directing your attention to the first
22		from other agents that are in the field or also	22		occasion, do you remember, would that have been on
23		within my unit to assist in the investigation.	23		September 28th of 2007?
24	Q	All right. During the course of the investigation,	24	A	That date sounds familiar as the date that I did

-177-

1		meet with him. Yes, sir.	1		bylaws?
2	Q	All right. And can you tell us what you remember	2	A	I recall us speaking about bylaws, but without
3		about meeting with him on that date?	3		looking specifically at my notes, I can't recall
4	A	I recall that Representative Wright voluntarily met	4		the exact conversation that we had concerning the
5		with myself and another agent that was withinthat	5		bylaws.
6		works within our unit, that agent being Assistant	6	Q	Do you recall whether he told you whether or not
7		Special Agent in Charge Kay Perry [phonetic]. I	7		they'd ever had any meetings of the board of
8		also recall that the interview took place in	8		directors of the Foundation?
9		Wilmington in thein a conference room of the New	9		PROF. JOYNER: Mr. Chairman, I'm going to
10		Hanover Community Health Center.	10		object to the leading. I don't object to the
11	Q	All right. And did either one ofdid anyone	11		question, but I'll object to the constant leading.
12		record the meeting?	12		And, I mean, I would move out [phonetic] of the
13	A	Yes, sir, they did.	13		transition phase and let the witness testify.
14	Q	And whowho recorded the meeting?	14		THE CHAIR: And I agree. I'llI'll
15	A	Representative Wright recorded the meeting.	15		certainly allow this question, butand we will
16	Q	In what way, audio, or video, or both?	16		need tothe Agent will need to answer the
17	A	My understanding, it was just a video recorder that	17		questions in a narration form. But go ahead
18		he had brought to make the recording.	18		andand answer that question, please, Agent.
19	Q	All right. Did you ever receive a copy of that	19	A	If you could, please, repeat that question.
20		video recording?	20	Q	(By Mr. Hart) Do you recall whether or not
21	A	No, sir.	21		Representative Wright indicated whether there had
22	Q	During thethat particular interview, did you at	22		ever been any meetings of the board of directors of
23		any time ask Representative Wright if the Community	23		the Community Health Foundation, Incorporated?
24		Health Foundation, Incorporated, had had any	24		PROF. JOYNER: I'm going to object to the

-179- -180-

1	leading again.
2	MR. HART: Mr. Chairman, may Imay I
3	respond to that?
4	THE CHAIR: Yes.
5	MR. HART: That is not a leading
6	question. It is a directive question. It is not a
7	leading question. It does not give the answer that
8	I'm suggesting that he respond.
9	THE CHAIR: Ithe objection's overruled.
10	PROF. JOYNER: Mr. Chairman, if I may
11	THE CHAIR: Yes, Dr. Joyner.
12	PROF. JOYNER: The last time that I
13	looked, any question that in its formation asks for
14	a "yes" or "no" answer is a leading question. It
15	need not suggest the answer, but it if asks for a
16	"yes" or a "no" answer, then it is a leading
17	question.
18	THE CHAIR: Well
19	PROF. JOYNER: And this one did, because
20	it started out with the prefix "did."
21	THE CHAIR: We're not in a courtroom,
22	Gentlemen, and I agree we're going to try to stay
23	with the rules as much as we can, but we're also

going to try to move this along. For now, that

objection's overruled, but, again, I--I know we're going to try to have the agent narrate.

What I am going to do for a minute--and I apologize--I'm going to ask--and this is a request we had earlier from the court reporter. I need to ask--and we're going to take a five-minute recess. I'm going to keep it very short, but we've got a tape transition that we've got to do in the transcription, so I've got to take a five-minute recess. We'll be in recess until five--until ten of. I'm sorry. Thank you.

## (EIGHT-MINUTE RECESS)

THE CHAIR: All right. I'm trying to balance a number of things out. What I'm going to do--we've got--I'm just going to try--I'm not going to try to ask anybody for predictions, but just so I can get some logistics done here, Mr. Hart, other than the Agent, who--what other witnesses do you have?

 $$\operatorname{MR}.$$  HART: Kim Strach from the Board of Elections.

THE CHAIR: All right. And, obviously, I

-181--182-

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think that will take a fairly substantial period of time. Okay. Then, Dr. Joyner, without telling me--and I'm not holding you to any commitment, but is it your anticipation at this point that there will be evidence presented for Representative Wright? You don't need to tell me right now who, what, where; I just want to know for timing purposes.

PROF. JOYNER: That is a real possibility.

THE CHAIR: All right. With that, we have gone a long day, and we have several members who have some commitments in their districts. That is one of the problems when you're a legislator trying to also have a career. So rather than try to force the issue, we're obviously going to be here for significantly additional evidence for you, Mr. Hart. potentially evidence for Representative Wright, we've got, clearly, arguments, so--I always used to hate it when I was in a courtroom and judges pushed you till the end and everyone went home exhausted. So last--yesterday was a long day. This morning was an exceptionally long time. I'm going to give everybody a little bit of time.

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

COUNTY OF WAKE

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## CERTIFICATE

I, Katherine M. Becker, a Notary Public in and for the State of North Carolina, duly commissioned and authorized to administer oaths and to take and certify hearings, do hereby certify that these proceedings were held before me at the time and place aforesaid, that all parties were present as hereinbefore stated, and that the record as set forth in the preceding Pages 2 through 182 represents a true and accurate transcription of the proceedings, to the best of my ability and understanding.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereto set my hand, this the 4th day of March, 2008.

Notary Public Notary Public No. 20023570191

-183-

My Commission Expires 12-29-2012

Katherine M. Becker PACE REPORTING SERVICE
P. O. Box 252
Cary, North Carolina 27512
Telephone: 919/859-0000 - Raleigh 910/433-2926 - Fayetteville 910/790-5599 - Wilmington

2 tomorrow at ten o'clock A.M. here, and hopefully begin sharp at that point. Mr. Peters, you're signaling me 5 something? MR. PETERS: Are we in this room? THE CHAIR: Same room. I'm not going to re-read the instruction yet again, but I will ask 9 the Committee members to please be mindful of the 10 instruction I've read several times, and to all 11 members of the public and press, as well. 12 Thank you, everybody. We will see you at 13 ten o'clock tomorrow. Thank you. 14 15 (WHEREUPON, THE PROCEEDINGS WERE ADJOURNED AT 3:54 P.M.)

We're going to recess to reconvene

-i-

# 

Rep. Thomas E. Wright Prof. Irving Joyner, Counsel to Rep. Wright Mr. Douglas Harris, Counsel to Rep. Wright

 ${\tt Mr.}$  William Hart, Outside Counsel to the Committee  ${\tt Mr.}$  Alexander Peters, Outside Counsel to the Committee

Ms. Carin Savel, Committee Clerk

Mr. O. Walker Reagan, Staff Attorney Mr. U. Walker Reagan, Staff Attorney
Ms. Kory Goldsmith, Staff Attorney
Mr. Brad Krehely, Staff Attorney
Ms. Heather Fennell, Staff Attorney
Ms. Denise Huntley, Research Assistant
Ms. Amanda Smith, Research Assistant

Mr. Jake Gehron, Office of Rep. Glazier

# EXAMINATION INDEX

Witness	Examination/By Whom	Page No.
D. Gottovi	Direct/Hart	51
D. Gottovi	Cross/Joyner	87
D. Gottovi	Redirect/Hart	135
D. Gottovi	Recross/Joyner	141
D. Gottovi	Committee	148
D. Gottovi	Further Recross/Joyner	170
J. Umphlet	Direct/Hart	173

THE CHAIR: I will now call this meeting

MEETING OF THE HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE
TO INVESTIGATE ALLEGED MISCONDUCT AND OTHER MATTERS
INCLUDED IN INDICTMENTS REGARDING
REPRESENTATIVE THOMAS E. WRIGHT

### TRANSCRIPT OF THE PROCEEDINGS

(Volume III)

March 5, 2008

#### THE SELECT COMMITTEE:

Rep. Rick Glazier, Chair Rep. Paul Stam, Vice-chair Rep. Marvin Lucas Rep. William McGee Rep. Edith Warren Rep. Laura Wiley

In Raleigh, NC 10:11 A.M.

23

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would.

Reported by: Holly McGhin

-3-

Agent Umphlet, I believe you're on the witness stand, and we are on direct examination-beginning direct examination. My recollection on my notes is that we'd gotten through Agent Umphlet's background and we're just starting into questions with regard to how he got to know and the 9 examination he had with Representative Wright. 10 Is that correct, Mr. Hart? MR. HART: That's correct, Mr. Chairman. 11 12 THE CHAIR: All right. We can pick it up 13 there, please. 14 Good morning. And, Agent, I remind you 15 that you are under oath. And that glass of water is new--new for you. 16 17 Whereupon, JOHNNIE UMPHLET. 18 19 having been previously duly sworn, 2.0 was examined and testified 21 as follows: 22 DIRECT EXAMINATION CONTINUED BY MR. HART: 23 24 Morning, Agent Umphlet.

to order on Wednesday, March the 5th.

2

1 Α Good morning. 2 When we recessed yesterday afternoon, I had just begun to ask you about your conversation with 3 Representative Thomas Wright regarding the Community Health Foundation, Incorporated. And I 5 want to ask you at this point did you in fact have a conversation with him about that foundation? Α 9 0 Did you have occasion to talk with him about 10 whether the organization, the Community's Health 11 Foundation, Incorporated, had approved any bylaws? 12 Yes, I did. Α 13 0 Tell us about that, please. Actually I had two conversations with 14 Α 15 Representative Wright concerning the bylaws of the foundation, the first being on September 28th, 16 2007. During that interview, Representative Wright 17 advised me that there were no bylaws for the 18 Community's Health Foundation. 19 All right. And let me--let me ask you to hold off 2.0 0 21 on the--the--the second conversation. I'll get to 22 that when we get to that interview, if -- if you

During the first interview, did you ask

him whether or not the -- the board of the Community 2 Health Foundation had ever held any meetings? Yes, I did. I had asked him about meetings and any 3 Α minutes from meetings, and he advised that there were no official board meetings for the foundation 5 and that there were no minutes taken from any meetings. All right, sir. In that first interview, did you 9 have any conversation with him about the e-mail and 10 conversation that he had had with Torlen Wade from 11 the Department of Health and Human Services? 12 Yes, I did. Α 13 What do you remember him telling you about his 0 conversation with Torlen Wade? 14 15 He had had--he had said he had had--could not recall any specific conversations that he had with 16 17 Torlen Wade in reference to the letter that had been written by Torlen Wade. 18 19 0 All right. At the time that you spoke with him about it, did he--did you have a copy of the e-mail 2.0 21 that Torlen Wade had received from Representative 22 Wright's office? 23 Yes, I did. Α 24 0 I'd ask you, if you would, if you'd look in the

-4-

-5- -6-

1		notebook in front of you, at Exhibit 2. Do you	1		letter. Is that the Torlen Wade letter?
2		recognize the one-page document in Exhibit 2, sir?	2	A	Yes, sir, it is.
3	A	Yes, I do.	3	Q	Did you show him that particular document on that
4	Q	And what is that?	4		first interview?
5	A	That is a copy of the e-mail from Vanda Wilson-	5	A	Yes, sir, I did.
6		Womack. And in parentheses "Rep. Wright," end	6	Q	And did he recognize that letter?
7		parenthesis, "to Torlen Wade," which was dated	7	A	Yes, sir, he did.
8		Wednesday, 13 March 2002.	8	Q	Can you tell us what he told you about that letter?
9	Q	All right. And did you show that e-mail to	9	A	In reference to the letter, he advised that he had
10		Representative Wright?	10		received the letter but he had not handed the
11	A	Yes, I did.	11		letter out to anyone, and that he did not use it at
12	Q	And did he remember that e-mail?	12		Coastal Federal Bank in reference to obtaining a
13	A	Not the specific e-mail. No, sir, he did not.	13		loan from Coastal Federal for the Torlen Wade
14	Q	Did he indicate whether or not he had sent the e-	14		propertyI'mI'mcorrection: for the Loftin
15		mail?	15		property. He said that there was no need to use
16	A	He advised that the e-mail apparently came from his	16		the letter, because ofthe bank had the building.
17		office and that, if it had come from his office, he	17		And he also had mentioned that in usethat he did
18		would have either seen it or approved the e-mail.	18		not mean for anyone, meaning Torlen Wade, to get
19		But he did not recall specifics about the e-mail.	19		injured or hurt by this letter.
20	Q	All right, sir. Ask you if you would look at	20	Q	Okay. Did he say to you why he had gotten the
21		Exhibit Number 3. Do you recognize that one-page	21		letter if he didn't intend to use it?
22		document, sir?	22	A	I had asked him about why he had received the
23	A	Yes, sir, I do.	23		letter. And he said it wasthe letter was needed
24	Q	And you had earlier spoken of thethe Torlen Wade	24		so DHHS, or the Department of Health and Human

-7-

24

2		his intention was that he needed money for the
3		foundation.
4	Q	Did Representative Wright say anything to you about
5		whether or not the Community Health Foundation had
6		any money at the time of the purchase of the Loftin
7		property?
8		PROF. JOYNER: Mr. Chairman, I'mI'm
9		I'm going to object tonot to the question but the
L 0		constant leading. And Mr. Hart says it's
11		directional, but it's still leading. So I'm going
L2		to raise an objection to the constant leading. I
L3		I understand the necnecessity to lead at points
L4		but not at every point.
15		THE CHAIR: Welland I understand. But
L6		I don't think the question's leading. I think the
L7		question was did he state whether or not, which to
L8		me takes it out of the leading category, as only us
L9		lawyers can seem to make those differences. But I
20		don't think it's technically leading. So it's
21		overruled. Thank you.
22	A	I'm sorry. Could you repeat your question?
23	Q	(By Mr. Hart) Yes, sir. Did there come a time in
24		that first interview where Representative Wright

Resour--Health Services--excuse me--would know that

-8indicated to you in any way whether or not the foundation had any money in the account or any money at all at--at the time of the purchase of the Loftin property? Based on a comment that he made concerning -- I 5 Α showed him a HUD-1 statement, asking him had the foundation made an earnest payment towards the purchase of the Loftin property by the foundation. He advised that no, he didn't, 'cause they didn't 9 have the money for that. It's my recollection that 10 11 that was the only inci--incident--or instance in 12 which he mentioned no money by the foundation. 13 Okay. Did there come a time where you had a second interview with Representative Wright? 14 15 Yes, sir, I did. I had a second interview with Representative Wright on Friday, October 5th, 2007, 16 17 which also occurred or took place at the Community's--well, the New Hanover Community Health 18 19 Center, in the conference room at that center. Did--do you remember whether or not that interview 20 Ο was videotaped by Representative Wright? 21 Yes. Representative Wright had requested that 22 could he enter--video record the interview, at 23

which he was advised that he could video record the

-9-

1		interview.	1		make a correction to a prior statement that he had
2	Q	Okay. Did he record the entire interview?	2		made in the September 28th, 2007, interview.
3	A	No, sir, he did not.	3		During his time of pointing out some corrections,
4	Q	Theduring part of the interview, did	4		he advised that he had gone back and looked and did
5		Representative Wright show you some documents?	5		find the bylaws for the Community Health Foundation
6	A	Yes, sir, he did.	6		but advised that he had put them in a safe place in
7	Q	Do you recall what documents, if any, he showed	7		case anything happened to him.
8		you?	8	Q	All right. Did he give you a copy of those bylaws
9	A	He showed me three documents that were IRS	9		or any of the forms that you mentioned?
10		documents or Internal Revenue Service documents,	10	A	In relation to the bylaws, he advised that he did
11		all three documents being in relation to a employer	11		not have a copy of the bylaws with him at that
12		tax identification number. One document was a W9	12		interview. In relation to the IRS forms, I did
13		form. One document didn'tit had a number on it,	13		request a copy of the forms but was advised that I
14		I'm thinking JF128but I'm not sure exactly on	14		could not make a photocopy of them. So I did not
15		that numberwhich was a fax that he had received	15		get a copy.
16		from the Internal Revenue Service out of Tennessee	16	Q	All right, sir. At some point during that second
17		indicating that he had been assigned a federal tax	17		interview, Agent Umphlet, did there come a time
18		identification number. And the other form was an	18		when you began to show Representative Wright
19		application for a federal tax identification number	19		several documents that you had in your possession?
20		by the Community's Health Foundation.	20	A	Yes, I did.
21	Q	All right, sir. During that interview ordid he	21	Q	Going to ask you, if you would, if you'll look at
22		also say anything about any bylaws?	22		Exhibit Number 6, sir. Do you recognize that one-
23	A	Towards the beginning of that interview,	23		page document, sir?
24		Representative Wright advised that he would like to	24	A	Yes, sir, I do.

-11-

1	Q	And did you show Representative Wright that	1	evidence in these proceedings.
2		particular document?	2	THE CHAIR: All right. Mr. Hart, do you
3	A	Yes, I did show Representative Wright that	3	want to respond?
4		document. And Representative Wright advised he did	4	MR. HART: At this pointactually I
5		recall writing that letter and that that was his	5	believe that except for 11, they have not been
6		signature on the letter. And the letter was to Mr.	6	admitted. And I'm not asking him to read from
7		Lewis McKinney of Anheuser-Busch Companies,	7	them; I'm simply asking if he showed them to him
8		Incorporated, out of St. Louis, Missouri.	8	and what if anything he said about them. So I
9	Q	Did he say what the purpose of that letter was that	9	believe that all those objections are irrelevant
10		he sent to that company?	10	and should be overruled.
11	A	Purpose of the letter was to obtain contributions	11	THE CHAIR: Well, II agree at this
12		from Anheuser-Busch for the foundation.	12	point, andand I will overrule them. And you're
13	Q	All right, sir. Going to show youask you to look	13	and they're not being sought to admit. They're
14		at Exhibit Number 7. Do you recognize that one-	14	being shown to the witness to ask him whether he
15		page document, sir?	15	showed them to Representative Wright. Again I
16	A	Yes, I do.	16	don't think there's anyanything wrong with that
17	Q	And did you	17	particular line of question. But some of the
18		PROF. JOYNER: Mr. Chairman?	18	objections we'll get to if in fact there's an
19		THE CHAIR: I'm sorry?	19	attempt to admit.
20		PROF. JOYNER: Forfor the record, I	20	PROF. JOYNER: So you're
21		want to object to the use of Exhibits 6, 7, 8, 9,	21	THE CHAIR: So forfor the purposes of
22		10, 11, 12I'm sorry; withdraw 11but 12, 13, on	22	this question, the objection is overruled.
23		the grounds that this is hearsay, has not been	23	PROF. JOYNER: All right. Can I respond,
24		authenticated andor otherwise admitted into	24	Mr. Chair?

-13-

-16-

1		THE CHAIR: Certainly.	1	A	Yes, I did.
2		PROF. JOYNER: And I certainly agree that	2	Q	And what if anything did he say as to whether or
3		these documents have not been introduced, and the	3		not he recognized that document and what it was?
4		question is about what he did with these letters.	4	A	Representative Wright advised he did recommen
5		But for all practical purposes, these letters have	5		recognize the document and that the signature on
6		been introduced, because every member of this	6		the back was his signature.
7		Committee has a copy of them. And every member of	7	Q	Did he say anything about thethe copy of the
8		this Committee is right now reviewing each of those	8		check itself, whether or not he had received that
9		documents. So although officially they are not	9		check from Anheuser-Busch?
10		introduced, they are for all practical purposes	10	A	That he had received that check from Anheuser-Busch
11		introduced and have been introduced and used as	11		on behalfor through the Community's Health
12		introduced documents in these proceedings. So I	12		Foundation.
13		make my objection	13	Q	And did he say what he did with that check?
14		THE CHAIR: I understand.	14	A	In the end, he said what he did with all three
15		PROF. JOYNER:onin that regard.	15		checks at the same time, butand that was deposit
16		THE CHAIR: I certainly understand the	16		the check into his personal bank account.
17		objection that you've made. But for purposes of	17	Q	Ask you to look at Exhibit Number 8, please, sir.
18		the question and where we are today, the objection	18		Do you recognize that one-page document?
19		is overruled.	19	A	Yes, sir, I do.
20		You may answer the question.	20	Q	And did you show Representative Wright that
21	A	Could you please repeat the question?	21		particular document?
22	Q	(By Mr. Hart) Diddid you show Representative	22	A	Yes, sir, I did.
23		Wright the document that is before you that is	23	Q	Did hewhat did he say about that particular
24		labeled Exhibit Number 7?	24		document?

1 That that was a document that he had--or a letter 1 That he had received that check and that that check 2 that he had prepared to AstraZeneca Pharmaceuticals had been deposited into his personal bank account. By whom? and that that was his signature on the letter that he had sent to AstraZeneca. By himself. Ask you if you would look at Exhibit Number 11, 5 0 Did he say to you why he had sent that letter to 5 AstraZeneca Pharmaceuticals? sir. Do you recognize that one-page document? For charitable donations for the Community's Health Yes. sir. T do. Α And what do you recognize that as being? All right, sir. Ask you to look at Exhibit Number An invoice on the letterhead of the Community's 9 9 10, if you would, please. Do you recognize that 10 10 Health Foundation, Incorporated, an invoice to John 11 document, sir? 11 Policastro with AT&T from the Community's Health 12 Α Yes, sir, I do. It is a check from AstraZeneca in 12 Foundation for a payment of fifteen hundred dollars 13 the amount of twenty-four hundred dollars (\$2,400) 13 (\$1,500). made payable to the order of the Community's--Did you show that particular document to 14 14 15 Community's Health Foundation, Inc. 15 Representative Wright? And did you show that document to Representative 16 Yes, sir, I did. 16 0 17 Wright during that second interview? 17 And what did he say about that particular document? Yes. sir. I did. Representative Wright was not sure about this 18 18 Did Representative Wright say whether or not he document. He advised that it just did not seem 19 19 recognized that particular document? 2.0 2.0 right as coming from the Community's Health 21 He did recognize that document and did recognize 21 Foundation. He had questioned the--the letterhead and the fact that it was an invoice. And he just 2.2 his signature on the back of that check. 22

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did not recall a invoice to AT&T.

All right, sir. Did he say to you whether or not

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Did he say whether or not he had received that

check and what he had done with it?

-17-

1		he had sought a charitable contribution from AT&T?	1	Did he say why he did that, sir?
2	A	Yes, sir. He advised that he had requested an	2 A	Yes, sir. He advised that he had deposited those
3		official request for charitable donations through	3	checks into his personal account as a payment for
4		AT&T, yes, sir.	4	his services in trying to get the foundation
5	Q	And did he say how much he had requested?	5	started, that he had done a lot of work and had put
6	A	No, sir.	6	in a lot of hours trying to get the foundation
7	Q	Ask you to look at Exhibit Number 13, sir. Do you	7	started and had put in a lot of sweat equity into
8		recognize that one-page document?	8	thetrying to get the foundation started, and that
9	A	Yes, sir. It is a check from AT&T for fifteen	9	was a payment to himself for the hours and the work
10		hundred dollars (\$1,500) paid to the order of	10	that he had put in.
11		Community's Health Foundation.	11 Q	Did you ask him for anything to show what kind of
12	Q	And did you show that document to Representative	12	work that was or any documentation ofof work?
13		Wright during that second interview?	13 A	He was asked ifwhat type of work it was. And he
14	A	Yes, sir, I did.	14	advised that it was for phone calls and travel and
15	Q	And do you recall what he said about that	15	getting the business startedorcorrection
16		particular check?	16	foundation started. He was asked if he had a log
17	A	That he had received that check, and that was his	17	to show what type of work he hadhad completed,
18		signature on the back of the check.	18	which he advised he did not, but he could show that
19	Q	Did he say what he did with that check?	19	the work had been completed by him. So he would
20	A	That he deposited that check into his personal bank	20	could prove that hethe payment wasfor himto
21		account.	21	himself by the foundation was justified.
22	Q	Now, you said just a few moments ago that he made a	22	MR. HART: Mr. Chairman, at this time, I
23		general statement about having received all those	23	would move to introduce Exhibits 6, 7, 8, 10, 11,
24		checks and depositing those checks in his account.	24	and 13.

-19- -20-

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2	Joyner's exobjections.
3	PROF. JOYNER: I would object to that.
4	None of these documents have been
5	THE CHAIR: I'm sorry?
6	PROF. JOYNER: None of these documents
7	have been authenticated. I recognize that this
8	isn't a court of law, and you're not playing
9	strictly by the rules ofof evidence. But the
10	rules of evidence would prohibit their introduction
11	intointointo evidence, particularly since the
12	people who allegedly received or prepared these
13	documents have not authenticated them inin any
14	way.
15	THE CHAIR: Mr. Hart?
16	MR. HART: Yes, sir. The statements of
17	Representative Wright authenticate the documents.
18	He clearly identified each of the two letters as
19	being letters sent by him for purposes of a
20	charitable corcorcontribution from AstraZeneca
21	Pharmaceuticals and Anheuser-Busch, Incorporated,
22	for charitable contributions to the Community
23	Health Foundation.
24	The invoice he did not recognize, but

THE CHAIR: All right. Now I'll hear Dr.

that invoice was authenticated by John Policastro of AT&T. And--and the testimony of John Policastro matches with Representative Wright that someone from the Community Health Foundation had in fact called and requested a charitable contribution in the amount of fifteen hundred dollars (\$1,500) and that that person was advised to send an invoice, and that person had done so. John Policastro identified that invoice as being the invoice that was received by AT&T.

And then the checks, which Representative Wright has specifically identified as being received by him from those corporations and that he deposited those checks in his own account and that those were his signatures, further au--authenticate the letters and the invoice and authenticate the deposit of those checks from those corporations.

THE CHAIR: All right. The objection as to Exhibits 6, 7, 8, 10, and 13 is overruled. Exception is noted. They are admitted.

I want to take a moment and look back at Policastro's--Mr. Policastro's testimony as to 11. So give me a second to look at 11, please.

MR. HART: Actually, Mr. Chairman, that

-21-

1	document was already introduced and admitted	1		THE CHAIR: All right. Thank you.
2	previously by the Committee after the testimony of	2		Cross-examination, Dr. Joyner?
3	John Policastro	3	CROSS-	EXAMINATION BY PROF. JOYNER:
4	THE CHAIR: All right. Let me go back to	4	Q	All right. Mr. Umphlet, you indicated that you had
5	my notes.	5		two, I guess, rather substantial interviews with
6	MR. HART:without objection by the	6		Representative Wright during 2007; is that correct?
7	THE CHAIR: Sort of was my recollection,	7	A	Yes, sir. That is correct.
8	but I want to go back andand just double-check.	8	Q	One was on September 28th, I believe, and the other
9	Thank you.	9		was on October 5th, 2007?
10	All right. Here is thethe transcript	10	A	That is correct, yes, sir.
11	that I've got from John Policastro's testimony. On	11	Q	All right. Now, for each of those interviews, you
12	Page 218, "Mr. Chairman""MR. HART: Mr. Chairman,	12		prepared aa report; is that correct?
13	at this time I'd move to introduce Exhibit Number	13	A	Yes, sir, I did.
14	11.	14	Q	Diddid you tape the conversations that you had
15	"THE CHAIR: Any objection to Exhibit	15		with Representative Wright?
16	Number 11, Dr. Joyner?	16	A	No, sir, I did not tape those.
17	"PROFESSOR JOYNER: No.	17	Q	So thewell, howhow did you prepare your notes
18	"CHAIR: All right. Without objection,	18		from thefrom the interview?
19	Exhibit Number 11 is admitted."	19	A	It's the policy of the SBI not to tape-record or
20	So Exhibit 11 is already in.	20		videotape interviews. We handwrite notes. And
21	MR. HART: That's all.	21		after we handwrite those notes, we can either type
22	THE CHAIR: Yeah, I'mI'm sorry?	22		those notes up ourself on the computer, or we can
23	MR. HART: That's all the questions I	23		dictate into a tape recorder and send thethe tape
24	have of this witness.	24		off to be transcribed by one of the

-23-

1		transcriptionists with the SBI.	1	Q	Well, when
2	Q	And with respect to thethe report of September	2	A	So I cannot
3		28th, how was that transcribed? Was that done by	3	Q	Whenwhen was it dictated into theyour recording
4		you, or did you dictate it into a recorder and send	4		machine?
5		it to a transcriptionist?	5	A	It would have been dictated into the recording
6	A	Dictated it into a recorder and sent it to a	6		machine, I would say, probably within thewithin
7		transcriptionist.	7		the week following the interview.
8	Q	And when would thisthis dictation have occurred?	8	Q	And the dictationthe dictation that you provided
9	A	It's the policy within the SBI that the dictation	9		was basicwas based on the notes that you took?
10		has to be completed within fifteen working days.	10	A	That is correct, yes, sir.
11		However, at one point during the investigationand	11	Q	And the notes that you took typically was not word
12		at which pointI don't recall what date that was	12		for word everything that Representative Wright
13		we were advised that all dictation in this case	13		said?
14		needed to be completed within five working days.	14	A	No, sir, it was not.
15		If I recall, though, at the time of this interview,	15	Q	Right.
16		it was a still a fifteen-working-day period in	16	A	It was not verbatim.
17		which the interview had to be transcribed.	17	Q	So when you went back to use your notes, you
18	Q	So the transcription could have occurred anywhere	18		basically kind of relied upon your notes and your
19		up to two weeks later?	19		best recollection at that point of the exact
20	A	It could have, but it did not.	20		comments that Representative Wright wasis
21	Q	Okay. Andand do you know specifically when?	21		attributed to have made?
22		That was mymy initial question was when was this	22	A	I prepared the report based on my notes and my
23		transcribed?	23		recollection of the interview, yes, sir.
24	A	I don't have that date inwith me.	24	Q	Now, with respect to the interview of October 5th,

-25-

1		when did you do the dictation for that report?	1 Q	All right. And howhowwhen was the last time
2	A	I believe, due to the length of that interview, it	2	you reviewed those reports?
3		took me a couple of days just to dictate that	3 A	Ithis morning.
4		report. It would have probably been done within	4 Q	This morning?
5		one week of doing thatconducting that interview	5 A	Ififthis morning, I would probably say as early
6		with Representative Wright.	6	as five A.M. or five-fifteen A.M. and as late as
7	Q	So youyouyou don't represent that the words in	7	eight-thirty A.M.
8		the report represents exactly what Representative	8	PROF. JOYNER: Mr. Chairman, I have a
9		Wright said?	9	copy of Mr. Umphlet's October 5th report.
10	A	No, sir, I don't. I wouldI would advise that it	10	THE CHAIR: All right.
11		was a paraphrase and a synopsis of the interview	11	PROF. JOYNER: And I would like to pass
12		that took place.	12	this up for him to reference.
13	Q	All right. And it was based on youryour best	13	THE CHAIR: Sure. If you're going to
14		recollection of what you recall him saying?	14	have the witness look at it, though, I'm going to
15	A	Based on my notes that I took and my recollection,	15	ask that a copy be given to Mr. Hart and Mr.
16		yes, sir.	16	Peters.
17	Q	Okay. Now, want to start withwith the discussion	17	PROF. JOYNER: Oonly have one copy.
18		aboutdodo you have a copy of your report there?	18	THE CHAIR: I'll ask sergeant at arms to
19	A	No, sir, I do not.	19	make a copy. And the Chair needs to have one, as
20	Q	Do you have a copy of your report at all?	20	well. I'm not going to pass it out to the
21	A	Not in this room, no, sir, I do not.	21	Committee at this point, unless you seek to want
22	Q	Well, diddid you review those reports before you	22	you know, to use it in that vein.
23		came in here today?	23	PROF. JOYNER: Well, II'mI'm
24	A	Yes, sir, I did.	24	THE CHAIR: I mean, I'll be glad to

-27-

1	PROF. JOYNER: Mymy questioning does	1	copies.
2	not go to the entire report.	2	
3	THE CHAIR: That's fine.	3	(TEN-MINUTE RECESS)
4	PROF. JOYNER: It goes to specific	4	
5	instances in the report.	5	THE CHAIR: All right. I think, Mr.
6	THE CHAIR: Yeah, that's	6	Hart, Mr. Peters, you have a copy of the document.
7	PROF. JOYNER: So to that extent	7	Witness has a copy of the document. We're ready to
8	THE CHAIR: That's why I'm not going to	8	go. Cross is back with Dr. Joyner.
9	pass it out unless you want me to pass it out.	9 Q	(By Prof. Joyner) All right. Mr. Umphlet, you
10	PROF. JOYNER: Right.	10	you talked about the conversation that you had with
11	THE CHAIR: I'll leave it up to you on	11	Representative Wright regarding these three checks?
12	that regard. But I dothey need to see a copy.	12 A	Yes, sir.
13	So	13 Q	Do you find in that report the section in which you
14	PROF. JOYNER: That'sthat's fine. I	14	recorded that information?
15	assume that they have a copy, but, you know	15	THE CHAIR: Let'slet's go ahead and
15 16	assume that they have a copy, but, you know  THE CHAIR: II think that assumption	15 16	THE CHAIR: Let'slet's go ahead and just make sure for the record that we're
16	THE CHAIR: II think that assumption	16	just make sure for the record that we're
16 17	THE CHAIR: II think that assumption may or may	16 17	just make sure for the record that we're identifying, since the document's not marked. Do
16 17 18	THE CHAIR: II think that assumption may or may PROF. JOYNER: They may not.	16 17 18	just make sure for the record that we're identifying, since the document's not marked. Do you want to just for the record indicate what
16 17 18 19	THE CHAIR: II think that assumption may or may PROF. JOYNER: They may not. THE CHAIR:may not be correct.	16 17 18 19	just make sure for the record that we're identifying, since the document's not marked. Do you want to just for the record indicate what document and the page that you're referring to so
16 17 18 19 20	THE CHAIR: II think that assumption may or may  PROF. JOYNER: They may not.  THE CHAIR:may not be correct.  If you would, if thiswe'll be in recess	16 17 18 19 20	just make sure for the record that we're identifying, since the document's not marked. Do you want to just for the record indicate what document and the page that you're referring to so that the record's clear?
16 17 18 19 20	THE CHAIR: II think that assumption may or may  PROF. JOYNER: They may not.  THE CHAIR:may not be correct.  If you would, if thiswe'll be in recess for five minutes. If the sergeant at arms will	16 17 18 19 20	just make sure for the record that we're identifying, since the document's not marked. Do you want to just for the record indicate what document and the page that you're referring to so that the record's clear?  PROF. JOYNER: This is report dated

-29-

1	A	I have found that page, yes, sir.	1	Q	youwell, you said you had the checks; is that
2	Q	(By Prof. Joyner) Okay. And what page is thatdo	2		correct?
3		you find that starting on?	3	A	Theat the time, I had the checks, yes, sir.
4	A	Page 4.	4	Q	Okay. Let
5	Q	Page 4?	5	A	I don't have them with me today, except
6	A	Yes, sir.	6	Q	All right. Well, let'slet's
7	Q	You indicated that in the end, Representative	7	A	this exhibits.
8		Wright said that he deposited the checks into his	8	Q	Let's golet's go back to that, you know. Let's
9		bank account. Do you recall that testimony?	9		let's look atat Exhibit 7. And what is the date
10	A	Yes, sir, I do.	10		of that check?
11	Q	All right. Do you recall the entire conversation	11	A	3-05-2004.
12		that you had with Representative Wright regarding	12	Q	So that's March 5th, 2004?
13		the deposit of those checks into his account?	13	A	Yes, sir.
14	A	Do you mean thethe statement that I prepared?	14	Q	And then looking at Exhibit 10. What is the date
15	Q	Right.	15		of that check?
16	A	Yes, sir.	16	A	12-15-2003.
17	Q	All right. No, I'mI'm talkingdo you have a	17	Q	That's December 15th, 2003?
18		recollection of thethethe other comments	18	A	Yes, sir.
19		that Representative Wright made regarding the	19	Q	And then look at Exhibit 13. What is the date of
20		deposit of those checks?	20		that check?
21	A	II don't follow your question.	21	A	04-01-04, or April 1st, 2004.
22	Q	Okay. Wellwell, let me just be more specific.	22	Q	Okay. Whaton what date were these checks
23		Inin looking at youryour report	23		deposited into Mr. Wright's account?
24	A	Yes, sir.	24	A	I do not have that information with me as we sit

-31-

1 Q

And what did Representative Wright say regarding

2	0	In yourin your report, you said that the checks	2		the deposit, the date of the deposit of those
3	_	were deposited sometime later?	3		checks?
4	A	Give me a minute, sir, so I can find that out.	4	A	It saidand reading from the report, "Wright
	н				
5		MR. HART: Mr. Chairman, I have a	5		reported that when he received the checks from
6		suggestion. Rather than have Agent Umphlet search	6		AT&T, AstraZeneca, and Anheuser-Busch, they were
7		through twenty pages of report to find something	7		deposited at a later date. Wright advised the
8		that Mr. Joyner wants him to look at, it might be	8		checks sat around on his desk for a long time
9		easier if he just tells him the page or the	9		before he actually deposited them. Wright advised
10		vicinity of where that might be.	10		the Coastal Federal foundation account was probably
11		THE CHAIR: II was getting to that	11		closed by the time he deposited those checks."
12		myself. I agree completely, Mr. Hart.	12	Q	And dodo you recall that the checks, the three
13		And if you can just give us a paragraph	13		checks, were actually deposited in November of
14		and a page	14		2004?
15	Q	(By Prof. Joyner) All right. Let's look at	1.5	A	At this time, I don't have the dates that the
16		THE CHAIR:Dr. Joyner.	16		checks were actually deposited.
17	Q	(By Prof. Joyner)Page 5 of your report, Mr.	17	Q	But you know that it was quite a few months after
18		Umphlet	18		the receipt ofof the checks
19	A	Okay.	19	A	The best of my recollection, yes, sir.
20	Q	and the fifth full paragraphor fourth and fifth	20	Q	Best of your recollection?
21		full paragraph.	21	A	Yes, sir.
22	A	Okay. II found the paragraph.	22	Q	So in one instance, it would have been almost a
23	Q	You found it?	23		year, and with respect to theto the latter check,
24	A	Yes, sir.	24		the April check, it would have been at least seven,

here today.

-34-

-36-

not the first full paragraph. It's the paragraph

Okay. And he indicated that he was--he deposited

1		eight months?	1	Q	Andand you had copies of that?
2	A	Well, without knowing the exact dates, I'd hate	2	A	Yes, sir.
3		toto give a year figure or an exact figure. But	3	Q	And do you have that available with you?
4		they were deposited at a later time.	4	A	No, sir, I do not.
5	Q	Right. Butandand you didyou did at thatat	5	Q	You didn't bring that?
6		some point know that the date was a significant	6	A	I did not bring any of the SBI's reports in here
7		time after the receipt of these three checks?	7		today, no, sir.
8	A	I know it was a time after. I'dI mean, I'd hate	8	Q	Okay. So these are the only reports that you have?
9		to say "significant" at this point, without having	9		Thethethe rethe report that I'mI'm re
10		that documentation in front of me. But it was	10		making reference to now and the September 28th
11		after, yes, sir.	11		report are the only reports that you have with you?
12	Q	Is there anything in any of your reports that would	12	A	Well, actually I didn't bring any reports with me.
13		identify when these checks were deposited?	13		The only report that I have is the report that was
14	A	Yes, sir, there is.	14		just handed to me, which is the October 5th, 2007,
15	Q	Okay. And wherewhere would that be?	15		interview.
16	A	Not in this report.	16	Q	All right.
17	Q	Did you have another report?	17	A	But I don't have any other reports with me today.
18	A	Not concerning my interview with Representative	18	Q	All right. But other than these two reports, there
19		Wright, no, sir.	19		are other reports that you prepared regarding the
20	Q	All right. So is there another report that speaks	20		deposit of theseof these three checks?
21		to when these checks were deposited?	21	A	Yes. Well, I won't say myself. There were other
22	A	That would be his bank-account records	22		agents that worked on this case. It's very
23	Q	Okay.	23		possible that one of the other agents completed
24	A	that we received.	24		that aspect of it.

2 Yes, sir. that starts with "From AT&T, AstraZeneca, and With respect to--to--to the checks, you asked Anheuser-Busch." If you'll look down about four 3 Representative Wright why did he deposit the checks lines, you'll see "would have been his decision on what to do with the money." That line is into his personal account; is that correct? 5 5 That is correct, yes, sir. underlined--or that sentence is underlined. Excuse And your response was that he said that it was for me. If you'll look at the sentence below that. Ω that is where the "sweat equity." sweat equity? 9 Α Yes, sir. 9 Ο And the -- the entire statement is that Wright then continued by saying "I put more into it than this"? 10 All right. Now, just show me in your report where 10 11 you use the term "sweat equity." 11 Yes, sir. 12 Α If you'll give me a minute. I'll have to--12 That's what it says, right? 13 (examines paperwritings). That would be--that 13 Α Yes, sir. All right. And going back to the previous page. would be on Page 6. 14 14 15 Q Okay. Where on Page 6 do you find that? 15 Representative Wright offered explanations as to-and I believe you asked him if he had reports; is 16 The first--the first paragraph that starts with 16 Α 17 "From AT&T." And it's--it's about the fifth to 17 that correct? This interview was done by myself and Assistant sixth sentence down. There's a--a line that--18 18 Α sentence that's been underlined. It's in the--it's Special Agent in Charge K. Perry. And during the 19 19 in the sentence below that line. interview, K. Perry asked if Wright had a log 2.0 2.0 21 On Page 6? 21 showing his work. Okay. Oh, so you didn't ask that? 22 Α Yes, sir. 22 0

23 A

24

No, sir.

-35-

1 Q

23 Q

2.4

Let me just -- just -- just move on.

All right. Give--give me that direction again.

Okay. On Page 6, it's the first paragraph. It's

-37--38-

-40-

	those checks into his account to reimburse him for	1		conversation with Dr. Gottovi regarding that
	his work with the foundation; is that correct?	2		account?
A	Yes, sir.	3	A	That is correct, yes, sir.
Q	And then when it says here you asked what type of	4	Q	Did he not also say that he had documentation
	work Wright had done, he said that he'll save that;	5		showing why he had reimbursed the money from those
	is that correct?	6		three checks? Go down to the last paragraph, sir.
A	Yes, sir.	7	A	Yes, sir. Well, hishis
Q	And then advisedthen Wright advised that it was	8		THE CHAIR: Whatwhat page are we on?
	for the countless hours of work he had done trying	9		I'm sorry.
	to make the foundation work? Is that what you	10		THE WITNESS: Page 5.
	record in yourin your report?	11		PROF. JOYNER: Same page.
A	Yes, sir.	12		THE CHAIR: Okay.
Q	All right. And then Representative Wright also	13	A	He didn't say "documentation," but he said he would
	indicated that he was not aware thatthat a	14		be able to prove it, referring to the work that he
	checking account in the foundation's name had been	15		had done.
	open at that point?	16	Q	(By Prof. Joyner) All right. Letlet me just
A	He reif youhold on a second. I'll advise	17		you know, just read from your report here.
	exactly what he said.	18		"Representative Wright reported that he had
Q	Okay.	19		documentation showing why he was reimbursed the
A	(Examines paperwritings.) He was not clearly aware	20		money in reference to the checks from AT&T,
	of the foundation's checking account, but	21		AstraZeneca, and Anheuser-Busch."
Q	At that time?	22	A	Yes, the first sentence of that paragraph. That is
A	At that time, yes, sir.	23		correct.
Q	Right. Andbut at some point, he did have a	24	Q	And then he went on to become more specific about
	Q A Q A	his work with the foundation; is that correct?  A Yes, sir.  Q And then when it says here you asked what type of work Wright had done, he said that he'll save that; is that correct?  A Yes, sir.  Q And then advised—then Wright advised that it was for the countless hours of work he had done trying to make the foundation work? Is that what you record in your—in your report?  A Yes, sir.  Q All right. And then Representative Wright also indicated that he was not aware that—that a checking account in the foundation's name had been open at that point?  A He re—if you—hold on a second. I'll advise exactly what he said.  Q Okay.  A (Examines paperwritings.) He was not clearly aware of the foundation's checking account, but—  Q At that time?  A that time, yes, sir.	his work with the foundation; is that correct?  A Yes, sir.  Q And then when it says here you asked what type of work Wright had done, he said that he'll save that; is that correct?  A Yes, sir.  Q And then advisedthen Wright advised that it was for the countless hours of work he had done trying to make the foundation work? Is that what you record in yourin your report?  A Yes, sir.  Q All right. And then Representative Wright also indicated that he was not aware thatthat a checking account in the foundation's name had been open at that point?  A He reif youhold on a second. I'll advise exactly what he said.  Q Okay.  A (Examines paperwritings.) He was not clearly aware of the foundation's checking account, but  Q At that time?  A that time, yes, sir.  22  A At that time, yes, sir.	his work with the foundation; is that correct?  A Yes, sir.  Q And then when it says here you asked what type of     work Wright had done, he said that he'll save that;     is that correct?  A Yes, sir.  Q And then advised—then Wright advised that it was     for the countless hours of work he had done trying     to make the foundation work? Is that what you     record in your—in your report?  A Yes, sir.  Q All right. And then Representative Wright also     indicated that he was not aware that—that a     checking account in the foundation's name had been     open at that point?  A He re—if you—hold on a second. I'll advise     exactly what he said.  Q Okay.  A (Examines paperwritings.) He was not clearly aware     of the foundation's checking account, but—  Q At that time?  Q At that time?  A that time, yes, sir.

that and said, "Wright reported it was for travel, regarding couple paragraphs on Pages 5 and 6. Just 2 phone calls, meetings, and trying to make the so I know, is it going to be your intent at any

foundation work." Is that what you report in point to give copies of that to the other members your--in--what you recorded in your report? of the Committee, or will it not be?

PROF. JOYNER: We're--we're not at this Α Yes, sir, it is. 5

-39-

5

10

11

12

13

21

23

Okay. And this is the conversation that you had point seeking to introduce this.

with Representative Wright? THE CHAIR: Well, I--I--I know. I mean,

that's--that's kind of--I recognize right now. I'm just kind of trying to figure out so that they have 9 Ω And it was at that point that I guess--is it Ms. 9

Perry?--10 context for the questions, which came in a pattern Α Mr. Perry. 11 that may not have made it the most easy for them to --Mr. Perry--12 understand. And I'm--I just want to know what I Α Agent Perry. 13 need to do here in terms of making sure that those

--asked about a--a log, and Representative Wright questions and the points you were trying to make 14 0 14 15 said he didn't have a log but he could prove the 15 are very clear to the Committee. So help me, if expenses that he was referring to? 16 you will, on what you may want to do with that. 16

17 That is correct. 17 PROF. JOYNER: Okay. Can I advi--can I

That is correct. Okav. advise you at a later--18 18

Now, do you recall where you received THE CHAIR: At break? Yeah, that'd be--19 19  $\ensuremath{\text{I--I}}$  just was raising the question. Thank you. 2.0 Ttems 6--2.0 (By Prof. Joyner) Now, where did you receive THE CHAIR: Mis--mis--Dr. Joyner, I want 21 2.2

to interrupt for one second. Because this is fact-22 copies of Items 6 through 13 in the -- in the finding for the Committee, I just want to get some 23 workbook?

24 indication that--we--we had a bunch of questions 2.4 Say six through which number, sir? -41-

1	Q	Thirteen.	1		me to hand him anItem 14?
2	A	ItemsItem Number 6and I'll just go through them	2		PROF. JOYNER: Yes.
3		in order, if that's fine.	3		THE CHAIR: All right. Okay. And just
4	Q	Okay. That's fine.	4		so that you know, none of the members, I think,
5	A	Item Number 6, from the North Carolina Board of	5		have it, since that was a part of the withdrawn
6		Elections. Item Number 7, North Carolina Board of	6		count. But I can get it rehanded out if you need
7		Elections. Item Number 8, from the North Carolina	7		me to.
8		Board of Elections. Item Number 9, I cannot recall	8		PROF. JOYNER: Welloh, thatthat
9		ifif I received that from the Board of Elections	9		that's fine. That's fine.
10		or if I received that from AstraZeneca. Item	10		THE CHAIR: Just leave it atjust
11		Number 10, from the North Carolina Board of	11		PROF. JOYNER: Well, II mean, if you
12		Elections. Item Number 11, I believe that I	12		if you need them to have a copy of it, that's
13		received that from John Policastro. And I believe,	13		that's fine. If I could just go on and examine
14		without looking at my report, I received Item	14		him
15		Number 12or Exhibit Number 12 from John	15		THE CHAIR: Well, that's what I was going
16		Policastro, as well. And then the last exhibit,	16		to say. Ifand then you let me know if you want
17		Exhibit Number 13, from the North Carolina Board of	17		me to hand it back out, and I'll do that.
18		Elections.	18		PROF. JOYNER: Okay.
19	Q	Now, in addition to receipt of those documents, did	19		THE CHAIR: Okay. But the agent does
20		youdid you receive Item Number 14?	20		have 14 now.
21	A	I don't have an ItemExhibit Number 14, sir.	21	Q	(By Prof. Joyner) All right. Now, did you get a
22	Q	You don't have that in your book?	22		copy of that document?
23	A	No, sir, I do not.	23	A	Just now?
24		THE CHAIR: Do you want medo you want	24	Q	No. Did you haveduring your investigation

-43-

1	A	Yes, sir.	1		the IRS. Through Mr. Dan Roseanother agent did
2	Q	did you receive a copy of thatthat document?	2		that.
3	A	Yes, sir, I did.	3	Q	Okay. And did you determine that that was in fact
4	Q	And on the back side of that, it has a fax cover	4		the tax identification number that was assigned to
5		page. Do you see that?	5		the Community Health Foundation?
6	A	Yes, sir, I do.	6	A	I do not recall as I sit here for thewe had many
7	Q	All right. Now, you testified about a conversation	7		rounds with the IRS and trying to determine this
8		with Representative Wright about a tax ID number?	8		information. And I recall that once we received
9	A	Yes, sir, I did.	9		this information, that it was taken on face value
10	Q	Isisis this the document that you showed to	10		that the employer identification number was
11		Representative Wright regarding that conversation?	11		authentic.
12	A	No, sir, it is not.	12	Q	Okay. Soso you did notyour recollection is
13	Q	All right. So you had some other document that you	13		that you didn't check any further with Internal
14		provided to him about the tax identification	14		Revenue regarding the authenticity of this tax
15		number?	15		identification number?
16	A	No, sir, I did not. If I can explain, I did not	16	A	I did not.
17		have that document.	17	Q	You did not?
18	Q	He provided it to you?	18	A	Another agent did. And I don't have that report
19	A	He provided it to me, yes, sir.	19		with me, as well, so I don't know exactI can't
20	Q	Okay. He provided it to you.	20		recall exactly what that report says.
21		Did you check with the Internal Revenue	21	Q	To the best of your recollection, you never
22		Service regarding the authenticity of this tax ID	22		received any information that this was not an
23		number?	23		authentic numbertax identification number
24	A	Me specifically, I did not make that contact with	24		assigned to the Community Health Foundation?

-45-

1	A	It is correct that I did not receive any	1	Q	Okay. And so he tape recorded both sessions; is
2		information that this was not a valid number.	2		that correct?
3	Q	You indicated in your direct testimony that	3	A	Videotaped both sessions.
4		Representative Wright at both interview had	4	Q	Videotaped bothboth-both sections?
5		interviews had videotaped the interview	5	A	Yes, sir. If he alif he also had an audiotape, I
6	A	Yes, sir.	6		don't know about that. I just know about a
7	Q	with awas it a handheld camera, oror	7		videotape.
8		stationary?	8	Q	Okay. Now, in response to another question from
9	A	It was alike a typical handheldI don't know	9		from Mr. Hart, you indicated that at some point,
10		whether it was a digital or it had a tape in it; I	10		that the videotape was turned off?
11		believe it had a tape in ithandheld audio	11	A	Yes, sir, I did.
12		recorderI meanI'm sorryvideo recorder that he	12	Q	Okay. Why was the videotape turned off?
13		had set up on a tripod at the end of the table to	13	A	Because we took a break.
14		record the interview.	14	Q	You took a break?
15	Q	All right. Andandand thatthe taping of the	15	A	Yes, sir.
16		interview did not inhibit you in any way in asking	16	Q	And II believe at that point, youyou had
17		Representative Wright questions that you need to	17		received a telephone call or something? You had
18		ask him, right?	18		somesomesome business tototo take care of?
19	A	No, sir.	19	A	III can't recall exactly what business I had to
20	Q	It didn't intimit didn't threaten you in any way,	20		take care of. I may have made a phone call. If I
21		did it?	21		didif I did, I did. I don'tI just don't recall
22	A	No, sir. I wasI was after the truth. Andand	22		if it was a phone call. It's very well likely that
23		if he wanted to record that, thatwe did not have	23		it was.
24		a problem with that.	24	Q	All right.

-47-

1	A	But we did take a break for ten minutes.	1	A	Yes, sir.
2	Q	Okay. Andand when you came back from the break,	2	Q	you haveyou've documented the fact that you
3		the first thing that Representative Wright did was	3		received these reports and what the reports or
4		to provide you with these documents; is that	4		documents purported to convey to you?
5		correct?	5	A	That is correct, yes, sir.
6	A	Yes, sir.	6	Q	And with respect to that, there werethere was no
7	Q	All right. And during the time that he was handing	7		conversation going on at that time between you and
8		you the documents, the videotape wasn't on?	8		Representative Wright?
9	A	That is correct.	9	A	It was more of me writing the information down
10	Q	All right. So he was actually handing you thethe	10		about those documents and asking him could I make a
11		documents. And I think that you haveyou make	11		copy of each document. But it was quite a lot of
12		reference to them in your report as you identify	12		writing, so there was not much conversation, to my
13		each of the documents and what thethe-	13		recollection.
14		document purported tototo reveal; is that	14	Q	Okay. And as soon as you had completed your
15		correct?	15		recording of the data from those documents, the
16		THE CHAIR: Whatwhat page are we on?	16		videotape was turned back on?
17		THE WITNESS: Page 8.	17	A	That is correct, yes, sir.
18		PROF. JOYNER: Page 8.	18	Q	And it was at that point that you resumed the
19		THE CHAIR: Thank you.	19		dialogue between the two of you?
20	Q	(By Prof. Joyner) Isis that correct?	20	A	That would be correct, yes, sir.
21	A	I'm sorry. Could you	21	Q	Okay. Soandand I guess what I'm trying to
22	Q	Right. And I	22		show, that there was no substantive conversation
23	A	repeat the question?	23		held during the time that this videotape was off as
24	Q	In your report	24		if there was some design not to record that

-49--50-

1		conversation; is that correct?	1	Q	All right. And then a IRS Form SS4?
2	A	I don't know what his intent, desire was. But	2	A	That is correct, yes, sir.
3		there was not a lot of conversation going on.	3	Q	And then you explained what thatwhat that was.
4	Q	All right.	4		And then the IRS W-9 form?
5	A	II can't get into what he was thinking, but II	5	A	That is correct, yes, sir.
6		do know that there was not a lot of conversation	6	Q	All right. Now, is theredid you ever receive any
7		going on.	7		information from anyone that that information
8	Q	But you do know that during that time, you were	8		provided inin those documentsthat that
9		basically receiving the documents that he had	9		informawas not authentic?
10		provided, and you were listing and explaining what	10	A	No, sir.
11		those documents purported toto show?	11	Q	All right. I want to take you back to your
12	A	That is correct, yes, sir.	12		testimony regarding comments that Representative
13	Q	Now, thethe documents that you received at that	13		Wright
14		time was the fax with the ID number on it; is that	14		THE CHAIR: MisDr. Joyner, I'm going to
15		correct?	15		try andjust thinking of the court reporter and a
16	A	Yes, sir, that is correct.	16		good time for a few-minute break. But II'llis
17	Q	This is what you testified to	17		this a good time, or do you
18	A	Yes, sir.	18		PROF. JOYNER: That's fine. That's fine.
19	Q	when Mr. Wrightand then this JR158 form?	19		THE CHAIR: All right. And while we're
20	A	I believe the JR158 form was the fax page	20		on break, I want counsel to be thinking of this on
21	Q	Okay.	21		both sides. We've gotI'mI've got the document.
22	A	from Memphis, Tennessee, identifying a employee	22		I've not looked at anything other than paging
23		identification number, one and the same that you	23		through to see how many pages there are ofand
24		just mentioned, yes, sir.	24		trying to follow the questions that Dr. Joyner

-51-

24

interview?

3		have the document. Our counsel has the document.
4		I'd like to know and I'm going to ask for
4		I'd like to know and I'm going to ask for
5		discussion on why the Members of the Committee
6		shouldn't have this document. And so we'll talk
7		about that at some point. But seems to me fairly
8		important.
9		So with that being said, let's take a
10		ten-minute break and let everybody take a recess
11		for a moment. Thank you.
12		
13		FOURTEEN-MINUTE RECESS
14		
15		THE CHAIR: All right. Thewe are back
16		in order. We are still on cross-examination. Dr.
17		Joyner.
18	Q	(By Prof. Joyner) Mr. Umphlet, want to go back to
19		thethe discussion that you had with
20		Representative Wright regarding bylaws for the
21		Community Health Foundation. Ininitially did you
22		have some confusion about the work of the Community
23		Health Center and the Community Health Foundation?

There was--sorry. Excuse me. I apologize.

Dr. Joyner and--and Representative Wright

asked.

1

-52-In the -- in the beginning, there was some confusion as to--as to the difference between the Community Health Foundation and the New Hanover Community Health Center, because the two being right down there in Wilmington. And so what we did 5 prior to each interview is I asked him would it be okay to refer to the New Hanover Community Health Center as "the Center" and the Community's Health Foundation as "the Foundation." As to what the two 9 did, I knew what the Community--the New Hanover 10 11 Community Health Center did, but did not, for a 12 while, know what the exact purpose of the 13 Community's Health Foundation was. And you knew that Representative Wright was 14 15 connected with both of those? 16 That is correct, yes, sir. 17 And--and at the time, that he was serving as the 1.8 chair of the Community Health Center and president 19 of the Community Health Foundation? Yes, sir. Make sure I was correct on that. Yes, 20 21 22 Now, with respect to the Foundation, you asked Representative Wright about bylaws in your first 23

-53-

1	A	On September 28th.	1		unofficially?
2	Q	September 28th?	2	A	I recall that he had interaction with those
3	A	Yes, sir.	3		members. But the exact wording of that II do not
4	Q	And he told you at that timeI think initially he	4		recall. I'm not saying either way. I just don't
5		told that there were bylaws?	5		recall that fact.
6		THE CHAIR: If	6	Q	But youyou do have a present recollection that
7		PROF. JOYNER: Go on.	7		there was some conversation with him about
8		THE CHAIR: Gogo ahead and answer that.	8		conversations and dialogues that hedialogue that
9	A	The way I recall him stating that was there were	9		he had with members of the foundation board?
10		bylaws, and then turned around and said there were	10	A	To some extent. But to which extent I do not know.
11		no bylaws, in the first meeting that we had, that	11	Q	Okay. But you were clear thatthatthat there
12		initially there were bylaws but then corrected it	12		were no official board meetings and minutes?
13		to there were no bylaws. And then in our second	13	A	That is correct, yes, sir.
14		interview is when he came back and said he would	14	Q	Okay. Andand that's what you have in your
15		like to make a correction, that there were bylaws.	15		report; is that correct?
16	Q	(By Prof. Joyner) And atat theat that same	16	A	Yes, sir. That is correct.
17		I'mI'mI'm taking you back now to the sep	17	Q	All right. Now, with respect to thethis letter
18		twentySeptember 28th interview. He also	18		from Torlen Wade, you have thatExhibit 3 in
19		indicated that with respect to the foundation, that	19		yourin your notebook?
20		there were no official board meetings; is that	20	A	If you'd give me a minute, sir. It's in front of
21		correct?	21		me now.
22	A	That is correct.	22	Q	Tell me whenif you recall, when you first saw
23	Q	Hehe did notdid he indididn't he indicate to	23		that letter.
24		you thatthat members of the board had met	24	A	I'd seen the letter in various types andor let

-55--56-I'd seen the -- the letter in -- in different states, 1 Okay. Would--is--is--is--by "signed letter," meaning that I'd--I'd seen the letter without it on 2 do you mean a copy of this Exhibit 3? letterhead. I've seen the letter without a I mean a copy of the letter on letterhead with a 3 signature. And I've seen the letter as it appears signature on the bottom of the letter. as Exhibit Number 3 today. Now, an--an exact time Okav. Just like Exhibit 3? 5 5 0 frame as to when I first saw a signed letter or a--Yes, sir. or the letter itself. I do not have a recollection Okav Ο of that date. That was--that was one of--one of several ways that All right. Can--can--do you have a present 9 9 I received the letter. 10 recollection as to where you got the letter from? 10 Okay. Now, what--do you recall the other ways that 11 Well, I--I received the letters from--I've received 11 you received the letter? several different letters from several different 12 REP. STAM: Mr. Chairman, objection. My 13 locations. One letter I received from Bill Dowdy 13 objection is this: Since he's testified that with the -- who's an investigator with the District 14 Respondent has authenticated the signed letter. 14 15 Attorney's Office here in Wake County. And if I'm 15 what possible difference does it make when he first 16 not mistaken, it was a forwarded e-mail--it was 16 saw it? atta--an attachment to a forwarded e-mail to me. I 17 THE CHAIR: All right. Dr. Joyner, do you want to respond? recall that it had been sent to him from Kim Strach 1.8 1.8 and that it had been sent to Kim Strach from PROF. JOYNER: The question wasn't when 19 did he first see it. The question was where did he 20 Attorney Doug Kingsberry. That is one way  $\ensuremath{\mathsf{I}}$ 20 21 received a letter--this--a copy of this letter. 21 get it.

22

23

24

REP. STAM: I renew my objection. Why

would it possibly matter where he got it from?

THE CHAIR: Dr. Joyner.

All right. Now, would this have been a signed, or

That would have been a signed letter.

22 0

23

unsigned?

-57-

1		PROF. JOYNER: Because it's going to fit	1		copy of that letter or a eelectronic version of
2		into my closing statement.	2		that letter without a signature be forwarded to
3		THE CHAIR: Goingokay. With that, I'm	3		her.
4		going tofor the time being, I'm going to	4		It is my recollection that I also
5		overrule. Obviously, we want to kind of move a	5		received a copy fromor correction: I did not
6		little bit faster on it, if we can. But it seems	6		receive that copy. Another agent, I believe, came
7		to me that's legitimate. And the objection is	7		in the possession of another copy of that letter.
8		overruled.	8		So I wouldn't be able to testify as to exactly who
9	A	Okay. If it would help, I can explain how I	9		he received that from.
10		received allall the letters	10	Q	And you had some conversation with Representative
11	Q	(By Prof. Joyner) Yes, that would help.	11		Wright about this letter; is that correct?
12	A	if that would help, inin paragraph form. That	12	A	That is correct, sir.
13		would beinstead of asking the questions.	13	Q	This is during your September 28th interview?
14		One copy of the letter I received from a	14	A	I believe, if I'm not mistaken, that conversation
15		computer at the Department of Health and Human	15		came up in both interviews, beginning on the one on
16		Services from a priorwell, from the secretary who	16		the 28th of September of '07 and then again on
17		is currently at the Health and Human Services. She	17		October 5th of '07. But yes, III do recollect
18		had gone on the computer, found a copy of it, and	18		that conversation.
19		printed it off for me. That was an electronic copy	19	Q	And that conversation was a part of a conversation
20		which did not have a signature on it and was not on	20		regarding the purchase of thethe Loftin building;
21		letterhead.	21		is that correct?
22		I received another copy from general	22	A	That is correct, yes, sir.
23		counsel at DHHS that she had received from that	23	Q	All right. And in that conversationor during
24		same secretary when thewhen she had requested a	24		that discussion, you asked, I believe,

-59- -60-

1		Representative Wright about the source of funds	1		to get ahold of him. I believe itwe playedmay
2		that he anticipated receiving to pay off the	2		have played phone tag for a while. But II
3		mortgage with the Coastal Federal Bank; is that	3		initialI eventually received a telephone call
4		correct?	4		from Representative Wright based on my request to
5	A	Yes, sir, that is correct.	5		him for an interview.
6	Q	And do you recall him saying thatthat it was his	6	Q	And it appears that that telephone callit appears
7		intent to get the money through the General	7		that telephone call was on September 20th. Is
8		Assembly special projects to pay for the Loftin	8		does thatis thatthat sound familiar?
9		building?	9	A	Yes, sir, it does.
10	A	Yes, sir. II specifically remember him saying	10	Q	And at that time, Representative Wright agreed to
11		that.	11		meet with you?
12	Q	Okay. Andand he also indicated at that point	12	A	Yes, sir, he did.
13		that that effort fell through due to budget	13	Q	All right. And y'all specifically arranged to meet
14		shortfalls that the General Assembly encountered	14		in theI believe the conference room at the
15		during that time; is that correct?	15		Community Health Center?
16	A	That is correct. He did make that statement, as	16	A	I don't believe that we had made an agreement to
17		well.	17		meet during that phone call. Believe
18	Q	And that as a result of that, he was unable to	18		Representative Wright advised he needed to check
19		obtain the funding? Is that your recollection?	19		his schedule or something about his schedule and
20	A	Yes, that is my recollection. Yes, sir.	20		that he would call me the followingI believe the
21	Q	Did you initially call Representative Wright about	21		following Tuesday forto set up an appointment, at
22		meeting with you for thisthese interviews?	22		whichat which time he did call and set up an
23	A	Yes, sir. I believe the way that went is II	23		appointment with me for the Community's Health
24		don't think the first time I called him I was able	24		FoundationI'm sorrythe New Hanover Community

-61-

	Health Center conference room on the first floor.	1		those interviews, ever inform Representative Wright
Q	But you didyouyouandand that was a	2		of his rights, his Miranda rights?
	voluntary meeting?	3	A	No, sir, as it was not required.
A	Yes, sir, it was.	4	Q	Okay. So you didn't informyou never said
Q	All right. How long did the September 28th meeting	5		anything to him about any rights that he had?
	last?	6	A	I believe, as indicated on thisif you give me
A	I would say the September 28th meeting lasted	7		just a second, sir. II apologize. (Examines
	approximately three hours, give or take a few	8		paperwritings.) No, sir, he was not advised of any
	minutes. We hadhad additional questions, but he	9		Miranda rights, as that was not required, since he
	had a prior engagement and advised that he did	10		was not in custody.
	notcould not stay any longer. So the meeting	11	Q	Andbut he voluntarily came. And diddid he have
	ended approximately one P.M., if I'm not mistaken,	12		anhis attorney with him?
	somewhere around that time. But about three hours.	13	A	No, sir. He advised that he did not have an
Q	And the October 5th meeting, how long did that	14		attorney and, as such, would like to video record
	last?	15		thethe interview.
A	If I'm not mistaken, that meeting lastedor that	16	Q	All right. Did he have anyone with him when he
	interview lasted at least six hours or somewhere in	17		talktalked with you?
	the ballpark of six hours.	18	A	No, sir, he did not.
Q	And durduring that time, did Representative	19	Q	All right. Now, it wasII believe both
	Wright answer all of the questions thatthat you	20		interviews
	had raised with him?	21		THE CHAIR: Dr. Joyner, let me interrupt
A	Yes, sir. He answered every question that I had	22		for one quick question. Just so thatagain,
	raised of him, yes, sir.	23		because we're dealing with Committee members who
Q	All right. Did you, in beginning either or both of	24		aren't all lawyers. Areyou're not making any
	A Q A A	Q But you didyouyouandand that was a voluntary meeting?  A Yes, sir, it was. Q All right. How long did the September 28th meeting last?  A I would say the September 28th meeting lasted approximately three hours, give or take a few minutes. We hadhad additional questions, but he had a prior engagement and advised that he did notcould not stay any longer. So the meeting ended approximately one P.M., if I'm not mistaken, somewhere around that time. But about three hours. Q And the October 5th meeting, how long did that last? A If I'm not mistaken, that meeting lastedor that interview lasted at least six hours or somewhere in the ballpark of six hours. Q And durduring that time, did Representative Wright answer all of the questions thatthat you had raised with him? A Yes, sir. He answered every question that I had raised of him, yes, sir.	Q But you didyouyouandand that was a voluntary meeting? 3  A Yes, sir, it was. 4  Q All right. How long did the September 28th meeting last? 6  A I would say the September 28th meeting lasted 7 approximately three hours, give or take a few 8 minutes. We hadhad additional questions, but he 9 had a prior engagement and advised that he did 10 notcould not stay any longer. So the meeting 11 ended approximately one P.M., if I'm not mistaken, 12 somewhere around that time. But about three hours. 13  Q And the October 5th meeting, how long did that 14 last? 15  A If I'm not mistaken, that meeting lastedor that 16 interview lasted at least six hours or somewhere in 17 the ballpark of six hours. 18  Q And durduring that time, did Representative 19 Wright answer all of the questions thatthat you 20 had raised with him? 21  A Yes, sir. He answered every question that I had 22 raised of him, yes, sir. 23	Q But you didyouyouandand that was a voluntary meeting? 3 A  A Yes, sir, it was. 4 Q  All right. How long did the September 28th meeting last? 6 A  I would say the September 28th meeting lasted 7 approximately three hours, give or take a few 8 minutes. We hadhad additional questions, but he had a prior engagement and advised that he did notcould not stay any longer. So the meeting 11 Q ended approximately one P.M., if I'm not mistaken, 12 somewhere around that time. But about three hours. 13 A  Q And the October 5th meeting, how long did that 14 last? 15  A If I'm not mistaken, that meeting lastedor that 16 Q interview lasted at least six hours or somewhere in 17 the ballpark of six hours. 18 A  Q And durduring that time, did Representative 19 Q wright answer all of the questions thatthat you 20 had raised with him? 21 Yes, sir. He answered every question that I had 22 raised of him, yes, sir. 23

-63- -64- rights 1 A That is correct, yes, sir.

1		claim that there should have been Miranda rights	1	A	That is correct, yes, sir.
2		here, are you?	2	Q	And in fact, both of you did participate in
3		PROF. JOYNER: No. I'm just asking.	3		questioning Representative Wright, but you
4		That's all.	4		basically led the discussionled the interviews?
5		THE CHAIR: Okay. Just so that you know,	5	A	That is correct, yes, sir.
6		Members of the Committee, when they were talking	6		PROF. JOYNER: Okay. If I could have a
7		about Miranda rights, Miranda rights only have to	7		moment?
8		be given when two things happen: when a suspect is	8		THE CHAIR: Absolutely.
9		in custody, that is not free to leave, and being	9		(DISCUSSION OFF RECORD)
10		interrogated. There's no claim that there was a	10	Q	(By Prof. Joyner) All right. Mr. Umphlet, you
11		Miranda rights requirement or violation here.	11		when youwhen you came tointo the interviews
12		All right. Thank you.	12		with Representative Wright, did you have aa set
13	Q	(By Prof. Joyner) And in both of these interviews,	13		list of questions that you were using to guide your
14		you andII think it was	14		interview with him?
15	A	It was	15	A	Yes, sir, I did.
16	Q	Agent Perry?	16	Q	All right. And what was the source ofof those
17	A	Agent K. Perry. And for the record, for the	17		questions?
18		stenographer, that's the letter "K" and notno	18	A	The District Attorney's Office. T
19		other spelling behind that. Just the letter "K."	19	Q	The
20	Q	So not the jewelry Kay?	20	A	The Wake County District Attorney's Office.
21	A	That would be correct.	21	Q	Okay. Wake County District Attorney's Office?
22	Q	Okay. So in both of these interviews, youyou	22	A	Yes, sir.
23		andand Agent Perry were present to conduct the	23	Q	Andand my hesiis because you were in New
24		the interview?	24		Hanover County?

-65-

1	A	Yes, sir.	1	like two boxes of documents with you?
2	Q	Yeah, when youwhen you didokay.	2 A	I did. I had quitequite a bit of documentation,
3	A	II apologize. The Wake County District	3	yes, sir.
4		Attorney's Office.	4 Q	All right. And were you able to get through all of
5	Q	All right. And so prior to the interview that you	5	the documents thatthat you had inin your box?
6		had withor the interviews that you had with	6 A	Thethe documentation thatthat was the bulk of
7		Representative Wright, you did have some meetings	7	that were campaign disclosure reports for 2002
8		with the Wake County District Attorney to formulate	8	through 2006. And I brought that documentation out
9		a specific regimen of questions that you were going	9	and showed Representative Wright those forms. It
10		tothat you were going to cover with	10	was the firstand I advised him that they had
11		Representative Wright?	11	explained that there was approximately one hundred
12	A	I don't think that we had a meeting to formulate a	12	and eighty-five thousand dollars (\$185,000) in
13		set of questions. The quethere may have been	13	unreported campaign monies.
14		some phone conversations, but thethe questions	14	During that time, I went through step by
15		were prepared by the District Attorney's Office.	15	step each reporting cycle tobut not the complete,
16	Q	Okay. And they werethey were delivered to you or	16	entire. That would have probably taken another
17		given to you in some manner?	17	twelve hours. But we went through, and I showed
18	A	That is correct.	18	him his disclosure report that he had submitted to
19	Q	All right. Andand at the same time, you brought	19	the Board of Elections and asked him was that the
20		in with you specific documents that you wanted	20	report that he had submitted, and was that his
21		Representative Wright toto respond to and	21	signature.
22		identify; is that correct?	22	Now, there was a lot of other
23	A	That is correct, yes, sir.	23	documentation behind those disclosure reports that
24	Q	All right. And II believe that you had something	24	he did not look at and thatadvised that he would

-67- -68-

prove the truth of?

them and then make whatever amendments that--that

2		Elections to go through those documents for any	2		needed to be made?
3		discrepancies that there may be in the reporting.	3	A	That is correct.
4		But yes, those were documentation	4	Q	Okay. Now, did you also have some conversation
5		documents that were there, as well. Andand they	5		with Wayne Loftin?
6		wereI would probably dare say there were probably	6	A	Yes, I did.
7		six three-inch notebook binders.	7	Q	All right. And during that conversation, did Mr.
8	Q	With respect to thosethose reports that you just	8		LofLoftin or someone else advise you that
9		referred to there, did Representative Wright not	9		Representative Wright
10		didn't he also say that it wasit was his	10		MR. HART: Objection. Hearsay.
11		intention to amend those reports if there were	11		THE CHAIR: Well, let meletI'll rule,
12		discrepancies found?	12		but let melet me get the full question. I'm
13	A	I don't thinkmy recollection isiswas that it	13		I've kind of got to hear the context of the
14		was not his intent to amend. My recollection was	14		question to know if it's being offeredhow it's
15		he would like the opportunities to sit down with	15		being offered.
16		the Board ofof Elections and to amend	16		Go ahead and ask the question. But don't
17	Q	Right.	17		answer till there's a ruling, please, Agent.
18	A	and to amend those reports and any monies, to sit	18	Q	(By Prof. Joyner) Didwas there some conversation
19		down with them and discuss that. He may have said	19		with Mr. Loftin or someone about a fifty-thousand-
20		"intent." I justI don't recall the word	20		dollar (\$50,000) slush fund that Representative
21		"intent." I recall he would like to sit down for	21		Wright was supposed to have?
22		the opportunity to look over that and to amend.	22		MR. HART: Objection. Hearsay.
23	Q	All right. But once youyou talked with him about	23		THE CHAIR: What's it being offered to

24

like to have an opportunity with the Board of

that, he indicated that he wanted to sit down with

24

-69-

PROF. JOYNER: I'm just asking if that it's--it's relevant in--in the sense--in that 2 was information that he had received that helped to sense. Because -- we had -- we've had testimony 2 form the interviews that -- that he conducted. identifying Wayne Loftin as the son of the owners 3 THE CHAIR: All right. This is when not of the building, that he was an intimate with Mr. being a trial judge comes--let--let me think Burbank from the Coastal Federal Bank and was 5 through this. The question is whether in fact he involved in some way in making initial contacts was given that information from Mr. Loftin? Is about the granting of the loan to the Community that the question? Health Foundation. So --9 PROF. JOYNER: Yes. Yes. THE CHAIR: I'm--all right. I'm going to 10 MR. HART: I also object on relevancy 10 sustain the relevancy objection for right now, but 11 grounds, as well as hearsay. 11 I'm going to reserve the right to think about --THE CHAIR: All right. The objection's you're not going to be released from your subpoena, 12 overruled as to hearsay. I think the question 13 anyway, Agent, today. So I'm going to reserve the that's being asked in this context is not asking to 14 14 right to -- to come back to that as we finish prove the truth of the matter asserted. He's questioning. So it's over--it's sustained for 15 15 simply being asked if he was told that, not to right now. Reserve the right to reconsider it. 16 16 17 prove that it was or was not true. 17 Please go on. PROF. JOYNER: That--that was going to be As to relevancy, Dr. Joyner, how is the 1.8 1.8 question relevant? my last question, Mr. Chair. 20 PROF. JOYNER: We're dealing in--in part 20 THE CHAIR: All right. Redirect. here with an offer or involvement of Mr. Lof--21 Thank you. Thank you, Dr. Loftin (sic). REDIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. HART: 22 Loftin in the purchase of this building that formed 22 23 the basis of this hundred-and-fifty-thousand-dollar 23 Agent Umphlet, I'm going to ask you, if you would, 24 (\$150,000) issue that's--that's before us. And so 24 if you'd look at Page 5 of that particular report

-71-

24

that you've been being asked about. Okav. 2 Δ 3 You've been asked several questions about portions 0 4 of what's in your report. In order to put that 5 into context, your responses, I want to ask you, if you would, if you'd read certain paragraphs from 7 Page 5 and Page 6. If you would, the third full paragraph on Page 5, beginning, "Representative 9 Wright." Will you read that paragraph, please? 10 On Page 5, the third full paragraph. Beginning, "Representative Wright." 11 "Representative Wright reported the purpose of the 12 checks from AT&T, AstraZeneca, and Anheuser-Busch was to begin to assist the foundation in the 14 foundation's process and for the work of the 15 foundation. Wright reported he deposited all three 16 17 of those checks into his personal bank account at the Bank of America. Wright advised he deposited 1.8 those checks into his account to reimburse him for 20 his work with the foundation. When ASAC Umphlet asked what type of work Wright had done, Wright advised, 'Lots of work.' ASAC Umphlet asked what 22 23 type of work Wright had done. Wright advised, 'I'll save that. I don't want to say that at my--

at my point. I don't want to incriminate myself. It looks to me that y'all are trying to build a case against me.' Wright then advised it was for the countless hours of work he had done trying to 5 make the foundation work." And if you would, read the next paragraph, to put that in context, as well, sir. "ASAC Umphlet asked Representative Wright why the 9 checks were not deposited into the foundation's 10 checking account. Wright advised he was not 11 clearly aware of the foundation's checking account 12 but did recall Gottovi talking about the checking 13 account. Wright reported that when he received the checks from AT&T. AstraZeneca, and Anheuser-Busch. 14 15 they were deposited at a later date. Wright 16 advised the checks sat around on his desk for a 17 long time before he actually deposited them. Wright advised the Coastal Federal Foundation 1.8 19 account was probably closed by the time he 20 deposited those checks." 21 And the next paragraph, as well, that goes over on 22 Page 6, please, sir. 23 "Representative Wright reported that he had

documentation showing why he was reimbursed the

-73-

1		money in reference to the checks from AT&T,	1		fax from the Tennessee center, the Memphis,
2		AstraZeneca, and Anheuser-Busch. Wright reported	2		Tennessee, center; is that correct?
3		it was for travel, phone calls, meetings, and	3	A	That is correct, yes, sir.
4		trying to make the foundation work. ASAC Perry	4	Q	And on Page 6, howin the middle of that last
5		asked if Wright had a log showing his work. Wright	5		paragraph, there's a statement thatwhere he
6		said he did not have a log, but he would be able to	6		responded whether or not he would show you thethe
7		prove it, referring to the work he had done.	7		fax.
8		Wright advised the checks from AT&T, AstraZeneca,	8	A	Is that the sentence that begins with "Wright said
9		and Anheuser-Busch were not restricted as to how	9		he would not show"? I'mthere'sthere's
10		they were to be used. Wright advised, 'No one goes	10	Q	Yes, sir. Tell ustell us what he said there.
11		into a business and does not expect toto be	11	A	"Wright said he would not show the fax to ASAC
12		reimbursed.' Wright advised it would have been his	12		Umphlet, because the fax was his smoking gun."
13		decision on what to do with the money. Wright	13	Q	Now, Mr. Joyner asked you about the video recorder
14		stated that with what he put into the foundation in	14		not being turned on and the fact that there was not
15		sweat equityWright then continued by stating, 'I	15		a lot of conversation going on during that time
16		put more into itinto it than this.' Wright was	16		period. But I'd ask you if you would look at Page
17		referring to the amount of the checks from	17		8 at thewhat appears to be thethe third
18		Anheuser-Busch, AstraZeneca, and AT&T. Wright	18		paragraph, saying, "Upon returning." Tell us
19		advised he did not recall when he actually received	19		whatwhatwhat that says, sir.
20		those three checks, but he did remember putting	20	A	"Upon returning from the break, Representative
21		them aside for a while. Wright advised there was	21		Wright advised that he had several documents that
22		nothing illegal about paying himself."	22		ASAC Umphlet could review. Wright advised that he
23	Q	Now, you indicated in cross-examination that at	23		would not turn on his video during this portion of
24		some point, Representative Wright had shown you the	24		the interview, and that wouldand that it would be

-75- -76-

third-quarter, and fourth-quarter reports?

1		off record."	1		campaign disclosure forms thatthat you showed him
2	Q	Did he say what he meant by "off record," sir?	2		and that he said he had filed and signed?
3	A	Not to my recollection, no, sir.	3	A	If you don't mind, I'd like a chance to look at
4	Q	And again, he did not provide you with copies of	4		these notes right here before I
5		those documents he showed you at that time,	5	Q	Yes, sir. I believe if you'll on Page 9 of your
6		correct?	6		report.
7	A	No, sir, he did not.	7	A	If you don't mind, I just need more time toto
8	Q	All right. Mr. Joyner asked you about the	8		review this. (Examines paperwritings.) Okay.
9		campaignthe documents thatthat you showed	9		After reviewingreviewing this information, my
10		Representative Wright, and specifically that you	10		report advised that I went over disclosure reports
11		talked about some campaign disclosure forms?	11		from 2000 to 2006. The first paragraph in here
12	A	That is correct.	12		where I show something being done was for the 2001
13	Q	Ask you, if you would, if you'd look at, in your	13		mid year. I don't have reference, that I see at
14		notebook, Exhibit 16A.	14		this point, in here to the 2000.
15		And bebefore I ask you about that	15	Q	Ifif you would, sir, look at the paragraph just
16		particular document, youyou said in response to	16		above that.
17		some of Mr. Joyner's questions that you asked	17		THE CHAIR: We're talking the fourth
18		Representative Wright if he filed the campaign	18		paragraph on that page; is that correct?
19		disclosure forms and if his signature was on those	19		MR. HART: That's correct. Where it
20		forms. How did Representative Wright respond when	20		says, "As part of this interview, ASAC Umphlet."
21		you asked those questions?	21	A	Okay.
22	A	That he had filled out the forms and signedsigned	22	Q	(By Mr. Hart) Does that refresh your recollection
23		the forms to submit to the Board of Elections.	23		where thethe 2000 first-quarter, second-quarter,

24

Q

All right. Now, was Exhibit 16A one of the

-77-

1	A	That is correct.	1		reports that you showed him for 2001?
2	Q	All right. And is that Exhibit 16A, sir?	2	A	Yes, sir.
3	A	The first-quarter report for 2000 is, yes, sir.	3	Q	And did he indicate that he had signed those and
4	Q	All right. Ifif you'd look through that, is that	4		sent those to the Board of Elections?
5		all four quarters, 16A?	5	A	Yes, sir, he did.
6	A	Let's see. I'm sorry. Yes. Could you repeat your	6	Q	Ask you to look at 16C. Are those the first-,
7		question again?	7		second-, and third-quarter reports and fourth-
8	Q	Yes, sir.	8		quarter reports for the year 2002 that you showed
9	A	I'm sorry.	9		him?
10	Q	IsExhibit 16A, isis that theall four periods	10	A	Yes, they are.
11		for the year 2000?	11	Q	And did he indicate to you that he had signed those
12	A	Yes, it is.	12		and had sent those to the Board of Elections?
13	Q	And is that what you referred to in your report as	13	A	Yes, sir, he did.
14		the campaign disclosure forms that you showed him?	14	Q	Ask you to look at 16D, and askask you if those
15	A	Yes, sir, it is.	15		are the year 2003 mid-year and year-end disclosure
16	Q	And do you indicate, sir, thatthat he said that	16		reports that you showed him.
17		he had filed each of those and had signed each of	17	A	Yes, sir. Can Ican I make a comment about one of
18		those?	18		the 2001 mid-year reports?
19	A	Forfor the year of 2000?	19	Q	Yes, sir.
20	Q	Yes, sir.	20	A	At that point, Representative Wright was not sure
21	A	Yes. Yes. Yes. I did indicate that, yes, sir.	21		at what point some of the disclosure reports had to
22	Q	All right. And if you look at 16B, sir?	22		quit being signed by legislators.
23	A	Okay.	23	Q	Signed, or notarized?
24	Q	And is 16B the mid-year and year-end disclosure	24	A	Notarized. Excuse me. Notarized.

-79-

election--

		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·			
1		I just wanted to make thatthat	1		sign them.
2		distinction right there.	2	Q	Okay. Ask you to look at the document marked 16F.
3	Q	All right. So 16D, are those the mid-year and	3		Ask you, sir, if that is the 2005 mid-year and
4		year-end disclosure reports that you showed	4		year-end disclosure reports that you showed
5		Representative Wright?	5		Representative Wright.
6	A	Yes. They appear to be, yes, sir.	6	A	Yes. They appear to be, yes.
7	Q	And did he tell you that he had signed andsigned	7	Q	All right, sir. And did Representative Wright tell
8		those and sent those to the Board of Elections?	8		you that he had personally signed each of those and
9	A	Yes, he did.	9		sent them to the Board of Elections?
10	Q	Ask you, if you would, if you'd look at 16E, and	10	A	Yes, he did.
11		whether those are the 2004 first-quarter, second-	11	Q	Ask you to look at 16G, Exhibit 16G. And ask you
12		quarter, third-quarter, and fourth-quarter	12		if those are the 2006 first-quarter, second-
13		disclosure reports that you showed him.	13		quarter, third-quarter, and fourth-quarter reports
14	A	Yes, they are.	14		that you showed Representative Wright.
15	Q	Now, I believe that Representative Wright indicated	15	A	Yes, sir, they appear to be.
16		to you that he had sent each of those to the Board	16	Q	And did Representative Wright indicate to you that
17		of Elections; is that correct?	17		he had signed each of those reports and sent those
18	A	That is correct.	18		to the Board of Elections?
19	Q	Did he indicate to you that he had signed a couple	19	A	Yes, sir, he did.
20		of those but not signed a couple others?	20	Q	In cross-examination, Representative Joyner asked
21	A	That is correct.	21		you if you had some conversation with
22	Q	Do you remember what he said about why two of those	22		Representative Wright in which
23		were not signed?	23		PROF. JOYNER: Don't think before the

24

Maybe that he was in a hurry and had forgotten to

-81--82-

1		MR. HART: I'm sorry. Excuse me.	1		THE CHAIR: G? 'Cause I don't know that
2	Q	(By Mr. Hart) Mr. Joyner asked you if you had had	2		there is an H. Is that right?
3		some conversation with Representative Wright about	3		PROF. JOYNER: G.
4		the fact that he wanted to know why he couldn't	4	Q	(By Prof. Joyner) My recollection from your
5		just amend his reports, that he'd like to have an	5		director from your exyouryour answer on
6		opportunity to amend his reports?	6		cross-examexamination was that Representative
7	A	Yes, sir.	7		Wright had indicated that he wanted to meet with
8	Q	Did he indicate to you that he was surprised by	8		the Board of Elections to review those reports and
9		your inquiry about that and your allegations about	9		have an opportunity to make amendments if there
10		a hundred and eighty-five thousand dollars	10		were discrepancies. Is thatis that what hishis
11		(\$185,000) in unreported contributions?	11		statement was to you?
12	A	Advised it was new information to him.	12	A	Wright advised he would like the time to review and
13	Q	That it was new information to him?	13		evaluate the material and to be able to respond and
14	A	Yes, sir.	14		be able to see what was going on. That was one of
15	Q	And this was in Septemberthis was in October of	15		the comments that he made. If you give me just a
16		2007?	16		second toto review this, I'll(examines
17	A	Yes, sir.	17		paperwritings). He advised that he would have to
18		MR. HART: That's all the questions I	18		go back and take an internal look and go back and
19		have, sir.	19		amend the reports, but there was nothing
20		THE CHAIR: Recross.	20		intentional as to the nondisclosure of those
21	RECROS	S-EXAMINATION BY PROF. JOYNER:	21		donations.
22	Q	Agent Umphlet, let'slet's see if we can't clarify	22	Q	Okay. But on cross-examination, you specifically
23		something. With respect to the reports 16A through	23		indicated that Representative Wright had said that
24		16H or whatever, that series of report	24		he had wanted to review that information with the

		-83-			-84-
1		Board or have an opportunity to review that	1	Q	Yes, the whole paragraph.
2		information with the Board of Elections andand to	2	A	"ASAC Umphlet showed Representative Wright the
3		amend it; is that	3		letter to Lewis McKinney of Anheuser-Busch, which
4	A	That is correct, yes, sir.	4		was dated February 6th, 2004, and the letter to
5	Q	Thatthat'sthat's whatthat's what he	5		Brian Shank of AstraZeneca Pharmaceuticals, which
6		said?	6		was dated November 14, 2003. ASAC Umphlet pointed
7	A	Yes, sir.	7		out to Wright that the letters identified a federal
8	Q	This isand these were the same documents that you	8		tax identification or ID number, of"am I allowed
9		were referring to at that point?	9		to read the number in thisopen court?
10	A	That is correct.	10	Q	Yes.
11	Q	Okay. Now I just want to take you back. MisMr.	11	A	Okay. "56 dash 2252434. ASAC Umphlet asked Wright
12		Hart had you to read several things from Pages 5	12		about the tax ID number. Wright reported that he
13		and 6. And one of the things that he readthat he	13		had applied for the tax ID number with the Internal
14		had you read was that Representative Wright did not	14		Revenue Service. Wright advised that his
15		want to show you a copy of the faxtax	15		legislative staff in Raleigh helped him in getting
16		identification number. Dododo you recall that?	16		the tax ID number. Wright did not want to say who
17	A	Yes, sir, I do recall that.	17		those staff members were but advised that some were
18	Q	Okay. And I'm going to just direct your attention	18		no longer employees. Wright advised he had a copy
19		to Page 6 in your report.	19		of the application, even a response from the IRS
20	A	Yes, sir.	20		that they had faxed to Wright with the tax ID
21	Q	And the last paragraph there.	21		number on it. ASAC Umphlet asked Wright would he,
22	A	Yes, sir.	22		in parenthesis, Wright, end parenthesis, show ASAC
23	Q	And ask if you would read that.	23		Umphlet the fax from the IRS with the tax
24	A	The whole paragraph?	24		identification number on it. Wright said he would

-85-

1		not show the fax to ASAC Umphlet, because the fax	1	now to Page 9 of that report. In the second full
2		was his smoking gun. Wright reported that his	2	paragraph there, does it not indicate that
3		member of Congress, Mike McIntyre, helped Wright in	3	Representative Wright advised you that he would
4		obtaining the tax ID number. Wright advised that	4	show you those documents?
5		McIntyre would not know about the tax ID number but	5 A	On Page 9?
6		that his staff would know. Wright reported that he	6 Q	Yes. On Page 8. I'm sorry.
7		received the fax from both his fax at the residence	7 A	Okay. "Upon returning from the break,
8		and his fax at his Raleigh office. Wright advised	8	Representative Wright advised that he had several
9		he has it and can prove it. ASAC Umphlet asked	9	documents that ASAC Umphlet could review," which
10		Wright if the issue concerning the tax ID number	10	were those documents.
11		could be ended by Wright showing ASAC Umphlet and	11 Q	Which were the same documents that youthat he
12		ASAC Perry the fax, would he show them the fax?	12	justhe just talked about and said that he would
13		Wright advised he knew that he could not	13	not provide to you?
14		fictitiously create the tax ID number, "or,	14 A	That is correct.
15		correction"could not fictitiously create that tax	15 Q	All right. And then in the rest of that page, you
16		ID number. ASAC Perry advised Wright that he, ASAC	16	go on to receive and review those documents and to
17		Perry, and ASAC Umphlet were trying to get to the	17	describe exactly what those documents showed; is
18		truth. Wright advised he was trying to protect	18	that correct?
19		himself. Wright advised he had already been told	19	REP. STAM: Mr. Chairman, if I could
20		he was being charged and that he was told that back	20	interrupt a sec, here?
21		in February. Wright then advised he would reflect	21	THE CHAIR: Sure.
22		on giving that document to ASAC Umphlet and that he	22	REP. STAM: We have now so thoroughly
23		had several copies."	23	asked about that document. Could the Committee
24	Q	All right. Now, want to just direct your attention	24	members have a copy of it?

-87-

		-87-		-88-
1		THE CHAIR: I am pretty strongly inclined	1	over, he did provide you with thosewith those
2		to do that, but I want to take the break at lunch	2	documents, ad you reviewed them and were given
3		to think about how I want to handle that. But	3	sufficient time to identify each of those
4		REP. STAM: Thanks.	4	documents?
5		THE CHAIR: Somebody's probably going to	5 A	That is correct.
6		have to persuade me otherwise. But we'll go from	6	PROF. JOYNER: I have no further
7		here to break. And let me think about it.	7	questions.
8		Dr. Joyner, please continue.	8	THE CHAIR: All right. I'm going to hold
9	Q	(By Prof. Joyner) And in the next three	9	the Committee's questions until after break. We're
10		paragraphs, you go on to identify and describe	10	going to take our break a little bit early so I can
11		those three documents; is that correct?	11	think about this document.
12	A	That is correct.	12	Now, if we canand this isagain, I
13	Q	And one of those documents is the flip side of	13	want folks to not be exhausted. We're going to
14		Exhibit 14?	14	have our break, but we're actually going to break
15	A	That is correct.	15	until two o'clock, so it's an hour and twenty
16	Q	And thatis that the same tax ID number that you	16	minutes. WeI'm sorry. Mr. Hart, are youwe'll
17		made reference to on Page 6 with the letter from	17	be in recess until two o'clock. Thank you.
18		McKinneyor the letter to McKinney?	18	
19	A	Yes, it is.	19	(EIGHTY-SIX-MINUTE RECESS)
20	Q	It's the same thing?	20	
21	A	Yes, it is.	21	THE CHAIR: We are back in order for this
22	Q	So onwhen initially asked about these documents,	22	afternoon's session. Couple of logistics matters
23		Representative Wright declined or refused to	23	to resolve first. We're going to stop at four
24		provide them to you. But as soon as the break was	24	o'clock today. Conflicts both by some counsel

-90-

always despised.

the record

Am I right?

McGee

further questions.

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counsel it was inappropriate for chairs or judges

to try to litigate the case as well as chair it. So I'm not going to engage in that practice that I

paragraphs that other--that counsel may want to put

I should also note that the document

Okay. With that being said, I think that

REP. STAM: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. No

THE CHAIR: Okay. Representative Lucas.

THE CHAIR: Thank you. Representative

THE CHAIR: Thank you. Representative

-92-

in. And as I said, we'll have that opportunity. But for now, the document will not be entered into

contains a number of provis -- of paragraphs

unrelated to any charges that are here today.

we're through counsel questioning, if I remember.

Okay. Representative Stam.

REP. LUCAS: No questions.

REP. MCGEE: No questions.

There may be questions that -- a couple of

and--and Committee members. And again, I think rather than trying a forced march to get through, we're going to take the time we need to do this. We will, however, start tomorrow at nine o'clock. And I do want to try to--would like to try to finish up, if at all possible, tomorrow. Again without--but I do want to start at nine.

Secondly, I have reviewed the document that was referred to at length, over lunch. I'm-

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24

Warren.

this evening --

-89-

-91-

Secondly, I have reviewed the document that was referred to at length, over lunch. I'm-I'm not going to allow it into evidence as a separate document. I don't think either counsel has objection to that, the particular ruling. we have--I think both counsel have gone to great lengths to introduce specific paragraphs that they thought were relevant into the record. And the agent will--I'm sorry--of course, not be released from the subpoena today, so that if we have other paragraphs that we need to get in, we can--we can do that tomorrow, since we will clearly be meeting

I think that the best proceedings are generally with relying on the counsel for both sides, who are representing their clients extraordinarily well. And always thought as

REP. WARREN: No questions.

THE CHAIR: All right. Representative Wiley. REP. WILEY: No guestions. 5 THE CHAIR: All right. And I will--I may, but I do not have questions today. I'll hold my questions in subject to recalling the agent in the morning. 9 10 Agent, thank you. I think that ends--11 since there were no questions, there shouldn't be any redirect or recross. Agent, thank you very 12 much. I do want to say--and I want to thank the 14 Agent and can relate as chair, who is now testifying on about an hour's worth of sleep over 15 the last day, because we both share something, and 16 that is that we both have Labs who are absolutely 17 frightened of thunderstorms, and they sit in our 1.8 beds, and--and in each of our cases, we dog-sit during thunderstorms. He dog-sat last night. So I 20

THE WITNESS: Thank you.

can relate completely and hope you catch some sleep

THE CHAIR: --and your dog does, too.

Thank vou. All right. With that, Mr. Hart, next witness. MR. PETERS: The next witness would be 5 Kim Strach. THE CHAIR: Ms. Strach, if you'll come 7 forward 9 Whereupon, 10 KIMBERLY W. STRACH, 11 having been first duly sworn, 12 was examined and testified 13 as follows: 14 THE CHAIR: Thank you, Ms. Strach. Mr. 15 Hart, the witness is with you. 16 DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. PETERS: 17 1.8 Could you state your name, please? 0 19 Kim Westbrook Strach. 20 0 And how are you employed, Ms. Strach? 21 I am the deputy director of the North Carolina 22 State Board of Elections. 23 How long have you been in that position? 0

Let's see. Since March 2000.

-93--94-

1	Q	Were you with the State Board of Elections before	1		Elections will receive complaints from registerif
2		March of 2000?	2		a registered voter files a complaint alleging a
3	A	Excuse me. That'sthat's when I came to the State	3		violation against any political committee, then it
4		Board of Elections. I have been the deputy	4		is thethe job of the Campaign Finance Division of
5		director since October of '01.	5		the State Board of Elections to investigate that
6	Q	And what position did you hold at the State Board	6		complaint. And it may be that a complaint ismay
7		before becoming deputy director?	7		bethe complaint may be involving a county
8	A	I was an elections investigator.	8		official or a municipal office. Still all of those
9	Q	And what did your duties as election investigator	9		officesthose complaints areare handled by our
10		involve?	10		office.
11	A	Primarily I investigated complaints that alleged	11	Q	Okay. Drawing your attention to December of 2006.
12		violations of the campaign-finance regulations.	12		Do you know if the State Board received a complaint
13	Q	And what do your duties as deputy director involve.	13		regarding Representative Wright in around that
14	A	Still thatthat is certainly part of my duties	14		time?
1.5		now. But the other, I am in charge of making sure	15	A	Early December 2006, we did receive a complaint.
16		that all political committees in North Carolina	16	Q	Do you recall who that complaint was from?
17		provide disclosure and are in compliance with the	17	A	It was from Joe Sinsheimer.
18		campaign-finance statutes.	18	Q	And whatcan you describe the gist of that
19	Q	You referred, I believe, to investigating	19		complaint, what the complaint alleged?
20		violations of the the campaign-finance laws?	20	A	The allegations were that Representative Wright had
21	A	Yes.	21		filed false or misleading reports regarding various
22	Q	Could you describe a little bit more what that	22		contributions from employees or contributors from
23		involves?	23		the Sims Hugo Neu Corporation. And it also alleged
24	A	Well, it involvesoften wethe State Board of	24		some improper filing with respect to some sort of

		-95-			-96-
1		paylaypayday lending companies, as well.	1		determination onon those allegations, we would
2	Q	Do you know what the Sims Hugo Neu Corporation is?	2		need to look at the bank records to see when those
3		Do you know anything about that organization?	3		checks were deposited.
4	A	The Sims Hugh Neu Corporation waswas proposing to	4	Q	So that I'm clear, the allegation in the complaint,
5		put a landfill in the Town of Navassa, which is	5		then, was that reports were disclosed later than
6		close to Wilmington.	6		they should have been?
7	Q	Okay. Did your office take any action with regard	7	A	Correct.
8		to that complaint?	8	Q	Okay. Now, you said you gave Representative Wright
9	A	We did. We investigated that complaint and later	9		notice of the complaint?
10		held a hearing on those allegations.	10	A	Yes.
11	Q	Okay. When you say "we investigated," can you	11	Q	Did you receive any response from Representative
12		describe in detail what you did to investigate that	12		Wright?
13		complaint?	13	A	Thethe notethethe letter was sent to him
14	A	Sure. The first thing we did was we sent notice to	14		shortly after we received the complaint, and itit
15		Representative Wright and gave him the opportunity	15		was close to Christmas. So III believe that we
16		to respond to the allegations in the complaint. In	16		gave him until sometime mid January to respond to
17		order for us to investigate thethe allegations	17		that. On the day that it was due, I got a
18		that were alleged here, we needed to look at the	18		voicemail from Representative WrightI believe
19		bank records, because the allegations were that	19		II believe I received the voicemail asking
20		Representative Wright had disclosed receiving	20		saying that hehishe had been out of town over
21		contributions from the Sims Hugo Neu employees, but	21		Christmas, that he had had a death in his family,
22		he had disclosed it at a time after the primary and	22		and he needed an extension of time to respond. I
23		not when he had actually received those	23		called him back that day, left him a message that
24		contributions. So in order for us to make a	24		he couldhe could certainly have an additional two

-97--98-

1		weeks to respond.	1	A	Well, at that time, we were trying toto find
2		On that deadline, which would have been,	2		the2006 was thethe time period in the complaint
3		I believe, January 31st, Representative Wright came	3		was for 2006. So records from that length of time
4		to my office to meet with me. And he stated that	4		for thosefor those reports. That would have
5		he did not have a response, but he wantedhe	5		beenprobably covered from January tillto the
6		wanted us to know that we was not ignoring us, that	6		to the election.
7		he wanted to come in and find out what he needed to	7	Q	All right. And I believe you said he said he would
8		do to resolve the complaint.	8		call that afternoon with the name
9		I spoke with him for a few minutes. I	9	A	He said when he got back to his office, that he
10		remember that day he was not feeling well. And	10		would call with the contact information for her.
11		wewe talked about what he would need to do. He	11		He didn't have it with him, but he wouldhe would
12		told me he wanted to comply and that he needed	12		call.
13		theI told him we would need some records from	13	Q	Did he in fact call?
14		him. He said he understood that, but the problem	14	A	He didn't. So
15		was his treasurer had just had surgery, and she had	15	Q	I'm sorry. Did you say
16		the records and wouldn't be able toto provide	16	A	He did not. He did not call.
17		them right then. So he would call me that	17		So after a couple of weeks, I wrote a
18		afternoon with her name, and we would set up a time	18		letter to Representative Wright. And with the
19		to get together.	19		letter, I included an authorization for $\mathop{\text{\rm him}}\nolimits$ to
20	Q	When you said you would need some records from him,	20		authorize us to get those records so that we could
21		what records were those that you were going to	21		review them and try to resolve the complaint. $\ensuremath{I}$
22		need?	22		did notII thinkand I gave a deadline of
23	A	His campaign-account records.	23		February the 20th. At that time, I believe we
24	Q	For any particular period of time?	24		hadthat that letter was picked up, 'cause I'm

		-99-			-100-
1		notII'm not absolutely sure, but I think it may	1	Q	All right. Toto back up just a little bit, you
2		have been sent certified mail. But we did not get	2		said that Representative Wright was required to
3		a response from that. And so the next day, a staff	3		provide you with a bank-account number?
4		member hand-delivered the letter and an	4	A	Every political committee that is registered with
5		authorization to his office, and Representative	5		our office or even a county board of elections
6		Wright signed that.	6		office is required when theywhen they organize
7	Q	Was that to his office here in Raleigh?	7		their committee, they are required to give us the
8	A	It was.	8		bank-account numbers of all accounts they're going
9	Q	Okay. What happened next?	9		to use for their campaign. And if they change bank
10	A	He signed that, the authorization, whichthe	10		accounts, then they are also required to notify us
11		authorization, what we dothis is not unusual	11		of that change and provide any new account
12		forsometimes wewe send out authorizations if we	12		information.
13		have toto do investigations like this. We	13	Q	And so was it that bank-account number that you had
14		certainly give the committees the chance to	14		on record for Representative's Wright campaign
15		authorize us to get those records.	15		committee? Is that the bank-account number that
16		We have to put on there the bank-account	16		you called the bank about?
17		number that we have, that they're required to give	17	A	Yes.
18		us. We had listed that bank account on the	18	Q	And I believe you said you were told that itthat
19		authorization. And when we came back to our	19		bank account had been closed?
20		office, called the bank. They informed us that	20	A	Yes.
21		that bank account had been closed a few years ago.	21	Q	Do you recall when it had been closed?
22		So at that point, after discussing this with my	22	A	It was closed in 2003.
23		executive director, we decided to subpoena those	23	Q	All right. And this was inwhen you made that

24

call was--

24

records.

-101-

1	A	This was in early 2007.	1		allegations. We didn'tthere werethere were two
2	Q	All right. So what did you do next?	2		bank accountsactually there were three bank
3	A	We subpoenaed the records. And at that time, we	3		accounts at Bank of America. But it was obvious
4		started gettinggetting records. We subpoenaed	4		when we started receiving the records that that was
5		actually the bank. And Bank of America did have	5		not the only bank that had to be used, because
6		accounts for Representative Wright, and so they	6		there was a gap ininin the time period. So we
7		provided those records to us.	7		alsoby that time, I think Representative Wright
8	Q	When you say you subpoenaed the records, what	8		was represented by counsel. And counsel called us
9		exactly did you ask Bank America for	9		and said Representative Wright wanted to cooperate
10	A	For	10		with us, and he would authorize us to get any bank
11	Q	in the subpoena?	11		account that he had. And so he told us where his
12	A	Inwhat we decided to do, because we didn't know	12		bank accounts were, and he signed authorizations
13		whatwhat we were actuallywhere his accounts	13		for additional bank accounts.
14		were ororwe asked them to provide us with the	14	Q	Without necessarily giving account numbers, what
15		bank records of any account that he was listed on	15		exactly what bank accounts did you learn existed at
16		the account for.	16		Bank of America or had existed at Bank of America?
17	Q	All right. And what happened next in the	17	A	There werewe received records for three bank
18		investigation?	18		accounts from Bank of America. One was the
19	A	After we startwe started receiving bank records.	19		campaign account that had closed in 2003. There
20		Our staff started reviewing those records. And	20		was aan account that just had Representative
21		what wewhat we were trying to do was to find	21		Wright'shis personal account had "Thomas E.
22		where thesethese contributions had been deposited	22		Wright" on theonon that account. And there was
23		so that we couldwe could then determine if those	23		also a joint account with his wife.
24		allegations werethere was merit to those allega	24	Q	And when his counsel called and identified other

-103- -104-

1		accounts, do you recall where those accounts were?	1	Q	Perhaps just so the record is clear, the bank
2	A	Hefor a period of time, I believeand I do have	2		accounts that were campaign accounts, not the
3		a list of when they were. In '04from April 23rd,	3		personal accounts, could you state for each one
4		2004, to June of '05, his campaign account was at	4		what dates they were in existence and which bank
5		First Citizens Bank. And then in February, he	5	A	I could.
6		opened an account at Coastal Federal Bank.	6	Q	they were at?
7	Q	All right. So in total, how many bank accounts did	7	A	The campaign accounts, thethe Bank of America
8		you discover that were used as campaign accounts?	8		account was opened April 3rd, 2000. And it closed
9	A	Therethere were campaign contributions deposited	9		November 4th, 2003. The First Citizens Bank was
10		in five different accounts. Thethe joint account	10		April 23rd, 2004, and it closed June 9th, 2005.
11		with his wife, there was only one campaign	11		The Coastal Federal Bank was opened February 24th,
12		contribution deposited in that account. But the	12		2007. And to my knowledge, that bank account may
13		other accounts had a significant number of	13		still be open.
14		contributions that were deposited into them.	14	Q	All right. And was the personal bank accountnot
15	Q	All right. Could you tell if there was any period	15		the joint one but the one that was just in
16		of time in the time you were looking at with the	16		Representative's WrightRepresentative Wright's
17		accounts when there was not a campaign count	17		name, was that account open and active during the
18		account in existence?	18		entire period of time you looked at?
19	A	There was. Fromthethe First Citizens Bank	19	A	It was. That account was opened July 14th, 1999,
20		closed in June of '05. And from June of '05 until	20		and was open through our investigation.
21		February of '07, the only account that he had was	21	Q	All right. So what did you do next in your
22		his personal account. And that is where	22		investigation?
23		contributions were deposited during that time	23	A	Once we had obtained all of the records, then what
24		solely.	24		wewhat we were trying to do isasas our first

-105-

1		goal waswas toto look at the allegations in the	1		that was a personal account that were made payable
2		complaint. Upon reviewing those records, it became	2		to the Thomas Wright campaign.
3		immediately clear that there were a significant	3	Q	And did you compare those checks to the disclosure
4		number of contributions that were not disclosed	4		reports then?
5		that had been deposited in those accounts. So that	5	A	Yes, we did. Yes, we did.
6		became another area that we started investigating.	6	Q	All right. Let me ask you tospeaking of the
7		Not only thethethe 2006, but because there were	7		disclosure reports, let me ask you to turn to
8		certainly contributions that were not showing up on	8		Exhibit 16A in the notebook. And I'llI'll give
9		any report, that was a turn that wethat the	9		you a minute to look at those. Let me know when
10		investigation took at that time.	10		you'vethere're a number of pages there. So
11	Q	And you say there were contributions that were not	11		please let me know when you've finished looking
12		disclosed. What do you mean by them not being	12		through those pages.
13		disclosed?	13	A	I'mI'm finished.
14	A	Every political committee that israises more than	14	Q	Okay. Can you identify the documents that are in
15		three thousand dollars (\$3,000) oris required to	15		16A?
16		report every contribution they receive. And that	16	A	I can. These are the four quarterly disclosure
17		those contributions are supposed to be disclosed on	17		reports for the year 2000.
18		disclosure reports that are filed, during even-	18	Q	Theand they would be filed bythese reports were
19		numbered years, quarterly, and, during odd-numbered	19		filed by whom?
20		years, semiannually. And so anyany amount of	20	A	They were filed by Thomas Wright.
21		money that goesthat is written to a candidate or	21	Q	All right. At the top, does it sayof the first
22		to any political committee thatfor that purpose	22		one, "Thomas Wright Campaign Committee"?
23		must be disclosed. And there were checks that were	23	A	It's the Thomas Wright Campaign Committee. And
24		in not only the campaign account but the account	24		they'reare the first quarter, the second quarter,

-107-

And again are these reports of the Thomas Wright

1 Q

2	Q	So would these be all of the reports that would	2		Campaign?
3		have been filed for the year 2000?	3	A	They are.
4	A	That would be all the required reports for 2000.	4	Q	All right. And Exhibit 16D?
5	Q	All right. Let me ask you to look at Exhibit 16B.	5		THE CHAIR: I'm sorry. Before you go on
6		And again take a minute to look at it. It's not	6		to 16D, I just want to make sure in my notes. Is
7		quite as thick.	7		16C filed by Thomas Wright?
8	A	Okay.	8		THE WITNESS: Yes.
9	Q	Can you identify that?	9		THE CHAIR: All right. Thank you.
10	A	Yes. Those would be the two required reports for	10		THE WITNESS: Okay.
11		2001, the mid-year semiannual report, and the year-	11	Q	(By Mr. Peters) Can you identify 16D?
12		end.	12	A	Thethethe reportsthese are the two reports
13	Q	All right. And these again are the Thomas Wright	13		for 2003, the mid-year semiannual and the year-end
14		Committee?	14		semiannual.
15	A	This is the Thomas Wright Committee.	15	Q	And again are these reports filed by the Thomas
16	Q	All right.	16		Wright Campaign Committee?
17	A	Andand filed by Thomas Wright.	17	A	They are.
18	Q	All right. Let me ask you to look at Exhibit 16C.	18	Q	Could you look at 16E?
19	A	Okay.	19	A	(Examines paperwritings.)
20	Q	Okay. Can you identify what 16C is?	20	Q	And can you identify 16E?
21	A	16C were the reports required for 2002. And in	21	A	Yes. Thisthese are the reports for 2004, the
22		2002, we had an additional report called the	22		first, second, third, and fourth quarter.
23		interim report. So there was the first, second,	23	Q	And again, were these filed by the Thomas Wright
24		interim, third, and fourth quarter.	24		Committee?

the third and fourth quarter.

-109-

1	A	They were.	1	Q	Are these documents made available to the public
2	Q	All right. Turning your attention to 16F. If you	2		for review?
3		could, look at that.	3	A	They are. Between 2000 and 2001, they wereyou
4	A	Yes.	4		actually have to visit the State Board of
5	Q	Can you identify those documents?	5		Elections. We had a public viewing area. We had
6	A	They would be the mid-year semiannual and the year-	6		many files that you could come in. Around 2002 we
7		end semiannual for 2005.	7		started scanning these documents. There were
8	Q	And again, were these filed by the Thomas Wright	8		people that filed electronically. All of the
9		Campaign?	9		reports areare now available, and have been for
10	A	They were.	10		several years, online, so that anyany member of
11	Q	All right. And then Exhibit 16G.	11		the public that has a computer doesn't have to come
12	A	It's the 2006 disclosure reports, the first,	12		down to the State Board of Elections; they can
13		second, third, and fourth quarter.	13		actually view those online.
14	Q	All right. And again, were these filed by the	14	Q	Areare all of these documents in fact available
15		Thomas Wright Campaign?	15		at the State Board's Web site?
16	A	They were.	16	A	Allnot only the reports but anyany
17	Q	The documents marked 16A through 16G, are those all	17		documentation that a political committee files with
18		of the disclosure reports that were required to be	18		us in onis onshould be on the Web site. Any
19		filed from 2000 and through 2006 by political	19		any letters, any correspondence from thethe
20		committee?	20		campaign, thosethose documents are also
21	A	Yes.	21		available.
22	Q	All right. And are these all documents that are	22	Q	Why does the State Board make all of those
23		maintained at the State Board of Elections?	23		available on the Web site?
24	A	They are.	24	A	Well, because probably the greatest reason for

-111-

had the personal account from which contributions

		-111-		-112-
1		campaign-finances regulations is to provide	1	account information that you looked at in this
2		disclosure to the public. And so if the public is	2	investigation, bank-account information?
3		not able to have access to these reports, then	3 A	It does.
4		we're kind of defeating our purpose.	4 Q	Okay. All right. Going back to the investigation
5	Q	All right. And do I understand correctly that for	5	itself. I believe you said you and your staff
6		any period represented by one of these disclosure	6	began comparing what you were finding in the bank-
7		reports, that the committee should be reporting all	7	account records and the checks with the disclosure
8		contributions received by the committee for that	8	reports?
9		time period?	9 A	Correct.
10	A	All contributions received.	10 Q	Cancan you describe a bit of that process?
11	Q	All right. Before we go back to the investigation,	11 A	Well, itit's usually a little bitthe process is
12		let me turn your attention. There are three CDs, I	12	usually a little simpler than this time, because
13		believe, in front of you that are marked Exhibits	13	what we usually do, when we have the accounts,
14		17A, 17B, and 17C.	14	we're able to take the accountsthe account that
15	A	Yes.	15	has been onon file with us, compare it to see
16	Q	Do you recognize those?	16	what's been reported, what hasn't been reported.
17	A	I do.	17	In this situation, we were dealing with
18	Q	Can you identify what they are?	18	multiple accounts and accounts that we were not
19	A	These are copies of all bank records that we	19	aware werewere out there. So what we had to do
20		obtained from First Citizen's Bank, Coastal Federal	20	the campaign accounts, we entered all of the
21		Bank, and Bank of America.	21	contributions into a database so that we could then
22	Q	Did you prepare those CDs?	22	compare those to the reports that Representative
23	A	My staff did under my direction.	23	Wright had filed. The problem came more with we

24

Q

All right. And do those CDs contain all of the

-113-

16 A

2.0

2.0

had also been deposited into, and this account also contained personal funds, obviously, funds that—that were personal deposits made by Representative Wright. So we--we then had to try to determine which contributions had been deposited to this commingled account to determine exactly what had been disclosed and what hadn't been disclosed.

2.0

The other issue that we were faced with is that his--in order to match contributions up-usually it's a pretty easy thing to look at a report, see the date that it's disclosed, look at the account to see if that's the--matches the date--the check in the--in the account. And--and usually we know that, you know, a check is probably may be received before--is--is going to be received before it's deposited. And--and you're supposed to re--report receipt of contribution, not deposit. So we know that your date's not going to be just right. It--it may be that you have received it earlier than it's deposited. But never you're going to deposit something before you've received it.

 $\label{eq:And what we were having problems with was $$ $$ {\it matching up contributions that the deposit date} $$$ 

would-we would have a check that would show receipt after the deposit date. It may be in that amount. So we were having some difficulty matching up these contributions to make sure they were in fact the contributions that he disclosed.

So that--that was a ti--an area that kind of took us a little bit of time because we wanted to make sure if--even if Representative Wright had disclosed it incorrectly, we certainly wanted to make sure that if he disclosed it, we'd given him credit for disclosure. So that--that was a process that we had to go through.

And when you say "showed receipt," that you found in some instances that the deposit date was before what you had showed receipt?

Right. On--on--on every report, you have to show the--the date of receipt, when you--when you receive the contribution. And what we would find in the bank account, that he would have a--a date of receipt that would be after the check was

receive the contribution. And what we would find in the bank account, that he would have a--a date of receipt that would be after the check was deposited. So it was difficult to know if that was the contribution he was referring to; had he received another one. But we tried to--to match those as best as we--best we could.

-115-

So when you say "showed receipt" or "showed date of receipt," that was shown on the disclosure report? Correct. Okay. What in particular did you have to do with regard to the personal accounts in terms of deciding what was personal income and what was campaign income? That -- that was certainly difficult. And what we--so what we decided -- what we -- to do to -- to be, you know, as fair as we could, is any check that was written made payable to the Thomas Wright campaign was considered a contribution. If it was not made payable to the Thomas Wright campaign, we considered that a personal receipt and not subject Were there other challenges that you came across in trying to audit this -- these accounts? It--there--there were, because the--the other Α problem is -- the contributions is one side of it, 2.0 but that's just one side. The other -- the other part of it is trying to determine what was required to be disclosed as far as expenditures. And the difficulty in that is when you have a commingled

account that contains both personal and campaign

funds, which expenditures are subject to

Certainly if there is an expenditure made out of any account that was for a campaign purpose, that's going to need to be disclosed. But also if campaign funds were utilized to make any other expenditures, those expenditures are also subject to disclosure. So we were tasked then with trying to determine which expenditures—certainly everything in a campaign account, no matter what it's spent for, is subject to disclosure, because all those are campaign contributions that have come in to make those expenditures.

-116-

But the--the difficulty here was with the personal account. We were trying to determine which--which of these expenditures was he needing to disclose, even if it wasn't a campaign expenditure, even if it was a personal expenditure that might have been paid with campaign funds.

Q Okay. How many people did you have working on this investigation?

A Well, initially, because when the complaint came in, we--and we had multiple bank accounts. We--

and--and actually at this time, we'd just gotten

-117--118-

1		several new staff members. So we had probably four	1		contributions. And so we felt that there were
2		or five people that were working on making sure	2		certainly issues that we could not handle
3		this data was put in so that we could do	3		administratively and thatand the Board decided to
4		comparisons in order to get ready, because wewe	4		hold a hearing.
5		received thesemost of these records we didn't	5	Q	Right. So that was the State Board of Elections
6		receive until March. And so we had a hearing in	6		that held the hearing in
7		May. So there was acertainly not an awful lot of	7	A	Correct.
8		time to review and get this information ready.	8	Q	in May? All right.
9	Q	And when you say you received them in March, that's	9		Does the State Board of Elections always
10		March of 2007?	10		hold hearings to deal with complaints where someone
11	A	That's correct.	11		alleges thata failure to disclose campaign
12	Q	When you say, "We had a hearing in May"	12		contributions?
13	A	There was a hearing. There wasit was determined	13	A	No, no, no. There arewe receive a lot of
14		fairly early on that when we saw the magnitude of	14		complaints, and some complaintsthere are some
15		contributions that had not been disclosed,	15		that allege failure to disclose. Sometimes when we
16		expenditures that had not been disclosed, and the	16		do an investigation, and even if that person has
17		complaint that had been filed, itit wasitthe	17		failed to disclose one or two contributions, if it
18		contributions in question from the Sims Hugo Neu in	18		isif we determine that it was, you know, a
19		particular had been deposited inin April of 2006,	19		mistake, inadvertent, usually these things can be
20		and they were not disclosed until the third	20		handled administratively by amending reports. It
21		quarter. So we knew that there had been a deposit.	21		it's a different situation when we believe that it
22		There had been several people that had	22		was intentional, whenwhen someone is trying to
23		been interviewed so that we could try to determine	23		keep disclosure from the public.
24		whenwhen Representative Wright received these	24		Certainly everybody makes mistakes, and

-120-

		-119-			
1		we certainly understand that. And our job is to	1		Thatthat's part of the c
2		to make sure people get into compliance. It	2		that there is willful cond
3		reaches the State Board level when it isa	3		reason that we would decid
4		determination is kind of made on the staff level	4		instead of trying toto h
5		that these may not be mistakes, that there may be	5		administratively.
6		intentional reasons forfor the nondisclosure.	6		Certainly we hav
7	Q	And who would make that decision on the staff	7		thatthatif you look at
8		level?	8		people that file amended r
9	A	Well, ininitially that would be my decision. I	9		things that they forgot on
10		would certainly definitely have to consult with our	10		appropriate ways to handle
11		executive director, who would have to agree, and	11		a mistake. And so certain
12		then the Board would be contacted to make a	12		But whenwhen i
13		determination if they wanted to hold a hearing	13		to a level where it's not
14		based on the findings of the staff.	14		complaint's going to reach
15	Q	And when you have to make that determinationyou	15	Q	Okay. And so did you in f
16		may have described this, I think, already to some	16		in this case that it shoul
17		degreewhat criteria do youdo you use to	17		State Board?
18		determine whether it should go to the State Board	18	A	Yes.
19		or whether it can be handled administratively?	19	Q	Did youat the conclusion
20	A	Well, therethere are a multitude of different	20		in preparation for the Sta
21		kinds of complaints that come in. But generally a	21		come to any conclusion abo
22		nondisclosure issue would be when we have reason to	22		Thomas Wright campaign had
23		believe thatthat there is a pattern ofof	23		campaign contributions?
24		nondisclosure that is simply not by mistake.	24	A	We did. One of the things

criteria. If we believe luct, that is another de to hold a hearing andle that

re people all the time our Web site, you'll see eports all the time for a report. And those are when you--when you make nly we understand that. t looks like it's risen

a mistake, that is when a the State Board. act make a determination d be submitted to the

of the investigation and te Board hearing, did you out whether or not the failed to disclose

We did. One of the things that we prepared for the

-121-

1		Board was the Board wanted to look at the issue of	1		spreadsheet of all nondisclosed contributions. So
2		nondisclosure. So we did prepare information on	2		in order to do that, we went back to our
		* *			
3		those contributions.	3		spreadsheet from our hearing, and we wanted to
4	Q	All right. Let me ask you to look at Exhibit 15.	4		verify that those contributions were in fact
5	A	Excuse me just a second.	5		should be sent over. So this list were the
6	Q	Yeah, pour yourself some water, and then look at	6		contributions that were reviewed after the hearing
7		Exhibit 15.	7		and determined to be nondisclosed.
8	A	Okay.	8	Q	And did you prepare the spreadsheet?
9	Q	All right. Can you identify that document?	9	A	Staff did under my direction.
10	A	This is a spreadsheet of nondisclosed	10	Q	All right. So does this spreadsheet represent the
11		contributions. These are not expenditures, just	11		information that was taken from the bank accounts
12		contributions.	12		that are on the CDs you have in front of you?
13	Q	And do you know how this spreadsheet was prepared?	13	A	It does.
14	A	I do. This spreadsheet was actually prepared after	14	Q	And comparing those to the disclosure reports?
1.5		the State Board's hearing. There wasthere was a	15	A	Yes.
16		similar spreadsheet that was prepared for the	16	Q	And would it be fair to say, in essence, the
17		hearing. This was after the hearing, when wewhen	17		purpose of this spreadsheet was to note all
18		thethethe complaintor when the Board heard	18		contributions foundorall contributions found in
19		this, they referred this to the Wake County	19		the bank accounts that are not reflected on
20		District Attorney. And in orderand ordered that	20		disclosure reports?
21		we comply withcooperating with the District	21	A	Correct.
22		Attorney's office in providing them with any	22	Q	All right. Does this spreadsheet contain any
23		information they needed.	23		disclosuresI meanexcuse meany contributions
24		They requested that we provide a	24		that were disclosed in the wrong reporting period?

-123--124-1 Α There are certainly--a lot of the contributions 1 Α I would like to say that there--2 that were disclosed were disclosed in a--in a 2 THE CHAIR: No, no, no, no. different re--reporting period than they would have 3 Sorry. been required to. May--these are--these are THE CHAIR: No. Any objection, Dr. nondisclosed. So, excuse me, they haven't been 5 5 Joyner? disclosed. I'm sorry. PROF. JOYNER: I believe 16A through 16G That--that--yeah, that's what I want to make sure I have already been introduced. Ο understand. On this spreadsheet--is it correct THE CHAIR: They were identified, but I

contributions that were never disclosed?

Exactly. There--there are no contributions on here

that were disclosed on any report
10 MR. PETERS: I think we've referred to-identified them, but I don't-
THE CHAIR: But for evidence--

9

don't---

Q Okay. 13 MR. PETERS: --think we've introduced.

A --filed with our office. 14 THE CHAIR: Admitted yet. They were--

14 A --filed with our office. 14 THE CHAIR: Admitted yet. They were15 Q Okay. And does it show on the spreadsheet what the 15 they didn't ask to admit yet.

total of those contributions is?

16 PROF. JOYNER: Well, I--I have no

17 objection to 16A through 16G. I would object to--

that this spreadsheet is limited only to

9

10

11 A

12

13

18 Q And what is that total? 18 for the record, to six—to 15.

19 A It is one hundred and eighty-five thousand dollars 19 THE CHAIR: All right. And the basis for (\$185,000). 20 the objection?

20 (\$185,000). 20 the objection?
21 Q All right. Excuse me. 21 Well, let me do this. On 16A through

22 MR. PETERS: Mr. Chairman, at this time, 22 16G, they are admitted without objection.
23 we would move to introduce Exhibits 15 and 16A 23 And the basis of the objection of 15?
24 through 16G. 24 PROF. JOYNER: Not been able to

-125-

1	authenticate these entriesthe individual entries	1		THE CHAIR: And 15 is admitted.
2	thatthat are here.	2		MR. PETERS: Thank you.
3	THE CHAIR: All right. Mr. Peters?	3		PROF. JOYNER: Now
4	MR. PETERS: Mr. Chairman, I think Ms.	4		THE CHAIR: Just so we're clear, 15's
5	Strach has testified that this is a business record	5		admitted. 16A through 16G is admitted. We've not
6	that was prepared under her supervision, and also	6		received a motion to admit 17A, B, C.
7	that it provides a summary of bank accounts that	7		MR. PETERS: Correct.
8	were provided to her office, some under subpoena,	8		THE CHAIR: Okay. Thank you.
9	some with authorization from Representative Wright,	9		For the Committee members, 17 are the
10	and that this summarizes those bank accounts which	10		CDs, CDs.
11	Representative Wrightwewe have provided him	11		MR. PETERS: Thatthat's why they're not
12	with thosethat account information so that it	12		in the notebook.
13	could be checked.	13	Q	(Mr. Peters) Ms. Strach, looking again at Exhibit
14	THE CHAIR: The objection is overruled.	14		15. Isis there a reporting period in there for
15	Exception is noted. And to the extent that there	15		which you do not have undisclosed contributions
16	may be any error, obviously, the underlying data is	16		listed?
17	now available through comparison between 17A and	17	A	No.
18	16A through 16G. Andbutbut with thatam I	18	Q	So perhaps a better way I could have phrased that
19	correct on that?	19		is is there a reportingbased on your
20	PROF. JOYNER: Yes.	20		investigation, was there a reporting period between
21	MR. PETERS: 17A through C.	21		2000 and 2006 where Representative Wright's
22	THE CHAIR: 17A through C. I'm sorry.	22		campaign disclosed all contributions that were
23	So the objection is overruled.	23		required to be disclosed?
24	MR. PETERS: Thank you.	24	A	There was notthere was not a reporting period

-127- -128-

1		that hethat he reported all contributions that he	1		which page it's on. But it was from Thomas H
2		was required to report.	2		Thomas Wright, andand it was in the amount of two
3	Q	All right. The Committee now has these before	3		hundred dollars (\$200). This is a Thomas H.
4		them, but I'dI'd like for you to take a look at	4		Wright, III. It is not Thomas E. Wright. When it
5		at least a couple.	5		was initially data entered, the person data-
6	A	I wouldI would like to say that there are three	6		entering that assumed that it was Representative
7		contributions that should not be on this	7		Wright, and it was put in as Thomas Wright and was
8		spreadsheet.	8		actually Thomas H. Wright. When we went back and
9	Q	I was going to go through that, but we'll	9		looked at the check, we saw that it was a different
10	A	Sorry.	10		contributor, and he had, in fact, disclosed that
11	Q	We'll go aheadwe'll go ahead with that. We'll go	11		contribution.
12		ahead with that.	12	Q	Andand that was a contribution for two hundred
13		Have you had any occasion since preparing	13		dollars (\$200)?
14		this spreadsheet to review it?	14	A	It was a contribution for two hundred dollars
15	A	Yes.	15		(\$200).
16	Q	Okay. Andand what have you determined in that	16	Q	All right.
17		review?	17	A	And Iit's on the second page. Its deposit date
18	A	Well, in preparation for this proceeding andand	18		was 5-3-2000. You'll see it's in there as Thomas
19		the criminal proceeding, II did go back and	19		Wright.
20		review every entry on this spreadsheet. And there	20	Q	Is that around the middle of the page?
21		were three entries that were determined to have	21	A	It is.
22		been disclosed. And	22	Q	Andthird quarter of 2000?
23	Q	Can you identify them?	23	A	Yes.

24 Q

All right. And--

I can. There was a contribution--and I'm not sure

-130-

1	A	Second quarter	1		thousand-dollar (\$3,000) Thomas Wright campaign.
2	Q	I think you said there were two others?	2		It was an account transfer, whichaccount
3	A	Actually the second quarter of 2000.	3		transfers are subject to disclosure as
4	Q	Oh, I see. I'm looking the wrong way.	4		contributions. That had also been disclosed.
5		And I believe you said there were two	5	Q	All right. Now, there are a number of entries on
6		others?	6		here, I believe, for the Thomas Wright campaign; is
7	A	Therethere arethere was a contribution from	7		that correct?
8		Carl Marshburn in the amount of one thousand	8	A	Correct.
9		dollars (\$1,000). That was also disclosed. It was	9	Q	And why would those entries be on here?
10		disclosed in a different reporting period, but it	10	A	Well, this wasthis was actually another challenge
11		it was disclosed. And I'm not sure whichwhere	11		that wewe had. When trying to determinewewe
12		that is. But II can locate it.	12		had these undisclosed transactions, and we were
13	Q	That last name was Marshburn?	13		trying to characterize them best as we could of
14	A	Marshburn, Carl.	14		whathow they should be categorized,
15		THE CLERK: It's on the last page, Page	15		contributions, expenditures. There werethere
16		10Page 9, towards the top of the page.	16		were checks that were written from a campaign
17		THE CHAIR: Page 9, about ten items down.	17		account to Thomas Wright personally. And some of
18		MR. PETERS: Yes.	18		those checks were cashed orthey were cashed,
19		THE CHAIR: Page 9.	19		andand wecertainly we don't know whatwhat he
20	A	Page 9, yes. It's 9-15-2006, 2006 third-quarter-	20		did with those. Those would be considered
21		plus report. Itit was actually disclosed on the	21		expenditures.
22		fourth quarter.	22		There were certain checks, the checks
23	Q	(By Mr. Peters) And	23		that you see onon this spreadsheet, where aa
24	A	And then there was one more that was a three-	24		check was written to Thomas Wright. Hehe

-131-

By statute.

2 commingled account, an account that had not only--2 --"transfers must be disclosed," is that a it had campaign contributions in it, as well. And statutory definition? 3 so what was happening is we had campaign It is. It's in the statutory definition of contributions that were subject to disclosure. We "contribution." 5 5 had expenditures. There were some campaign And do you, off the top of your head, know what the expenditures that were being made from this citation for that statute is? I happen to know. It's--it would be North Carolina General Statute 163 dash 278 point 6, number--open 9 And so in order to provide disclosure and 9 10 not double that exclo--disclosure by calling it an 10 paren., 6, close paren. expenditure and then looking at all these 11 11 0 Thank you. When the State Board held its hearing expenditures, it was more of account transfer, 12 in May, did you testify in that hearing? 13 because this account kind of became a campaign 13 account. It was his sole campaign account at one Did you testify at that time regarding undisclosed 14 14 15 time. So by it being an account transfer, it--it--15 campaign contributions? 16 every committee that has more than one account, by 16 I did. Α 17 definition, transfer of funds must be disclosed so 17 I believe you said that was before you had prepared you can see when--when committees are moving money the spreadsheet that is Exhibit 15? 18 18 from one account to the other. So these--these 19 contributions, as they're listed here, these 2.0 2.0 So what was your understanding at that ti--at the transfers were never disclosed, should have been 21 time of the Board's hearing in May, before you had disclosed. And therefore, they're--they're listed 2.2 22 prepared this spreadsheet, what was your 23 as contributions. 23 understanding of how much money of campaign 2.4 0 And when you say "by definition"--2.4 contributions had not been disclosed?

1 A

directly with that check deposited into his--the

-134-

A	At the hearing?	1		the hearing?
Q	Yes.	2	A	Hehe was present.
A	At the hearing, I testified that there were over	3	Q	Was he represented by counsel at the hearing?
	two hundred thousand dollars (\$200,000) in	4	A	He was represented by counsel.
	contributions that had not been disclosed. And the	5	Q	Has any tiat any time since that hearing, has
	Board madeI think probably made findings on that.	6		Representative Wright contacted you to inquire
	Andand the contributions that were included in	7		about the campaign contributions that you said had
	that initial amountwe went back, as I said,	8		not been disclosed?
	trying to determine what needed to be turned over	9	A	No.
	to the Wake County District Attorney's office.	10	Q	Has his counsel contacted you?
	Some of the entries that were on there, when we	11	A	No.
	looked at the checks, they were in the commingled	12	Q	Ms. Strach, let me ask you to look, please, at
	account, and they had not been made out	13		ExhibitTab Number 7. Do you recognize that
	specifically to the Thomas Wright campaign. They	14		document?
	just had "Thomas Wright." So wewe didn't want to	15	A	I do.
	include those. Wewe considered those personal.	16	Q	What is it?
	There were some that we saw thatthat	17	A	It's a check from Anheuser-Busch in the amount of
	had been disclosed. There were some data-entry	18		five thousand dollars (\$5,000) made payable to the
	errors. I think we had a couple of duplicates. So	19		Community's Health Foundation.
	thosethat amount that the Board was amended	20	Q	Do you recall when you first saw that
	afterafter thethe hearing.	21	A	I do.
Q	All right. When you testified toto thatthe	22	Q	document? When was that?
	amount being over two hundred thousand dollars	23	A	Upon receipt of the bank records, it's usually
	(\$200,000), was Representative Wright present at	24		customary for meI always go throughI look
	Q	At the hearing, I testified that there were over two hundred thousand dollars (\$200,000) in contributions that had not been disclosed. And the Board madeI think probably made findings on that. Andand the contributions that were included in that initial amountwe went back, as I said, trying to determine what needed to be turned over to the Wake County District Attorney's office. Some of the entries that were on there, when we looked at the checks, they were in the commingled account, and they had not been made out specifically to the Thomas Wright campaign. They just had "Thomas Wright." So wewe didn't want to include those. Wewe considered those personal.  There were some that we saw thatthat had been disclosed. There were some data-entry errors. I think we had a couple of duplicates. So thosethat amount that the Board was amended afterafter thethe hearing.  Q All right. When you testified toto thatthe amount being over two hundred thousand dollars	At the hearing, I testified that there were over  At two hundred thousand dollars (\$200,000) in  two hundred thousand dollars (\$200,000) in  contributions that had not been disclosed. And the  Board madeI think probably made findings on that.  Andand the contributions that were included in  that initial amountwe went back, as I said,  trying to determine what needed to be turned over  to the Wake County District Attorney's office.  Some of the entries that were on there, when we  looked at the checks, they were in the commingled  account, and they had not been made out  specifically to the Thomas Wright campaign. They  just had "Thomas Wright." So wewe didn't want to  include those. Wewe considered those personal.  There were some that we saw thatthat  thad been disclosed. There were some data-entry  errors. I think we had a couple of duplicates. So  thosethat amount that the Board was amended  afterafter thethe hearing.  All right. When you testified toto thatthe  amount being over two hundred thousand dollars  23	A At the hearing, I testified that there were over two hundred thousand dollars (\$200,000) in 4 A contributions that had not been disclosed. And the 5 Q Board madeI think probably made findings on that. 6 Andand the contributions that were included in 7 that initial amountwe went back, as I said, 8 trying to determine what needed to be turned over 9 A to the Wake County District Attorney's office. 10 Q Some of the entries that were on there, when we 11 A looked at the checks, they were in the commingled 12 Q account, and they had not been made out 13 specifically to the Thomas Wright campaign. They 14 just had "Thomas Wright." So wewe didn't want to 15 A include those. Wewe considered those personal. 16 Q There were some that we saw thatthat 17 A had been disclosed. There were some data-entry 18 errors. I think we had a couple of duplicates. So 19 thosethat amount that the Board was amended 20 Q afterafter thethe hearing. 21 A All right. When you testified toto thatthe 22 Q amount being over two hundred thousand dollars 23 A

-135- -136-

1		through to see if any red flags jump out at me,	1	Q	How can you tell that?
2		business contributions, things of that nature. And	2	A	The capture date at the top is going to show when
3		I actually received these records and was looking	3		it was deposited. Also, on the back of the check,
4		through them and saw this check inin the	4		if you can read it, there's an 8-11-04. That's
5		commingled bank account.	5		going to be the date of deposit, the Bank of
6	Q	And theby "the commingled bank account," do you	6		America depositit was deposited.
7		mean Representative Wright's personal account?	7	Q	Okay. And when is the date on the check?
8	A	It's hisright, the personal account.	8	A	The date is March 5th, 2004.
9	Q	Why did it jump out at you?	9	Q	All right. Let me ask you to look at Exhibit 10.
10	A	Well, because, first of all, it was from a	10	A	Okay.
11		corporation. And, second of all, it was not made	11	Q	Do you recognize that document?
12		payable to the Thomas Wright campaign or to Thomas	12	A	I do. It's a check from AstraZeneca
13		Wright. It was made payable to an organization I	13		Pharmaceuticals in the amount of twotwenty-four
14		wasn't familiar with.	14		hundred dollars (\$2,400).
15	Q	And why would the fact that it was a corporation	15	Q	And when did you first see that check?
16		make it jump out at you?	16	A	At the same time I saw thethethe Anheuser-Busch
17	A	Well, because this account contained campaign	17		check, shortly afteror actually in that same
18		contributions. That's something we need to be	18		deposit, this check.
19		aware ofisbecause political committees may not	19	Q	Does that mean it was deposited the same day?
20		accept any corporate contributions in any amount.	20	A	It does. Itthe deposit slip would reflect that.
21	Q	Are you able to tell from looking at that check or	21	Q	And howis there a way you can tell by looking at
22		looking atat Exhibit 7 when that check was	22		this document?
23		deposited?	23	A	Yes, the capture date. And also on the back of the
24	A	Yes. This check was deposited August 11th, 2004.	24		check, theyou can see visibly "8-11-04."

-137-

1	Q	All right. And if you'll look at Exhibit 13.	1	A	The articles of incorporation.
2	A	Yes. This is a check from AT&T made out to the	2	Q	You found those on the
3		made payable to the Community's Health Foundation.	3	A	Found those
4		It was also discovered'cause it hasit was	4	Q	Web site?
5		deposited July 26, 2004. So this is probably the	5	A	Found those online.
6		first check that Ithat Ithat I identified.	6	Q	Let me ask you to look at Exhibit 1.
7	Q	And again, are you able to tell by the same means	7	A	Yes.
8		when this check was deposited?	8	Q	Can you identify that document?
9	A	Yes, through the capture date and on the back of	9	A	This would be the Articles of Incorporation that I
10		the check.	10		saw online.
11	Q	Okay. When you saw these checks made out to the	11	Q	And did you print them off?
12		Community's Health Foundation, did you take any	12	A	I did.
13		action in response to that?	13	Q	Andand save them in your file?
14	A	Yes. I certainly wanted to first find out what was	14	A	Yes.
15		the Community's Health Foundation. We hadhad	15	Q	Okay. Did you take any further action to follow up
16		difficulty with fiwith getting the bank account.	16		on the Community's Health Foundation?
17		So I wanted to see what this was. So Isince it	17	A	Yes. Because these were checks that had been
18		was a foundation and it had a Wilmington address, I	18		deposited in this account made payable, that was an
19		looked on the Secretary of State's Web site and saw	19		account we certainly wanted to look at and see if
20		that it wasthat Thomas Wright had been the	20		there were possibly campaign contributions may have
21		incorporator and was one of thethe-	21		been deposited in that account. So I contacted
22		president, I believe.	22		Representative Wright's counsel, Mr. Brook, Chris
23	Q	What specifically did you look at at the Secretary	23		Brook, and told him that I would like to look at
24		of State's Web site?	24		those records; would Representative Wright

-139- -140-

1		authorize me to do so? And he said he would. And	1	A	I did.
2		so he authorized us to get the bank records for the	2	Q	Between that time and the hearing?
3		Community's Health Foundation.	3	A	I did.
4	Q	Okay. Did you take any other action there to	4	Q	Do you recall how many conversations you had?
5		followto understand better the Community's Health	5	A	I had several. Most of them were related to
6		Foundation or to investigate it?	6		obtaining documents, authorgetting
7	A	Wellwell certainlyI mean, we certainly wanted	7		authorizations. There were a couple conversations
8		to get thethe bank records and see whatif there	8		where Mr. Brook would call toto find out status
9		had been any activity in that. So upon receiving	9		on when the hearing was and subpoena proc
10		those, that's what we were trying toto do is see	10		subpoenas andand that nature. Thosethose
11		where any contributions had been deposited in that	11		really were thethethe gist of any conversations
12		account.	12		I had with Mr. Brook.
13	Q	Okay. I believe you testified earlier that	13	Q	Okay. I believe you testified earlier that when
14		Representative Wright came into your office after	14		you met with Representative Wright in January of
15		you had sent notice of theof the complaint, the	15		2007, that he indicated he would have to get
16		Joe Sinsheimer complaint?	16		information about his treasurer to you because she
17	A	He did.	17		had the accounts. Am I correct in that?
18	Q	And met with you?	18	A	He said she hadshe had the records that we would
19	A	He did.	19		need to look at, that'cause II told himas I
20	Q	Was that the only conversation you had with him	20		said earlier, hehehe said he wanted toto
21		while you were investigating this matter, or did	21		resolve the complaint; what would he need to do to
22		you have other conversations with him?	22		resolve the complaint? And I told him we would
23	A	That was the only conversation.	23		need to look at his bank records from that time

24

period. And he told me that his--he--his treasurer

24 Q

Did you have other conversations with his counsel?

-141-

1		maintained those records, and we would have to get	1	than-five-minute recess just toto break. So
2		them when she was available.	2	we'llwe'll be back in five minutes. Thanks.
3	Q	And when you told him you needed to look at the	3	
4		records for that time period, did you make clear	4	SEVEN-MINUTE RECESS
5		that the time period you were talking about was	5	
6		2006?	6	THE CHAIR: All right. Thank you very
7	A	I did, because we actually specifically talked	7	much. Back with you, Mr. Peters.
8		about the complaint. I askedI asked	8	MR. PETERS: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
9		Representative Wright at that time. II said, "Do	9 Q	(By Mr. Peters) Ms. Strach, I believe before the
10		you remember when you received these contributions?	10	break, I was asking you about your meeting with
11		It's been alleged that you received them, and you	11	Representative Wright in January of 2007? Andand
12		disclosed them much later." And hehe at that	12	Iand I believe you said that in that discussion,
13		time told me thatactually he told me that he	13	it was clear that the bank records you were talking
14		thought he remembered on the waydriving to my	14	about needing to look at were from 2006?
15		office that hewhere he had received those. So	15 A	Yes.
16		yes, we talked about them being theright before	16 Q	And the response that you got from Mrfrom
17		the 2006 primary andso yes, he knewhe knew at	17	Representative Wright, if I'm correct, was that he
18		the time.	18	would need to get to you the information of the
19		THE CHAIR: Let's stop for one minute.	19	treasurer, because she would have all those bank
20		And I'mI said I wasn't going to take a break, but	20	records; is that correct?
21		let's justI think we're going very fast. And	21 A	Yes.
22		being a Yankee, I can relate to that. But we need	22 Q	When you actually received the bank records, was
23		to slowslow down just a bit. Let's all catch our	23	there a campaign account active in 2006?
24		breath for a minute and take about a fiveno-more-	24 A	No. The only account that he had during 2006 was

-143-

1		his personal account.	1	Q	And so did he in fact file disclosure reports for
2	Q	And how long had it been since there had been a	2		2002?
3		campaign account active?	3	A	He did file. He did. Hehe filed all thethe
4	A	I think itsince June of '05.	4		delinquent reports at that time.
5	Q	Okay. Do you knowhad you ever had any contact	5	Q	And are those the reports that are Exhibit 16C?
6		with Representative Wright concerning the	6	A	Yes. Andand those reports reflect the date they
7		disclosure reports prior to January of 2007?	7		were received, November 21st.
8	A	In 2002 was the only other time I've had	8	Q	All right. When you did your audit last year of
9		conversations with Representative Wright about	9		the bank accounts and of the disclosure reports,
10		disclosure. In 2002 wewe had some issues with	10		did you find that these disclosure reports were
11		Representative Wright not filing any reports in	11		accurate?
12		2002. And ittheafter the election, one of	12	A	They were not.
13		thethe conditions of getting a certificate of	13	Q	Okay. Do you knowwell, first off, with the first
14		election from our office is that you were in	14		quarterlet's see here. For the first-quarter
15		compliance with filing all the required reports.	15		report, can you tell from looking at that
16		So Representative Wright at that time couldn't	16	A	Did you say 16C?
17		receive a certificate of election. So we had	17	Q	yes
18		madetried to make contact with him. Wewe did	18	A	Okay.
19		did make contact with him. And I recall	19	Q	16Cwhat the total contributions would be that
20		Representative Wrighthe came into the office with	20		were disclosed?
21		the required reports, and we sat down in our	21	A	Right. He disclosed receipt of five hundred
22		executive director's office and discussed	22		dollars (\$500) in contributions.
23		discussed his filings so that he could then receive	23	Q	Okay. Do you know the amountbased on the
24		a certificate of election.	24		spreadsheet that is Exhibit 15, do you know the

-145--146-

1		amount of contributions that was not disclosed for	1	A	Five hundred and fifty, so just fifty dollars.
2		that quarter?	2	Q	Okay. What about the third quarter of 2002?
3	A	Well, Iourthe bank records reflected that	3	A	The third quarter, hehe disclosed receiving no
4		during the first quarter of 2002, he deposited	4		contributions.
5		eleven thousand four hundred and fifty dollars	5	Q	And did he in fact receive any contributions?
6		(\$11,450) in contributions.	6	A	He did, two thousand two hundred dollars ( $\$2,200$ ).
7	Q	And he reported five hundred dollars of that?	7	Q	Were there other quarters or other reporting
8	A	Yes.	8		periods where Representative Wright disclosed
9	Q	All right. With the second quarter of 2002again	9		receiving no contributions?
10		that's Exhibit 16Cdo you know how much was	10	A	He did in the second quarter of 2004. He disclosed
11		reported for that quarter?	11		receiving no contributions.
12	A	He rehe reported eighteen thousand one hundred	12	Q	And what did the bank records show were actually
13		and twenty-five dollars (\$18,125).	13		received in the second quarter of 2004?
14	Q	And what did your review of the bank records show	14	A	Twenty-eight thousand five hundred dollars
15		should have been reported for that quarter?	15		(\$28,500).
16	A	Twenty-two thousand six hundred and sixty-six	16	Q	And none of that was disclosed?
17		dollars and twenty-five cent (\$22,666.25).	17	A	None was disclosed.
18	Q	All right. Was there an interim report in 2002?	18	Q	All right. Were there any other quarters where
19	A	There was.	19		nothing was disclosed?
20	Q	All right. And what amount was disclosed on that	20	A	I believe those were the only two quarters.
21		report?	21		Thereactually there were three quarters. The
22	A	He disclosed five hundred dollars (\$500).	22		2003 mid-year semiannual report, he disclosed no
23	Q	And what did the bank records show should have been	23		conno receipts, and he had received one thousand
24		disclosed?	24		six hundred and twenty-five dollars and fifty-three

-147--148-

		-14/-			-148-
1		cent (\$1,625.53).	1		and the investigation that you had overseen, why
2	Q	Okay. To your knowledge, has Representative Wright	2		did you decide that this should go to the State
3		ever filed an amended disclosure report?	3		Board of Elections for a hearing?
4	A	From 2000and II'm just speaking for 2000. I	4	A	Well, as I said, there werethere were multiple
5		I'm not sure of prior to that. But 2000 to 2006	5		reasons stemming from the allegations in the
6		he's not filed any disclosure for the year 2007.	6		complaint. There were some receipt of some
7		But 2000 to 2006, there was one amendment, I	7		business contributions. But really thethe main
8		believe in two thousandI'm notactually I'm not	8		reason is that certainly inin my time at the
9		sure which year it was. There was one amendment,	9		State Board, I've never audited a committee that
10		and itit actually was notit washe had	10		had this amount of nondisclosure. We audited
11		originally just filed the cover sheet to the	11		committees that have less than three thousand up to
12		report, and when he amended it, he actually filed	12		million-dollar committees, and I've never seen this
13		thethe details of the report.	13		amount of disclosure that was is not provided.
14	Q	And did you say no campaign reports have been filed	14	Q	And whatwhat conclusion did you draw from that?
15		for 2007?	15	A	Certainly I thought something that the Board
16	A	Nono campaign reports have been filed for 2007.	16		needed
17	Q	Should campaign reports have been filed in 2007?	17		PROF. JOYNER: Objection. Objection to
18	A	Yes. There should have been a midyear report and a	18		her conclusion.
19		year-end report.	19		THE CHAIR: Basis? I'm sorry. The basis
20	Q	Okay. Now, I believe you testified earlier as to	20		of the objection?
21		the criteria you generally apply in determining	21		PROF. JOYNER: Conclusion.
22		whether a complaint should be forwarded on to the	22		THE CHAIR: That it's her conclusion?
23		State Board of Elections for hearing after an	23		All right.
24		investigation. Specifically with this complaint	24		Mr. Peters?

-149-

1		MR. PETERS: ThatItheI've asked her	1		and the Board shouldshould definitely review
2		why she decided it needed to be referred to the	2		that.
3		State Board of Elections, and I think that's	3	Q	When you were reviewingconducting your
4		relevant to that question.	4		investigation and reviewing what you found in that
5		THE CHAIR: Yeah, let'swhy don't we	5		investigation, since the original complaint had
6		rephrase the question? And then'cause I'm not	6		allegedmade allegations reconcerning
7		sure that was the question.	7		contributions connected to Hugo Sims Corporation,
8		MR. PETERS: Okay.	8		did you make any determinations regarding
9	Q	(By Mr. Peters) What about the amount of	9		contributions connected to Hugo Sims?
10		contributions that you found to be undisclosed made	10	A	Yes. Actually those contributions hadhad been
11		you believe this should be referred to the State	11		deposited. They had been disclosed in the third
12		Board of Elections for hearing?	12		quarter. I think they'd been disclosed. The
13	A	Well, it was certainlyI certainly could not in my	13		report had been filed seven or ten days before the
14		mind believe that it would be a mistake to file a	14		general election. These contributions had been
15		report. Andand Representative Wright signs his	15		given prior to the primary. Likely weI
16		reports. Some of those contributions, I mean, were	16		interviewed several people to try to determine when
17		in his own personal account where he made	17		these contributions were received. Thethe dates
18		personally made the deposits. So I certainly	18		on the checks were Marbetween March and April,
19		thethe amount being wellat that time, you know,	19		and the deposit was made on April 24th, 2006.
20		close to two hundred thousand dollars (\$200,000),	20	Q	Do you recall who you interviewed?
21		we thought, at least one hundred and eighty-five	21	A	I interviewed thethe lobbyist forcouple of
22		thousand dollars (\$185,000) that had not been	22		lobbyists for Sims Hugo Neu. One of the lobbyists
23		disclosed. And I certainly did not thinkI	23		remembered getting some contributions together and
24		thought that was not an error, notnot a mistake,	24		attending a fundraiser for Representative Wright at

-151- -152-

reported?

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MR. PETERS: If I could have one minute,
             the Democratic Party headquarters. And that's
             where he--he remembers delivering those checks.
                                                                                                 Mr. Chairman?
             And that would have been in--in--in April.
                                                                                                           THE CHAIR: Yes, sir.
     Q
             In your review and your findings, did you note any
                                                                                                           MR. PETERS: Mr. Chairman, we don't have
             other pattern, such as an identifiable group of
                                                                                                 any further questions at this time. We would move
 5
                                                                                     5
             contributors whose contributions were not
                                                                                                  to introduce Exhibit 1.
             disclosed?
                                                                                                          THE CHAIR: Any objection, Dr. Joyner, to
             Yes. One of the other things that Mr. Sinsheimer's
                                                                                                  Exhibit 1?
             complaint talked about was bundling by the--by
                                                                                                           PROF. JOYNER: No objection to Exhibit 1.
 9
                                                                                     9
             nurse anesthetists. And as--there was nothing
                                                                                                           THE CHAIR: All right. With no
10
                                                                                    10
                                                                                                  objection, Exhibit 1 is--is admitted.
11
             illegal about nurse anesthetists' bundling
                                                                                    11
             contributions. That--that is permissible, though
                                                                                    12
                                                                                                           All right. Cross-examination.
13
             I--I did speak with a couple of the nurse
                                                                                    13
                                                                                         CROSS-EXAMINATION BY PROF. JOYNER:
             anesthetists, and they advised me that they had
                                                                                                 Okay. Ms. Strach?
14
                                                                                         0
                                                                                    14
15
             made contributions, and--and I saw that they had.
                                                                                    15
16
                       But they--they gave me a list. And I
                                                                                    16
                                                                                                 Strach. Let me just kind of ask some definitional
                                                                                         0
17
             also saw that they--they had made--he had disclosed
                                                                                    17
                                                                                                 questions first.
             between--around fifty-nine hundred dollars ($5.900)
                                                                                                 Sure.
18
                                                                                    18
                                                                                         Α
             of contributions from the nurse anesthetists. They
                                                                                    19
                                                                                                 All right. When we're talking about now--during
             had actually had a fundraiser, and eighteen--they
                                                                                                 the period of 2000 to 2006, were there any
2.0
                                                                                    2.0
             gave contributions in excess of eighteen thousand
                                                                                    21
                                                                                                 amendments to the campaign reporting laws?
             dollars ($18,000) at that fundraiser. And he--he
22
                                                                                    22
23
             failed to disclose thirteen thousand dollars
                                                                                    23
                                                                                         0
                                                                                                 Several. And in 2000, what contributions had to be
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24

(\$13,000) of that.

24

-153- -154-

1	A	All contributions had to be reported. All	1	A	In 2002 we actually have a form. It's called the
2		contributions, as long as I've been here, have	2		aggregated individual contributions. And all it
3		always been reported. There was a threshold for	3		asked for is the date of the contribution and the
4		reporting the identity of the contributor; but you	4		amount of the contribution. It doesn't require the
5		still had to report receipt of that contribution,	5		disclosure of the name of theof the contributor.
6		even if you didn't disclose the name.	6	Q	So you'd have to list each individual date
7	Q	And what was the threshold for reporting the	7	A	Yes.
8		identity of the person that provided that?	8	Q	and the total amountamount of the
9	A	It was one hundred dollars (\$100) within the	9		contributions, or a designation for each
10		election cycle. So if an individual had given one	10		contribution as it was made?
11		hundred dollars (\$100) anytime in the two-year	11	A	A designation for each contribution as it was made.
12		election cycle of the term of the office, then if	12		Theyou would report it the same way as you would
13		they didn't go over the hundred, then their name	13		report any other contribution. The only
14		didn't have to appear on the report.	14		information that would not be present would be the
15	Q	All right. And at some point, was that requirement	15		name of the contributor.
16		amended?	16	Q	All right. So I'm meant to understand that if, in
17	A	It was.	17		2001, I received five contributions for seventy-
18	Q	And when was that?	18		five dollars each, that I have to list five times
19	A	I think itit became effective January 1, 2007,	19		an unnamed contribution for seventy-five dollars?
20		that they lowered the Ithe threshold for the	20	A	Technically yes. In 2002 was when the forms
21		reporting the identity to fifty dollars.	21		actually changed for this aggregated amount. Prior
22	Q	Now, with respect to those contributions of a	22		to that, thethe obligation was there; there was
23		hundred dollars (\$100) or less, how would they have	23		just one line onon the old forms that required
24		shown up on the report?	24		that. And you could give the total amount of

-155- -156-

1		aggregatedor I guess they called themat that	1	A	When the committee receives the contributionwhen
2		time, they were called "unitemized."	2		they receive it, it'sthat's the date of
3	Q	And at that point, you merely had to list the total	3		disclosure. Because sometimesandand I guess a
4		amount of those contributions rather than itemizing	4		good example is in larger campaigns, sometimes
5		each individual contribution?	5		there will be people on behalf of the committee
6	A	The forms only required you at that time. The	6		that receive a contribution. Whenwhen that
7		forms were updated January of 2002 to require the	7		contribution has been received on behalf of the
8		itemization of each one of those.	8		committee, that is the date that should be
9	Q	Andand subsequent to this 2002 change in thein	9		disclosed on a report.
10		the form, the reporting requirement on the form,	10	Q	Now, youyou had mentioned at some point this
11		did you not experience a lot of amendments for	11		notion of bundling.
12		those forms for people who didn't understand that	12	A	Yes.
13		that was the method that they were to report those	13	Q	And bundling is where a number of people come
14		contributions?	14		together with different contributions, and they put
15	A	Certainly there were some people, when we first	15		it input those contributions in one stack, and
16		changed forms, that had filed amendments for	16		then they give that contribution to the person that
17		various reasons. That probabthat could certainly	17		they're supporting or that committee. Would the
18		have been one of the reasons why people filed	18		receipt date be the date
19		amendments.	19		MR. PETERS: Excuse me. Objection. I
20	Q	Okay. But you haven't gone back tototo	20		believe that was a statement, not a question
21		check that?	21		THE CHAIR: Well
22	A	III haven't analyzed that.	22		MR. PETERS:as to the bundling.
23	Q	Now, when youwhen you talk about receipt of a	23		THE CHAIR: I think he was trying to get
24		contribution, what do you mean?	24		to the question. But II understand that. I'll

-157-

1		let Dr. Joyner finishI think we were getting to	1		collector is a campaign staff person, then that's
2		the question part.	2		the receipt date. If the collector happens to be
3		Go ahead.	3		someone that's not associated with the campaign but
4		PROF. JOYNER: Well, it obviously wasn't	4		is just going to deliver them, then it would be
5		a statement, since I don't know what this is all	5		when someone from the campaign received them.
6		about. So all I'm doing is asking questions.	6	Q	Wellwhich is an interesting point. Howhowhow
7	Q	(By Prof. Joyner) But Iisis that a fair	7		would you know who the operable person or the
8		description of what bundling is?	8		appropriate person is to determine the triggering
9	A	Well, bundlingI think it is a fairit's when	9		of the receipt date?
10		individualactually individual people write their	10	A	I don't know. But it's certainly the treasurer of
11		own checks, and someone collects those checks to	11		every committeeit's their responsibility to make
12		deliver them to theto the political committee or	12		sure they know when receipt of the contribution has
13		candidate.	13		been made.
14	Q	All right. And then what is the receipt date of	14	Q	So you, then, rely upon the reporter, the person
15		those individual checks which much be reported on	15		who is providing you with the information, to
16		the form?	16		identify the appropriate receipt date?
17	A	It'sit'sthe receipt date is when the per	17	A	Right, because they're required by law and by
18		someone on behalf of the committee receives those	18		signing that report that that was the date that it
19		contributions.	19		was received on behalf of the committee.
20	Q	So it is not the date that those individual checks	20	Q	And you would not be in a position to go back and
21		are given to the collector but when the collector	21		determine, unless someone who was in the collection
22		of those checks actually transfers thatthose	22		process came to you to report that they were a
23		checks to the committee?	23		member of the committee and received it on a date
24	A	Well, it depends on who the collector is. If the	24		other than what is on the report; is that correct?

-159- -160-

1	A	Correct.	1	A	The stathethe statutes do not provide a
2	Q	Okay. Tell me about thethe amendment to reports,	2		time frame. Certainly ifif someone is aware that
3		campaign reports. Howhow does that occur?	3		they haveneed to amend a report, they would need
4	A	Anytime a political committee makes their own	4		to do it, because they're signing these reports as
5		determination that a report ishashas	5		true and accurate, and if you realize the report is
6		discrepancies, has omissions, has things that are	6		not true and accurate, you certainly need to amend
7		not correct, then they at any time may amend a	7		it to change that.
8		report to reflect what was missing or what	8	Q	With respect to the amendment process, is it
9		shouldn't have been included.	9		necessary to get the approval from your office to
10		So amendments usually generally happen	10		amend that, or is that amended as a matter of
11		really two ways. One is basically when someone	11		course?
12		determines themselves, when they're auditing their	12	A	It's certainly notyouyou can amend anytime you
13		own committee and they decide, "You know what? I	13		feel you need to amend a report. You do not need
14		left out a contribution." Or the amendment process	14		our permission or an invitation from us toto
15		can happen if we have audited a committee, and we	15		amend a report.
16		send you an audit letter saying, "It looks like	16	Q	All right. Is there a specific statutory reference
17		youyou forgot to provide this information. Could	17		which allows for the amendment of campaign reports?
18		you amend your report?"	18	A	II don't think there is aa statutory reference
19	Q	Soand typically once a person or committee	19		for amending reports. It's certainlyit's just
20		determines thatthat an amendment isis in order,	20		based onupon the fact that you're required to
21		then they can come in and amend the original	21		file true and accurate reports. And so we
22		report?	22		certainly allow amending if someone determines that
23	A	Sure.	23		they have made a mistake.
24	Q	Evenwell, is there a time frame?	24	Q	All right. So this is aa policy decision made by

-161-

Right. 12 on the phone. He certainly wanted to know ifif and the phone. He call the phone. He certainly wanted to know ifif and the phone. He call the phone with the phone. He call the phone if and the phone if and the phone if and the phone. He call the phone if and the phone. He call the phone if and the phone if and the phone if and the phone if and the phone. He call the phone if and the phone if and the phone if and the phone	1		the Board of Elections?	1		Representative Wright's attorney
doesn't say that in such-and-such a case, a  doesn't say that in such-and-such a case, a  committee cancan come in to amend a report up  doesn't say that in such-and-such date?  duntil such-and-such date?  A Nono.  Right.  Doesn't say of the could amend the such sake if he could amend to know ifif such sake if he could amend his reports. And a correct.  A Correct.  Doesn't say that in such sake that such sake if he could amend his such sake if he could amend his reports. And such sake if he could amend his reports. And such sake if he could amend his reports. And such sake if he could amend his reports. That may not change the fact that we have such such sake if he could amend such sake if he could amend such sake if he could amend his reports.  Doesn't such sake if he could amend his reports. And it is not unusual for a committee to such such sake if he could amend his reports. That may not change the fact that we have such such such such such such such such	2	A	Yes.	2	A	Yes.
committee cancan come in to amend a report up  5	3	Q	Okay. It's not a part of the statute; the statute	3	Q	regarding hishis reports?
until such-and-such date?  6 A It was.  7 A Nono.  7 Q Okay. And do you recall an occasion that Attorney  8 Q Right.  8 Brooks came to you to ask if he could amend the  9 A That's not there.  9 reports that were the subject of your  10 Q So this is a policy decision that's made by the  11 A III think that Chris BrookII spoke with him  12 A Right.  13 Q Administratively?  14 A Correct.  15 Q Okay. Andand it's not unusual for a committee to  16 come in to amend a report?  17 A Oh, not unusual at all.  18 Q In fact, it happens more often than not?  19 A Itit happens very often.  19 A Itit happens very often.  10 Dodo you recall whenwhen that conversation was  11 A I don't specifically recall the date, but I know  20 Q Especially now?  21 A Yes, I guess that may be true.  22 Q Now, you had made references to some conversations  23 that you had had within your direct testimony,  23 hearing.	4		doesn't say that in such-and-such a case, a	4	A	Yes.
A No-no. 7 Q Okay. And do you recall an occasion that Attorney  8 Q Right. 8 Brooks came to you to ask if he could amend the  9 A That's not there. 9 reports that were the subject of your  10 Q So this is a policy decision that's made by the 10 investigation?  11 A III think that Chris BrookII spoke with him  12 A Right. 12 on the phone. He certainly wanted to know ifif-  13 Q Administratively? 13 Representative Wright could amend his reports. And  14 A Correct. 14 I absolutely told him he certainly can amend his  15 Q Okay. Andand it's not unusual for a committee to 15 reports. That may not change the fact that we have  16 come in to amend a report? 16 a hearing, but he can certainly and should amend  17 A Oh, not unusual at all. 17 his reports.  18 Q In fact, it happens more often than not? 18 Q Dodo you recall whenwhen that conversation was  19 A Itit happens very often. 19 held?  20 Q Especially now? 20 A I don't specifically recall the date, but I know  21 A Yes, I guess that may be true. 21 that it would have been, you know, sometime after  22 Q Now, you had made references to some conversations 22 it had been announced that we were having a  23 that you had had within your direct testimony, 23 hearing.	5		committee cancan come in to amend a report up	5	Q	And was that Chris Brooks?
Brooks came to you to ask if he could amend the reports that were the subject of your to ask if he could amend the reports that were the subject of your to ask if he could amend the reports that were the subject of your to ask if he could amend the reports that were the subject of your to ask if he could amend the reports that were the subject of your to ask if he could amend the reports that were the subject of your to ask if he could amend the reports that were the subject of your to ask if he could amend the reports that were the subject of your to ask if he could amend the reports that were the subject of your to ask if he could amend the reports that were the subject of your to ask if he could amend the reports that were the subject of your to ask if he could amend the reports that were the subject of your to ask if he could amend the reports that were the subject of your to ask if he could amend the reports that were the subject of your to ask if he could amend the reports that were the subject of your to ask if he could amend the reports that were the subject of your and the subject of your to ask if he could amend the reports that were the subject of your and the were having a that you had had within your direct testimony, 23 hearing.	6		until such-and-such date?	6	A	It was.
That's not there.  9	7	A	Nono.	7	Q	Okay. And do you recall an occasion that Attorney
Board of Elections?  11	8	Q	Right.	8		Brooks came to you to ask if he could amend the
Board of Elections?  11 A III think that Chris BrookII spoke with him  12 A Right.  13 Q Administratively?  13 Representative Wright could amend his reports. And  14 A Correct.  14 I absolutely told him he certainly can amend his  15 Q Okay. Andand it's not unusual for a committee to  16 come in to amend a report?  16 a hearing, but he can certainly and should amend  17 A Oh, not unusual at all.  18 Q In fact, it happens more often than not?  18 Q Dodo you recall whenwhen that conversation was  19 A Itit happens very often.  19 held?  20 Q Especially now?  21 A Yes, I guess that may be true.  22 Q Now, you had made references to some conversations  23 that you had had within your direct testimony,  23 hearing.	9	A	That's not there.	9		reports that were the subject of your
Right. 12 on the phone. He certainly wanted to know ifif and the phone. He call the phone. He certainly wanted to know ifif and the phone. He call the phone with the phone. He call the phone if and the phone if and the phone if and the phone. He call the phone if and the phone. He call the phone if and the phone if and the phone if and the phone if and the phone. He call the phone if and the phone if and the phone if and the phone	10	Q	So this is a policy decision that's made by the	10		investigation?
Administratively?  13 Representative Wright could amend his reports. And I absolutely told him he certainly can amend his come in to amend a report?  16 come in to amend a report?  16 a hearing, but he can certainly and should amend for a committee to 15 reports. That may not change the fact that we have a come in to amend a report?  16 a hearing, but he can certainly and should amend for a committee to 17 his reports.  18 Q In fact, it happens more often than not?  18 Q Dodo you recall whenwhen that conversation was 19 A Itit happens very often.  19 held?  20 Q Especially now?  20 A I don't specifically recall the date, but I know 21 A Yes, I guess that may be true.  21 that it would have been, you know, sometime after 22 Q Now, you had made references to some conversations  23 that you had had within your direct testimony,  23 hearing.	11		Board of Elections?	11	A	III think that Chris BrookII spoke with him
14 A Correct.  15 Q Okay. And—and it's not unusual for a committee to 16 come in to amend a report? 16 a hearing, but he can certainly and should amend 17 A Oh, not unusual at all. 18 Q In fact, it happens more often than not? 18 Q Do—do you recall when—when that conversation was 19 A It—it happens very often. 19 held? 20 Q Especially now? 21 A Yes, I guess that may be true. 21 that it would have been, you know, sometime after 22 Q Now, you had made references to some conversations 23 that you had had with—in your direct testimony, 23 hearing.	12	A	Right.	12		on the phone. He certainly wanted to know ifif
Okay. Andand it's not unusual for a committee to  15 reports. That may not change the fact that we have 16 come in to amend a report?  16 a hearing, but he can certainly and should amend 17 A Oh, not unusual at all.  17 his reports.  18 Q Dodo you recall whenwhen that conversation was 19 A Itit happens very often.  19 held?  20 Q Especially now?  20 A I don't specifically recall the date, but I know 21 A Yes, I guess that may be true.  22 Q Now, you had made references to some conversations 23 that you had had within your direct testimony, 23 hearing.	13	Q	Administratively?	13		Representative Wright could amend his reports. And
come in to amend a report?  16 a hearing, but he can certainly and should amend 17 A Oh, not unusual at all. 17 his reports. 18 Q In fact, it happens more often than not? 18 Q Dodo you recall whenwhen that conversation was 19 A Itit happens very often. 19 held? 20 Q Especially now? 20 A I don't specifically recall the date, but I know 21 A Yes, I guess that may be true. 22 Q Now, you had made references to some conversations 23 that you had had within your direct testimony, 23 hearing.	14	A	Correct.	14		I absolutely told him he certainly can amend his
17 A Oh, not unusual at all.  18 Q In fact, it happens more often than not?  18 Q Dodo you recall whenwhen that conversation was  19 A Itit happens very often.  19 held?  20 A I don't specifically recall the date, but I know  21 A Yes, I guess that may be true.  22 Q Now, you had made references to some conversations  23 that you had had within your direct testimony,  23 hearing.	15	Q	Okay. Andand it's not unusual for a committee to	15		reports. That may not change the fact that we have
In fact, it happens more often than not?  18 Q Do-do you recall when-when that conversation was 19 A Itit happens very often.  19 A Itit happens very often.  20 A I don't specifically recall the date, but I know 21 A Yes, I guess that may be true.  21 that it would have been, you know, sometime after 22 Q Now, you had made references to some conversations 22 it had been announced that we were having a 23 that you had had within your direct testimony,  23 hearing.	16		come in to amend a report?	16		a hearing, but he can certainly and should amend
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Q Especially now? 20 A I don't specifically recall the date, but I know 21 A Yes, I guess that may be true. 21 that it would have been, you know, sometime after 22 Q Now, you had made references to some conversations 22 it had been announced that we were having a 23 that you had had within your direct testimony, 23 hearing.	18	Q	In fact, it happens more often than not?	18	Q	Dodo you recall whenwhen that conversation was
21 A Yes, I guess that may be true. 21 that it would have been, you know, sometime after 22 Q Now, you had made references to some conversations 22 it had been announced that we were having a 23 that you had had within your direct testimony, 23 hearing.	19	A	Itit happens very often.	19		held?
Q Now, you had made references to some conversations 22 it had been announced that we were having a that you had had within your direct testimony, 23 hearing.	20	Q	Especially now?	20	A	I don't specifically recall the date, but I know
23 that you had had within your direct testimony, 23 hearing.	21	A	Yes, I guess that may be true.	21		that it would have been, you know, sometime after
	22	Q	Now, you had made references to some conversations	22		it had been announced that we were having a
24 conversations that you had had with Mr 24 Q And that was a telyouryour recollection, it was	23		that you had had within your direct testimony,	23		hearing.
	24		conversations that you had had with Mr	24	Q	And that was a telyouryour recollection, it was

-163-

1		a telephone	1		that he couldn't amend reports.
2	A	My recollection was a telephone call. I don't	2	Q	So you don't have a present recollection that
3		remember it being in person. Ititit's entirely	3		anyone ever told Attorney Brooks that he could not
4		possible that it may have been, but III recall	4		amend a report?
5		Ithat it was a telephone conversation.	5	A	No, and Iand I can't imagine in any circumstance
6	Q	So then ifso no one toldwell, that request,	6		that anyone on our staff would ever tell someone
7		would it have been made to you or, to another	7		they couldn't amend a report.
8		staffer in your office?	8	Q	You indicated that there were five separate
9	A	The request to amend reports?	9		accounts thataccounts that you filed under Thomas
10	Q	Right.	10		Wright's name during your investigation; is that
11	A	It could have been made to me. It could have been	11		correct?
12		made to our executive director. I know Mr. Brook	12	A	Yes.
13		talktalked to him, as well. I'm not sure of the	13	Q	And you mentioned a number of different banking
14		substance of their conversation. I do know that I	14		institutions
15		spoke with him. And III certainly think he may	15	A	Yes.
16		have certainly said that hecould Representative	16	Q	which held thesethese accounts. Was any one of
17		Wright amend. And II certainly told him that	17		these accounts open for the entire period of 2000
18		yes, he could.	18		to 2006?
19	Q	Andand you don't have a recollection thatthat	19	A	Yes.
20		Attorney Brooks was told that he could not amend?	20	Q	Which ones were those?
21	A	Oh, absolutely not. Like I said, heifif Rep	21	A	It was not a campaign account. His personal
22		ifif Mr. Brooks was asking whether or not the	22		account.
23		amendment process would stop the hearing, it was	23	Q	His personal account. Was this a Thomaswas this
24		not going to. But certainly he would not be told	24		a joint account, or a sole account?

-165--166-

1	A	It's a sole account.	1	Q	Now, the account opened at Coastal Federal Bank,
2	Q	Okay. And then there were a number of other	2		isis thatis that still open?
3		personal accounts	3	A	As far as I know. it is.
4	A	Correct.	4	Q	Okay. And from 2005 to 2007, you say that other
5	Q	that you identified as having commingled funds?	5		than the personal accounts, there was no campaign
6	A	Well, there was noexcuse me. There was the one	6		account open?
7		personal account which has commingled funds. There	7	A	Asas far as I know. And Mr. Brook advised me
8		was one account that was a joint account that I'd	8		that he had provided me with all bank accounts.
9		said that had been one campaign contribution	9	Q	All right. And 2000 to 2003, that was Bank of
10		deposited into. The other accounts were campaign.	10		America?
11		They were designated "Thomas Wright campaign."	11	A	Yes, correct.
12	Q	So there were three separate Thomas Wright campaign	12	Q	Is it unusual that campaign accounts would bethat
13		accounts?	13		several campaign accounts would be open over a
14	A	Correct.	14		period of time?
15	Q	All right. And for what period of time were those	15	A	It's not unusual if you have different treasurers.
16		three accounts open?	16		Sometimes a treasurer will want to have the
17	A	The first campaign account was opened April 3rd,	17		campaign account at a bank that they are familiar
18		2000, through November 4th, 2003. And then the	18		with or do business with. So it's not unusual
19		second account, which would have been the First	19		whenif a treasurer changes for that to occur.
20		Citizens account, was opened April 23rd, 2004,	20	Q	Is it unusual that a campaign account would be
21		through June 2005. So between 11-5-03 and 4-22-04,	21		changed because of thethe fees that are attached
22		there was no other campaign account. And then on	22		to it, and you can get a better rate at another
23		February 24th, 2007, there was a Thomas Wright	23		bank?
24		campaign account opened at Coastal Federal Bank.	24	A	I've heard that, too.

		-167-			-168-
1	Q	Okay. So that is aandandandandand	1		been reflected on the summary page ofof a
2		and that happens quite often, does it not?	2		disclosure report.
3	A	I have certainly heard committees changehave	3	Q	Ifif you have a report that lists offlists the
4		heard from committees that change their accounts	4		concontribution from the Thomas Wright campaign
5		for that reason, yes.	5		or from Thomas Wright to the campaign, would not
6	Q	Right. Because if theif the account is open,	6		that be an appropriate method of depositing those
7		then the bank is taking the money out of it?	7		monies into the campaign account in the event that
8	A	That's right.	8		they were wrongly attributed initially?
9	Q	Want to direct your attention here to Exhibit 15.	9	A	I'm not sure I follow whatcould you
10	A	Yes.	10	Q	All right. Youyou called them transfers
11	Q	And durduringduring the timeduring the period	11	A	Yes.
12		of 2000 through 2002, you have listed as	12	Q	here. And where the contributorand $\ensuremath{\text{I'm}}$
13		contributions not disclosed the names of any number	13		assuming that the check is made to the Thomas
14		of individuals that contributed a hundred dollars	14		Wright campaign?
15		(\$100) or less?	15	A	No. The check would be written to Thomas Wright.
16	A	Yes.	16	Q	Well, letletlet me
17	Q	Is itis it your repyouryour testimony that	17	A	It wasthatthat's the way it was designated on
18		the names for each of these one-hundred-dollar	18		the sheet, on thethis spreadsheet. But when
19		(\$100) contributors should have been reported?	19		theywhen you see "Thomas Wright campaign," the
20	A	Not necessarily the names. But the receipt of the	20		check was actually written to Thomas Wright.
21		contribution should have been reported.	21		That's how we designated the transfer.
22	Q	And during that period of time, those items could	22	Q	And it was written from whom?
23		have been listed in the aggregate?	23	A	Was written from the campaign account to what ended
24	A	They could have been. But they still would have	24		up going into another campaign account or account

-169-

1		that was used for campaign and personal purposes.	1		for those two be that it was to place into the
2	Q	I wantI want to direct you to Page 4 of Exhibit	2		campaign account monies which had been improperly
3		15.	3		placed in another account? That's
4	A	Okay.	4	A	No. No, that couldn't be.
5	Q	The sixth and seventh line	5	Q	Why couldn't it be?
6	A	Yes.	6	A	Becauwell, becauseI don't think that could be,
7	Q	on that report.	7		because these were
8	A	Yes.	8	Q	Well, now, waitwait a minute. It can't be, or
9	Q	Both of those items identifies the contributor as	9		you don't think it could be? Which one is it?
10		the Thomas Wright campaign?	10	A	Well, let me say whywhy I don't think that it is.
11	A	Correct.	11		Because these were checks that were written out of
12	Q	Now, is it your testimony that the Thomas Wright	12		a campaign account to himtothat were made
13		campaign wrote that check out and that the payee	13		payable to him and then put into an account that
14		was the Thomas Wright campaign?	14		was also used for personal purposes. So II guess
15	A	That is my testimony because that's ended up what	15		what you're saying, did he take campaign
16		happened to it. It wasit was paid to Thomas	16		contributions and put it into an account that was
17		Wright, but it was depositeddirectly deposited	17		also used for personal purposes. And thatand
18		into Thomas Wrightanother account of Thomas	18		that's why I don't think it would be a mistake for
19		Wright, that was utilized for both campaign and	19		it to go that way.
20		personal purposes.	20	Q	Well, let meand I'mI'm trying to see, then, why
21	Q	And I guess my question has to do with the source	21		this does not show up as a disbursement from the
22		of the three thousand dollars (\$3,000) in one	22		campaign account.
23		instance and one thousand fifty dollars (\$1,050) in	23	A	Well, thatthat is athat's a good question. And
24		the other instance. And could not the explanation	24		I think

-171-

		-1/1-			-1/2-
1	Q	Oh, thank you. I appreciate that.	1		And that's whythat's why they're considered
2	A	It's a good question. IIif weas I said, we	2		account transfers.
3		hadtrying to determine what these transactions	3	Q	Well, letletletyou know, 'cause, I mean,
4		were. If the check was written to Thomas Wright	4		$\label{lem:continuous} \mbox{I'mI'm new to this political-campaign stuff.}$
5		and he cashed it, he did something else with it; we	5		And I realize that you went through a major change
6		consider that a disbursement. We had an unusual	6		in 2006. Or was it 2007?
7		situation with these checks, because they were not	7	A	Andmajor change?
8		just going into a personal account. If it just	8	Q	In the campaign reporting, campaign ethics laws.
9		went into a personal account, you are exactly	9	A	There were certainly some changes then, but it
10		right; it would have been a disbursement. It would	10	Q	But having to do with thethe use of funds from
11		have been an expenditure. It would only have shown	11		campaign accounts.
12		up on that side. But here we had anit was put	12	A	Theyou're right. In 2006 itafter October 1,
13		into an account that was alsothere were other	13		there was the change that a candidate could no
14		campaign contributions being deposited into that	14		longer use funds for personal expenses. It could
15		account. There were expenditures being made that	15		only be used for campaign purposes.
16		were also subject to disclosure. So ifif we	16	Q	Right. That's exactyeah, that's exactly what I'm
17		designated that as an expenditure and then we've	17		talking about. And up until that time, it was not
18		also designated thethe expenditures out of it,	18		improper or illegal for a legislatorand many
19		then we're going to double show expenditures, which	19		didto use funds that came in forentitled
20		are reportable.	20		campaign funds for personal expenditure?
21		Account transfersthere's no net gain to	21	A	I don't disagree with you; you're right. There
22		them.	22		prior to October 1, 2006, a candidate could spend
23	Q	Well	23		their money for any purpose they wanted to.
24	A	So they show up on the bottom ofof your report.	24	Q	All right.

-173-

1	A	But the catchwhatwhat-what stops a lot of it	1	campaign, they can utilize it. That's why it was a
2		or stopped a lot of it prior to then is because	2	difficult situation for us to audit. But wethis
3		they have to disclose it. They have to show the	3	is how we tried to certainly give Representative
4		public that this is what they did with those	4	Wright the benefit of the doubt.
5		campaign excontributions. And that's whyI	5	PROF. JOYNER: Mr. Chairman, can
6		think if you were to look at our database, you	6	THE CHAIR: Sure.
7		wouldn't see a lot of candidates that wrote checks	7	PROF. JOYNER: Cancan we break now?
8		for personal purposes, because of the disclosure	8	THE CHAIR: Yes. Repwe'rewe're
9		requirement.	9	promoting you twice today.
10	Q	But writing a check from the campaign account into	10	Dr. Joyner asked earlier, and I
11		a personal accountinto a personal account, why	11	indicatedhe had a conflict this evening, and so
12		would not that be designated as a transfer from the	12	do several members, afthat they need to leave by
13		campaign account to that person's personal account?	13	four o'clock. So we're going to end in a minute
14	A	Because there were manythere were several periods	14	and head into break, overnight recess until nine.
15		of time orthat that personal account was the only	15	I justI need to'cause I want to review some
16		campaign account. It was serving as a campaign	16	things, I need to ask a couple questions of the
17		account. It no longer was a personal account.	17	witness so I'm sure I got what I need.
18		Yes, it had personal fundsand actually, you know,	18	Let me just see if I understand. On
19		if it was a campaign account, everything in it	19	Exhibit 15 that you're looking at, please.
20		would be subject to disclosure. We only included	20	THE WITNESS: Yes.
21		those things that were designated to the Thomas	21	THE CHAIR: Where it says "deposit date,"
22		Wright campaign. No other campaign account is	22	that's the date that it was deposited into that
23		allowed to take anyany contribution from any	23	particular account, regardless of its receipt date;
24		source, and as long as it's not written to the	24	am I correct?

-175-

All right. Again I remind all the

	173		170
1	THE WITNESS: Correct.	1	provide
2	THE CHAIR: All right. So the receipt	2	THE CHAIR: Provide the date
3	date has nothing to do with that date?	3	THE WITNESS: the date and the amount.
4	THE WITNESS: We don't know when the	4	THE CHAIR: Okay. And then that changed
5	receipt date was.	5	several years ago, last year, to fifty dollars?
6	THE CHAIR: Got it. All right.	6	THE WITNESS: Correct.
7	And I also want to make sure that for any	7	THE CHAIR: Okay. I
8	time prior to 2002, didn't need to name the person	8	REP. STAM: Are we sure that that wasn't
9	who made the hundred-dollar-or-under contribution,	9	just forMr. Chairman?
10	but you had to list it inindividually or in the	10	THE CHAIR: Representative Stam.
11	aggregate?	11	REP. STAM: Wasn't that just if you
12	THE WITNESS: Correct.	12	received cash?
13	THE CHAIR: And that would show up on the	13	THE WITNESS: No, no. Itit'sit's
14	disclosure report?	14	both. It'sit'sthat is now the threshold for
15	THE WITNESS: Correct.	15	reporting a contributor is over fifty dollars.
16	THE CHAIR: But for after 2002, you had	16	THE CHAIR: Okay.
17	to list the name, theat least up toyou had to	17	THE WITNESS: That changed to the cash
18	list the name, as well as the amount	18	THE CHAIR: Thanks. No otherI just
19	THE WITNESS: No	19	needed to clear that in my mind. All right.
20	THE CHAIR:up to the fiftyor the	20	I think justanything I need to
21	fifty dollar	21	anything Counsel needs before we recess tilltill
22	THE WITNESS: No. After 2002 the forms	22	nine in the morning?
23	allowed youitit provided you a form where you	23	Mr. Reagan, anything we need to cover?

24

24

didn't have to provide the name, but you had to

2

5

-i-

## 

Rep. Thomas E. Wright Prof. Irving Joyner, Counsel to Rep. Wright Mr. Douglas Harris, Counsel to Rep. Wright

 $\mbox{Mr.}$  William Hart, Outside Counsel to the Committee  $\mbox{Mr.}$  Alexander Peters, Outside Counsel to the Committee

Ms. Carin Savel, Committee Clerk

Mr. O. Walker Reagan, Staff Attorney Ms. Kory Goldsmith, Staff Attorney Mr. Brad Krehely, Staff Attorney Ms. Heather Fennell, Staff Attorney Ms. Denise Huntley, Research Assistant Ms. Amanda Smith, Research Assistant

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

COUNTY OF WAKE

### ${\tt C \ E \ R \ T \ I \ F \ I \ C \ A \ T \ E}$

I, Holly McGhin, a Notary Public in and for the State of North Carolina, duly commissioned and authorized to administer oaths and to take and certify hearings, do hereby certify that these proceedings were held before me at the time and place aforesaid, that all parties were present as hereinbefore stated, and that the record as set forth in the preceding Pages 2 through 177 represents a true and accurate transcription of the proceedings, to the best of my ability and understanding.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereto set my hand, this the  $\_$  day of March 2008.

Notary Public Notary Public No. 200424500712

My Commission Expires 9-7-2009

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910/433-2926 - Fayetteville
910/790-5599 - Wilmington

-ii-

-178-

# $\underline{\mathtt{E}\ \mathtt{X}\ \mathtt{A}\ \mathtt{M}\ \mathtt{I}\ \mathtt{N}\ \mathtt{A}\ \mathtt{T}\ \mathtt{I}\ \mathtt{O}\ \mathtt{N}} \qquad \underline{\mathtt{I}\ \mathtt{N}\ \mathtt{D}\ \mathtt{E}\ \mathtt{X}}$

Witness	Examination/By Whom	Page No.
J. Umphlet	Direct/Hart	2
J. Umphlet	Cross/Joyner	22
J. Umphlet	Redirect/Hart	70
J. Umphlet	Recross/Joyner	81
K. Strach	Direct/Peters	92
K. Strach	Cross/Joyner	152

-4-

MEETING OF THE HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE
TO INVESTIGATE ALLEGED MISCONDUCT AND OTHER MATTERS
INCLUDED IN INDICTMENTS REGARDING
REPRESENTATIVE THOMAS E. WRIGHT

### TRANSCRIPT OF THE PROCEEDINGS

(Volume IV)

March 6, 2008

### THE SELECT COMMITTEE:

Rep. Rick Glazier, Chair Rep. Paul Stam, Vice-chair Rep. Marvin Lucas Rep. William McGee Rep. Edith Warren Rep. Laura Wiley

In Raleigh, NC 9:25 A.M. Reported by: Holly McGhin

-3-

THE CHAIR: Ms. Strach--I'm sorry. Dr. 5 Joyner? PROF. JOYNER: My understanding is that Attorney Harris is tied up behind an accident in-somewhere between Burlington and Durham. 9 THE CHAIR: All right. 10 PROF. JOYNER: And I don't know what the status of clearing that is. He's traveling in from 11 12 Greensboro. 13 THE CHAIR: All right. PROF. JOYNER: So by way of explanation 14 15 this morning--THE CHAIR: Oh, I -- I appreciate that. 16 17 PROF. JOYNER: --provide that information. 18 THE CHAIR: Thank you very much. 19 2.0 All right. Ms. Strach, you're on the 21 stand, and we're still on cross-examination with Dr. Joyner. And--and, obviously, Ms. Strach, 22 23 you're still under oath. Okay.

back into session.

2

3

THE CHAIR: All right. We are called

PROF. JOYNER: Mr. Chairman?

Whereupon. 2 KIMBERLY W. STRACH, having been previously duly sworn, 3 was examined and testified as follows: 5 CROSS-EXAMINATION CONTINUED BY PROF. JOYNER: Okay. Ms. Strach, I'm--I'm not sure exactly where 9 we left off yesterday, so let me just--just start 10 arbitrarily at some point. 11 You indicated yesterday that the Board of 12 Election had a -- had -- had a policy of allowing 13 amendments to reports after they had--campaign finance reports after they had been--been filed; 14 15 is--is that correct? That's correct. 16 Α 17 And there was--and there has not been a time limit on the amount of time that those reports can be 18 amended? 19 2.0 Α There's not. And--and the reason for that is 21 because if someone discovers something many years 22 later, we still--they still would be required to 23 amend that report to accurately reflect the 24 disclosure.

1	Q	Thatthat kind of flows from theI guess the
2		philosophy at Board of Elections that the primary
3		purpose of the reporting is for the public to be
4		able to know where the contributions are coming
5		from and the amounts of those contributions?
6	A	Sure. Yes.
7	Q	Right. So inin a sense, this is more kind of a
8		regulatory information-gathering function than it
9		is a punitive matter thatasas you look at the
10		requirements here?
11	A	Certainly disclosure is a primary goal of our
12		office.
13	Q	All right. Therethere is, for instance, nothing
14		in the statutes dealing with campaign finance
15		campaign financing that authorizes the amending of
16		reports?
17	A	There's nothing specifically in the statute, no.
18	Q	Right. And in fact, the statute speaks to the
19		notion of reporting of contributions?
20	A	Itinit speaks to reporting, and it provides the
21		schedule for the reporting.
22	Q	Okay. Now, inyeah. Yeah. And in addition to
23		that, the statute does not describe a particular
24		method for a political campaign to maintain

-5--6-

1		campaign funds; is that correct?	1	want to
2	A	Itit doesn'tit doesn't prescribe for a	2 A	Okay.
3		particular method, did you say?	3 Q	Thatthatthe mere fact that there is a bank
4	Q	Right.	4	account and that bank account has funds in it, some
5	A	Ititit doesn't. It requires, though, the	5	of which are dedicated to campaign-finance matters
6		listingthe disclosure of all those places that	6	and others dedicated to personal matters or even
7		you choose to maintain.	7	business matters, would not violate the statute?
8	Q	Well, letlet me just ask. There's nothing in the	8 A	It would not violate the statute for those funds to
9		statute, for instance, which requires that there be	9	be inin one account. If that wasfor example,
10		a dedicated bank account entitled "Politician's	10	if it was aa candidate's personal account. There
11		Campaign Funds"?	11	arethere have been candidates that have used
12	A	No, there is not.	12	their personal account. They disclosed it, and
13	Q	Right. Andand in fact, the statute would allow a	13	then they have to disclose what's in that account,
14		person who is running for office to maintain one,	14	because when you commingle funds, we have to be
15		ten, fifteen different bank accounts?	15	able to determine what expenditureswhat funds
16	A	Theythey could. Many committees have more than	16	paid for the expenditures; therefore, what is
17		one account.	17	disclowhat is subject to disclosure.
18	Q	And there is no violation of the statute if an	18	So that'sthat is why it is certainly
19		account in which campaign funds are kept also	19	not a good idea to commingle your funds
20		contains personal monies?	20 Q	Okay.
21	A	There's no violation of the statute that that's in	21 A	because if a business check gets put in there and
22		there. It's how the reporting of that is done is	22	it pays for something that is campaign, then that's
23		where we would run into problems.	23	where you have madeyou have made a prohibited
24	Q	Okay. Well, III understand that, but I just	24	contribyou've received a prohibited contribution.

-7--8-

1	Q	Yeah. Butbut what you're speaking to now,	1		have, those funds that are campaign related?
2		though, is convenience of oversight rather than	2	A	Yeah. Yes. Butbut then it becomes a problem of
3		what the statute requires?	3		determining what is campaign related. That's where
4	A	I guess I'm looking at practicallyfrom a	4		we're going to
5		practical standpoint of why commingled funds	5	Q	Right, but that's another issue.
6		shouldn't really occur.	6	A	Right.
7	Q	Right. But I'mbut I'm saying your comments now	7	Q	Right. That's another issue.
8		speak, though, to your practical application of how	8		REP. STAM: Speaker, couldcould she be
9		you would like to see it done rather than what the	9		allowed to finish the answer when she's in the
10		statute requires?	10		middle of an answer?
11	A	Right. As I said, there's nothing in the statute	11		THE CHAIR: I will allow you tois there
12		that says you can't maintain several different	12		more to your answer?
13		accounts.	13	A	The only thing I was saying is that the reasonif
14	Q	Okay. I mean, that's the point II wantis that	14		someone does that, they're going towe're going to
15		the	15		have to be doing an awful lot of auditing those
16	A	Right. And III acknowledge that.	16		bank records all the time to ensure compliance, and
17	Q	Right. And the statute doesn't require that?	17		we would.
18	A	Right. They just	18	Q	(By Prof. Joyner) Right. III understand that.
19	Q	Okay.	19		Now I'm just trying totototo separate out
20	A	Right. It doesn't require you to keep a separate	20		what is legally required and what you deem to be
21		account.	21		good housekeeping practices. Okay?
22	Q	Right. So the statute does no more than to require	22	A	Okay.
23		that at the designated time frames, that you	23	Q	Now, ininin addition to that, the statute does
24		accurately report, no matter how many accounts you	24		not require a particular wording for a contributor

24 not require a particular wording for a contributor -9-

1		to make contributions to someone who's running for	1		that would suffice to be a campaign contribution;
2		office; is that correct?	2		is that correct? If Alpha Omega was a person that
3	A	When you say "particular wording," for	3		was running for political office.
4	Q	Right. If I was writing a check out to someone who	4	A	Yes, if that was a person, thenand the check was
5		was running for office, the statute does not	5		made out to that, you could make it out
6		require that I have any particular wording on that	6	Q	Right.
7		check?	7	A	to that.
8	A	No, there's nothing in the statute that prescribes	8	Q	But I could also make it out just to AlAlpha
9		exactly how the check is to be written.	9		Omega?
10	Q	Right.	10	A	You could. You could. And if it was given for a
11	A	It'sit's justit should be written in a way that	11		campaign purpose, then that would be subject to
12		the committee realizesknows that that check is	12		disclosure, yes.
13		designated. Now, there arethere is a statute	13	Q	Mymy point, though, is that the designation that
14		that was added in '06 that talks about making	14		I put on the payee line is not mandated by the
15		surea treasurer must know thataa contribution	15		statute?
16		has to be designated to that committee.	16	A	What is put on the payee line is not addressed by
17	Q	Okay. But that was a later requirement?	17		the statute.
18	A	Well, it's a later requirement, but it'syou know,	18	Q	Okay. If I make it out to a named individual and
19		it'scertainly some of the contributions we're	19		then, in the explanation section of the check, say
20		talking about today would be under that, would	20		"political contribution," then it is easier to
21	Q	Okay. All right.	21		determine that that is a political contribution as
22	A	be subject to that.	22		opposed to a personal contribution?
23	Q	Okay. I understand. Prior to that, I could write	23	A	Correct.
24		out a check to the Alpha Omega Campaign Fund, and	24	Q	Okay. And that's the good housekeeping stuff that

-11- -12-

					12
1		you'rethat you'reyouyou were making reference	1		with the contribution that may or may not violate
2		to?	2		the statute.
3	A	The good housekeeping stuff, thewhen Iwhen we	3	Q	And the mere fact that campaign funds are
4		audit a committee and we see something that has	4		commingled with personal funds, that fact would not
5		been made out to just the candidate and there is no	5		violate the statute?
6		designation, sometimes that would call us toto	6	A	Not the fact that they're commingled. It'sit's
7		really get the intent of the contributor of how it	7		what happens after that that's probablyprobably
8		was meant. Was it a campaign contribution? Was it	8		likely going to violate the statute.
9		meant personally?	9	Q	Okay. And again, you just keep coming back to the
10	Q	Right. And that'sdoing it that way might cause	10		notion of as long as it is properly designated on
11		additional problems for you in your auditauditing	11		the report?
12		supervision and process?	12	A	Dr. Joyner, it's very difficult for me to say that
13	A	It could. Itit certainly would cause	13		it's not a problem to commingle account. Even
14		more work for the auditing process.	14		though the statute doesn't specifically say there
15	Q	But none of that would violate the statute?	15		has to be a separate account, what happens usually
16	A	Not ofof itwell, none of what would violate the	16		when you have a commingled account, you're going
17		statute?	17		toyouthere are going to be several statutes
18	Q	The designation orthe designation of theon the	18		you're going to end up violating. And so it's
19		payee line.	19		difficult for me toto say that.
20	A	If the payee linejust what's on the desiwhat	20		But yes, there is nothing in the statute
21		has been put on the payee line, you're say that	21		that says you cannot comminhave a
22		wouldn't violate the statute?	22	Q	Mymy point
23	Q	Right.	23	A	account.
24	A	No, that wouldn't violate the stait's what done	24	Q	It would make it difficult for you in your auditing

-13-

1		process to be able to quickly identify those items	1		"Thomas Wright campaign"?
2		that are campaign funds whenwhen you have a	2	Q	Yes.
3		commingled account?	3	A	Thatthose are all instances where a check or a
4	A	Actually, my concern is not really for us. My	4		debit ticket orwas written from a campaign
5		concern is that usually when you commingle, it's	5		account and written to Thomas Wright. And then
6		the committee that's going to get in trouble,	6		that monies directly went into another account that
7		because they are going to spend funds with funds	7		maintained campaign funds.
8		that they couldn't spend it with. And the	8	Q	Okay. End result was ititit showed up in
9		commingling problem is going to end up being a	9		youron this tabulation as an unreported
10		problem for the committee. Yes, it'sit's a pro	10		contribution?
11		it'sit'sit's work for us, but the end result's	11	A	Correct. Because
12		the problem for the committee.	12	Q	Ratherrather than an unreported distribution?
13	Q	All right. Okay. III understand. But it's	13	A	Correct. It couldifif it did not go directly
14		it doesn't violate the statute. That'sthat's the	14		into that other account, we could certainly have
15		point I'm trying to make.	15		called it an expenditure, because there were other
16		Want to direct your attention to Exhibit	16		checks that were written from the campaign accounts
17		15 ininin the black book there. You indicated	17		that wentthat were written to Thomas Wright that
18		yesterday that there were a number of checks that	18		didn't go into another account. We designated
19		you found in one of several accounts maintained by	19		those disbursements.
20		or on behalf of Representative Wright, checks that	20		But here we were. We had thesethese
21		were written to the Thomas Wright campaign that	21		set of contributions, sixteen thousand (16,000) or
22		were written on a checkor checking accounts from	22		so, that went from a campaign account into this
23		Thomas Wright; is that correct?	23		account that cothat had the commingled funds with

24

24

24

You're speaking to what's been designated here

being made. So in order for us to be able to

I thought that was the other Thomas Wright, Sr.

-15- -16-

1 A No, that was a two-hundred-dollar (\$200)

campaign, and there were expenditures that were

Anheuser-Busch. And that was eighty-nine hundred

2		properly designate what that transaction was, we	2		contribution from Thomas H. Wright, III, that was
3		had to determine it was a transfer. And by	3		removed.
4		definition, a transfer should be disclosed as a	4	Q	Well, anyway, II have eleleven. I have eleven,
5		contribution.	5		which amounts to roughly in the neighborhood of
6		And it's designated onon our sheet. We	6		twenty thousand dollars (\$20,000).
7		have a reporting form for that, account transfers.	7	A	Right. And if you'd subtract the three, it'smy
8		They'rethey'refall under the definition of	8		my number was around sixteen thousand (16,000).
9		"contribution." But they don't inflate youryour	9	Q	We can split the difference, right?
10		actual bottom line. It'sit's disclosed on the	10	A	Okay.
11		the summary page, but it doesn't inflate your	11	Q	All right. Okay. But if we use the eleven figure,
12		contribution numbers. However, they're still	12		it'sit's roughly twenty thousand dollars
13		transactions that are just as much required to be	13		(\$20,000)?
14		reported as any other contribution.	14	A	Yes.
15	Q	All right. Now, youyou list in this document	15	Q	You said one was removed and
16		eleven of those instances, do you not?	16	A	Yes.
17	A	I'll have to count them, if you'd like me to.	17	Q	Okay. Now, on the back of that Exhibit 15, you
18	Q	Okay. That'sthat's fine.	18		indicated, did you not, that there were three
19	A	Eleven. And I think one of them we removed	19		checks found in one or more of those accounts that
20		yesterday because it had been disclosed. There was	20		were made payable to the Community Health
21		a three-thousand-dollar (\$3,000) one yesterday that	21		Foundation, did you not?
22		waswas removed.	22	A	Correct.
23	Q	Okay. II thought that was different from those.	23	Q	And you listed those here, AT&T, AstraZeneca,

24

-17-

-20-

Wright that -- I'm sorry. Mr. Hart. Elevating him

(By Prof. Joyner) Are you--are you familiar with

I--I--I'm not--I'm not sure. I probably would

THE CHAIR: All right. Let's do that.

like to look at it.

1		dollars ( $\$8,900$ ). The deposit date for the AT&T	1		checkand I'll direct your attention to Exhibit
2		check is listed as July 26, 2004?	2		Number 7. Do you see an issue date on that check?
3	A	Correct.	3	A	Yes, March 5th, 2004.
4	Q	All right. If you will, look back at Exhibit 13.	4	Q	And the deposit date for that check is August 11,
5		Isis that the check to which you make reference	5		2004?
6	A	Yes.	6	A	Yes.
7	Q	to for thisokay. And what is the date of that	7	Q	Right. Now, in your investigation that you
8		check? What is the date of that check?	8		conducted with respect toto these accounts, you
9	A	The date on the check?	9		talked with a number of people, and you had
10	Q	Yes.	10		conversation with banking officials at the various
11	A	April 1st, 2004.	11		banks; is that correct?
12	Q	Okay. So the check has a April 1st, 2004, issue	12	A	Either I did, or someone on my staff did.
13		date and a deposit date of July 26, 2004?	13	Q	Okay. And you also issued subpoenas for the
14	A	Correct.	14		production of some of thisall of this data?
15	Q	Okay. And then with the AstraZeneca check, I want	15	A	Some of this data. Some of it waswas obtained
16		to direct your attention to Exhibit 10.	16		through authorizations signed by Representative
17	A	Yes.	17		Wright.
18	Q	All right. And what is the issue date on that	18	Q	All right. And there was aa hearing in which
19		check?	19		Representative Wright was required to attend; is
20	A	December 15th, 2003.	20		that correct?
21	Q	And the deposit date for that check is August 11,	21	A	That is correct.
22		2004?	22	Q	And he did attend and participated in that hearing;
23	A	Correct.	23		is that correct?
24	Q	Okay. And then with respect to the Anheuser-Busch	24	A	He did attend.

2 these checks, these accounts? 2 now. The subject of the hearing were--was the--the 3 Mr. Peters. 3 complaint that had been filed and the other--the Mr. Peters. That you--you know--you know nondisclosure and other issues that we had found these statutes pretty well? 5 5 during our investigation, including these checks. I hope so. I certainly--that's my job, and I--I Right. Those issues surrounding this campaign take it very seriously. Ω And--and you deal--you deal with them on a daily financing? basis? 9 Correct. 9 I deal with it on a daily basis. 10 And the statutes, campaign-finance statutes, 10 11 require that Representative Wright participate and 11 0 Okay. And how--how long have you--you been doing 12 provide the information that is sought from him; is 12 13 that correct? 13 I started at the Board of Elections in 2000. I've The--the statute requires that Representative been working in this position since 2001. 14 14 15 Wright allow us to look at any of his financial 15 Want to direct your attention to North Carolina 16 accounts that may have campaign activity in it so 16 General--General Statute Section 163 dash 278 17 that we can review them to see what is subject to 17 point 29. disclosure and provide any other information that THE CHAIR: I'm sorry. Point 29? 18 18 we need in the course of our investigation. PROF. JOYNER: Right. 19 19

20 0

21

2.2

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2.4

-19-

All right. And the subject of that hearing was

Okay. And that is accomplished through subpoena

and by the mandate of the statute itself; is that

Now, you indicated yesterday in a question from Mr.

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24 0

Α

correct?

Correct.

-21-

1		If we could, get a statute book in here, please.	1		if we have subpoenaed any individual, our chairman
2		Thank you.	2		lets them know they are not compelled to testify,
3		PROF. JOYNER: II have a copy.	3		and that if theyif theythey are not therethat
4		THE CHAIR: Itprobably just as easy for	4		they will not be compelled to testify; it will be
5		her to have a book as tookay. It's 163-278 point	5		voluntary. And it is in order not to violate this
6		29. Thank you.	6		particular statute.
7	A	Yes.	7	Q	Well, if the person is compelledwell, the statute
8	Q	(By Prof. Joyner) Okay. Are you familiar with	8		starts off by stating that no individual shall be
9		that statute?	9		excused from attending, testifying, or producing
10	A	I am familiar with that statute.	10		any books, papers, or other documents before any
11	Q	Okay. And what does that statutes provide?	11		court upon any proceeding or trial or another for
12	A	That statute provides that the State Board, if they	12		the violation of any of the provisions in this
13		compel testimony, then that inforthen the	13		article. That's pretty broad?
14		evidence cannot be used against them, I believe is	14	A	It is pretty broad.
15		what that statute virtually says. Ifif they	15	Q	And it ends up saying, "But such individuals so
16		compel testimony.	16		compelled to testify with respect to any acts of
17	Q	Or documents?	17		his own shall be immune from prosecution on account
18	A	I'm not sure. II know thatthis is actually	18		thereof." Is that what the statute says?
19		we've had someand I would probably not be the	19	A	Yes.
20		best person to speak to it. But our attorney at	20	Q	Okay. And that's 163 dash 278 point 29.
21		the attorney general's office has actually been	21		THE CHAIR: Members of the Committee,
22		involved in some litigation over this statute. And	22		it's in your yellow books. It's 163 dash 278 point
23		the outcome was that it's testimony. And that's	23		29. Thank you.
24		why at the beginning of every State Board hearing,	24	A	That is what it says. Andand really, the only

-23- -24-

investigation--you and your staff were doing your

		-23-			-24-
1		the only thing that I can say toto this is that	1		questions of this witness.
2		II know that ourour State Board is aware	2		THE CHAIR: All right. Thank you.
3		of this statute, and that is why when asomeone	3		Redirect examination?
4		has been subpoenaed, their appearance has been	4		MR. PETERS: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
5		subpoenaed, they are told they are not going to be	5	REDIR	ECT EXAMINATION BY MR. PETERS:
6		compelled to testify. They are not going to be	6	Q	Ms. Strach, as long as you have General Statutes
7		compelled. Thatthat is something thatthat was	7		163 dash 278 point 29 open in front of you, I'd
8		stated to Mrto Representative Wright, if he	8		just like to ask you a couple of questions.
9		wasif he had been asked to testify. And any	9	A	Sure.
10		witness that testifies before the State Board is	10	Q	The hearing to which I believe Mr. Joyner was
11		told they're not going to be compelled.	11		referring where Representative Wright was present
12	Q	(By Prof. Joyner) Yeah. But when you use	12		last spring, was that hearing in a court, or was it
13		subpoenas to compel the production of documents,	13		before the State Board of Elections?
14		that's testimony?	14	A	It was before the State Board of Elections.
15	A	Dr. Joyner, I'm not an attorney.	15	Q	And was that hearing relative to charges against
16		THE CHAIR: Well, yeah. I'm not going	16		Representative Wright, or was it inrelrelative
17		the objection from the Chair is sustained. I don't	17		to charges against someone else?
18		think she's in a position to give a legal opinion	18	A	Representative Wright.
19		on that.	19	Q	All right. Thank you.
20		PROF. JOYNER: If I could have a moment?	20		Now, you were asked some questions this
21		THE CHAIR: Sure.	21		morning about the way checks might be made out,
22		PROF. JOYNER: Mr. Chairman?	22		perhaps to Thomas Wright or to the Thomas Wright
23		THE CHAIR: I'm sorry. Yes? Yes?	23		campaign or similarly. When you were doing your

24

24

PROF. JOYNER: We have no further

-25-

1		investigation of these accounts, did you find	1	Q	Or how can you tell when the check has been
2		checks that were made out to Thomas Wright as	2		received?
3		opposed to the Thomas Wright campaign?	3	A	Well, you can't really tell
4	A	We did.	4	Q	Okay.
5	Q	And how did you make a determination which checks	5	A	when a check has been received. Thethe only
6		should be considered contributions and which checks	6		way that we can determine thatbecause we can't
7		were personal income or personal checks?	7		tell when it'swhen it's received, we, in
8	A	If there was not a designation on the check either	8		situations like this, have to use a deposit date.
9		saying "Thomas Wright campaign" or in the memo line	9	Q	And what does the deposit date tell you?
10		saying "cont""campaign contribution" or something	10	A	That tells us they had to have received it at that
11		to indicate that the purpose was to be a campaign	11		point, because that's thebecause they actually
12		contribution, we deemed that check to be personal.	12		put it in the bank. So we know that the received
13	Q	So is it fair to say, then, that all of the checks	13		date is not after that.
14		reflected in Exhibit 15 are checks that	14	Q	All right. And when you were doing your
15		specifically indicated somewhere on the check that	15		investigation, isis that how you were able to
16		they were for the campaign purposes and not for	16		determine that some checks had been reported in the
17		personal purposes?	17		wrong period?
18	A	Yes.	18	A	Yes.
19	Q	All right. I believe you were asked yesterday	19	Q	By comparing the deposit date to the date that was
20		about how you can tell in an investigation when a	20		on the disclosure form as being received?
21		check has been received; is that correct?	21	A	Correct.
22	A	Right. Wewe talked about when a check is	22	Q	And were all of those instances where the disthe
23		received. How you can tell it can bewhen it's	23		date shown on the disclosure report was later than
24		received?	24		the date the bank records show the checks to have

-27- -28-

1		been deposited in the bank account?	1	Q	Okay. And do you know what those checks totaled
2	A	Correct. Wewe certainly wouldifif someif	2		that were reported in the wrong period?
3		if a contribution was disclosed earlier than the	3	A	It's approximatelyand it'sit's probably a
4		deposit, as long as it wasn't earlier than the date	4		little higher than this. But it's between seventy-
5		on the check, then that was probably the receipt	5		five and eighty thousand dollars
6		date, and it would have been the appropriate date	6	Q	Right.
7		to report it.	7	A	in contributions that were reportedwere
8	Q	Or at least you assumed that it was, having no	8		reported in a reporting period other than when it
9		other information otherwise?	9		should have been reportedlater than it should
10	A	Havehaving no other information. Correct.	10		have been reported.
11	Q	Okay. The deposits inlisted in Exhibit Number	11	Q	And so those would be in addition to what's on
12		15, do I understand correctly that those are all	12		Exhibit 15?
13		deposits that were not disclosed at all, thatare	13	A	Absolutely, yes.
14		there any ofany of the ones on Exhibit 15, are	14	Q	Okay. Looking at Exhibit 15. Let me ask you.
15		any of those contributions that were disclosed but	15		Have you done a breakdown with regard to each
16		disclosed in the wrong reporting period?	16		reporting period on Exhibit 15 and the checks
17	A	No, other than the three that I alluded to	17		thatthethe contributions that were not
18		yesterday. The others have never been reported in	18		disclosed?
19		any reporting period.	19	A	Are you saying based on this, thethe amount that
20	Q	In the course of your investigation, did you	20		hasn't been disclosed? I have, but I don't have
21		determine that there were checks that had been re	21		those numbers with me. I don't haveI can add
22		disclosed in the wrong reporting period?	22		them here, but I don't have those with me.
23	A	Yes. That was a significant issue for our audit.	23	Q	Wewe don't need towe don't need to go there.
24		Yes.	24		So do I understanddoyou don't have

-29-

		<del></del>			
1		anything with you at this time that would enable	1		contributions or
2		you to say what the total contributions that should	2	A	A thousand dollars was disclosed.
3		have been disclosed in a reporting period are?	3	Q	All right.
4	A	I do have that. I can tell youI can tell you	4	A	And keep in mind onon thiswhatwhat Ithe
5		thethe amount of the contributions that were	5		numbers I'm giving you of what was disclosed, keep
6		deposited or in-kinds received during a particular	6		in mind that if it was disclosed, thatthat's not
7		reporting period. That I can tell you.	7		taking into account they may be contributions that
8	Q	Okay. That's what I was asking.	8		were reported in the wrong reporting period. So
9	A	Okay. Sorry.	9		they may not bethey mightthese contributions
10	Q	I apparently did not	10		may not be reported in the correct reporting
11	A	I mis	11		period.
12	Q	state it as	12	Q	Okay. Butso the total was twenty-one thousand
13	A	Sorry.	13		six hundred and forty-two (21,642), and one
14	Q	clearly as I wanted.	14		thousand was disclosed? Do I have that correct?
15		Well, let me just ask you to walk through	15	A	On his report, he disclosed a thousand dollars in
16		that.	16		receipts for the 2000 first quarter.
17	A	Sure.	17	Q	Okay. What about the second quarter of 2000?
18	Q	Starting with 2000, the first quarter, according to	18	A	There were thirty-two thousand five hundred and
19		your investigation, what were the receipts that	19		fifty dollars (\$32,550) in receipts deposited
20		should have been disclosed?	20		during the second quarter of 2000.
21	A	Twenty-one thousand six hundred and forty-two	21	Q	All right. How about what was disclosed?
22		dollars and sixty-two cent (\$21,642.62).	22	A	Forty-three thousand nine-twenty-five-fifty-three
23	Q	All right. And what werewhat was the amount of	23		(43,925.53). And this is the example of probably
24		receipts that were actually disclosed,	24		some of thethe contributions that should have

-31-

		31			32
1		been reported in the first quarter are then	1		contributions.
2		reported in the second quarter.	2	Q	All right. How about the 2001 year-end semiannual
3	Q	All right. How about the third quarter of 2000?	3		report?
4	A	Fifteen thousand nineteen dollars and seven cent	4	A	He received forty-one hundred dollars (\$4,100).
5		(\$15,019.07).	5	Q	And what was disclosed?
6	Q	And what was disclosed?	6	A	Twenty-seven hundred (2,700) was disclosed.
7	A	Eleven thousand four hundred (11,400).	7	Q	All right. What about the first quarter of 2002?
8	Q	All right. How about the fourth quarter of 2000?	8	A	Eleven thousand four hundred and fifty dollars
9	A	Fifteen thousand one hundred and nine dollars and	9		(\$11,450).
10		sixty-four cent (\$15,109.64).	10	Q	That is what was received?
11	Q	Is what?	11	A	That is what is receivedwas received.
12	A	Was what actually was received by the committee.	12	Q	And should have been disclosed?
13	Q	Okay. And what was disclosed?	13	A	And should have been disclosed.
14	A	Five thousand five hundred dollars (\$5,500).	14	Q	And what was actually disclosed?
15	Q	All right. And in 2000, the mid-year semiannual	15	A	Five hundred dollars (\$500).
16		report?	16	Q	All right. What about the second quarter of 2002?
17	A	2001 semiannualmid-year semiannual report washe	17	A	There were twenty-two thousand six hundred and
18		received seven hundred and fifty dollars (\$750).	18		sixty-six dollars and twenty-fiveand twenty-five
19	Q	And that, of course2001 would be an off year	19		cent (\$22,666.25) of receipts that should have been
20	A	Right.	20		disclosed during that reporting period. and he
21	Q	election wise?	21		disclosed eighteen thousand one hundred and twenty-
22	A	Correct.	22		five (18,125).
23	Q	And what was disclosed?	23	Q	All right. And 2002 was the year you said there
24	A	He didn't disclose anyreceipt of any	24		was that special interim

-33-

1	A	Yes.	1		disclosed receipt of twelve thousand two hundred
2	Q	report?	2		dollars (\$12,200).
3	A	Yes.	3	Q	And would that
4	Q	And what was that? What was received andthat	4	A	That is
5		should have been disclosed on that report?	5	Q	again be an indi
6	A	HeHE received five hundred and fifty dollars	6	A	Yes.
7		(\$550) during that reporting period, and he	7	Q	cation of
8		disclosed five hundred dollars (\$500).	8	A	Ofof contributions that were likely not reported
9	Q	All right. What about the third quarter of 2002?	9		when they were deposited, were reported later.
10	A	Twenty-two hundred dollars (\$2,200) was what he	10	Q	All right. What about the first quarter of 2004?
11		received. And he redishe disclosed receiving	11	A	He received fifteen thousand six hundred dollars
12		no contributions.	12		( $\$15,600$ ), and he disclosed eight thousand six
13	Q	All right. What about the fourth quarter of 2002?	13		hundred (8,600).
14	A	Hehe received thirty-seven thousand nine hundred	14	Q	And again, 2004, that would be an election year,
15		and three dollars and thirty cent ( $\$37,903.30$ ), and	15		correct?
16		he disclosed thirty-four thousand three hundred and	16	A	Yes, it would.
17		fifty dollars (\$34,350).	17	Q	What about the second quarter of 2004?
18	Q	And then in 2003, the mid-year semiannual report?	18	A	He received twenty-eight thousand five hundred
19	A	He received one thousand six hundred and twenty-	19		dollars (\$28,500).
20		five dollars and fifty-three cent ( $\$1,625.53$ ), and	20	Q	And what did he report?
21		he reported receiving no contributions.	21	A	He receihe reported receiving no contributions.
22	Q	All right. What about the year-end for 2003?	22	Q	So of twenty-eight thousand five hundred dollars
23	A	He received eleven thousand nine hundred seventeen	23		(\$28,500), zero was reported?
24		dollars and forty-one cent (\$11,917.41), and he	24	A	Zero.

-35-

disclosed receiving five thousand nine hundred and

	-	-			<u> </u>
2	A	He rehe'd received eighteen thousand nine hundred	2		fifty (5,950).
3		dollars (\$18,900), and he disclosed ten thousand	3	Q	And the second
4		six hundred and fifty (10,650).	4		THE CHAIR: I'm sorry. Please give me
5	Q	All right. And then the fourth quarter of 2004?	5		those figures again.
6	A	He received twenty thousand seventy-five dollars	6		THE WITNESS: Fifty-four thousand
7		and ten cent (\$20,075.10), and he disclosed twenty-	7		seventy-four dollars and fifty-two cent
8		seven thousand four hundred (27,400), likely	8		(\$54,074.52). And he actuallyhe reported five
9		contributions from prior reporting periods that had	9		thousand nine hundred and fifty (5,950).
10		not been disclosed.	10	Q	And the second quarter of 2006?
11	Q	All right. 2005, the mid-year semiannual report,	11	A	He received thirty-seven thousand four hundred and
12		whatwhat was deposited that should have been	12		six dollars and seventy-four cent (\$37,406.74). He
13		disclosed?	13		disclosed twenty thousand nine hundred and twenty-
14	A	Three thousand five hundred and fifty-nine dollars	14		five dollars (\$20,925).
15		and seventy-six cent (\$3,559.76). And he didn't	15	Q	Then the third quarter of 2006?
16		reporthe reported receiving no contributions.	16	A	He received twenty-six thousand five hundred and
17	Q	All right. 2005, the year-end semiannual report?	17		fifty dollars and thirty-seven cent (\$26,550.37),
18	A	He showedhehe received twenty-one thousand nine	18		and he disclosed twenty-two thousand one hundred
19		hundred and ninety-five dollars (\$21,995), and he	19		and one dollars even (\$22,101).
20		disclosed fifteen thousand seven hundred and fifty	20	Q	All right. And then the fourth quarter of 2006?
21		(15,750).	21	A	He received eighteen thousand one hundred dollars
22	Q	All right. And then in 2006, the first quarter?	22		(\$18,100), and he disclosed twenty thousand dollars
23	A	He received fifty-four thousand seventy-four	23		(\$20,000).
24		dollars and fifty-two cent (\$54,074.52), and he	24	Q	All right. Now, you were asked some questions

1 Q What about the third quarter of 2004?

-37-

1		yesterday about contributions under a threshold	1	A	Because there iseven on the earlier reports,
2		where the contributor's identity did not have to be	2		there is aa line item thatin 2000/2001, it was
3		disclosed.	3		called "unitemized." So you hadif you had
4	A	Correct.	4		contributions that the contributor didn't have to
5	Q	But the contribution itself does have to be	5		be reported, you would list the aggregate on that
6		disclosed?	6		that line. If there wereif theremostthere
7	A	Yes. It always has.	7		were a lot of reports that didn't have any
8	Q	And	8		aggregate contributions. But if there were, there
9	A	For long as I've been there, it has.	9		are contributions ofof a hundred dollars or less
10	Q	All right. And why on this sheet, theExhibit 15,	10		that are not included on here that they didhe
11		where those hundred-dollar contributions or fifty-	11		didn't disclose their name, but he wasn't required
12		dollar contributions are listed, the contributor is	12		to. And wewe gave him credit for those
13		listed, as well? And	13		contributions.
14	A	Why is the name on there?	14	Q	Why would he have not been required to disclose
15	Q	Right.	15		thothose names?
16	A	That's just to show proof that this was a	16	A	Because ifif thehe was required to receito
17		contribution that was received in the account that	17		disclose the receipt, which there are some he re
18		wasn't disclosed.	18		he disclosed the receipt of. But if he did not
19	Q	All right. And	19		have to disdisclose the identity of them, they
20	A	Just identifies those.	20		would not bethey would not be listed onon
21	Q	And since the contributor did not have to be listed	21		thisthis spreadsheet.
22		on the disclosure report, how were you able to	22	Q	What about cash contributions? How are those
23		determine that these contributions had not been	23		reported?
24		disclosed?	24	A	Cash contributions are reported like any other

-39-

1		contribution. The reporting forms actually require	1		cash.
2		you to provide a method of payment. Because cash	2	Q	And those were contributions into the campaign
3		itup untilI hope I get my yearsJanuary 1,	3		accounts?
4		2007, you take cash of a hundred dollars from an	4	A	It was into any of theoneone of the accounts he
5		individual or other person that could contribute.	5		used for campaign.
6		That's reported the same way; you just show the	6	Q	All right. Do you know whether any of the
7		method of payment as cash.	7		disclosure reports that are Exhibits 16A through
8	Q	All right. And in your Exhibit 15, the	8		16G, did any of those disclose cash contributions?
9		spreadsheet, does that reflect cash contributions	9	A	There are no cash contributions disclosed on the
10		that were not disclosed?	10		report.
11	A	There are cash contributions. There arethere was	11	Q	On any of those reports?
12		receipt of contributionscash contributions in the	12	A	II don't believe there are any reports that
13		account that we could not match to anyany	13		disclose cash.
14		contributoror-or anyany disclosure. Excuse	14	Q	Okay. Do you know approximately the amount of cash
15		me.	15		contributions total wise that are in Exhibit 15?
16	Q	Whatthen how were you able to determine that they	16	A	There's not too many of them, sothere was one
17		were contributions that should have been disclosed?	17		deposit of four thousand (4,000) in cash. There
18	A	Well, I mean, you've got deposits of cash.	18		are some other cash contributions that, as I recall
19		Certainly they should be disclosed. And if we	19		it, somewhere inin the fiveover five thousand
20		don't know what the identity is, theythose	20		dollar range.
21		contributions still are required to be disclosed.	21	Q	Okay. You were asked some questions about filing
22	Q	And	22		amended reports.
23	A	Andand thethe Committee is required to know the	23	A	Yes.
24		identity of those individuals that make up that	24	Q	And I believe it was your testimony that those

-41-

1		would always be allowed? Aa committee would	1	A	Yes, yes.
2		always be allowed to file amended reports?	2	Q	Five thousand, give or take some, reporting
3	A	Yes.	3		entities?
4	Q	Okay. Dohave you done any looking intowell,	4	A	Yes.
5		let me back up.	5	Q	So is it fair to say that would be around twenty
6		How many entities are there in North	6		thousand
7		Carolina who are required to reto file disclosure	7	A	Reports.
8		reports?	8	Q	reports that are required to be filed with your
9	A	There are over five thousand committees that are	9		office?
10		registered either at the State Board of Elections	10	A	Oh, yes.
11		or in the County Board of Elections. We have	11	Q	Do you
12		around two thousand registered at the State Board	12	A	Well, five thousand, they're notnot all five
13		of Elections.	13		thousand committees report to our office.
14	Q	And so thethe rest would be registered with	14	Q	Right.
15		counties?	15	A	The two thousand do.
16	A	Yes.	16	Q	Right.
17	Q	County board ofboards of election?	17	A	Right.
18	A	Yes.	18	Q	Do you know how many amended disclosure reports
19	Q	So if there are five thousandin a year like 2006,	19		were filed in 2006?
20		the most recent election year other than the one	20	A	In 2006I went back and pulled thatthere were
21		we're in now, there would be four reporting	21		five hundred and sixty-nine amended reports filed
22		periods; is that correct? Four reporting periods	22		in 2006.
23	A	Yes.	23	Q	Okay. Do you know whether thathave any sense for
24	Q	in 2006?	24		whether that was a typical number of amended

-43-

		-43-			-44-
1		reports?	1	A	I do.
2	A	II think it's probablyit could beyou know, it	2	Q	And what was that date?
3		could be higher. And in fact, you know, probably	3	A	It was opened on March 17th, 2003.
4		as we go on, there'll bethere'll be more. That	4	Q	And do you know when it was closed?
5		that's probably a gooda good typical number.	5	A	June 28th, 2004.
6		Itit may be higher in some years.	6	Q	All right. And do you know what kind of activity
7	Q	All right. Now, you were asked some questions	7		went on in that account, whether there were many
8		about the checks from AT&T and AstraZeneca and	8		deposits made into it?
9		Anheuser-Busch.	9	A	As I recall, I believe there were two deposits that
10	A	Yes.	10		were made into that account. I thinkand I think
11	Q	When you saw those checks, did you do any	11		both of them were from Dr. Gottovi. I think it was
12		investigation into the Community's Health	12		aa check to open the account, and I think itI
13		Foundation?	13		think it was a check hehe wrote to the bank
14	A	Yes. WeRepresentative Wright authorized us to	14		account to make a loan interest payment.
15		obtain the financial records for the Community's	15	Q	Right. And what payments were there from that
16		Health Foundation.	16		account
17	Q	And did you actually obtain those financial records	17	A	Just
18		and bank accounts?	18	Q	if you recall?
19	A	We did.	19	A	Just the one. Actually thethe loan interest
20	Q	Are they included in the accounts that are on	20		payment was the only payment made. And what he
21		Exhibit 17A through seven	21		used to open it, that's kind of whatthe bank
22	A	They are.	22		charges ate it up every month, and that's whenit
23	Q	All right. Do you know when the bank account at	23		actually was not closed. It was charged off when
24		the Community's Health Foundation was opened?	24		that money was gone.

-45-

1	Q	And by "charge off," you mean?	1		they commingle
2	A	The bank closed the account because there was no	2	A	Correct.
3		money in it.	3	Q	campaign money with personal money? What would
4	Q	All right. Were any of the otherthe other	4		those statutes be?
5		accounts that you examined closed through charge-	5	A	Well, aa committee is prohibited from receiving
6		off?	6		business contributions. So if a business check is
7	A	Yes. The Bank of America account that was his	7		received, itand it was for the committee, that is
8		campaign account was closed off due to charge-off	8		something that couldn't be used. Andand not only
9		in November of 2003. Thethe service charges	9		could they not receive it; I mean, they can't spend
10		wasthere was no more money in the account. It	10		that money, either.
11		kept accruing service charges, so they closed that	11		Also, contributions in excess of four
12		account. As I said, thethe Community's Health	12		thousand dollars (\$4,000) generally, to most
13		Foundation was closed due to charge-off. And the	13		campaigns, are prohibited.
14		First Citizens account that was used as a campaign	14		Contcontributionswell, thethe
15		account was closed due to charge-off in June of	15		prohibited-source contributions, not just busin
16		'05.	16		not just corporations. Businesses, professional
17	Q	All right. Then you were asked a series of	17		associations, labor unions, insurance companies,
18		questions this morning about commingled accounts.	18		all of these entities are prohibited from giving to
19		And I believe it was your testimony that there is	19		political committees.
20		no statutory prohibition against commingled	20	Q	So does the problem arise, then, when monieswhen
21		accounts; is that correct?	21		contributions from those prohibited sources go into
22	A	There's no specific, no, statutory prohibition.	22		the account and then are used for campaign-related
23	Q	But I believe you also said that there are a number	23		purposes?
24		of statutes that committees risk violating when	24	A	Yes. That's a huge problem. That's even if they

-47- -48-

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1		were not given for a political purpose. Ifif
2		they are used in any way, then they arethey are
3		part of the campaign and, therefore, subject to
4		disclosure. And theyand they couldn't have been
5		used. They would have been prohibited.
6	Q	Okay. And I believe your Exhibit 15that simply
7		reflects contributions that were received and not
8		disclosed; is that correct?
9	A	Only contributions.
10	Q	Did you also, when you were doing your
11		investigation, look at the expenditures out of
12		these accounts?
13	A	Yes.
14	Q	And what did you find when you looked at the
15		expenditures out of the accounts?
16	A	There were a large amount of expenditures that were
17		also not reported. From the campaign account,
18		that'scampaign accounts, that's a pretty easy
19		number to come to, because you can just look at any
20		check that was written from the account and say
21		that should have been disclosed.
22		When looking at the commingled account,
23		the account that had his personal funds, what we

were trying to determine, which expenditures were

subject to disclosure. And the way we had to go about that was look at the--each expenditure, see if it was--appeared to be for a campaign purpose. For example, if--if--if--if there was a check to a TV station and it had "for campaign advertising," we consider that a campaign expenditure, therefore, subject to disclosure.

If there were expenses that were paid from the commingled account that campaign funds paid for, even if it was a personal expense, we considered those expenses were subject to disclosure.

And sometimes what we had--we had additional issue. Sometime you would have both some personal money and campaign money. And what we tried to do was say, "Spend your per--we'll spend his personal money first. And then if there's--if--if"--sometimes there had to be campaign funds to end up paying the rest of that purchase. So what we did on that was we--we would say that Representative Wright made an in-kind contribution to his campaign, and then the rest of it was an expenditure from the campaign.

If I understand correctly, are you saying that you

-49--50-

-52-

	assumed that personal purchases were funded at	1		'06. Now that is no longer a choice.
	first with personal funds?	2	Q	Right. Were there any other things that you noted
A	Yes.	3		out of the ordinary when you were looking at
Q	And if those were not sufficient to cover the	4		expenditures? Anyany other patterns you noticed
	purchase, then campaign funds were applied?	5		or
A	Yes.	6	A	Well, I mean, there were certainlythere were
Q	And then vice versa on campaign expenditures? You	7		periods of time that there were only campaign funds
	assumed campaign funds were spent first, and if	8		in the personal account, and all expenditures
	those were not sufficient, then personal funds	9		paidand the majority of those expenditures paid
A	Yes.	10		werecouldn't be determined to be a campaign
Q	were used?	11		nature were paid with campaign funds. And there
A	Yes. Exactly.	12		werethere werethere were many times that that
Q	All right. And isyou talked some yesterday, I	13		was the case.
	believe, in cross-examination about how itit was	14	Q	Did you ever find any discrepancies in what was
	at one time, until recently, legal for candidates	15		reported for a specific expenditure and what your
	to use campaign funds for personal purposes?	16		investigation shows was spent on the expenditure?
A	Yes.	17	A	We did. One of the things that was alsowhen we
Q	That correct?	18		were trying to determine what expenditures had been
A	Yes.	19		disclosed and we were looking at what expenditures
Q	But that it had to be disclosed?	20		had been made from each account, trying to match
A	Yes. Yes. Absolutely. Andandand usually	21		that to what had been disclosed. And there were
	that'sas I was saying yesterday, that's why a lot	22		several instances where Representative Wright
	of candidates choose not to spend their campaign	23		reported making expenditures that didn't match up
	funds for personal purposes atprior to October 1,	24		with anything. We would have an expenditure to the
	Q A Q A Q A Q A Q	first with personal funds?  A Yes.  Q And if those were not sufficient to cover the purchase, then campaign funds were applied?  A Yes.  Q And then vice versa on campaign expenditures? You assumed campaign funds were spent first, and if those were not sufficient, then personal funds  A Yes.  Qwere used?  A Yes. Exactly.  Q All right. And isyou talked some yesterday, I believe, in cross-examination about how itit was at one time, until recently, legal for candidates to use campaign funds for personal purposes?  A Yes.  Q That correct?  A Yes.  Q But that it had to be disclosed?  A Yes. Yes. Absolutely. Andandand usually that'sas I was saying yesterday, that's why a lot of candidates choose not to spend their campaign	first with personal funds?  A Yes.  And if those were not sufficient to cover the purchase, then campaign funds were applied?  A Yes.  Believe, in cross-examination about how itit was at one time, until recently, legal for candidates to use campaign funds for personal purposes?  A Yes.  A Yes.  A Yes.  B Yes.  A Yes.  A Yes.  A Yes.  B Yes.  A Ye	first with personal funds?  A Yes.  And if those were not sufficient to cover the purchase, then campaign funds were applied?  A Yes.  A Yes.  And then vice versa on campaign expenditures? You assumed campaign funds were spent first, and if those were not sufficient, then personal funds  A Yes.  A Yes.  A Yes.  A Yes.  A Yes.  A Yes. Exactly.  A Yes. Exactly.  A All right. And isyou talked some yesterday, I believe, in cross-examination about how itit was at one time, until recently, legal for candidates to use campaign funds for personal purposes?  A Yes.  A Yes.  But that it had to be disclosed?  A Yes. Yes. Absolutely. Andandand usually that'sas I was saying yesterday, that's why a lot of candidates choose not to spend their campaign  C Candidates choose not to spend their campaign

same vendor, but the amounts would be significantly problem for us trying to determine what different. So it was difficult for us to match up expenditures were disclosed. that expense to what was paid; we're not sure that MR. PETERS: Okay. Could I have just a

it was. It--it would be overreported. The--the moment? expense would be. So we couldn't verify through THE CHAIR: Certainly. 5

any records that--bank records of how that MR. PETERS: We have no further questions expenditure was paid, if that was--if we were at this time.

looking at the same expenditure. THE CHAIR: I'm sorry?

-51-

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When you say "overreported," do--Ω 9 MR. PETERS: I said we have no further Right. We would have--sorry. We would have--for 10 questions at this time.

THE CHAIR: Thank you. Recross? example, we'd have a check to some sort of media 11

outlet. And we would have the check. And let's 12 Recross? just say it was for a thousand dollars thirty--13 RECROSS-EXAMINATION BY PROF. JOYNER:

thousand dollars and thirty-two cent (\$1,000.32). All Right. Let's--well, let's star--start at the 14 14 15

In his--on his report, around the same date time, 15 end of this, when you started talking about he would have a -- a disclosure to the same media 16 expenditures. Do you have any reports that you've

outlet, but it may be for three thousand dollars 17 submitted to this body dealing with these and fifteen cent (\$3,000.15). And that's just an disbursements? 18

example, that--those numbers. But there would be 19 I have not. overdisclosure. We couldn't--that was not the same 2.0 2.0 Ω You've not prepared--so you--you--whatever you're expenditure amount. But it--he was obviously 21 testifying to now about disbursements are basically

paying that media outlet. He had disclosed paying 22 just kind of your random recollection? that media outlet. But the amount of the ex--the 23 No. I mean, we have--our staff has gone back in--

23 expenditures didn't match. So that presented a 24 in--in preparation for, you know, this proceeding -53-

1		and the criminal proceeding. We have certainly	1	assumptions you mean.
2		gone back and analyzed all of the records. And so	2 Q	Well, I don't know what kind of assumptions you
3		weeven thoughall expenditures have been	3	made. You talked about some assumptions that you
4		analyzed, as well, and there have beenwe have	4	made in your answers to Mr. Peters' questions. So
5		produced documents for internally looking at those	5	I was just asking you if your determination of
6		expenditures.	6	these distributions or expenditures were based on
7	Q	Havehave-have you prepared any charts or reports	7	assumptions that you had made?
8		for this proceeding that you've submitted dealing	8 A	Actually I don't think they were based on
9		with these expenditures?	9	assumptions. They were based on money that went
10	A	I have not.	10	into the account that was specifically designated
11	Q	And in making your conclusions about these	11	as campaign money. And then other money that
12		expenditures, you rely a lot on your assumptions	12	didn't have a designation was considered personal.
13		about what was going on?	13	And so those were notthose were not assumptions.
14	A	I would say that I rely on tryinin-in looking	14	That was kind of aaa baseline that we used,
15		at what iscertainly giving Representative Wright	15	that anything that has his name on it as his
16		thethe most benefit of the doubt on looking at	16	campaign would be considered, I think, subject to
17		these. IIwe have certainly tried to errand	17	ourto our disclosure laws, reportable. And
18		we realize ifif contriif expenditures were paid	18	anything that was personal waswas put in a
19		with campaign funds, there has to be disclosure of	19	different column.
20		that. The public has a right to know that.	20	And then when expenditures were made, we
21	Q	Well, thatthat wasn't my question. My question	21	didn't really look at tryingother than looking to
22		was that you reached these conclusions based on	22	see what hadon its face was a campaign
23		assumptions that you had made about these payments?	23	expenditure, the only other things that we used
24	A	I'm not sure whatI understand what kind of	24	tothat were subject to disclosure as far as the

-55- -56-

	personal nature were any personal expenditures that	1		is that correct?
	campaign funds were used to fund. So it wasn't we	2	A	Well, II don't, but they are on theon the CDs.
	were trying to assume that certain expenditures	3		And theythose can be printed out ifif needed.
	were personal or campaign. It was all based on	4		THE CHAIR: Let melet me just ask so
	what paid for it.	5		we're clear. The CDs you're talking about, are
Q	In reaching a conclusion about which expenditures	6		those what have previously been marked as Exhibits
	were basedor paid from campaign funds or should	7		17A, B, and C?
	have been paid from campaign funds, you operated on	8		THE WITNESS: Yes.
	some assumptions?	9		THE CHAIR: Thank you. And those are
A	I'm not sure that I can agree that it was an	10		available to Committee Members and available, I
	assumption. It wasifif a check is written	11		think, to all sets of counsel; is that correct?
	to a media outlet and it has it's for campaign ads,	12		MR. PETERS: Yes, Mr. Chairman. They've
	to me, on its face, that's something that needs to	13		been provided to Representative Wright's counsel.
	be disclosed. I'm not really	14		THE CHAIR: Thankall right. Thank you.
Q	All right.	15	Q	(By Prof. Joyner) Youyou don't have any of those
A	assuming anything.	16		checks here?
Q	Youyou don't have any of those checks with you?	17	A	I don't.
A	I don't.	18	Q	Now, you were asked something about did you find
Q	Okay.	19		any other things out of the ordinary. What do
A	I don't. But	20		what do you mean "out of the ordinary" in these
Q	So there's no way that	21		accounts?
A	But they are available. And I	22	A	Well, I think youare you referring to the
Q	Thatmyyou don't have thatany of that with you	23		overdisclosure of expenditures? That was out of
	that we can look at and make those determinations;	24		the ordinary to me. Whenwhen we couldn't match a
	Q A Q A Q A Q A Q A	campaign funds were used to fund. So it wasn't we were trying to assume that certain expenditures were personal or campaign. It was all based on what paid for it.  In reaching a conclusion about which expenditures were basedor paid from campaign funds or should have been paid from campaign funds, you operated on some assumptions?  I'm not sure that I can agree that it was an assumption. It wasififif a check is written to a media outlet and it has it's for campaign ads, to me, on its face, that's something that needs to be disclosed. I'm not really  All right. assuming anything.  Youyou don't have any of those checks with you?  I don't. Okay.  I don't. But So there's no way that But they are available. And I Thatmyyou don't have thatany of that with you	campaign funds were used to fund. So it wasn't we  were trying to assume that certain expenditures  were personal or campaign. It was all based on  what paid for it.  In reaching a conclusion about which expenditures  were basedor paid from campaign funds or should  have been paid from campaign funds, you operated on  some assumptions?  I'm not sure that I can agree that it was an  assumption. It wasififif a check is written  to a media outlet and it has it's for campaign ads,  to me, on its face, that's something that needs to  be disclosed. I'm not really  All right.  Aassuming anything.  Youyou don't have any of those checks with you?  I don't.  Okay.  I don't. But  So there's no way that  But they are available. And I  Thatmyyou don't have thatany of that with you  23	campaign funds were used to fund. So it wasn't we  were trying to assume that certain expenditures  were personal or campaign. It was all based on  what paid for it.  In reaching a conclusion about which expenditures  were based—or paid from campaign funds or should  have been paid from campaign funds, you operated on  some assumptions?  I'm not sure that I can agree that it was an  assumption. It was—if—if—if a check is written  to a media outlet and it has it's for campaign ads,  to me, on its face, that's something that needs to  be disclosed. I'm not really—  All right.  All right.  You—you don't have any of those checks with you?  I don't.  Okay.  I don't. But—  So there's no way that—  But they are available. And I—  That—my—you don't have that—any of that with you  23

-57-

you don't have that with you here?

I do not.

-60-

1		disclosurea disclosed expense to anything in any	1		the hearing on this matter.
2		of the bank accounts, even though we could see the	2	Q	That'sthat's what I asked you. I asked you did
3		same vendor around the same date, but the amounts	3		you
4		were notI mean, and we're not talking about just	4	A	No, I haveI have not contacted him.
5		a little bit of difference. We're talking about a	5	Q	Okay. Soso you had these questions about these
6		significant difference that would make you question	6		expenditures, but you never sought to seekto
7		whether or not it was the same expenditure.	7		sought clarification from Representative Wright
8	Q	And did you present this information to	8		about thesethese thing that you found
9		Representative Wright?	9		questionable?
10	A	Did I present this to Representative Wright?	10	A	Well, Dr. Joyner, I have a lot of questions for
11	Q	Yes.	11		Representative Wright that I certainly would
12	A	No. This information, though, was certainly part	12	Q	II know you do. I know you do.
13		of the hearing. So	13	A	I do.
14	Q	Diddid	14	Q	That's your job to have questions. But that's not
15	A	These expendexpenditures were discussed at the	15		what I asked you.
16		hearing.	16	A	And that certainly would be one of them.
17	Q	Did you seek an explanation to help you understand	17	Q	Andand that's not what I asked you. All right?
18		the difference between what you saw and what you	18		I asked you did you seek answers from
19		assume had occurred?	19		Representative Wright?
20	A	II certainly think that those questions would	20	A	I have not sought any answers
21		have been asked of Representative Wright had he	21	Q	Okay. Thank you.
22		testified atat the hearing.	22	A	from Representative Wright.
23	Q	But that's not what I asked you.	23	Q	That's what I asked you. Thank you.
24	A	I have not contacted Representative Wright since	24		You had a number of responses to

questions about the dangers of having a commingled than one of his accounts. And I--I do not 2 account? specifically have which accounts with me, but I know we did have prohi--find prohibited 3 Α Q And one of them was that you might have contributions. contributions in excess of the four-thousand-dollar From--from a business? 5 5 0 (\$4,000) limit? From businesses. Yes. Okav. Α Ω Did you find that in Representative Wright's From some businesses. And is that on this list here? 9 account? 9 Ω No, it is not. 10 10 11 Okay. That's just a da--that's speculation? 11 Which business? 12 That--that is--that is something that 12 There were--there were less--there were less than 13 could happen. 13 ten. And I do not recollect right now what the But it's not something that was present in this list is, but I--we do have a list of those. And 14 0 14 15 15 those were presented at the State Board hearing. All right. And--and those checks indicated that 16 It was not present in this case. 16 17 You indicated that there might be checks from 17 they were for a political purpose? 18 prohibited sources for campaign matters? They were written to the Thomas Wright campaign. 18 19 19 And you talked about--there was one other one that Did you find that in-you had mentioned. Or maybe just have the--the two 2.0 Ο 2.0 We did find some of that. sources. All right. 21 21 And what--where was that? So you did find the -- the -- find those, but 22 0 22

23

24

-59-

23 A

2.4

We did find some checks that were from businesses

that were deposited into one of--one of--more--more

-61--62-

1	Q	Okay. And that's not a part of the nonreported?	1	A	Yes.
2	A	Iit maythere may be some on the nonreported.	2	Q	Is notdoes not that statute indicate that the
3		II'm not sure if some of those showed up on the	3		date that the treasurer receives the contribution
4		nonreported or not. We didwe did label those	4		is the operative date for reporting of the
5		separately, the prohibited contributions.	5		contribution?
6	Q	And if they are not	6	A	It says the treasurer of eachof each candidate
7	A	And I'm not sure if they're on there. If they're	7		shall keep detailed accounts. Is thatis that
8		not, theytheythey were undisclosed	8		what we'rewe're reading from?
9		contributions to be added.	9	Q	No, that'sthat's
10	Q	Well, youyou went through, and you indicated in	10	A	Right. That'sthe treasurer shall keep detailed
11		your testimony that you listed out all of the	11		accounts. It doesn't say that the treasurer is not
12		undisclosed matters. And that means that those	12		responsible tonotto know when a contribution
13		matters that don't appear were matters that were	13		was actually received. They are to keep the
14		either not political, or they were disclosed?	14		detailed accounts current with notnot with more
15	A	That is correct. And Iand I wouldwouldwould	15		than seven days, but they're still supposed to keep
16		say that if aa business contribution that was not	16		the actual date of receipt of the contribution.
17		disclosed is not on this list and it was made out	17	Q	But it says within seven days after the date of
18		to the campaign, it should be.	18		receiving, after the date that the treasurer
19	Q	But you don't have them here?	19		received a contribution?
20	A	I don't.	20	A	Yes. The treasurer is required to have a detailed
21	Q	Let meyouyou had additional questions about	21		accounting, if they were asked, of all
22		when is a contribution received. Let me direct	22		contributions received within seven days of when
23		your attention to General Statute 163 dash 278	23		she receives that contribushe or he or she
24		point 8.	24		receives that contribution. But the date that the

-63--64--63
1 contribution is disclosed on the report is the date

1 Q Well, I'm talking about the statute right now.

2		the contribution was received on behalf of the	2		Whatwho is the person that
3		committee. Her accounts just have to be current	3	A	When it's received by the committee, because
4		within that time period.	4		sometimes
5	Q	Is there any other statute which provides any other	5	Q	But the statute doesn't say that, does it?
6		date for recognition of the receipt?	6	A	Well, it says "received," and that's how
7	A	Yes.	7	Q	That's how you read it?
8	Q	And wherewhere is that?	8	A	That's how the State Board has interpreted that.
9	A	163 dash 278 point 11 is the contents of the	9	Q	Okay. All right. But it doesn't say that?
10		treasurer's statement of receipts and expenditures.	10	A	It says "received," and that'syou're right.
11		And it states that the statement, meaning the	11		That's our interpretation.
12		disclosure report, shall list	12	Q	Right. Now, you indicated that you were able to
13		REP. STAM: Which part of the statute is	1.3		tracktrack and identify cash contributions. Now,
14		that?	14		wouldwould you please explain to me once again
15		THE WITNESS: I'm sorry. It's A-1.	1.5		how you were able to track and identify cash
16	A	The statement shall list the name and complete	16		contributions that weren't reported or otherwise
17		mailing address of each contributor, the amount	17		designated as political funds?
18		contributorcontributed, the principal occupation	18	A	It's difficult to deal with cash. That's why we
19		of the contributor, and the date such contribution	19		don't allow cash over a hundred dollars. But
20		was received.	20		anytime we have cash that's deposited into an
21	Q	(By Prof. Joyner) Was received by whom?	21		account with campaign funds, we don't know who the
22	A	Well, and also ourour reporting manual states	22		source is. And so thethere is an assumption that
23		clearly that it's the date that it's received on	23		if it's campaign, it should have been reported. So
24		behalf of the committee.	24		thatthosethat is why those cash contributions

-65-

1		are listed onin this amount. They	1	for a campaign purpose. Cash we could not
2	Q	But youyouyouyou've indicated that	2	identify.
3		Representative Wright had commingled accounts.	3 Q	Right. So
4	A	He did.	4 A	Therefore, in a commingled account, there needs to
5	Q	Therefore, cash contributions wouldn't necessarily	5	be evidence to us to show us why it's not.
6		be attributed to political purposes?	6 Q	So your assumption is that any cash contribution in
7	A	Not necessarily. But itit's certainlyisis	7	a commicommingled account is for a political
8		likely that it was or wasitit's notit's	8	purpose?
9		certainly something I'm not sureI'm not sure. I	9 A	I would definitely assume that.
10		can't say that it was thatfor a purposea	10 Q	Okay. So a person can'twho is a politician can't
11		campaign purpose, but we don't know. And it's	11	put cashpersonal cash into their personal account
12		something that needs to be explained and shown why	12	if they're commingling
13		it wasn't a campaign contribution.	13 A	If they're
14	Q	Well, so	14 Q	without you determining that it is a political
15	A	And that's another reason for not commingling an	15	contribution?
16		account.	16 A	If they're commingling it, then I think that's
17	Q	But youthethese were then assumptions that you	17	going to be their burden to prove that it's not.
18		made that whatever cash was deposited into this	18 Q	Well, there's nothing in the statute that places
19		account was somehow politically related?	19	the burden of them proving that cash that they
20	A	Yes. Now, that was an assumption thatthatthat	20	received and deposited in the account had a
21		I made. And the rethe basis of that was that we	21	political purpose. Thethe-the burden placed
22		tried to give Representative Wright credit or not	22	on theon the individuals is to report those
23		letting the things subject to disclosure where we	23	contributions which are for political purposes.
24		could, on their face, see that it was not written	24 A	The burden is for them totoright, to provide

-67- - 68disclosure of all contributions that were given for 1 commingled funds, that that cash contribution has a

1		disclosure of all contributions that were given for	1	commingled funds, that that cash contribution has a
2		a political purpose. However, whenanytime we	2	political purpose. And that's not necessarily
3		audit a committee that has cash in it, first of	3	correct?
4		all, you can't receive cash in increments of over a	4 A	It may not necessarily be correct, but I have no
5		hundred dollars. So we're going to ask any	5	evidence that it's not correct.
6		political committee, whether they commingle it or	6 Q	Right. And that's the assumption that you're
7		not, "How did you receive this cash, in what	7	making. That'sthat's-that's my point.
8		increments, and whohow can you identify it back	8 A	Yes.
9		to a contributor?" You've got a commingled	9 Q	Okay. Now, you indicated that you had records from
10		account, we're going to ask those same questions.	10	the Community Health Foundation that your
11	Q	III understand that you have problems in	11	investigators presented?
12		auditing the account. But an individual who	12 A	Yes.
13		happens to be a politician can deposit more than a	13 Q	Showing an opening date of March 17, 2003?
14		hundred dollars in his or her account	14 A	Yes.
15	A	In his personal account.	15 Q	And a closing date of June 28, 2004?
16	Q	without violating the law?	16 A	Yes.
17	A	In their personal account, yes.	17 Q	And in that account, you indicated that there were
18	Q	Right.	18	twotwo items of note?
19	A	But it's difficult. We cannot determine that that	19 A	That's my recollection.
20		was for a personal purpose.	20 Q	Okay. II thought you had a report of that.
21	Q	II understand the problem that you have. But I	21 A	No, I justall I have here are just when thethe
22		want to make it clear that you made the assumption	22	bank accounts were opened and closed.
23		that merely because the hundred dollars or whatever	23 Q	Okay. But for all practical purposes, there were
24		cash contribution is made in an account that has	24	no activitythere was no activity in that account?

-69-

1	A	II think that's a very goodyes, I would agree	1	you're using, if you close one account, you're
2		with that.	2	required within ten days to notify the State Board
3	Q	All right.	3	of Election
4	A	Other than thethethe interest payment, that	4 Q	No.
5		the only activity in the account.	5 A	with that change.
6	Q	So the oneone check written	6 Q	III understand that. It wasn't my question.
7	A	Yes.	7	That's not my question.
8	Q	for the interest payment, and then the bank	8 A	I'm sorry.
9		gobbled up the rest of the account in fees?	9 Q	All right. My question's a simple one. Is there
10	A	Yes.	10	anything wrong with closing the account if it's not
11	Q	And then it charged itself off?	11	being used?
12	A	That's correct.	12 A	No, there's nothing wrong.
13	Q	Okay. And you also indicated that Representative	13 Q	Okay. Now, I understand that when you open it up
14		Wright had a couple of accounts that were eaten up	14	again, you need to report it.
15		in bank fees and charged off and closed?	15 A	And you needif there was money in that account,
16	A	That's correct.	16	you would have to be able to show where that money
17	Q	Is it not true that there will be periods of time	17	was being kept if it wasn't kept in that
18		in which these bank accounts aren't used by	18 Q	And
19		political candidates?	19 A	in that account.
20	A	Oh, absolutely.	20 Q	And Iand I understand that. And I understand
21	Q	Is there any problem with closing and not having an	21	that.
22		account when there are no funds coming in?	22	Do you have to report when the bank
23	A	If youif you have any change in your account	23	gobbles up the portion that's left in the account
24		activity as far as a financial institution that	24	for bank fees?

-71- -72-

		-71-			-72-
1	A	You do.	1		report, there was more contributions reported
2	Q	So then that should be reported, then, as a	2		during that period than actually was received
3		disbursement?	3		during that period.
4	A	Right.	4	Q	All right. Andbut youyou have not gone back to
5	Q	Okay. That's new information.	5		identify the specific dates of the receipts of
6		Now, you made reference to this 278 point	6		these various contributions?
7		11, where there should be the listing of the names,	7	A	Youwe used the deposit date. So anything that
8		mailing address of each contributor, the amount	8		was notwell, it was all based on the deposit
9		contributed, and the date of such contribution. Is	9		date.
10		that all the information that is required to be	10	Q	Okay. But as long as they were reported, then they
11		reported?	11		were in compliance with the statute?
12	A	For contributions.	12	A	No. No. Long as they were reported in the correct
13	Q	For contributions?	13		reporting period. Because really thethe purpose
14	A	Yes. And it givesit gives specific information	14		of disclosure is timely reporting. If things get
15		about the employer information of exactly what is	15		disclosed after an election, it's not really going
16		required to meet that requirement. You also have	16		to help the public for the purpose that it's there
17		to give the election-cycle sum to date for that	17		for.
18		contributor, how much has that contributor	18	Q	Well
19		contributed over the course of the election cycle.	19	A	So timely disclosure.
20	Q	Now, you talked about the fact that some quarters,	20		REP. STAM: Doctor, without being too
21		there was an underreporting of campaign receipts;	21		are we on the scope of redirect and recross here?
22		other quarters, there was an overreporting of	22		Is this anything thethe State asked about?
23		campaign contributions?	23		PROF. JOYNER: Yes.
24	A	Inin someright. Correct. There wasfor the	24		REP. STAM: I'llI'll allow some leeway.

-73--74-

1		PROF. JOYNER: No, you're not going to	1		contributions that a PAC disclosed making a
2		allow any leeway. That's what they asked about.	2		contribution to Representative Wright. However, we
3	Q	With respect toyour final conclusion with respect	3		didn't have proof that he received it, because he
4		to items that were not disclosed that is contained	4		hadn't deposited it in his account. So we
5		in Exhibit 15?	5		certainly did not include those contributions on
6	A	That would be thetherethere may be some	6		this.
7		additional contributions that we determined in our	7		But in order to make sure thatverify
8		review that they were not added to that. This is	8		whether or not those contributions were actually
9		thewe have taken off the three. There are no	9		received by $\ensuremath{\text{\text{him}}},$ we contacted each one of those
10		there isthere are no more that come off. There	10		PACs. Some of them he never received. Some of
11		may be some additional ones that could be added,	11		them he received, and there were a couple where he
12		but we did not add those.	12		cashed. So those would have been subject to
13	Q	Nownowall right. Now, are you telling me that	13		disclosure. This was done later than this sheet,
14		you're still working through	14		and we did not add those to this.
15	A	No, we're not working	15		But Itoto be clear, yes, therethere
16	Q	the final	16		could be some additions based on the late
17	A	through it. No.	17		investigating we did with respect to the PACs.
18	Q	Well, is this final or not?	18	Q	So you, then, intend to amend this item at some
19	A	Well, thethe review ofof the one-eighty-five	19		point to correctly reflect the items that were not
20		sheet, we went through andand made sure all the	20		disclosed?
21		information on that was correct. In doing that,	21	A	Ifif there is a need for an amendment, yes, I can
22		there were three that came off. What we didwhat	22		do that.
23		we did find when going back and looking through	23	Q	Now, you indicated earlier that the Board of
24		every one of our records, there were some PAC	24		Election had a liberal amendment policy

-76-

		-75-		- 76-
1	A	Yes.	1	had access on it. She was not on any of the
2	Q	which allowed legislators to come back, as you	2	signature cards. It was just hishishe was the
3		said, years later and amend their reports?	3	only one that had access to that account.
4	A	Yes.	4	PROF. JOYNER: All right. I have no
5	Q	So conceivably any legislator can now go back and	5	further questions.
6		amend their report 2003, 2004 and bring it in	6	THE CHAIR: All right. We are going to
7		compliance with the full recordedreporting	7	take a ten-minute break this morning now, and we'll
8		requirement of the statute?	8	be back atwell, a little more than ten minutes
9	A	Yes.	9	ten after eleven for committee questions. Thank
10	Q	So the mere fact that an item is reported late does	10	you.
11		not mean that it is not reported? It's not timely	11	
12		reported, but, if you allow the amendment, then it	12	(SIXTEEN-MINUTE RECESS)
13		can be amended at any point to bring it in	13	
14		compliance?	14	THE CHAIR: All right. And, Dr. Joyner,
15	A	It can be. And none of those that were late are	15	may we proceed withoutall right. I think we are
16		included in the nondisclosed. These were never	16	at Committee counsel questions. I'll start with
17		disclosed in any reporting period.	17	Representative Stam.
18	Q	III understand.	18	REP. STAM: Thank you.
19		Were these commingled accounts that you	19	Just three areas of inquiry. First, Ms.
20		found for Representative Wrightdid not his wife	20	Strach, did you determine the amount or quantity
21		also have access to those accounts?	21	ofof campaign expenditures that were not
22	A	She had access to one account. We said there was	22	reported?

23

24

23

24

only one five-hundred-dollar contribution. The

other account saw no--I saw no evidence that she

THE WITNESS: We did. I do not have that specific number. Based on the process that  $\ensuremath{\mathsf{I}}$ 

-77-

1	explained, we did come up with amount of contribu	1	Page 4 of 10 of Exhibit 15. Just wanted to look at
2	of expenditures that were not reported. And II	2	a couple of the cash contributions. If you'd look
3	do not have that number with me. But	3	at the one right in the middle of the page, that
4	REP. STAM: What was the order of	4	has a date of June 22, 2004. And that's in Bank of
5	magnitude of that number?	5	America 5071. Is that what's been described as the
6	THE WITNESS: I mean, it wasit was	6	personal account that's in the name of Thomas
7	aroundmy recollection, we'rewe're looking	7	Wright?
8	around close to two hundred thousand dollars	8	THE WITNESS: It is.
9	(\$200,000).	9	REP. STAM: And is that for a time period
10	REP. STAM: And would that all be,	10	for which there was no campaign account in
11	therefore, reportable income for tax purposes?	11	existence?
12	THE WITNESS: I can't answer that	12	THE WITNESS: What's the time on that?
13	question.	13	It was
14	REP. STAM: Okay. Second question. You	14	THE CHAIR: 6-22-oh6-22-04.
15	testified that there were a couple of PACs that	15	THE WITNESS: 6-22-04?
16	contributed and that Representative Wright just	16	REP. STAM: Or maybe not.
17	cashed, that didn't even come into the accounts.	17	THE WITNESS: Yes, thatthatthefirst
18	What were those amounts? What PACs were those?	18	there was another campaign account during that
19	THE WITNESS: II specifically remember	19	time.
20	a two-thousand-dollar (\$2,000) check from the North	20	REP. STAM: All right. Look at the one a
21	Carolina Dental PAC that was cashed. And there	21	little above that, cash contributions. It might be
22	were a couple of other checks inin much smaller	22	the tenth line down. August 6, '04.
23	amounts.	23	THE WITNESS: Are we
24	REP. STAM: Okay. If you would, look at	24	REP. STAM: For four thousand dollars

-79-

it in the bank by one day, two days, three days?

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($4,000). April 6. I'm sorry.
                                                                                                   checking some of the other PACs or other
                       THE WITNESS: Yes, I see that one.
                                                                                                   contributors to see if somebody else contributed
                       REP. STAM: And I'll use this as a
                                                                                                   four thousand (4,000) right then that just--
              surrogate for some of the others. The--in addition
                                                                                                   Representative Wright just happened to cash?
                                                                                                            THE WITNESS: We've checked. Every PAC
             to it not being reported, the question I would have
 5
                                                                                      5
             would be whether it was even a lawful contribution.
                                                                                                   that has disclosed making a contribution to
             Now, if this were forty different -- or forty or more
                                                                                                   Representative Wright, we have verified receipt of
             different cash amounts totaling four thousand
                                                                                                   that check in his account. Or if we didn't have
              (4,000), and if he had kept records of it, could he
                                                                                                   receipt of that -- we didn't have that, we contacted
 9
                                                                                      9
                                                                                                   the PAC to see if the check was ever negotiated.
10
             have received that?
                                                                                     10
                                                                                                            REP. STAM: No further questions.
                       THE WITNESS: If he-if they had been
11
                                                                                     11
             those numbers of contributors in those--in those
                                                                                     12
                                                                                                             THE CHAIR: All right. Thank you.
13
              amounts and he'd kept records, yes, he could have.
                                                                                     13
                                                                                                             Representative Lucas.
                       Representative Stam, that -- that 4-6-2004,
                                                                                                             REP. LUCAS: No inquiries at this time.
14
                                                                                     14
15
              there wasn't another account at that time other
                                                                                     15
                                                                                                             THE CHAIR: Thank you.
16
             than the commingled account open.
                                                                                     16
                                                                                                             Representative McGee.
17
                       REP. STAM: And for that four thousand
                                                                                     17
                                                                                                             REP. MCGEE: Thank you, Mr. Chair. I do
             dollars ($4,000), though, is--isn't four thousand
                                                                                                  have three inquiries.
18
                                                                                     18
              (4,000) significant because--for another reason?
                                                                                                             THE CHAIR: Absolutely.
19
                                                                                     19
                       THE WITNESS: It's very significant to
                                                                                                             REP. MCGEE: Thank you.
2.0
                                                                                     2.0
             me. It always raises a red flag when I see the
                                                                                     21
                                                                                                             When the treasurer or the campaign
             four thousand (4,000), 'cause that's the
22
                                                                                     22
                                                                                                   receives the check--or a check, is there a time-
23
             contribution limitation.
                                                                                     23
                                                                                                   limitation requirement that says you've got to get
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24

REP. STAM: Has there been any attempt by

24

-81-

1	THE WITNESS: There's nothing in the	1	did receive any contributions of that amount?
2	statute that says that you have to deposit it in a	2	THE WITNESS: He filed no forty-eight-
3	certain length of time. Youryour obligation is	3	hour reports.
4	on disclosing it on that date. Youryour records	4	REP. MCGEE: Did he have any
5	have to be current, no more than seven days. So	5	contributions that would have qualified the report
6	certainly yourif your records are current, you	6	being needed?
7	would want to have gotten that check in the bank in	7	THE WITNESS: Based on disclosure, there
8	order for it to be current.	8	are contributions that would have been in those two
9	REP. MCGEE: Thank you. And second	9	weeks that it would have been over a thousand
10	question, if I may.	10	dollars ( $\$1,000$ ). I'm not sure of the amount, but
11	THE CHAIR: Certainly.	11	there werethere were some.
12	REP. MCGEE: What is the forty-eight-hour	12	REP. MCGEE: Thank you. Then a further
13	reporting?	13	question, if I may.
14	THE WITNESS: Forty-eight-hour reporting	14	THE CHAIR: Certainly.
15	isany political committee that receives a	15	REP. MCGEE: On Octoberin October of
16	contribution of over a thousand dollars (\$1,000) or	16	'06, the way you can use your campaign
17	more during basically the two weeks prior to a	17	contributions changed; is that correct?
18	primary or general election when there are no other	18	THE WITNESS: That is correct.
19	reports required, you have to report within forty	19	REP. MCGEE: Okay. I note on Exhibit 15,
20	hoursforty-eight hours of receipt of that. And	20	on the last two pages, beginning with October,
21	it'syou fax that report in to our office.	21	campaign funds continued to come into
22	REP. MCGEE: Then to follow up that	22	Representative Wright's accounts. Was that the
23	question, were there forty-eight-hour reports	23	commingled account that they came into?
24	furnished by Representative Wright, if he in fact	24	THE WITNESS: Yes.

-83-

1	REP. MCGEE: Do you haveor were you
2	able to determine that all these monies were spent
3	for campaign purposes? Or were someone's medical
4	personal purposes?
5	THE WITNESS: There were some that we
6	could certainly not determine they were for a
7	campaign purpose. So it wouldbecause they were
8	not a campaign purpose, itit would appear that
9	they were for a perpersonal purpose.
10	REP. MCGEE: Thank you, Mr. Chair.
11	THE CHAIR: Thank you, Representative
12	McGee.
13	Representative Warren.
14	REP. WARREN: No questions.
15	THE CHAIR: Thank you.
16	Representative Wiley.
17	REP. WILEY: One quick question.
18	THE CHAIR: Certainly.
19	REP. WILEY: In going through Exhibit 15,
20	was it ever analyzed or reported that in addition
21	to things that were reported, if you added these on
22	to it, it would have gone over the four-thousand-
23	dollar (\$4,000) threshold?
24	THE WITNESS: I don't think we had any

contributors that went over the four-thousand-dollar (\$4,000) threshold, no.

THE CHAIR: Is that it, Representative?
All right. The Chair has several
questions. And I'm going to be referring to
several documents. But before we do that, just a
couple of general questions.

You had--Ms. Strach, had indicated in your testimony with regard to--on redirect that there were some patterns of expenditures where campaign funds were used for personal items. It was--am I correct, first, that the law prior to this year allowed that to occur provided that there was a reporting or disclosure of that expenditure?

THE WITNESS: Correct.

THE CHAIR: All right. Can you give us examples, several examples of—if there are any, of items where campaign funds were spent for personal expenditures that were never reported and, therefore, violated the law?

THE WITNESS: I would--I--I note-specifically remember two instances, 'cause our-when our staff was pulling this together, there
were two instances where Representative Wright paid

-85-

1	Safeway Chevrolet in '06, in January of '06, two	1	page on 16A, there is a sworn affirmation as to
2	payments that totaled eighteen thousand dollars	2	that report. Would you read what the affirmation
3	(\$18,000), and campaign funds paid all of the	3	isor the oath?
4	eighteen thousand dollars (\$18,000).	4	THE WITNESS: Sure. "Being duly sworn, I
5	The other thingand I guess it justis	5	depose, affirm, and say that the Committee is in
6	just what sticks out in my mindis that there	6	compliance with all provisions of Article 22A,
7	wereover the course of our review, there were	7	including that no funds are commingled with funds
8	total of close to six thousand dollars (\$6,000) in	8	for a federal or out-of-state PAC. I further say
9	checks that were written to Reeds Jewelers, and all	9	that this report is complete, true, and correct."
10	of those expenses were paid from campaign funds.	10	THE CHAIR: Who signed that? Can you
11	Those are only two I can recall.	11	tell?
12	THE CHAIR: All right. Let me follow up	12	THE WITNESS: Thomas E. Wright.
13	on that. Were either of those expenditures	13	THE CHAIR: All right. And this is a
14	reported as required by law?	14	notarized statement?
15	THE WITNESS: They were not reported.	15	THE WITNESS: It is.
16	THE CHAIR: Were any amendments made to	16	THE CHAIR: And was this report complete,
17	any campaign-finance statement that amended the	17	true, and accurate?
18	failure to disclose?	18	THE WITNESS: No, it was not.
19	THE WITNESS: No amendments were filed.	19	THE CHAIR: And, therefore, did it
20	THE CHAIR: Now, if you will, look with	20	violate the criminal law?
21	me at Exhibit Number 16. And we're going to start	21	THE WITNESS: Yes.
22	with 16A.	22	THE CHAIR: If you'll turn to the next
23	THE WITNESS: Okay.	23	campaign report as part of that 16A package, which
24	THE CHAIR: At the bottom of the first	24	would be the second quarter. If you'll look at

-87-

1	that Is the same affirmation there by	1	certification certify that the report is complete,
2	Representative Wright that the report is complete,	2	true, and acand correct?
3	true, and accurate?	3	THE WITNESS: It does.
4	THE WITNESS: Yes.	4	THE CHAIR: Was it?
5	THE CHAIR: Was it complete, true, and	5	THE WITNESS: It was not.
6	accurate?	6	THE CHAIR: Does that violate the
7	THE WITNESS: It was not complete, true,	7	criminal law?
8	and accurate.	8	THE WITNESS: It does.
9	THE CHAIR: Does that violate the	9	THE CHAIR: All right. Thank you.
10	criminal law?	10	And finally, if we'll go to the fourth
11	THE WITNESS: Itit isit is a criminal	11	statement on that same package. Is there a
12	violation for this report to be notsigned, being	12	certification by Representative Wright again that
13	false.	13	the report is complete, true, and correct?
14	THE CHAIR: Just out of curiosity, who's	14	THE WITNESS: Yes.
15	the notary on that particular verification?	15	THE CHAIR: And was it?
16	THE WITNESS: Meredith L. Norris.	16	THE WITNESS: It was not.
17	THE CHAIR: Thank you. If you'll go with	17	THE CHAIR: And does that violate the
18	me to the third-quarter campaign report in that	18	law?
19	same package, dated October 31, 2000. Is there a	19	THE WITNESS: It does.
20	certification on that report?	20	THE CHAIR: All right. Turn with me to
21	THE WITNESS: I'm sorry. I haven't	21	16B, please. On 16B, again is there a
22	gotten there yet.	22	certification, this time not notarized, by
23	Yes.	23	Representative Wright that this report for midyear
24	THE CHAIR: And whatdoes that	24	2002midyear 2001I'm sorryis complete, true,

-89-

1	and accurateor complete, true, and correct?	1	THE WITNESS: Yes.
2	THE WITNESS: Yes.	2	THE CHAIR: Was it?
3	THE CHAIR: Was it complete, true, and	3	THE WITNESS: It was not.
4	correct?	4	THE CHAIR: Does that violate the
5	THE WITNESS: It was not.	5	criminal law?
6	THE CHAIR: And does that violate the	6	THE WITNESS: Yes.
7	law?	7	THE CHAIR: If you'll look in the middle
8	THE WITNESS: It does.	8	of that package to the next certification. And I'm
9	THE CHAIR: Same thing in the middle of	9	going to go with you there. For the next quarter,
10	that package, if you will, for the year-end	10	is there a signature by Representative Wright that
11	semiannual report for 2002. Is there a signature	11	that report is complete, true, and correct for the
12	by Representative Wright that the report is	12	second quarter?
13	complete, true, and correct?	13	THE WITNESS: Yes.
14	THE WITNESS: Yes.	14	THE CHAIR: Was it?
15	THE CHAIR: Was it?	15	THE WITNESS: It was not.
16	THE WITNESS: It was not.	16	THE CHAIR: Does that violate the
17	THE CHAIR: Does that violate the	17	criminal law?
18	criminal law?	18	THE WITNESS: It does.
19	THE WITNESS: It does.	19	THE CHAIR: As to the third quarter, same
20	THE CHAIR: The next package, 16C. If	20	question. Is there a signature by Representative
21	you'll look at what is the first-quarter report for	21	Wright that the report is complete, true, and
22	2002. Is there a signature by Representative	22	correct?
23	Wright that the report is complete, true, and	23	THE WITNESS: Yes.
24	correct?	24	THE CHAIR: Was it complete, true, and

-91-

1	correct?	1	correct?
2	THE WITNESS: It was not.	2	THE WITNESS: No.
3	THE CHAIR: Does it violate the criminal	3	THE CHAIR: Does that violate the
4	law?	4	criminal law?
5	THE WITNESS: Yes.	5	THE WITNESS: Yes.
6	THE CHAIR: And finally, for the fourth-	6	THE CHAIR: All right. Let's turn to
7	quarter reportI'm sorry. The interim report is	7	16D, please. For the third midyear report in 2003,
8	the next report in that package, I think. Is there	8	is there a signature by Representative Wright the
9	a signature by Representative Wright that the	9	report is complete, true, and correct?
10	report is complete, true, and correct?	10	THE WITNESS: Yes.
11	THE WITNESS: Yes.	11	THE CHAIR: Was it complete, true, and
12	THE CHAIR: Was it?	12	correct?
13	THE WITNESS: No.	13	THE WITNESS: No.
14	THE CHAIR: Does that violate the	14	THE CHAIR: Does that violate the
15	criminal law?	15	criminal law?
16	THE WITNESS: Yes.	16	THE WITNESS: Yes.
17	THE CHAIR: The next is the fourth-	17	THE CHAIR: If you'll turn with me to the
18	quarter report. Same question. Is there a	18	middle of that exhibit. There's a year-end
19	signature by Representative Wright?	19	semiannual report. Is there a signature by
20	THE WITNESS: Yes.	20	Representative Wright on January 29, 2004, that the
21	THE CHAIR: And does he state that the	21	report is complete, true, and correct?
22	report is complete, true, and correct?	22	THE WITNESS: Yes.
23	THE WITNESS: Yes, he does.	23	THE CHAIR: Was it complete, true, and
24	THE CHAIR: Was that complete, true, and	24	correct?

-93-

1	THE WITNESS: No.	1	next document. On the third-quarter report, is
2	THE CHAIR: Does that violate the	2	there a signature by Representative Wright that the
3	criminal law?	3	report is complete, true, and accurate?
4	THE WITNESS: Yes.	4	THE WITNESS: There is not.
5	THE CHAIR: All right. If you'll turn	5	THE CHAIR: Is there a date?
6	with me now to the next package, which is 16E. Is	6	THE WITNESS: 10-25-04.
7	there a signature on the first-quarter report dated	7	THE CHAIR: All right. If you'll turn
8	April 26, 2004, by Representative Wright?	8	with me to the fourth-quarter report, which is a
9	THE WITNESS: Yes.	9	few pages later. Is there a signature by
10	THE CHAIR: Does he certify that the	10	Representative Wright that that report is complete,
11	report is complete, true, and correct?	11	true, and accurateor correct?
12	THE WITNESS: Yes.	12	THE WITNESS: Yes.
13	THE CHAIR: Was it complete, true, and	13	THE CHAIR: And there's a date oflooks
14	correct?	14	like January 10th, 2005?
15	THE WITNESS: No, it was not.	15	THE WITNESS: Yes.
16	THE CHAIR: Does that violate the	16	THE CHAIR: And was that report complete,
17	criminal law?	17	true, and correct?
18	THE WITNESS: Yes.	18	THE WITNESS: No.
19	THE CHAIR: All right. Now if you look	19	THE CHAIR: Does that violate the
20	with me on the second-quarter report. Is there any	20	criminal law?
21	signature by Representative Wright as to that	21	THE WITNESS: Yes.
22	report?	22	THE CHAIR: If you'll turn with me to
23	THE WITNESS: There is not.	23	16F. There is a certification on 16F, which is the
24	THE CHAIR: All right. Let's turn to the	24	report datedlooks like July 28th, 2005?

-95- -96-

1	THE WITNESS: Yes.	1	Representative Wright which has not got a date but
2	THE CHAIR: Is there a signature by	2	has a received stamp of April 27April 24, 2006?
3	Representative Wright?	3	THE WITNESS: Yes.
4	THE WITNESS: Yes.	4	THE CHAIR: And is that signature by
5	THE CHAIR: And does that say that the	5	Representative Wright stating that the report is
6	report is complete, true, and correct?	6	complete, true, and correct?
7	THE WITNESS: It does.	7	THE WITNESS: Yes.
8	THE CHAIR: And is that a violation of	8	THE CHAIR: Was the report complete,
9	the criminal law to so say when the report is not?	9	true, and correct?
10	THE WITNESS: Yes.	10	THE WITNESS: No.
11	THE CHAIR: If you'll turn with me in the	11	THE CHAIR: And is that violation of the
12	middle of that package to the report dated January	12	criminal law?
13	26, 2006. Is there a signature by Thomas Wright	13	THE WITNESS: Yes.
14	that the report is complete, true, and correct?	14	THE CHAIR: Middle of that packet,
15	THE WITNESS: Yes.	15	there's a report signed by Representator there is
16	THE CHAIR: And was it complete, true,	16	a report dated July 10, 2006?
17	and correct?	17	THE WITNESS: Yes.
18	THE WITNESS: No.	18	THE CHAIR: And is there a signature
19	THE CHAIR: Does that violate the	19	there?
20	criminal law?	20	THE WITNESS: Yes, there is.
21	THE WITNESS: It does.	21	THE CHAIR: Whose signature?
22	THE CHAIR: And let's turn to 16G, which	22	THE WITNESS: Thomas E. Wright.
23	is the last part of the packet. Is there a	23	THE CHAIR: And does DocRepresentative
24	signature on the firston that first report by	24	Wright state that this report is complete, true,

-97-

1	and correct?	1	that package, you'll see a document dated January
2	THE WITNESS: He does.	2	10, 2007.
3	THE CHAIR: Was it complete, true, and	3	THE WITNESS: Okay.
4	correct?	4	THE CHAIR: And it says that there's a
5	THE WITNESS: No.	5	reportthat the report dated January 10, 2007, is
6	THE CHAIR: Does that violate the	6	complete, true, and correct. Whose signature is
7	criminal law?	7	that?
8	THE WITNESS: Yes.	8	THE WITNESS: Thomas E. Wright.
9	THE CHAIR: The next document in that	9	THE CHAIR: And was that report complete,
10	same package looks like the report dated October	10	true, and correct?
11	either 21 or 31, probably 31, 2006?	11	THE WITNESS: It was not.
12	THE WITNESS: Yes.	12	THE CHAIR: And does that violate the
13	THE CHAIR: And is there a signature as	13	criminal law?
14	to that report being complete, true, and correct?	14	THE WITNESS: Yes.
15	THE WITNESS: Yes.	15	THE CHAIR: Last several questions for
16	THE CHAIR: Whose signature?	16	you, Ms. Strach. My understandingand I just want
17	THE WITNESS: Thomas E. Wright.	17	to be correct. Were there reports required to be
18	THE CHAIR: And was this report complete,	18	filed last year, in 2007?
19	true, and correct?	19	THE WITNESS: Yes.
20	THE WITNESS: No, it was not.	20	THE CHAIR: Were any reportsother than
21	THE CHAIR: And does that violate the	21	this January 10, 2007, report, were there any
22	criminal law?	22	reports filed by Representative Wright?
23	THE WITNESS: Yes.	23	THE WITNESS: No, there were not.
24	THE CHAIR: And finally, the last part of	24	THE CHAIR: Does that violate the

-99- -100-

	-55-			-100-
1	criminal law?	1	A	Thank you.
2	THE WITNESS: Itit does.	2	Q	The signature page or pages that you referred to.
3	THE CHAIR: Finally as to the mention	3	A	Yes.
4	that you made of approximately ten businesses that	4	Q	Does every legislator who files a disclosure report
5	had contributions in the account. Is it a	5		sign that same page?
6	misdemeanor for a corporation or a business to give	6	A	No. Only the appointed treasurer, or, if the
7	a campaign contribution to a candidate?	7		treasurer doesn't, the candidate can.
8	THE WITNESS: It is.	8	Q	Well, for every campaign that reports to you, did
9	THE CHAIR: And is it a misdemeanor to	9		they have to file or sign the same certification?
10	accept?	10	A	Every legislator?
11	THE WITNESS: It is.	11	Q	No, every campaign
12	THE CHAIR: And would thoseeach of	12	A	Every campaign, yes.
13	those contributions be an independent violation of	13	Q	which reported a campaign contribution, did they
14	the criminal law?	14		have to sign this same certification?
15	THE WITNESS: Yes.	15	A	Every treasurer, yes, that files a report has to
16	THE CHAIR: I have no further questions.	16		sign that same certification, yes.
17	Redirect.	17	Q	So that would be either the treasurer or the
18	MR. PETERS: We don't have any further	18		legislator?
19	questions.	19	A	Correct.
20	THE CHAIR: Recross.	20	Q	Be
21	RECROSS-EXAMINATION BY PROF. JOYNER:	21	A	The treasurer or the candidate.
22	Q Youyou've just gone through a lengthy recital of	22	Q	Right. Because the candidate can be the treasurer,
23	the numerous violations of the criminal law. And	23		as well?

24 A

He--the treasurer can be.

you did that quite well.

24

-101-

1	Q	Right.	1	Q	It is. So everyone, right?
2	A	Theyand thethe candidate now, justjust for	2	A	Until it is in compliance, you're right, it is in
3		your information, can't sign if they haven't taken	3		violation.
4		treasury training.	4	Q	Now, which law is violated by this?
5	Q	Well, I'mwell, I'm notI'm not talking about	5	A	You're talking about the signing
6		now. I'm talking about then.	6	Q	Right.
7	A	Well, some of those reports would be involved with	7	A	of this?
8		that.	8	Q	Right.
9	Q	Okay. All right. Well, at any rate, every report	9	A	Can I look at my law book?
10		would have to carry the same certification?	10	Q	You can.
11	A	Yes.	11	A	163 dash 278 point 32, Statements Under Oath. "Any
12	Q	Now, is it not also true, then, that for every	12		statement firequired to be filed under this
13		report in which a treasurer or candidate offers an	13		article shall be signed and certified as true and
14		amendment have also violated the law?	14		correct by the individual, media, candidate,
15	A	Well, it says that itthat you're signed this	15		treasurer, or others required to file it, and shall
16		knowing it not to be true, I guess. So ifif a	16		by certified as true and correct to the best of the
17		treasurer files an amendment and they're stating	17		knowledge of the individual, media, candidate,
18		they didn't know it wasn't true and they're	18		treasurer, or others filing the statement, provided
19		they're correcting that report so they're not	19		further that the candidate shall certify as true
20		filing a false report.	20		and correct to the best of the knowledge the
21	Q	At the time that they file the report, before there	21		organization report and report of treasurer. A
22		has been an amendment, is not that report in	22		certification under this article shall be treated
23		violation of the law?	23		as under oath, and any person making a
24	A	It is.	24		certification under this article knowing the

-103- -104-

I--I--I did notice that on a couple of

1		information to be untrue is guilty of a Class I	1		had, I guess, this past year five hundred and
2		felony."	2		thirty-seven amendments?
3	Q	Now, notwithstanding the legal requirement, the	3	A	I think it's five-sixty-nine, but
4		Board of Election has chosen to allow people to	4	Q	Five-sixty-nine?
5		come back at any point and amend these reports?	5	A	Uh-huh (yes).
6	A	They have, because this certification says that	6		THE CHAIR: All right. Thatthat
7		the best of theof the person's knowledge. So if	7		question, if youwas in the redirect that was
8		that person comes back and says, "I didn't know it	8		issued that you've already recrossed on it. Wasn't
9		at the time, and I'm amending my reports," then	9		a question that came up in the second set by
10		yes, we're certainly going to allow that.	10		Members of the Committee. So may want to limit it,
11	Q	Theagain, the statute does not allow that?	11		please, to questions related to anything we asked
12	A	The statute does not provide for amending.	12		about.
13	Q	Right. Nowand technically speaking, a late	13		PROF. JOYNER: Well, MisMr. Chairman,
14		report violates the law?	14		this is related to the litany of questions that you
15	A	A late report, right. And there are civil	15		raised.
16		penalties that can be incurred with a late report.	16		THE CHAIR: Go ahead.
17	Q	Right. Notwithstanding that, a late report	17	Q	(By Prof. Joyner) With respect to that five
18		violates the law?	18		hundred and sixty-nine, dodo you know offhand
19	A	It does.	19		what time frame those amendments covered?
20	Q	Okay. That's what the statute said?	20	A	II glanced at the report. And theythey cover
21	A	That's right.	21		things that were in 2006, and they covercover
22	Q	Because the statue provides no grace?	22		years prior to that, as well. There are some
23	A	Correct.	23		amendments for things prior to that.

24

24 Q

Okay. You indicated in your testimony that you

-105--106-

		-105-		-106-
1		themone of the things that happens if youif	1	MR. PETERS: We may want to keep her, not
2		youif you file a report and you realized you	2	knowing what is coming.
3		youbasically, you left some bank interest off and	3	THE CHAIR: Then we don't need to go any
4		you have to go back, you have to go back to the	4	further.
5		report where you did that and then amend every	5	Ms. Strach, you areyouyou aremust
6		subsequent report. So sometimes that's why you	6	stay. I'm sorry.
7		will see reports that we allow people to go back in	7	All right. Any further witnesses, Mr.
8		order to fix a mathematical error that's going to	8	Hart?
9		continue with them.	9	MR. HART: Mr. Chairman, we have no
10	Q	So it's like a domino effect?	10	further witnesses. But at this time
11	A	It is a domino effect.	11	THE CHAIR: Well, before you move into
12	Q	So you have to go all	12	your exhibits, then, I think there's still a matter
13	A	All the way back.	13	that's open with Agent Umphlet. So the Chair
14	Q	the way back to the verybut technically each of	14	heldwithheld his questions till he could review
15		those prior reports were in violation of the law?	15	more fully the statement. And so the Chair on his
16	A	Technically, yes.	16	own motion recalls Agent Umphlet to the stand.
17		PROF. JOYNER: Okay. No further	17	Agent, this is just a reminder that you
18		questions.	18	remain under oath. And hope you and your dog got
19		THE CHAIR: All right. We areI think	19	sleep last night.
20		that ends our testimony with Ms. Strach. You may	20	THE WITNESS: Yes, sir.
21		step down.	21	THE CHAIR: I'm going to ask you if
22		Question. Do we wantoror is there a	22	you'll look at the document that's in front of you
23		counsel objection to releasing Ms. Strach from her	23	that had been previously discussed by Mr. Joyner
24		subpoena, or	24	andand then ultimately, as well, by Mr. Hart.

-108-

	-107-		-108-
1	And we are not introducing the document, for the	1	THE WITNESS: Reading from Page 7.
2	reasons I stated yesterday. But I do have a couple	2	"Representative Wright advised he'd nothe did not
3	of other paragraphs I want to refer you to.	3	recall how he communicated with AT&T to receive the
4	If you'll look with me specifically on	4	fifteen-hundred-dollar (\$1,500) donation from them.
5	Page 11I'm sorryPage 12. Can you just read the	5	ASAC Umphlet asked Wright if he knew Lawrence
6	paragraph, the first full paragraph on Page 12?	6	Bewley and was his request for the fifteen hundred
7	THE WITNESS: Would that be the one that	7	dollars (\$1,500) from AT&T through Bewley. Wright
8	starts with "ASAC Umphlet asked"?	8	advised he did not recall but added it was probably
9	THE CHAIR: It is.	9	an official request. Wright advised he knew Bewley
10	THE WITNESS: Okay. "ASAC Umphlet asked	10	as Bewley was a registered lobbyist in the Raleigh
11	Representative Wright if he ever commingled funds	11	area. Wright advised he knew Bewley through his,
12	in a personal bank account. Wright advised that	12	parentheses, Wright's, end parentheses, work in the
13	may be improper, but it was not illegal. Wright	13	legislature. Wright added that Bewley assisted $\mathop{\text{\rm him}}\nolimits$
14	stated, `I'll save that answer. I've got an answer	14	with a frunfundraiser or two. ASAC Umphlet
15	to why and how that occurred, but I'll save it."	15	showed Wright a three-thousand-dollar (\$3,000)
16	THE CHAIR: All right. If you will, turn	16	check which was dated July 8, 2002, to Lawrence
17	to Page 11. And if you willactuallyI'm sorry.	17	Bewley & Associates. The check was Check Number
18	If you'll turn to Page 9. Actuallyapologize	18	632 and was written on a Thomas Wright campaign
19	again. I've got the page wrong.	19	account."
20	Bottom of Page 7, top of Page 8. If	20	Would you like me to
21	you'll read into the record the last paragraph on	21	THE CHAIR: Continue.
22	Page 7 and then the first full paragraph on the top	22	THE WITNESS:read the account number
23	of Page 8. And you can indicate the sentence in	23	there?

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between that shows the break time.

THE CHAIR: Why don't you go ahead and--

-109-

1	and redact the countaccount number and stop there	1	PROF. JOYNER: No.
2	and just read on to the next sentence?	2	THE CHAIR: All right. Thank you very
3	THE WITNESS: Okay. "With an account	3	much, Agent. You may step down.
4	number ofWright advised he could not recall if	4	Now, Mr. Hart, further evidence for the
5	the three-thousand-dollar (\$3,000) check to Bewley	5	Committee counsel?
6	was for reimbursing Bewley for a fundraiser. At	6	MR. HART: That would conclude the
7	this point in the interview, a break was taken from	7	presentation of witnesses by Committee counsel.
8	eleven-ten A.M. to eleven-twenty A.M.	8	TheII would ask that the Chair refer to Exhibit
9	"Wright then recalled the three-thousand-	9	18 in the notebooks. And I would ask specifically
10	dollarthree thousand dollars (\$3,000) was a	10	that the Committee take official notice of its own
11	reimbursement for advanced costs of Bewley setting	11	records and take notice of the official record
12	up a reception. Wright advised the costs were for	12	certified by the principal clerk of the House that
13	postage and printing costs for invitations. Wright	13	thethe attached committee and commission
14	reported he recalled the information about the	14	appointments for Representative Thomas E. Wright
15	fundraiser and the three-thousand-dollar (\$3,000)	15	from 1999 to 2008 are listed in Exhibit 18.
16	check after calling and speaking to Bewley by	16	THE CHAIR: All right. That's Exhibit
17	telephone."	17	18.
18	THE CHAIR: All right. I	18	Dr. Joyner, any objection?
19	have nothing further. That ends the Chair's	19	PROF. JOYNER: No objection.
20	questions.	20	THE CHAIR: All right. With no
21	As a result of the two paragraphs read,	21	objection, Exhibit 18 is admitted.
22	any redirect, Mr. Hart?	22	MR. HART: I'd also ask that the
23	MR. HART: No, sir.	23	Committee take official notice of Exhibit 19, which
24	THE CHAIR: Any recross, Dr. Joyner?	24	is again certified records of the House from the

-111-

	-111-		-112-
1	principal clerk, Denise Weeks, the Exhibit 19	1	PROF. JOYNER: Yes. Nonono
2	containing the list of bills that were filed by	2	objection.
3	Representative Wright from 1999 through 2008. And	3	THE CHAIR: And I have the same notes, as
4	she certified those to be true and accurate.	4	well. So those are all already previously
5	THE CHAIR: All right. Any objection,	5	admitted.
6	Dr. Joyner?	6	MR. HART: If I might approach andand I
7	PROF. JOYNER: No objections.	7	have the originals ofof those documents to
8	THE CHAIR: All right. Nineteen is	8	actually present to the Chair for inclusion in the
9	admitted, as well.	9	official record of
10	Mr. Hart.	10	THE CHAIR: That would be fine.
11	MR. HART: Mr. Chairman, if I could just	11	MR. HART:the Committee.
12	check one other thing. Our records show that we	12	THE CHAIR: Anything further, Mr. Hart?
13	have introduced and you have admitted Exhibits 1,	13	MR. HART: No, sir.
14	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 15, 16A through G,	14	THE CHAIR: All right. Will there be
15	and 18 and 19 now. Is that correct?	15	evidence for Representative Wright?
16	THE CHAIR: All right. Let me double-	16	I'm sorry. Give me one minute. I'm
17	check my notes. But while I'm doing that, Dr.	17	sorry.
18	Joyner, do you have anything different showing on	18	We've got potentially one question that I
19	any of those exhibits?	19	need to resolve with staff. We're going to take a
20	PROF. JOYNER: Give me that listing	20	recess for five minutes, and we'll be back in five
21	again, please.	21	minutes. Thank you.
22	THE CHAIR: Sure. It's Exhibit 1, 2, 3,	22	
23	4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 15, 16A through G, 18,	23	(FIVE-MINUTE RECESS)

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and 19.

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-113 -

1	THE CHAIR: MrMr. Hart, you ready?	1	amount one hundred eighty-five thousand (185,000)
2	Mr. Peters? I apologize to everyone for taking a	2	and substituting the amount one hundred eighty
3	moment.	3	thousand (180,000).
4	What we want to do is try to amend two	4	THE CHAIR: All right. There's a motion
5	counts that the evidence suggested need to be	5	by Representative Stam to amend the count. Is
6	amended to conform to the evidence that's so far	6	there a second by any member of the Committee?
7	in. And then I'll sign, if those are adopted,	7	REP. MCGEE: Second.
8	amended counts so that when Representative Wright	8	THE CHAIR: All right. Second by
9	is defending those counts, he actually has the	9	Representative McGee. All right. Discussion and
10	benefit of theof the amended counts to defend,	10	debate by members of the Committee. This is not an
11	whichboth amendments toto his favor in terms of	11	outside-counsel issue. This is a Committee issue.
12	the evidence that's so far come in.	12	Any discussion or debate?
13	So the first thing we want to look at is	13	Seeing none, all those in favor will vote
14	countI'm looking over the shoulder 'cause I don't	14	aye. All those opposed will vote no. And the
15	have it in front of meCount Number 7, because	15	Clerk will call the roll.
16	there was testimony by Ms. Strach that that	16	THE CLERK: Chairman Glazier.
17	hundred-and-eighty-five-thousand-dollar (\$185,000)	17	THE CHAIR: Aye.
18	number really is slightly less. So Representative	18	THE CLERK: Vice-chairman Stam.
19	Stam is recognized for a motion.	19	REP. STAM: Aye.
20	REP. STAM: Mr. Chair, I move that Count	20	THE CLERK: Representative Lucas.
21	7 of the charges of unethical conduct by	21	REP. LUCAS: Aye.
22	Representative Wright adopted by the Committee at	22	THE CLERK: Representative McGee.
23	its meeting on January 9, 2008, and amended on	23	REP. MCGEE: Aye.
24	February 11, 2008, be amended by deleting the	24	THE CLERK: Representative Warren.

-115- -116-

1 Representatives, Thomas E. Wright did engage in a

2	THE CLERK: Representative Wiley.	2	pattern of conduct unbecoming and unfitting a
3	REP. WILEY: Aye.	3	member of the House of Representatives by
4	THE CHAIR: All right. That count is	4	improperly, fraudulently, deceptively, and
5	amended for that amount.	5	unethically soliciting a financial institution for
6	Representative Stam is recognized for a	6	a loan and corporations for donations to a
7	second motion.	7	charitable corporation, The Community's Health
8	REP. STAM: And Mr. Chair	8	Foundation, Inc., and by converting to his own
9	PROF. JOYNER: Mr. Chairman, before you	9	personal use money contributed to that charitable
10	do that, note our objection.	10	organization. As part of this pattern of conduct,
11	THE CHAIR: Sure. Sure. Objection is	11	Thomas E. Wright solicited a false document and
12	is noted, overruled. And exception is noted to the	12	used that false document in the loan solicitation.
13	ruling.	13	THE CHAIR: All right. And the basis of
14	REP. STAM: Thisthis one is slightly	14	the change, Representative Stam?
15	different than what was passed out, as you'll see	15	REP. STAM: Yes. The reason for the
16	when I get to thewhat would be on there "April,"	16	change is primarily because we withdrew Count 6.
17	I'm going to read the word "August" 2004.	17	This deletes the references that were in Count 6
18	I move that Count 8 of the charges of	18	and then also corrects the date for the deposit of
19	unethical conduct by Representative Wright adopted	19	the money.
20	by the Committee at its meeting on January 9, 2008,	20	THE CHAIR: All right. Any discussion or
21	and amended on February 11, 2008, be amended to	21	debate by any member of the Committee on that
22	read as follows: Count 8, between on or about	22	change?
23	October 2001 and on or about August 2004, while a	23	All right. Is there a second to
24	member of the North Carolina House of	24	Representative Stam's motion?

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REP. WARREN: Aye.

-117-

1	REP. WILEY: Second.	1	Does the Chair's ruling on either of
2	THE CHAIR: Second by Representative	2	those objections does any member of the Committee
3	Wiley. Any discussion or debate?	3	wish to reverse the ruling?
4	Seeing none, all those in favor will vote	4	Seeing none, nowe are done with that.
5	aye. Those opposed will vote no. The Clerk will	5	I'm going to need a minute. Again we'll
6	call the roll.	6	stand at ease, not in recess, for a minute for me
7	THE CLERK: Chairman Glazier.	7	to sign the amended counts, and then those will be
8	THE CHAIR: Aye.	8	handed out to the counsel and to the Committee.
9	THE CLERK: Vice-chairman Stam.	9	Thank you.
10	REP. STAM: Aye.	10	All right. With those changes, now back
11	THE CLERK: Representative Lucas.	11	to the question, I think. All right. Dr. Joyner,
12	REP. LUCAS: Aye.	12	will there be evidence for Representative Wright?
13	THE CLERK: Representative McGee.	13	PROF. JOYNER: Mr. Chair, we would ask
14	REP. MCGEE: Aye.	14	that we take our lunch break now and that we make
15	THE CLERK: Representative Warren.	15	that decision and report back after lunch.
16	REP. WARREN: Aye.	16	THE CHAIR: I have no problem with that.
17	THE CLERK: Representative Wiley.	17	We will go ahead and take our lunch break and
18	REP. WILEY: Aye.	18	return atgive you a little bit of extra time
19	THE CHAIR: All right. That amendment	19	one-fifteen P.M.
20	likewise is passed six-nothing.	20	Hang on just one minute. And again,
21	PROF. JOYNER: And note our objection?	21	justwe'll take the break in a minute. Just to
22	THE CHAIR: Absolutely. Objection by Dr.	22	reiterate what's already been told to counsel, that
23	Joyner. The objection is overruled. His exception	23	because there was not the compliance due to some
24	to that ruling is noted.	24	objection or concern by Representative Wright's

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2	witness list at this point, if there will be
3	witnesses this afternoon, those names will need to
4	be disclosed, and then we'll talk about whether
5	there's voir dire needed or not. But let's go
6	ahead and take our lunch recess until one-fifteen.
7	Thank you.
8	<del></del>
9	(EIGHTY-TWO-MINUTE RECESS)
10	<del></del>
11	THE CHAIR: We're back in session
12	following lunch. And I think it was with Dr.
13	Joyner. Is Representative Wright going to be
14	presenting evidence?
15	PROF. JOYNER: Mr. Chairman, we choose
16	not to present any evidence.
17	THE CHAIR: All right. All right. Then
18	I think we've now reached the point where closing
19	statements by Committee counsel and Representative
20	Wright's counsel will be made. Just a couple of
21	comments on closing statements. Likemembers of
22	the Committee, like with opening statements,
23	closing arguments are advocacy summaries of what

the attorneys believe the evidence has shown you.

counsel on Constitutional grounds, so we don't have

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You should not consider closing statements as evidence, but you are to determine the evidence based on the testimony you've heard and the evidence as you have considered it.

With that, since there wasn't evidence presented by Representative Wright, as I think the rules are is that, Dr. Joyner, you have the right to open and close the closing argument. And so I'll turn to you for first opening--first opening closing.

 $$\operatorname{\mathtt{PROF}}.\ \operatorname{\mathtt{JOYNER}}\colon$}$  I will waive the first opening and will close.

 $\label{eq:theorem} \mbox{THE CHAIR: All right. Dr. Joyner waives}$  the opening of the closing arguments.

 $$\operatorname{Mr}.$$  Hart and  $\operatorname{Mr}.$  Peters. Yes, please. And if--you--it probably is easier if you use this and--

MR. HART: One question we have. May we split the argument into two parts, be--since he dealt with the campaign contributions?

THE CHAIR: Sure. That's granted.

 $$\operatorname{MR.}$$  PETERS: Thank you, Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee.

As you heard Ms. Strach testify, the

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reason for the campaign-finance-disclosure laws is for the public interests. It's so the voting public can look as an election is going on and see where contributions are coming from for a particular candidate so that they know where the support for that candidate is coming from and they know how that candidate is spending money. And that's so they can take that information into account in deciding how to vote themselves. That is the primary reason for it. It's in the public's interest to know where a candidate's support's coming from so that a decision -- an informed decision can be made about whether or not a particular voter wishes to support that candidate.

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That's why the campaign-finance laws are in place, for the protection and for the information of the public. It certainly is a lot of paperwork. No one denies that. It's a lot of paperwork for the candidates, and it's a lot of paperwork for the State Board of Elections. But it's a lot of paperwork for a very important purpose, and that is the integrity of the electoral process itself.

Now, Count 7 against Representative

campaign money in them, some of which were campaign

accounts and one of which, at least, was a personal

Wright specifically charges him that between January 1st, 2000, and January 31st, 2007, during all that time while he was a member of this House, he did improperly--and I'm reading here-fraudulently, and unethically engage in a pattern of conduct unbecoming and unfitting a member of the House of Representatives by intentionally failing to disclose approximately one hundred and eighty thousand dollars (\$180.000) in contributions received by his campaign during that time period, which disclosures are required by law and are intended to safeguard the public trust and to preserve the integrity of the electoral process, the integrity of the House of Representatives, and the integrity of the legislative process.

That count specifies that the contributions in question are the ones you see before you in Exhibit 15. You have heard Ms. Strach testify that Exhibit 15, the contributions listed there, were prepared by her or by her staff under her supervision. You have heard her testify that the information in it came directly from Representative Wright's bank accounts, the bank accounts that had been identified as having

-123-

is no challenge that any one of these has been improperly identified as a campaign contribution

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account into which campaign contributions were put. when it was in fact simply a check to Thomas Wright You heard her testify that every contribution for his personal use. listed in that Exhibit 15, with the exception of 5 And you can see looking through that the three that she pulled out at the very beginning of her testimony, you heard her testify that every one of those were contributions that could be attributed to the campaign. These were checks--9 there is cash in there, about eight or nine 10 thousand dollars in cash. But otherwise, these are 11 all checks that were either made payable to Thomas 12 Wright's campaign or that, on the memo line, 13 indicated they were for the campaign. 14

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There are no checks in that list-according to her testimony, there are no checks anywhere in that list that could be construed as personal checks to Thomas Wright, because on each one of them, there is a clear indication that the check was a contribution for the campaign. There is no evidence before you that that is not the case. There is no challenge to any one of the entries on here. Even though the checking accounts are available and the checks can be compared, there

account, looking through that spreadsheet, that these cover every reporting period from the beginning of 2000 until two thous -- the end of 2006. There is not a single reporting period in that seven-year period in which Ms. Strach and her staff could find, in their investigation, not a single reporting period where all contributions received by the campaign were disclosed. In every single reporting period, there were undisclosed contributions.

And as you heard Ms. Strach testify, in quite a few of those reporting periods, it was a significant amount of money that was not disclosed. In the fourth quarter--excuse me--the second quarter of 2004, the campaign received twenty-eight thousand five hundred dollars (\$28,500). Those are listed in that Exhibit 15. You can see in there they're grouped together by the campaign reporting period, twenty-eight thousand five hundred dollars

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(\$28,500). And the disclosure report for that period showed zero contributions.

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The first quarter of 2006, the contributions were fifty-four thousand dollar-fifty-four thousand seventy-four dollars and fiftytwo cents (\$54,074.52). And of that amount, five thousand nine hundred and fifty (5,950) were disclosed. That is around forty-eight thousand dollars (\$48,000) that were not disclosed.

The following quarter, thirty-seven thousand dollars plus--thirty-seven thousand four hundred and six dollars (\$37,406) that should have been disclosed, and only twenty thousand nine hundred and twenty-five (20,925) were disclosed. Again, that's about a sixteen-thousand-dollar (\$16,000) difference.

You add those first two quarters together, and right there you have over fifty thousand (50,000), over sixty thousand dollars (\$60,000) that were not disclosed in the first two quarters of an election year.

Now, as Ms. Strach testified, everybody understands that when these disclosure reports are filed, mistakes can be made. Everybody understands

that. We're all human. And particularly when you're dealing with large amounts of money, it's easy to miss a check here or there or to miss a contribution or to fail to get it into the right report. Everyone understands that happens. But you heard Ms. Strach testify that in the seven years that she has been overseeing these audits this was the worst she had ever seen in terms of contributions' not being disclosed. She has audited, as she said, accounts that are worth over a million dollars, that regularly have over a million dollars in them, and she has never seen this level of nondisclosure.

I would submit to you that when you see the pattern that is in Exhibit 15 and compare it to the disclosure reports in Exhibits 16A through G, when you see that, every single reporting period, there is a failure to disclose contributions, and when you see that in some reporting periods that failure is stark, twenty-eight thousand dollars (\$28,000) in contributions received and zero reported--everybody makes mistakes, but I put it to you that a candidate is going to know if he has received twenty-eight thousand dollars (\$28,000) in

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-127-

contributions during three-month quarter of the year. He's going to know that zero is not the correct answer in filing a disclosure report. If you've received that much money, you know you have received some money in that quarter, and you don't report zero dollars.

There were actually, as you can see when you look through here, one, two, three, four, five reporting periods in which zero contributions were disclosed. In one of those, it was a low amount of contribution, seven hundred and fifty dollars (\$750). In the others, it was at least a thousand, two thousand. 2005 it was three thousand five hundred and fifty-nine dollars (\$3,559).

There just exist too many discrepancies here for this to be accidental, for it to be sloppy bookkeeping or for it to be an oversight. There just are too many failures to disclose here. And as I said, when you see that that failure sometimes results in reporting no contributions when there are in fact over twenty-eight thousand dollars (\$28,000) in contributions, I submit it is simply unreasonable to believe that's a mistake or that it's sloppy bookkeeping.

Now, you have heard some other evidence through Ms. Strach about Representative Wright's campaign finances, about the expenditures, about expenditures that were overreported, when, for example, they could find a check paid to a media outlet for one amount, and the disclosure that, as best they can tell, is supposed to reflect that expenditure is for a few thousand dollars more. You heard her say that they found in his accounts close to, her recollection was, two hundred thousand dollars (\$200,000) in expenditures that should have been reported that were not reported.

Now, those don't go directly to the count you have in front of you. The count you have against Representative Wright is that he failed to disclose. But I would submit to you the count also says that he engaged in a pattern of conduct. And I would submit to you you can consider the other evidence you have heard with regard to expenditures which were not reported, with regard to the fact that in 2007 no reports have been filed--were filed, that you can consider that at no time since 2000 has Representative Wright ever amended a campaign-finance report that he had filed. I think

-128-

-139-

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you can consider all of those things in determining that the failure to disclose the one hundred and eighty thousand dollars (\$180,000) was in fact part of a pattern. It was a pattern to withhold from the public knowledge contributions that Representative Wright was receiving, who those contributions came from in some instances, and how those contributions were being used.

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Ms. Strach was exactly right. As this Committee knows, until 2006 it was legal to use campaign funds for personal purposes, but you had to disclose it so that the voters knew that's what you were doing, so that the people who gave to your campaign knew that's what you were doing. There was no disclosure here. And I submit to you that those things taken together show overwhelmingly a pattern of conduct designed to hide from the voters of North Carolina, designed to hide from the people where Representative Wright's support was coming from and what he was doing with the money that came to him.

We said at the outset those rules are in place to protect the electoral process. They're also in place to protect the integrity of the House

of Representatives. They're in place to protect the House from any allegation that someone's vote might be being bought in considering a specific piece of legislation. When a piece of legislation is being considered, anyone in the State can look and see if a legislator who might—who will be voting on it, who might be a position of influence with regard to that bill can look and see if that legislator's support is coming from somewhere that would call into question, for a better way of putting it, whether the legislator's vote has been bought. It's there to protect the members of the House, as well as the members of the public.

And in this case, the evidence is clear that Representative Wright tried to evade that and did evade it. He acted to evade anyone being able to know where the contributions were coming from or how many there were or what was being done with them.

I put to you that hits at the heart, I believe, of what is ethical and unethical conduct for a legislator. It goes directly to the public's ability to have faith in the electoral process. It goes directly to the public's ability to have faith

-131-

in the legislative process, because it feeds the perception that deals might be made behind closed doors, that things are not out in the open, that government is not running for the benefit of the people in the open.

I do not believe any reasonable observer can look at the evidence that has come in, particularly through Ms. Strach, and come to any conclusion other than Representative Wright was intentionally failing to disclose these contributions. And I do not believe that any reasonable obser--observer can look at that and say that did not harm the integrity of the House, and it did not harm the integrity of the electoral process, and that as a result, it was without question unethical conduct for a legislator to engage in.

Thank you.

THE CHAIR: Thank you very much, Mr.

Peters.

Mr. Hart.

 $$\operatorname{MR}.$$  HART: Thank you, Mr. Chairman, members of the Committee.

This is a solemn and sad occasion. I

don't believe that there is anyone here that really wants to be here today doing what we're doing. We've all taken this very seriously through the entire process. We've been involved in a very painstaking process to determine the truth about the allegations contained in the charges that are set forth before you. None of us would like to believe that a member of this House has done the things that are set forth in these charges.

-132-

But I believe that what we have done over the course of this week is to present to you through a number of witnesses, all of whom I would suggest to you are very credible--and I'll talk about that later. But what we have presented to you is a pattern, a several-year pattern, from 2000 through 2006, of unethical and improper conduct by one of your members.

What we have seen is evidence of fraud.

We have seen ev--evidence of a violation of trust.

Think about some of the witnesses that came
forward, Torlen Wade, Dan Gottovi. Think about how
they testified about how they trusted this man, how
they believed in him, had no idea that he could be
taking them down the wrong road. They trusted him,

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and they acted in reliance on that to their detriment, to our detriment, to the people of the State of North Carolina's detriment.

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We've heard evidence of all kinds of unauthorized activities. And as Mr. Peters said, even though some of the testimony of Kim Strach about the expenditures and other violations that are not specifically contained in the one count about a pattern of disclosures, failure to disclose, all of those instances, all of those—all of that evidence of unauthorized activity is corroborating evidence, evidence that you can use to decide whether you believe that Representative Wright acted unethically and engaged in a pattern

of conduct in all of the counts that are presented

You have also heard evidence of deceit, evidence of concealment, evidence of abuse of power and influence. You've heard Torlen Wade talk about how he wouldn't have done what he did if Representative Wright had not been a member of the legislature, chairman of one of the committees that he had to deal with, and a member of the appropriations subcommittee that he had to deal

with. You've heard evidence of conversion, which is similar to other words that you're familiar with, theft and embezzlement.

You've heard evidence of intentional violation of campaign laws. And as Mr. Peters so aptly point out to you, we're not talking about just some minor violations that anyone may make simply by oversight, inadvertence, things of that nature. What we have seen, what you have seen, what we have presented to you is a striking pattern of impropriety.

We have seen evidence of an attitude of entitlement. The term "sweat equity" shouts entitlement, and it's inappropriate. And I submit to you we have seen evidence of arrogance, arrogance that he could take the power that he has, the influence he has, and abuse it over a period of time in the way that we have shown that he has.

Our job has been to present evidence to you. And it's now your job to decide whether that evidence shows you--whether that evidence is clear and convincing evidence that shows you that Representative Wright has actually committed the acts that are contained in all of the counts that

-135-

are before you.

before you.

How do you go about doing that? You have to do similar to--similarly to what jurors do. You, as judges would tell jurors, have to determine the credibility of witnesses. You had an opportunity to have many of the people involved in Representative Wright's scheming over the last seven years to--to be here before you where you could look them in the eye. You could determine for yourselves whether you believe any--none or any part of what those witnesses told you. You've had an opportunity to look at all the documents that were presented to you and match those documents up against what those witnesses say.

And you've had corroborating evidence.
When a witness testifies and there is some document
or another piece of evidence that's offered by
another witness, you can look at whether that
evidence corroborates what one witness says and
might make you believe that witness even more
simply because there's supporting evidence to that.

Those are the tools that you're going to use. And I ask you to think about those as I take you through the several counts that Mr. Peters did

already speak about.

And the first count I want to talk about is Count 1. And in some ways perhaps this is the most disturbing count, because it directly involves Representative's Wright pos--Wright's position as a legislator. I submit to you if you think about the testimony of both Torlen Wade and Ronnie Burbank. I contend to you that what happened in this case is that Representative Wright wanted to buy this building down in Wilmington for the purposes that you've heard about, and I believe that -- that Dr. Gottovi and Torlen Wade believed that he was certainly going to do that--and maybe he was--but that he was running into a problem because he didn't have the money. He had an opportunity to buy a piece of property. He didn't have the money. And yet he needed to have the money to be able to purchase the property.

And when he went to the bank and he told them that what he was going to do is to repay it with money that he obtained from state and federal financing, that what happened was he realized he was going to have to come up with some kind of documentation to that effect. And that's when he -137-

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went to Torlen Wade. And you remember--you--there was a small part of Torlen Wade's testimony where he said that when he got the phone call from Representative Wright, there was a tone of urgency. There was an insistence in what Representative Wright was asking him to do in signing a letter that Torlen Wade didn't feel comfortable doing.

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He talked about the fact that

Representative Wright said, "I need you to give me
a letter of commitment, letter saying that--that
you're going to provide me with a hundred and fifty
thousand dollars (\$150,000) in funds to support
this museum project." And Torlen Wade said, "No, I
can't do that. You know I can't do that." And
Representative Wright said, "Well, we--yeah, you
can. We can--here's what we can do. We can--we
can say that--that it's partly because we're going
to put some medical facilities in there, something
to serve the--the--the health, which--which is in
your--in your bailiwick."

And Torlen Wade said, "Well, you know, we've got a process. You know, there would have to be"--he told you all about the process they'd have to go through. If they were going to do this, if

he were actually going to be authorized to commit these funds, he had to go through a formal process where Representative Wright would have had to present him with the project plans, what part the museum was going to play, where the funding was coming for--from for the museum, what part was going to be funding needed for the--the portion that was going to be for the health center. And all that was going to have to be formalized and go through a process, and then he would be able to commit to that small portion that was part of the health center. That was the only authority he had, and only if he went through that process.

And he tried to explain that to

Representative Wright, but Representative Wright

wouldn't listen to him. Said, "No, I want you to

do this. And, look, I'm not going to come back to

you for that money. All I need is a letter saying

I've got it. Even if you can't commit, I want a

letter from you saying that you can commit and that

you are committing so that I can take that to a

financial institution." That's what Torlen Wade

told you. And he told you he felt pressured

because of Representative Wright's position as a

-139-

legislator, as chairman of the committee that he dealt with as part of the appropriation's committee. And he told you because of that and his longstanding association with Representative Wright and his belief that he was trying to do a good thing, that he succumbed, and he agreed to do that letter.

And then you've seen the documents.

You've seen the e-mail from Representative Wright
to Torlen Wade. And he very careful set out-Representative Wright very careful set out exactly
what he knew he needed to have to be able to go to
Coastal Federal Bank. And he laid it all out there
and had it faxed to Torlen Wade. And that's
Exhibit Number 2 in your packet.

And I'd ask you to compare that to
Exhibit Number 3, the letter. Torlen Wade said he
essentially took the e-mail; he knew what
Representative Wright wanted him to say even though
he knew it was false. And he then put it in the
letter that's Exhibit Number 4. And he signed it,
and he sent it to Representative Wright two days
later.

That's essentially what Count 1 deals

with, all of what we've just talked about.

Did Representative Wright unethically and improperly go to Torlen Wade and solicit a false document? Is there any question in your mind?

Certainly by clear and convincing evidence. I would submit much higher than that. There should be no question in your mind that this was a false document and that Representative Wright solicited that document knowing that it was in fact a false document and that it was intended to be presented to a financial institution.

-140-

We now turn to Count 2. And this is sort of the--the second part of Count 1, if you will.

Count 1 was the--the first step in this scheme of Representative Wright. He then took the letter that he had Torlen Wade send him. And if you notice, the letter is--falls between the March 5th, 2002, initial approval of the loan by Ronald Burbank--Ronnie Burbank--I believe that's Exhibit Number 5. No. I'm sorry. That's--that's Exhibit Number 4. Where they met on March 5th of 2002, and Ronnie Burbank made his initial notes as to what he was approving and why he was approving it. And it was just shortly after that that Representative

-141-

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Wright made the call to Torlen Wade and that the Torlen Wade letter was written and sent.

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And then between then and the first part of April, early April--I--I believe the testimony may have been April 5<sup>th</sup>. I can't recall the exact date. But between those two dates, Ronnie Burbank testified that Representative Wright presented him in some form or fashion--he couldn't remember whether it was hand-delivered by Representative Wright or whether it was faxed or--or sent in some--some fashion. But he testified that Representative Wright did present him with that Torlen Wade letter, the March 15th Torlen Wade letter, and that it was at least partly in reliance on that letter that the bank made the loan, that he recommended the loan and that the bank made the

Now, why is that important? Well, we--we know that--we know that the--the loan was eventually foreclosed. Maybe that would have happened anyway. We--we don't know. But the bottom line is that banks have a reason why they make inquiry as to how something is going to be repaid. They have a right to know what is going to

be the collateral, what is going to be the repayment method, how--what kind of a risk am I taking? Before they loan out their money, they have--have a right to ask these questions. And that's important. That's important to our banking industry and our--our--the foundations of our--of our civil society, that people can rely on people to tell the truth and to rely on documents they present to them to be accurate and truthful documents, not false documents that falsely commit to something that someone has no authority to commit to and that the bearer and presenter of knows that that person had no authority to commit to.

And Mr. Burbank was questioned at length about that document. And he was unshaken. You-again, you've got to decide credibility. If Torlen Wade and Ronnie Burbank--Ronnie Burbank didn't really seem to have much of a relationship with Representative Wright. He knew he--who he was. They had some dealings. He wasn't in the position that Torlen Wade and--and Dan Gottovi were in terms of perhaps being led astray by their past dealings and the trust relationship that they had. But he

-143-

certainly relied on that letter that was presented to him. And I would submit to you that he was a very credible witness. He had nothing to gain from coming in here and telling you what he--what he told you.

Same situation with Torlen Wade.

Torlen-Torlen Wade didn't have anything to gain.

I'm cer--I'm certain that was embarrassing for him to come in here and tell you what happened. He lost his job over this. But he came in here, and he told you what he did, that he had done something that was wrong, something that he never should have done, something that was false, something that that man--(indicating)--asked him to do.

Ronnie Burbank testified that at least in part, he relied on that letter. And that certainly is fraud. And certainly fraud is something that is unethical and improper for a member of the House of Representatives of North Carolina. I would submit to you that both Counts 1 and Count 2, the special counsel has presented more than sufficient evidence for you to find by clear and convincing evidence that those charges have been proven.

Counts 3, 4, and 5 I'm going to treat

together. Those counts all deal with
Representative Wright soliciting corporations to
make charitable contributions to the Community
Health Foundation, Incorporated, a foundation that
he helped incorporate with Dan Gottovi and a couple
of others, of which he apparently was president.
We're not sure about that, but at least there's
been some testimony that everybody thought he was
president. We don't know, because we haven't seen
any bylaws. We have testimony that no bylaws were
ever approved.

-144-

We do know, though, from the evidence that's been presented, that he did send three documents to those corporations. And here's how we know it. Representative Wright admitted that he sent the letters to Anheuser-Busch and AstraZeneca. You heard that from Agent Umphlet, that Representative Wright looked at those letters that you have before you, Exhibits Number 6 and 8, and that he specifically admitted that he had those documen--that he prepared those documents and signed those documents and sent them to those organizations.

And I'd ask you to read the language in

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each of those documents. And it's clearly--it's interesting. The language is a little bit different in each one of those. But what--what I would suggest, in--in the Anheuser- Busch, he talks about funding the museum. In the AstraZeneca letter, he talks about wanting to be able to help the underserved population in New Hanover County in dealing with their medical needs, certainly something that AstraZeneca Pharmaceuticals might be more interested in than Anheuser-Busch might have been interested in. But he care--very carefully tailored his solicitation letters to these corporations, and he specifically told them that it was a charitable cor--contribution that he sought. And he mentioned the 501C3 designation, that they had in fact--they were in fact--that Community Health and Foun--Foundation, Incorporated, was a charitable cor--contri--corporation under 501C3. Now, there's been some question about

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Now, there's been some question about that, was--was it or wasn't it. It's not necessary for you to determine in deciding the Counts 3, 4, and 5. If you notice the language of those counts, we did not draft those counts specifically saying that he falsely represented that he was a

charitable cor--corporation under 501C3. We simply stated in those counts that he said in his letters that he was a charitable corporation, a 501C3 corporation. What is clear is that after soliciting that money from each of those corporations as a charitable contribution, he then deposited those checks in his own personal account, something he had no authority to do. And I'll talk about that in a minute.

By this own admission to Agent Umphlet, he did take each of those three checks that you have in evidence, and he deposited them in his--what has been referred to, the commingled account, which was a personal account slash campaign account. But there's no question that he took those monies which were intended as a charitable contribution by these corporations and that he deposited them in his own account.

John Policastro testified as to the AT&T solicitation. We don't have a letter there. If you remember, what he testified was that there had been an inquiry where someone from the Community Health Foundation, Incorporated, had made inquiry about getting a contribution from AT&T and how they

-147-

would go about doing that. And Policastro let that person know, someone within the agen--within the corporation, that what had to happen was there had to be an invoice from that corporation. And then some time after that, an invoice comes in with the letterhead of the Community Health Foundation, Incorporated, the same essential letterhead as on those two letters. Also has Thomas Wright's name on the--the letterhead of the invoice. And specifically for the fifteen-hundred-dollar (\$1,500) amount that had been indicated about the inquiry having been made.

Now, Representative Wright in talking to Agent Umphlet did not admit that he remembered that particular invoice. Said there was something about it. He wasn't sure. He didn't specifically say absolutely no, as I recall. But he did admit that he had solicited a fifteen-hundred-dollar (\$1,500) contribution from AT&T as a charitable donation to the Community Health Foundation. So I would submit to you that what—what you have, then, is clear and convincing evidence that he did solicit charitable contributions from each of those three organizations in the amounts indicated and that he

did deposit those monies in his own account. The question is was he entitled to do that.

-148-

Well, there's been a lot of talk. And again, I would submit to you, ladies and gentleman, one of the things you have to look at is the -- the credibility of -- of the witnesses. And I would submit to you that even more so than Torlen Wade. Dan Gottovi, Dr. Gottovi, had a -- a longstanding relationship with Representative Wright. And Mr. Joyner brought that out very fully, talked about the family relationship and all they'd done over the years. And they've done a lot. And--and Dr. Gottovi was involved in a lot of the projects that Representative Wright had been involved in over the years. No question about it. And I would submit to you that Dr. Gottovi's testimony may have changed a little bit from time to time about what really happened in terms of bylaws and meetings and authority.

I think Dr. Gottovi felt very pained having to be here and testifying to some of the things he had to testify about. And I think there may have been times where he wanted to give Representative Wright the benefit of the doubt,

-149-

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that maybe some of those times that they had lunch together or happened to see each other somewhere were board meetings perhaps. But that's not the law in North Carolina. There are specific laws involving nonprofit corporations. It's called the North Carolina Nonprofit Corporation Act. In Article 2, under organization, Statute 55A--excuse me--55A dash 2 dash 03, under incorporation, says, "Unless a delayed effective date is specified, the corporate existence begins when the articles of incorporation are filed."

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So that corporation actually began, if you look at Exhibit 1, on April 18th, 2001. It was no longer in the planning stages. It was no longer a steering committee. That corporation was in existence on April 18th, 2001. The incorporator's job was completed, and it was now up to the board of directors under the bylaws to run the corporation.

General Statute 55A dash 2 dash 06, bylaws. The incorporators or board of directors of a corporation shall adopt initial bylaws for the corporation. That's a requirement by statute. The evidence before you is that that was never done.

We've heard some vague talk about there may be some bylaws somewhere. We haven't seen any. But the testimony was, from--from Dan Gottovi, that they never met and approved any bylaws. And that was a job that the incorporators had to do. They didn't do it. There were no bylaws. Therefore, there was no--nothing to authorize anybody to take any action at all.

In Article 3, purposes and powers, there is a Statute 55A dash 3 dash 02 involving the general powers of a corporation. And certainly corporation has—has a number of powers to be able to purchase property, to be able to conduct affairs, to make contracts and guarantees, all those things. But again, that has to be under the authority of the bylaws of the corporation, and there were none.

In Article 8, General Statute 55A dash 8 dash 01, requirement for and duties of board.

Under Subsection B, all corporate powers shall be exercised by or under the authority of and the affairs of the corporation managed under the direction of its board of directors as--except as otherwise provided in the articles of

-151-

 $$\rm -152-$\,$  head Dr. Gottovi. There were no meetings. There were no bylaws. There were no meetings. There

were no minutes. There were never actually any official actions by the--the board of--of the

Community Health Foundation, Incorporated.

Significant.

You've heard the expression coined in this case by Representative Wright "sweat equity." He talked to Johnnie Umphlet about what he thought he deserved based upon his number of hours that he had worked for the foundation. And that's all well and good. But I believe, ladies and gentlemen of the Committee, that there are folks all over North Carolina every day that are board members of nonprofit corporations who don't get a dime for anything that they do, who are not authorized to dip into the corporate till and take money at their pleasure.

incorporation. What you heard from Dr. Gottovi was

that the board never authorized any of the actions

of Representative Wright, never authorized him to

put that money into his own account. And that's

And in fact, by statute, again, that's covered. General Statute 55A dash 8 dash 12, compensation of directors. Unless the articles of incorporation provide otherwise, a board of directors may fix the compensation of directors.

Was there any testimony that there was any compensation fixed for the directors? No. You

Meetings and action of the board, Part 2 of that article, Section 55A dash 8 dash 20, regular and special meetings, Subsection A. The board of directors may hold regular or special meetings in or out of this state. Subsection B. Unless the articles of corp--incorporation or by--bylaws provide otherwise, the board of directors may permit any or all directors to participate in a regular or special meeting by or conduct the meeting through use of any means of communication by which all directors participating may simultaneously hear each other during the meeting. A director participating in a meeting by this means is deemed to be present and in person at the meeting.

Action without meeting, Section 55A dash 8 dash 21. Unless the articles of incorporation or by--bylaws provide otherwise, action required or permitted by this chapter to be taken at a board of

-153-

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directors' meeting may be taken without a meeting if the action is taken by all members of the board. The action shall be evidenced by one or more written consents signed by each director before or after such action, describing the action taken and included in the minutes or filed with the corporate records reflecting the action taken.

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There has been absolutely no evidence of any kind of written consent by any of the purported board members of the Community Health Foundation, Incorporated, for Agent--for Representative Wright to be able to do any of the things he did in converting the charitable contributions to his own personal use.

And the last statute I'd cite you to is in Part 3 of that article, Section 55A dash 8 dash 30, general standards for directors. A director shall discharge his duties as a director, including his duties as a member of a committee, one, in good faith, two, with the care an ordinarily prudent person in like position would exercise under similar circumstances, and, three, in a manner the directory--director reasonably believes to be in the best interests of the corporation.

I believe that goes towards the ethics of what he did here, as well as the--the conversion, which is a crime, and the fraud involved in soliciting a charitable contribution that he apparently intended to convert to his own use. But you have him violating the trust that he owed to the Community Health Foundation, Incorporated, as a director and--and member of the board.

I would submit to you, members of the Committee, that as to Counts 4--3, 4, and 5, once again, special counsel has presented evidence to you which should certainly convince you by that clear and convincing evidence that Representative Wright has committed the acts charged in those counts.

And the last count that I'm going to adaddress is count 8. And if you examine that, that count is essentially a summary type of count. It alleges a pattern of conduct which very much tracks all of the activity in Counts 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5. And for all of the reasons that I have laid out to you from the evidence, I would submit to you that we have, again, shown to you by clear and convincing evidence that Representative Wright has

-155-

committed the acts contained in that count.

Now, in a few minutes, Mr. Joyner is--is going to come up, and he'll argue to you. Remember that much of what you heard in terms of questions that Mr. Joyner asked during the hearing where he was seeking some kind of answer that he hoped might help Representative Wright, oftentimes he didn't get the answer he -- he was hoping for. He threw some speculation out there as to what might have been Representative Wright's motives or what might have been valid authority for him to do something or what might have been a valid explanation that might cause you not to find one of these counts. But where is the evidence? There simply is no evidence to counter the clear and convincing evidence that we have presented to you that Representative Wright is guilty of each one of these counts before you.

I would ask you to listen carefully to Mr. Joyner and his argument. Listen carefully to any instructions that the Chair might have as to other areas of the law that I have not covered. And special counsel would ask you to find that Representative Wright has committed each of the

violations that are alleged in the counts before vou.

 $\label{eq:theory} \mbox{THE CHAIR: All right. Thank you very}$   $\mbox{much, Mr. Hart.}$ 

Dr. Joyner, closing argument for Representative Wright. And, Dr. Joyner, when you get up to the podium, if you'll switch that other switch off. With your other mike on, it'll--so-thank you.

 $\label{eq:prof.JOYNER:} I'\text{m going to try this}$  thing out. Know how it's going to work.

Clearly this has been an unusual experience in many ways. I'm used to arguing before a jury. And there have been references made to you as jurors. But we all know that you're not. And the protections which are provided for defendants in most proceedings where there are jurors aren't present here. Jurors have not served as the originators of the complaint. You have. You have grand jurors that will look at claims from a prosecutor and will issue an indictment that brings the person before the court. But the members of that grand jury don't sit as jurors at the trial.

-157-

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And in this situation, you received from Mr. Peters and Mr. Hart information about the claims against Representative Wright. And at that time, you made the determination that there was probable cause to believe that they were true. I--I don't know what documentation they provided to you for you to reach that conclusion. But clearly you reached that conclusion, and that's evidenced by--by yet this second revised notice of charges. And merely by doing that, you attested to the fact that you believed that these charges were probably true. So you don't sit here as--as jurors.

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The other issue has to do with the prosecution of the case. You sit as prosecutors in this case. Now, clearly the four of you did not do a whole lot in that regard. You asked questions. But the chair and the vice-chair did. Mr. Stams (sic) even went out and found evidence, documents that neither Mr. Peters nor Mr. Hart brought in to present as evidence in this matter, and wanted to present it himself. So he was clearly not serving as a juror. He was serving as an adjunct to the prosecution. So I'm not--I'm not used to coming before the body with that.

And then in every trial in North

Carolina, and indeed in every trial in America,
every trial in America, the evidence upon which the
jury reaches its verdict is only the evidence
that's presented from the witness chair under oath.

Clearly that is not the situation in this case,
because while you did hear testimony from
witnesses, there was other evidence presented
without the benefit of witnesses that you have in
your possession and you have reviewed.

Case in point: Mr. Stams (sic) brought in two documents, a--an application for business credit and a settlement statement, neither of which Mr. Peters nor Mr. Hart intended or attempted to get introduced. And he circulated them to everybody in here. You got a copy of it. You got a copy of it. And then he wanted to ask questions about it. But that's in your package of evidence.

Now, jur--jurors--jurors would not be in receipt of this type of extraneous evidence not presented from the witness chair under oath.

And in fact, at a real trial--at--at a real trial in North Carolina and the rest of America, the judge would instruct the jurors,

-159-

"Don't go out and look for information. Don't go to the site. Don't conduct any research. Don't conduct any tests. But keep yourself in a position that you can decide this case based on the evidence presented from the witness chair right there." And that's why you have a witness chair, and that's why you swear witnesses.

Is this impartial? Is this impartial, where the person who is being tried walks into the chambers with a presumption of innocence? Not here. Not here. Representative Wright did not come into this chamber protected by the presumption of innocence, because you had already removed that presumption from him when you issued these claims. So is this fair and impartial? Not in America. Not in North Carolina. Maybe in some foreign land it would be, but not here.

Now, I--I do understand that this is the General Assembly. And because this is the General Assembly, you can do pretty doggone well what you want to do. But I want to know--I want you to know that as I start, that I recognize the hill that I have to climb, and I know that I'm trying to walk up a slippery slope. I recognize that from the

outset, basically because of the things that I've just said. So we might make this pronouncement that we sit as jurors, but the reality is contrary to that. This is not that situation. And I understand the political nature of these proceedings. And with that, I want to address some of the claims.

-160-

Your charge for your rules say that you have to find by clear, cogent, and convincing evidence that Representative Wright has committed the acts described here. And I will say to you that what you have instead of clear, cogent, and convincing evidence is evidence that is murky, confusing, and disconnected. Nothing clear about it. Nothing cogent about it. Nothing convincing about it.

And I want to start with Counts 1, 2, and 8. Mr. Hart dealt with 1 and 2 first and then summarized 8 as a--they're all duplications of--of the same thing, 1, 2, and 8. And Counts 1, 2, and 8 deals with the solicitation or the granting of a loan for a hundred and fifty dollars (sic) for the purpose of purchasing a building in Wilmington that could be used as a 1898 Wil--Wilmington Memorials

-161-

museum, office space for the Community Health 1 14 was not admitted into evidence, so it is not 2 Foundation, office space for the Community Health relevant to closing argument. 2 PROF. JOYNER: Exhibit 14 was discussed. Center that needed space to grow. 3 And I think that the documents that's It was presented in the package to mem--your--your been--that have--that have been presented here body. And as such, it is in evidence. Even though 5 5 amply supports the conclusion that the Community the document itself was not introduced, it was a Health Foundation -- and I want to just look at part of the evidence presented in this session. Exhibit 1, articles of incorporation -- that that was THE CHAIR: Exhibit 14 is not--correct me filed with the North Carolina Secretary of State, 9 9 if I'm wrong, members. But I had Exhibit 14 10 that that was accepted by the North Carolina 10 pulled, so you should not have Exhibit 14 in your notebooks. Am I correct? 11 Secretary of State and registered as a nonprofit 11 corporation in the State of North Carolina. To 12 Exhibit 14, since it was not pursued, was 13 that point, there is no disagreement. 13 pulled from the beginning. And we can further say, if you look at PROF. JOYNER: Mr. Chairman, we discussed 14 14 Exhibit 14, Exhibit 14 deals with the articles of 15 15 incorporation of the Community Health Foundation, THE CHAIR: That were the -- I will 16 16 and that articles -- and those articles of certainly let you talk about information that you 17 17 incorporation were signed by the Secretary of want. But the exhibit itself and nothing in the 18 18 State. exhibit's in evidence. 2.0 REP. STAM: Objection. 2.0 PROF. JOYNER: So a corporation was 21 MR. HART: Yeah, Mr. Chairman, that--21 accomplished. And then there was evidence that the 22 REP. STAM: Exhibit 14 was never 22 Community Health Foundation received an employer's 23 introduced. 23 identification number from the Internal Revenue 24 THE CHAIR: Objection sustained. Exhibit 24 Service, Tax Identification Number 562252434.

-163-

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There's no dispute about that. And that is the tax exempt number--tax identification number which appears in at least one--two of the letters that we'll talk about later on. These are official actions taken in furtherance of establishing the existence of the Community Health Foundation. And to that, there is no--no dispute.

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There is evidence, a document in the file, Exhibit 3, of a letter from Torlen Wade addressed to Thomas Wright, chairperson of the Community Health Foundation, that letter being issued on March 15th, 2002. Passed out to you but not formally introduced into evidence was a business credit application that Mr. Stams (sic) found and sought to question.

MR. HART: Objection. I don't believe that's ever been passed out to the Committee.

THE CHAIR: Hold for a minute on the objection. I--I want to make sure about that.

Think the document was initially passed out and retrieved immediately when I denied admission. But because it at least was discussed, I think Dr. Joyner has the right to discuss the information that was discussed about it, the

questions about it. Again, the document itself is not admissive--admitted; it's not in evidence; and it's not before the Committee.

-164-

REP. STAM: Mr. Chairman, if--if I could just recollect, actually no questions were allowed about it when Dr. Joyner objected to it. I asked why they would object to it, since it was signed by his client. But their objection was sustained.

THE CHAIR: Well, that's my recollection, as well. But I'm going to let Dr. Joyner argue as he wishes about that without direct reference to anything that wasn't talked about in any way, shape, or form by others. But at least the document's not in; the document can't be referenced. But if there's information that was discussed by a witness, he can certainly talk about that.

PROF. JOYNER: Well, Mr. Chairman, the document was passed for the members, including yourself, to see. And when they saw it, obviously they saw the content of the document. It was not elaborated on in testimony, but it was circulated for the purpose of people seeing what the document spoke to.

-165-

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THE CHAIR: I will go ahead and let you argue your point, Dr. Joyner. But I am going to instruct the members, when I do instruct, that, again, that anything that was not admitted into evidence is not to be considered in their determination. So in terms of the documents—but I will go ahead and let you make your argument.

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 $\label{eq:prof.condition} {\tt PROF.\ JOYNER:\ Thank\ you,\ Mr.\ Chairman.}$  I appreciate that.

Business credit application with the Coastal Federal Bank from the Community Health Foundation with the same tax ID number--identification number that I referenced before dated February 22nd, 2002, for the purchase of a building, a hundred and fifty thousand dollars (\$150,000). That's the application.

In your packet and introduced into evidence is Exhibit Number 4. And Exhibit Number 4 is the approval document which Mr. Burbank testified about and to which there is considerable reliance upon it. And it is a--a document of approval, because it says in the document that the loan requested by the Community Health Foundation was approved. And that document is signed by R.

Burbank, who was the loan officer who had the authority to approve that loan. But what is important—important about this document is, one, that it does not note a need for a letter or any other documentation from Representative Wright in order to secure this mortgage money.

You--you can look at all over. And some of your have purchased homes. And you know that if there is a condition which has to be satisfied before a mortgage is granted, it is in the file in order that that condition can be satisfied before the loan is granted. Yet, in this situation on March 5th, 2002, we have a notice of approval which does not mention the necessity of a letter, document, or any other information that is a precondition to getting this loan. It's not there.

It notes that the primary source of repayment, not guarantee, will be state and federal government grants, which is a projection. Anytime you get a loan, you get a mortgage, and they talk about how you're going to repay it, it's a projection. I mean, if it's your job and your income, your salary, that's a projection, because the next day, you might just lose your job. So

-167-

that's a projection. It's not a guarantee. It's a projection. If things are as we see them now, they can repay this from their wages or from grant money from state and federal government. And then secondarily, they listed the equity in the building, because the worth of the building exceeded the amount of the loan.

Clear, cogent, and convincing. Clear, cogent, and convincing evidence. Clear, cogent, and convincing evidence is needed to show that this letter was used for the purpose of getting this loan. It wasn't.

Well, how else-how else do you know--how else would you support that notion?

else would you support that notion?

I recall Mr. Burbank testifying that he was pretty unclear about the dates that things occurred. He testified that at some point, without specific reference, that he knew about a letter. He knew about a letter. But he couldn't tell us when that was. But from the documentation, it wasn't on March 5<sup>th</sup>, when he approved this loan. And I recall asking Mr. Burbank when the SBI agents came, when the files of the Coastal Federal Bank was reviewed, was the letter in the file. And the

answer was no. The answer was no. The answer was  ${\bf no}$ 

-168-

Why is that important? Because if it was a document on which he relied to grant a loan for a hundred and fifty thousand dollars (\$150,000), you know where it would have been? In the file. So that if the auditors came in to find out why he gave that loan and that was a precondition, the record would be clear that that was a condition. It was not in the file.

SBI Umphlet was asked about this, "Well, where did you get the letter?" Say, "Well, I got it from two or three different sources. I got it from Kim Strach. I got it from another agent. I got it from the files of Health and Human Resources."

Among the missing situses (phonetic) for that letter was the Coastal Federal Bank. They subpoenaed the records from the Coastal Federal Bank, and not included in that file was this letter. And you know why it wasn't in there? Because he did not have it, did not need it, did not require it at the point that he approved this loan.

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Torlen Wade's letter is dated on, well,
March 15th. The approval date of this loan is
March 5th. Torlen Wade's letter is written on
March 15th. If it's written on March 15th, in the
day of Pony Express, it gets to Wilmington by March
16th, by snail mail March 17th, by e-mail
instantaneously. But if it was by e-mail, it would
have come from Torlen Wade. And Mr. Burbank said,
"No, he--no, no, no. Wade did not send me a
letter. I don't know who I got it from. I could
have gotten it from Tommy Wright. I could have. I
don't know who I got it from. But it did not come
from Torlen Wade." So the e-mail option is out.
Let's go on. So it had to be by Pony
Express or snail mail. No matter which mail you

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Express or snail mail. No matter which mail you use, it's ten days after the loan was approved. You've got to explain that discrepancy. You've got to explain it.

Burbank, who is a career banker, is going to rely on a letter to guarantee a loan and doesn't get it for almost two weeks after he approved a loan for a hundred and fifty thousand dollars (\$150,000)? Well, I understand a hundred and fifty thousand dollars (\$150,000) is not a lot of money

for them. I understand that. I understand that. I understand that. To most of us, yeah. But you don't make a loan for a hundred and fifty thousand dollars (\$150,000) in which you have not satisfied the conditions that you set. You don't do it.

This letter was not a condition of that loan, because had it been a condition of this loan, there would have been some documentation of that need somewhere in that file, somewhere, on the file cover, on the printout sheet of things that we need to get, or on a notice, or on the note in the closing package to the attorney that's closing the loan that we need to have this information. It is not there.

We're talking about clear, cogent, and convincing evidence. Now, if that's clear, cogent, and convincing to you on their part, then clearly we're in a political determination. But as jurors, as jurors, the evidence is nonexistent, does not support that point. Doesn't support it.

Evidence does support a conclusion that
Torlen Wade wrote this letter, and he wrote the
letter at the request of Representative Wright.
There is absolutely no clear, cogent, and

-171-

convincing evidence that Representative Wright ever used this letter--ever used this--ever used this letter to secure a loan.

Representative--well, I'm getting him elected now. SBI Agent Umphlet testified that when he sat down and talked to Thomas Wright for nine hours, nine hours, almost as long as you've been here, for nine hours, voluntarily, came in without a lawyer, had his own video camera, and sat down and talked with Agent Umphlet for nine hours. He told him exactly the same thing. He said, "I got the letter from Torlen Wade, and I asked him to do it. And I'm sorry that I asked him to do it, because I got him in a lot of trouble." That's what he told Agent Umphlet. He didn't say, "No, Wade is lying." Said, "I did it." That's what he said. And he said, "I'm sorry I did it. But I didn't use the letter to get a loan. I didn't need the letter to get a loan. Didn't need a letter to get a loan." And the record supports exactly what he said to Agent Umphlet.

Now, anything else is speculation.

Anything else is speculation. But the physical evidence does not support a conclusion that this

letter was used by Thomas Wright for the purpose of securing this loan for a hundred and fifty thousand dollars (\$150,000).

-172-

Murky, confusing, and disconnected is not the standard that supports a conclusion that he used the letter for the purpose--the fraudulent purpose of inducing the Coastal Federal Bank to grant a loan.

Going to just move, as Mr. Hart did, to Claims 3, 4, and 5. 3, 4, and 5. These claims deal with the solicitation of grants from AT&T, AstraZeneca Pharmaceuticals, and Anheuser-Busch. AstraZeneca Pharmaceuticals, a medical concern; Anheuser-Busch, a cause for medical concern; AT&T. That's interesting.

Mr. Policastro came in here to testify, and his testimony was really quite amazing. I mean, it really--it--it was really quite amazing, because obviously he was a bigwig in the giving line, in the giving line at AT&T. But, you know, I--I remember his--his testimony. And--and you'll have to remember it for yourself. But he said, "You know, I was sitting there at my desk one day, and I got a call from one of our people."

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number.

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Later on, when asked, he said that it was

Larry Bra--Breely--Breely--Bewley, Larry Bewley.

Remember that? That's what he said--right?--from

right up--right up there. "And I was asked how

do--how do--how do--how do I get a grant, 'cause I

got these people that want to get a grant. So what

do we have to do to get it?" And he said that he

provided his people, not a representative of the

Community Health Foundation, his people, Larry

Breeley, with that information and subsequently

received this letter from the Community Health

Foundation that was signed by Thomas Wright.

Well, he didn't say. He said he received

an invoice, Exhibit 11. Exhibit 11. He didn't

say, "I received a letter where someone from the

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well, he didn't say. He said he received an invoice, Exhibit 11. Exhibit 11. He didn't say, "I received a letter where someone from the Community Health Foundation requested a grant."

Instead, he said, "I received an invoice, an invoice." And then he went on to identify Exhibit 11 as an invoice. And then he passed it on up the line. And somebody added the writing on the letter after that. And there are a number of marked—one is a PO number, which I assume is a purchase—order number, which sounds significant to me, because it's not a grant number but a purchase—order

And then he identified the check, Exhibit

13, for fifteen hundred dollars (\$1,500), which

went to the Community Health Foundation. And he

said that--that that check looked like the check

that A&T--AT&T sent to charitable organizations.

But it also looked like the check that they sent to

But it also looked like the check that they sent to other organizations. And it also looked like the check that they sent to vendors. And it also looked like the check that they sent to vendors. And it also looked—well, this is a check that looked like just about anything that AT&T was going to mail out. But that he thought that this was a charitable

There's nothing in this invoice that says anything about a charitable donation, charitable organization, or a request for a grant. It's an invoice. That happened, and the check went out.

This Committee makes the claim that AT&T was fraudulently induced to send this check to the Community Health Foundation. No one from AT&T has pres--presented themselves on that witness stand in that chair under oath to say that they were deceived, that they relied upon this invoice as a request for a charitable donation, and that it was

-175-

because of that representation or misrepresentation that they granted this fifteen hundred dollars (\$1,500). Not one person got up there under oath to say that.

Now, you might find--you might conclude that that's what happened. But if you do, it is pure T rank speculation, because there has been absolutely no evidence at all from this chair, that masquerades as a witness chair, which says that.

Now, Policastro is the strongest case, because they didn't even bring anybody in here from Anheuser-Busch. They didn't even bring anybody in here from AstraZeneca. Not one per--unless I went to sleep, because I know some people go to sleep during these things, you know what I'm saying? It gets warm in here, and people nod off. And then they come back an hour later saying, "What happened?"

But un--unless I went to sleep, not one person appeared in this room from Anheuser-Busch. Not one person appeared in this room from AstraZeneca. Yet you are asked to find by clear, cogent, and convincing evidence that they were mislead, that they received a representation that

proved to be false to--that caused them to grant, in the case of Anheuser-Busch, five thousand dollars (\$5,000), in the case of AstraZeneca, twenty-four hundred dollars (\$2,400). And if you do, it is supported by rank speculation, nothing else, rank speculation.

-176-

They had so much faith in this case that they didn't even bring anybody in here to testify to that, because it wasn't necessary, they thought, because the fix is in. Now, if you're going to be the jury, you--you--you need to act like you're going to be the jury and you're going to be objective and fair. And if you are objective and fair, Stevie Wonder can see that there's no evidence to support those two claims--those three claims.

Clear, cogent, and convincing evidence is needed to find in favor of your Claims 3, 4, and 5. And on these points, the evidence is more murky, more confusing, and more disconnecting than it is with the other three claims. The evidence does not support that conclusion.

Now, I know you can work it out, and you can sit down, and you can talk about what if. What

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if this happened? What if they had come in and said this, that, and the other? They didn't. They didn't. And if we're going to--unless we're going to be swamped by the masquerade, evidence has to be presented. It has not been presented. It has not been presented.

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It's not that it's not clear, cogent, and con--it's not present at all. It is not present at all. Say, "Well, we got -- we got a letter that was written to Anheuser-Busch." Yeah, you got a letter. "Well, we got an invoice to AstraZeneca." Well, you got an invoice. "We have a letter"--I'm sorry. A letter to An--AstraZeneca, invoice to AT&T. Clearly that's there. That's--that's there. But that's not the issue. The issue isn't the presence of the letter. The issue isn't the presence of the invoice. The issue is was there a representation made to these people which caused them -- which they relied upon, and, in reliance on that representation, they provided this grant. You can't find that conclusion unless somebody comes in here to testify to that. It doesn't exist.

Mr. Hart says that was fraud; that was deceit; that was concealment. In his mind. In his

mind. Where's the witness? Or--there's this old commercial. Well, I don't want to date myself.

But, you know, there's this commercial that asks,

"Where's the beef?" You remember that? "Where's the beef?"

Where's the beef? Where's the beef?"

If you are going to buy that claim, show me the beef. It has not been presented in this room. And there is nothing clear, cogent, and convincing about what we call in the law a failure of proof, a failure of proof, the inability to find evidence to support your claim. 'Cause anybody can make a claim. Anybody can make a claim. Proving it is another thing. And it has not been proven by clear, cogent, and con--it hasn't been proven by any standard. It does not even rise up to the "what if" standard.

Then we go--we go to the campaign contributions. My Lord, my Lord, my Lord.

Campaign contributions, an area of the law that absolutely nobody understands. Well, you might understand it better than most people. But based on what I heard from the chair here, from the witness chair, during this past year, five hundred

-179-

and sixty-nine reports were made from legislators or their treasurers to amend false reports from previous times dating back from 2006 as far back as 2001 and '2. Five hundred and sixty-nine just during this past year. I didn't ask her about last year and the year before that and the year before that. But in this past year, five hundred and sixty-nine re--you had more reports than you have legislators. You don't even have five hundred and sixty-nine legislators in the North Carolina General Assembly. You have five hundred and sixty-nine people who lied on their reports this past year, this past year.

And either there was mass confusion; there was mass--massive fraud; or there was massive intentional conduct designed to conceal campaign activities--campaign finance activities. Well, I know that new law came into being, and that probably sparked some of it.

There was a lot of talk about the importance and just how critical campaign-financing reporting is to the citizens of North Carolina.

And in fact, the statute seems to be very clear.

Within a specific period of time, you have to file

a report that truly and honestly reflects campaign contributions and disbursement. That's what the statute says.

-180-

Statute goes on to say -- it's right in that little yellow book. Statute goes on to say that if upon review, if you find a problem with it, you refer it to the district attorney in the district in which the member resides, for action. That's -- that's what the law says right in the yellow book. That's what the law says. It makes no exception for anybody, does not provide any exceptions for reasons or anything else. That is a law that you or your former colleagues passed, which was in place up until 2006. I didn't do it. I--I didn't--I didn't--I didn't write this. It didn't--didn't come from D.C. It didn't come down in the Bible. You--you enacted that. North Carolina General Assembly enacted that. And it did not provide an exception or wiggle room for anvbodv.

And in response to that, the Board of Elections, which was given authority to administer that and supervise that, they decided in their infinite wisdom that they would allow these reports

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to be amended at any time for any reason in the world. Remember that? And I was just floored. I said, "What? You mean four years later, you can"--"Oh, yes, because we want to have the stuff reported." "Really?" You remember that? She said, "Well, we--we just want to get it." Years later. In spite of what the statute says, years later you can come back, and you can amend your report, your report which falsely states your campaign-finance activities, years later. This liberal amendment procedure. Never heard of anybody being prosecuted for not reporting campaign--"We have a liberal policy. We want them--we want them to amend it."

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Mr. Peters got up there and said, "Well, it's important. It's important that we have this law in place, because the citizens need to be able to see, need to be able to see, as the campaign is going on, who is financing the operation." That—that's not the purpose of campaign-finance reform or the reporting laws, because when you're running, you don't report it. You don't report it until certain quarters. And typically when you—after you run, then you report what you—the income that

you had, the disbursement that you had during the campaign, not while you're running, unless while you are running you run into one of those periods.

Well, that's not really critical. What is critical is the importance that all of a sudden is attached to Representative Wright's failure to disclose or present all of his contributions. And that's what we're talking about. Often it's -- it's like the most important thing in the whole wide world, notwithstanding the fact that our liberal amendment policy that -- that he talked about would allow us today to walk over to the Board of Elections and file an amendment for every report from 2000 up until yesterday. Because when we listened to Kim Strach, she said you could do that. We could do that. And every legislator or treasurer of the committee, they can do that. But for Thomas Wright, we want to kick him out. Every legislator here can come in and amend their report right now going back for years, except for Thomas Wright. With Thomas Wright, we want you to kick him out. We want you to kick him out because what he did was unethical, fraudulent, and criminal, because he signed a document and the -- signing a

-183-

document that included incorrect information was a

violation of the law. And I asked. I said, "Well, what about these other legislators who come in and amend their reports? Did they violate the law?" "Well--well, technically." Kind of like being half-pregnant. You either violated the law, or you didn't. You either violated the law, or you didn't. If we're going to have a liberal application, it ought to be across the board. Instead of persecuting -- I mean --I'm sorry. Instead of prosecuting Thomas Wright, we should be encouraging him to amend his report, because we have this liberal policy here, and that's the way we want it done. That's the way we want it done from the Board of Elections, from the Board of Elec -- now, clearly North Carolina statutes does not say that. North Carolina statutes don't say that. They don't say that. There's absolutely nothing in the statute which allows for the amendment of these reports, nothing in the statute. Nothing allows for the amendment of these reports. It is a policy decision made by the Board of Elections. And that liberal policy applies to everybody except Thomas Wright, except Thomas

Wright. And because it's Thomas Wright, we want you to kick him out of his position for which he has been elected by voters from his district.

-184-

So on the one hand, it is the most important law in the whole wide world, and if we let him get away with this, the galaxy is just going to fall apart. Or--or it is a law in which we encourage legislators to reveal fully their campaign-finance activity, and if they run into a problem with doing that, we will work with them to make sure that the reports are done correctly even if they are not timely filed.

Statute does allow the Board of Elections to provide civil fines for each date that a report is late. That's not an issue here. It's not an issue here. But we're picking and choosing. We're picking and choosing.

Either we're going to require faithful adherence to the statutes, or we're going to have a liberal interpretation of the rules that applies equally to everyone.

Now, this is decision that you make, if it's not been made already. You have to wrestle with it. And unlike in a criminal trial, where

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we're dealing with proof beyond a reasonable doubt and some assurance that the jurors are impartial, unbiased, haven't made up their mind before they came in here. I--I reckon that--that's--that's not where we are. And I recognize, as I said at the outset, that I'm trying to walk up a slippery slope, because you have already found, before we even started this thing on Monday morning, that the claims raised against Representative Wright were probably true, and you were going to go forward with these hearings to make sure that you were able to make a decision about that as soon as possible. So we leave it in your hands. It's been in your hands all along. But I wanted to present you with those things that we see as deficiencies, significant deficiencies in this -- in these claims and in this case.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIR: Thank you very much, Dr.

Jovner.

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This Committee will stand in recess for fifteen minutes. We will return--actually twenty minutes. We will return at three-forty and begin instructions and deliberations by the Committee on

the counts. Thank you.

### TWENTY-FIVE-MINUTE RECESS

THE CHAIR: All right. Members of the Committee, I have several instructions to give you, not many, as we begin our deliberations. If you will be mindful of these instructions, I would appreciate it very, very much.

Members of the Committee, you have all heard the evidence presented in this case. Under the rules, the burden is on the Committee's outside counsel to present evidence to satisfy you by clear and convincing evidence that the allegations of unethical conduct exist in any count. In order to make a finding, for each count you will have to find by clear and convincing evidence that the conduct alleged in the count occurred and that the conducted committed was unethical.

As part of these deliberations, you should not consider what sanctions if any might be recommended if any count is found to be true by clear and convincing evidence. If you do not find a count by clear and convincing evidence, you

-187-

should vote to so find--I'm sorry--you should vote that the count is not found and find in favor of Representative Wright on that count.

Finally, you should note that if you believe that Representative Wright not only should not be found to have committed any count by clear and convincing evidence but if you believe, as well, that a preponderance of the evidence establishes that Representative Wright did not commit the act, then you may make a motion for full exoneration, as well.

That being said, you are the sole judges of the credibility, that is the believability, of each witness. You must decide for yourselves whether to believe the testimony of any witness. You may believe all or any part or none of what a witness has said on the witness stand.

In determining whether to believe any witness, you should apply the same tests of truthfulness which you apply in your everyday affairs. These tests may include, among other things, the opportunity of the witness to see, hear, know, or remember the facts or occurrences about which he testified; the manner and appearance

of the witness; any interests, bias, or prejudice the witness may have; the apparent understanding and fairness of the witness; whether the testimony is reasonable; and whether the testimony is consistent with other believable evidence that's been presented.

-188-

You, we, are the sole judges of the weight to be given any evidence. And by this I mean if you decide that certain evidence is believable, you must then determine the importance of that evidence in light of all the other believable evidence that has been presented.

There are two types of evidence from which you may find the truth as to the facts of this case, direct and circumstantial evidence.

Direct evidence is the testimony of one who asserts actual knowledge of a fact, such as an eyewitness.

Circumstantial evidence is proof of a chain or group of facts and circumstances pointing to the existence or nonexistence of certain facts. The law makes no distinction between the weight to be given to either direct or circumstantial evidence, and neither should you. Nor is a greater degree of certainty required of circumstantial evidence than

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of direct evidence.

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The law in this action simply requires to the extent--sorry. The law in this action requires that the party having the burden of proof, that is the Committee counsel, satisfy you as to any issue in the case by clear and convincing evidence. And we had previously been instructed and hold what clear and convincing evidence is by Mr. Krehely before we began. Again a reminder: Representative Wright has no burden of proof in this case to prove anything. The burden of proof is on Committee counsel to prove by clear and convincing evidence that, number one, the conduct in any particular case occurred--count occurred, and, two, that the conduct committed was unethical.

With that, it is my intention to proceed this way in Committee deliberations: There will be no discussion. Evidence is closed. Arguments are done. This is a discussion and a vote among the six of us. You may ask, obviously, as we normally do in any Committee proceeding, any question of our legislative counsel.

 $\label{eq:what I propose to do is to take us} % \begin{center} \$ 

argued, with Count 7.

Count 7 is the count with regard to campaign contributions. And what I will do is open up the discussion to any member of the Committee for discussion with regard to evidence on Count Number 7.

Well, at this point, if there's discussion, I mean, I'll--I'll be glad accept motions, but I--I'd like to kind of get the debate started on this particular one. If you remember, this is the count on which Kim Strach testified at length for the better portion of what amounted to close to a day with regard to Exhibits Number 15 and 16A through 16G.

Representative Stam is recognized.

REP. STAM: Yeah. Thank you, Mr.
Chairman.

This seems to be a massive violation of the campaign-finance laws that protect not only the public but also the contributors to Mr. Wright--Representative Wright's campaigns, that protect the tax system, that protect the integrity of the legislative process so we know who's receiving contributions. It's been said many, many times

-191-

that the best remedy for allegations of corruption is just a lot of sunshine. And what we have here is a complete shutdown of the blinds so that no one could see what Representative Wright was receiving and—and was spending.

It's so massive as to be unethical.

There's been some suggestion that somehow the State Board of Election and the district attorney has a duty to prosecute every violation and that nobody's ever been prosecuted for this. Of course that's not true. We have—we've had people in prison for violations of the campaign—finance laws, some very well—known people.

And--but this is not a clerical error. There's not a--just forgetfulness. And what is so striking about it is that even after being charged with this last May, there's even a continuing refusal to file reports in May. I--when I began this proceeding, well, in January when we had our probable-cause hearing, enough--enough evidence was presented to make me think that there was probably something there and that it was of an unethical idea--unethical proportions. But I held out the possibility that maybe there was an explanation,

that maybe Representative Wright would amend everything, that he would refund monies improperly received, that he would, you know, take steps to rectify things. But even that has not occurred. And I've seen the evidence now, and there it is.

THE CHAIR: Representative McGee?

REP. MCGEE: Thank you. Mr. Chair.

-192-

I would only add to that that during no reporting period did we have a correct report or an attempt to correct that report.

THE CHAIR: I think--the Chair, in reviewing the evidence, as well--I think there is-and I've handed out--or I've asked to be handed out to you several statutes and tried to hand out the statutes that were referred to by--by both counsel during arguments. The statute that deals with campaign contributions requires that for there to be a violation, the violation be intentional. And in fact, there is a saving-grace statute that talks about best efforts.

And--and Dr. Joyner is absolutely, I think, correct in his argument that given the amount of contributions, given how campaigns are run, there are errors. But there is a difference

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between an inadvertent error or even a series of mistakes or innocent errors, ones correctable, which the process should allow to be corrected by amended reports, and what has occurred here.

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The fraud in this count on the public is breathtakingly massive. It is the largest that Kim Strach said she has seen even in million-dollar campaign accounts in her time at the State Board of Elections. Literally almost forty percent of the contributions that were received over a seven-year period were not reported. I cannot conceive of another circumstance like that in this General Assembly. There may be. And if there is, it should be prosecuted equally and as fully.

But this is not inadvertent. This is not a mistake. And if there is any doubt about whether there was intentional conduct, I find it very difficult to accept the argument made in closing arguments about amendments. The argument was we should give Representative Wright the opportunity, as we do others, to amend. He has had seven years of opportunities to amend the first set of reports. I do not know what the State could possibly do to convince this representative to amend the false

reports that have been filed year in and year out, report in and report out.

These are not simple errors. This was a pattern, as the count said, that has continuity, pervasiveness, and severity to it. I cannot understand how it occurred. It's not my intent to try to do that. But there is beyond clear and convincing evidence in this case. This count is utterly inescapable in terms of the conclusion that can be drawn, in my opinion, that there was a massive fraud perpetrated through the deliberate decision made year in, year out, for twenty-two straight reporting periods to nondisclosure.

No capacity—the capacity fully existed to amend. It was never taken advantage of. And then to talk about the fact that we need to provide an opportunity to amend. We can't even get the law now to provide an incentive for the representative to file a report, let alone even a fraudulent one.

I've come to absolutely the conclusion that of all the counts, there is overwhelming evidence supporting this count, and there is no reasonable alternative--indeed, almost no attack was made, no evidence presented to justify, even in

-195-

closing argument, any of these violations.

 $\label{eq:local_state} \mbox{I will vote to find clear and convincing}$  evidence on this count.

Other comments?

I'll accept a motion at this point.

REP. STAM: Mr. Chairman, I move the

Committee find by clear and convincing evidence
that between January 1, 2000, and January 31, 2007,
while a member of the North Carolina House of
Representatives, Thomas E. Wright did improperly,
fraudulently, and unethically engage in a pattern
of conduct unbecoming and unfitting a member of the
House of Representatives by intentionally failing
to disclose approximately a hundred eighty thousand
dollars (\$180,000) in contributions received by his
campaign during that time period, which disclosure
is required by law and are intended to safeguard
the public trust and to preserve the integrity of
the electoral process, the integrity of the House
of Representatives, and the integrity of the

The contributions that are the subject of this count are set out in Exhibit 15 of the Committee hearing held March 3 to 6, 2008, as

legislative pro--process.

modified by the testimony of Kim Strach, Deputy
Director of the State Board of Elections, and
incorporated into this count by reference.

THE CHAIR: Is there a second to the motion? Is there a--second by Representative Wiley.

Discussion and debate on the motion?

Seeing none, all those in favor of the motion will vote aye. Those opposed to the motion will vote no. The Clerk will call the roll.

THE CLERK: Chairman Glazier.

THE CHAIR: Aye.

THE CLERK: Vice-chairman Stam.

REP. STAM: Aye.

THE CLERK: Representative Lucas.

REP. LUCAS: Aye.

THE CLERK: Representative McGee.

REP. MCGEE: Aye.

THE CLERK: Representative Warren.

REP. WARREN: Aye.

THE CLERK: Representative Wiley.

REP. WILEY: Aye.

THE CHAIR: Count Number 7 is found by clear and convincing evidence by a unanimous vote

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1	of this Committee.
2	We'll now proceedand I'm trying to
3	group the counts. We'll proceed to Count Number 3.
4	Count Number 3 is the count related to
5	the solicitation from AstraZeneca Pharmaceuticals.
6	Discussion on Count Number 3 and the evidence
7	presented with regard to Count Number 3.
8	REP. STAM: Mr. Chairman?
9	THE CHAIR: Yes, Representative Stam.
10	REP. STAM: What I'd like to say about
11	Count 3, most of it will also apply to Count 4 and
12	5. And I'll try not to be duplicative.
13	THE CHAIR: Withyeah. And let'sand
14	that'll be fine. But we'll stick with 3.
15	REP. STAM: Yes. Right.
16	Exhibit 1 gives the purpose of this
17	corporation, charitable, educational, scientific
18	purposes, and says no part of the net earnings of
19	the corporation shall inure to the benefit or be
20	distributable to its members, directors, officers,
21	or other private persons.
22	Exhibit 8 is the solicitation by

Representative Wright to AstraZenecal--AstraZeneca

Pharmaceuticals. The gravamen of the count is not

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really the solicitation but the conversion of funds to his personal account which were intended as charitable. And we can infer that it was intended as charitable because we have the solicitation letter by Representative Wright that told how it would be used.

The--there was some suggestion in the first day of testimony that maybe this was in fact a charitable organization, 501(c)(3). Really whether it is or is not is really beside the point. But I would mention that it -- it almost certainly is not, because the exception under Section 908 that Dr. Joyner educated us on only applies if normally there's going to be five thousand (5,000) or less in receipts. And immediately upon the formation of this corporation, the purpose of it was to buy a building. And they started soliciting hundreds of thousands of dollars. They got a hundred and fifty thousand (150,000) receipt in 2002. And when we're soliciting tens of -- I think the Counts 3, 4, and 5 is ten thousand dollars' worth of--in other words, to buy a building worth three hundred and fifty thousand dollars (\$350,000) and operate it, you need more than five thousand dollars (\$5,000) a

-199-

he just took that check to Community Health 5 Foundation, Inc., which, according to the testimony, he told everybody was a charitable nonprofit, and he just put it right in his own 9 And again, when we had our meeting in 10 January, you know, there was enough evidence there for probable cause. I was hoping that maybe before 11 12 today, Representative Wright would have showed us 13 that that was just a mistake; it went in the wrong account, and the next week he sent it to the right 14 account; or that perhaps he had refunded it to 15 AstraZeneca; or that he had refunded it to some 16 equivalent charity that exists. But no. It just 17 went into his private account where he paid for his 18 campaigns and his cars and everything else. It's an unethical, unlawful thing to do and obviously 2.0

THE CHAIR: Is there other--other

year. But again, that's a -- a tangent.

It was solicited. But then the gravamen

of the complaint, of course, is Exhibit 10, where

REP. LUCAS: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
You know, I think we have to place things in somewhat of a context of evolvement. Initially, I think, the intentions were very, very amiable.
And they were certainly needed in terms of minority health intentions. We--we can't deny the fact that the minority community does not receive the same health benefits that many of the other communities receive. There's a great need for that, and I think we have to commend Representative Wright and those who worked with him--Dr. Gottovi alluded to that--that they were intentionally initially on the right path toward alleviating minority health issues.

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Now, I don't know at what point in time--I think it's commendable of them to re--solicit contributions toward that effort. Beyond that, I don't know what happened there. But I--I think we need to really put things in the total perspective.

THE CHAIR: I agree with Representative
Lucas in--in this regard. And I think that
initially the plan--it seems to me, at least, the
evidence creates a possibility that what was being
done or eventually what were to be done would be to

Representative Lucas.

not by mistake.

comments?

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create the Foundation in order to provide these services. And I think, although we can take notice, you'll see in Representative Wright's past, I think, that he's been an active advocate for minority health issues for many years. That—this is simply consistent with what he's done.

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The problem I have and—and where I—I think that the issue is is that there, number one, was absolutely no authorization for the solicitation by anyone on the Community's Health Foundation. That's the first issue.

The more critical issue is that the Foundation letterhead solicits--specifically Representative Wright solicits these funds from AstraZeneca for a specific purpose, and that is a charitable purpose.

If the money came in and, when this was solicited and when it was received, the Community Health Foundation account was open, all that had to be done to be, for lack of a better term, kosher is for that money, that check, to simply be put in the Community Health Foundation account. But it wasn't, even at a time when it was critical to have money for that foundation to be moving forward.

Instead what we have is the checks were held and then not returned when the Foundation went bellyup, not placed in assistance like Dr. Gottovi did to try to make the payments for the Foundation.

They were deposited in a personal account.

They would never have been given for that purpose, because they weren't solicited for that purpose. And that's where the problem comes in. That's the unethical conduct, when they were then put into an account that absolutely the funds were never solicited for, and—on top of which, there's a full admission to this. I mean, this isn't a case where we don't have evidence. It was argued we didn't have anybody from AstraZeneca to be here. That's true. But why in the world would you need someone when you have the admission by Representative Wright that he sent the letter, that he took the money, and he took it and put it in his account because he believed it to be sweat equity?

Well, there is no legal authority for him to convert that money into his own use for sweat equity or otherwise. It is simply unethical, bar none, to have done that.

So I agree with Representative Lucas in

-203-

-204-

1 the instigation. I think that the evidence at best is ambiguous, and giving credit, I think where it 2 should, given Representative's prior his--Representative Wright's prior history. It seems to 5 me that the solicitation, perhaps not done in the right way, was not anything that was improper. What was improper is what occurred after that. And of that, there's simply no defense. This is beyond 9 clear and convincing evidence to me, as well, 10 because of the conversion of the money, totally not 11 allowed. 12 Further discussion and debate by any 13 member? Yeah, ready for a motion. 14 REP. STAM: Mr. Chairman. 15 THE CHAIR: Representative Stam is 16 17 REP. STAM: And I apologize. I--I can't. 18 19 see any other member of the Committee to see if 2.0 they're seeking recognition. But I move that the 21 Committee find by clear and convincing evidence 22 that on or about December 15, 2003, while a member 23 of the House of Representatives, Thomas E. Wright did engage in conduct unbecoming and unfitting a 24

member of the House of Representatives by improperly, fraudulently, and unethically converting money intended to be a charitable contribution to the Community's Health Foundation, Inc., to his own personal use. Thomas E. Wright wrote a letter on the letterhead stationary of the Community's Health Foundation. Inc., to a representative of AstraZeneca Pharmaceuticals, LP, requesting as the foundation's president a donation to the foundation, a charitable organization, that Thomas E. Wright represented to be qualified to receive tax-deductible donations that would be used by the foundation for various health-related purposes, including but not limited to educational initiatives, a needs assessment, identification of trends, and bridging the gap of minority healthcare for an underserved population in New Hanover County. Thereafter, when, on December 15th, 2003. a representative of AstraZeneca Pharmaceuticals signed and sent to Thomas E. Wright and the Community's Health Foundation, Inc., a check made out to Community's Health Found, Inc., quote, in the amount of twenty-four hundred dollars (\$2,400), Thomas E. Wright deposited that check into his own

-205--206-

oggantially the same soligitation with reserve to

1	personal account rather than into the account of	1	essentially the same solicitation with regard to
2	the Community's Health Foundation, Inc.	2	the quasimedical facility of Anheuser-Busch
3	THE CHAIR: Is there a second?	3	Companies, Inc. And the count is open for debate
4	Second by Representative Warren.	4	and discussion.
5	Discussion and debate on Count Number 3?	5	REP. STAM: Mr. Chairman?
6	Seeing none, all those in favor will vote	6	THE CHAIR: Representative Stam is
7	aye. Those opposed will vote no. The Clerk will	7	recognized.
8	call the roll.	8	REP. STAM: Here I incorporate some of my
9	THE CLERK: Chairman Glazier.	9	own previous remarks except that, of course, here
10	THE CHAIR: Aye.	10	it was Anheuser-Busch and specifically wasthe
11	THE CLERK: Vice-chairman Stam.	11	solicitation was solicited for the museum with
12	REP. STAM: Aye.	12	regard to the 1898 race riot, for historical
13	THE CLERK: Representative Lucas.	13	events. And of course, the victims, of course, of
14	REP. LUCAS: Aye.	14	this conversion of funds are not just the public in
15	THE CLERK: Representative McGee.	15	general but the people who would learn something
16	REP. MCGEE: Aye.	16	from that exhibit, because the money that was
17	THE CLERK: Representative Warren.	17	intended for that went into the personal checking
18	REP. WARREN: Aye.	18	account of Representative Wright.
19	THE CLERK: Representative Wiley.	19	THE CHAIR: I'm sorry. Representative
20	REP. WILEY: Aye.	20	McGee.
21	THE CHAIR: Count Number 3 is found by	21	REP. MCGEE: Thank you, Mr. Chair.
22	the Committee by clear and convincing evidence by a	22	I will also note, as you indicated on
23	unanimous vote.	23	your remarks about AstraZeneca, that this check in
24	Count Number 4Count Number 4 alleges	24	fact was receivedor dated 3-5-04. And I don't

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in his account, on his desk, I believe the representation was made. And the account that the check could have been deposited into was open at 5 that time, because it was not closed until June the 28th. So I again think that this check was misused and should have gone into the account to which it 9 was written. 10 THE CHAIR: Representative Wiley is 11 recognized. 12 REP. WILEY: Thank you. 13 I agree that I think the best of intentions were there when this charity started 14 15 out. But as I was listening to the evidence, I even asked a few questions of my own, trying to 16 ascertain if perhaps some money--personal monies 17 had been spent on utilities, perhaps insurance 18 payments for a building. I saw no evidence 19 presented to that effect. I wanted to believe 2.0 21 that. But lacking any evidence, I find the notion 22 of being paid for sweat equity rather abhorrent. 23 Many of us have served on charities.

Some of us have tried to start them up. And I know

know when the receipt of the check by

Representative Wright was, but certainly he had it

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it's a tremendous amount of hard work.

At the stage when these checks were deposited, I even hoped that perhaps it would have been considered if maybe the charity wasn't going to make a go of it, that they could have been given to another charity. And I was hoping to find evidence on that, perhaps even the Health Foundation--or the Health Center. They were not.

I'm left with nothing to conclude that these were put into a personal account. That's it. THE CHAIR: Representative Warren is recognized.

REP. WARREN: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Certainly we want to commend Representative Wright for his efforts through the years in regards to minority health issues, where he has really made a difference. However, here we have a check that was written for that purpose, and the evidence shows that it went into Representative Wright's personal account versus being used for a health purpose that could have made a difference.

THE CHAIR: And here, I think, as well, the particular letter also included the 1898 museum that would have exhibited the historical events,

-209-

1	which, again, the Representative had worked on	1	deductible donations that would be used by the
2	very, very hard.	2	foundation for acquisition and development of a
3	Don't see any difference in the evidence,	3	building in Wilmington, North Carolina, that would
4	sadly, between this count and the prior one.	4	serve as a museum. Thereafter, on March 5th, 2004,
5	Chair is willing to accept a motion.	5	when a representative of Anheuser-Busch Companies,
6	Representative McGee is recognized.	6	Incorporated, signed and sent to Thomas E. Wright
7	REP. MCGEE: Thank you, Mr. Chair.	7	and the Community's Health Foundation,
8	I move that the Committee find by clear	8	Incorporated, a check made out to Community's
9	and convincing evidence that on or about February	9	Health Foundation, Incorporated, in the amount of
10	6, 2004, while a member of the House of	10	five thousand dollars (\$5,000), Thomas E. Wright
11	Representatives, Thomas E. Wright did engage in	11	deposited that check into his own personal account
12	conduct unbecoming and unfitting a member of the	12	rather than into the account of the Community's
13	House of Representatives by improperly,	13	Health Foundation, Incorporated.
14	fraudulently, and unethically converting money	14	THE CHAIR: Is there a second? Sorry.
15	intended to be a charitable contribution to the	15	Is there a second?
16	Community's Health Foundation, Incorporated, to his	16	I'm sorry. Representative Stam seconds
17	own personal use. Thomas E. Wright wrote a letter	17	the motion by Representative McGee.
18	on the letterhead stationary of the Community's	18	Further discussion and further debate on
19	Health Foundation, Incorporated, to a	19	this count?
20	representative of Anheuser-Busch Companies,	20	Seeing none, those in favor of the motion
21	Incorporated, requesting as the foundation's	21	will vote aye. Those opposed to the motion will
22	president a donation to the foundation, a	22	vote no. The Clerk will call the roll.
23	charitable organization that Thomas E. Wright	23	THE CLERK: Chairman Glazier.
24	represented to be qualified to receive tax-	24	THE CHAIR: Aye.

-211- -212-

1	THE CLERK: Vice-chairman Stam.	1
2	REP. STAM: Aye.	2
3	THE CLERK: Representative Lucas.	3
4	REP. LUCAS: Aye.	4
5	THE CLERK: Representative McGee.	5
6	REP. MCGEE: Aye.	6
7	THE CLERK: Representative Warren.	7
8	REP. WARREN: Aye.	8
9	THE CLERK: Representative Wiley.	9
10	REP. WILEY: Aye.	10
11	THE CHAIR: Count Number 4 is found by	11
12	clear and convincing evidence by unanimous vote.	12
13	Brings us to Count Number 5, the third in	13
14	the group of counts.	14
15	This count relates to the apparent	15
16	solicitation of AT&T Corporation and the testimony	16
17	that was given by John Policastro, as well as the	17
18	exhibits that were referred to both by Dr. Joyner	18
19	and by Mr. Hart.	19
20	Discussion generally on Count Number 5?	20
21	REP. STAM: Mr. Chairman.	21
22	THE CHAIR: Representative Stam is	22
23	recognized.	23
24	REP. STAM: Thethe only real difference	24

between this and Counts 3 and 4 is that
Representative Wright did not sign this
solicitation and doesn't--and there was no
testimony that he remembered sending it. Of
course, the gravamen of the complaint, however, is
Exhibit 13, the check, which was converted to its
use. And Exhibit 11 merely explains how that came

And Exhibit 11 on its face, you know, shows a health foundation with a federal tax ID number. And unless somebody just--you know, he was the only person operating the corporation, and unless somebody got ahold of his letterhead, he sent it. I mean, that's a reasonable inference. This is at a time, of course, coming up on a short session in April of '04. He's a member of the Public Utilities Committee. And AT&T, you know, sends him fifteen hundred dollars (\$1,500) to his favorite charity. That's fine. But what's not fine is that he put it in his own pocket instead of turning it over to the charity.

THE CHAIR: I do want to highlight some testimony for y'all, because this argument was discussed by Dr. Joyner as to John Policastro's

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testimony. And the argument was that -- and I think correctly that Policastro got a call. And if I recall, it was Bewley. You've heard, of course, of the relationship between Bewley and Wright that was entered through the SBI statement and Agent Umphlet taken. If you'll remember, Mr. Bewley, according to Representative Wright, was involved in a threethousand-dollar (\$3,000) contribution that-actually reimbursement that Representative Wright gave to Mr. Bewley for postage and an invitation to a reception he threw for him.

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And the question that was raised was, well, there's nothing -- I think the argument Dr. Joyner made was there was nothing in the invoice that says anything about it being a charitable contribution, and that in order for this count to be found, you'd have to show some reliance on AT&T be--sending that to Representative Wright as a charitable contribution. And I--I think that that's correct, because otherwise it could have been placed into his account, although we could get into what account it should have gone into. But you don't have essentially the request for a charitable contribution being converted.

Ouestion by Mr. Hart: "Mr. Policastro, from your knowledge involving this particular contribution, was it intended to be a charitable contribution to a 501(c)(3) corporation?" Answer--I'm sorry. "Professor Joyner:

Here's the testimony from Mr. Policastro.

Objection.

"The Chair: Basis?

"Professor Joyner: Unless he knows, but he said he knew.

"The Chair: Well, let me ask."

Again, the question: "Did you intend it to be a contribution to a 501(c)(3)? And I understand you to say 'yes'; is that correct?

"The witness: Yes.

"Question, Mr. Hart: Regardless of whether it was specifically a 501(c)(3) corporation, did you intend it to be a charitable corp--contribution to the Community's Health Foundation, Incorporated?

"Answer: Yes, sir."

I think Mr. Policastro's testimony is clear that the intent of AT&T was not a personal contribution, was not a political contribution, but

-215--216-

was a charitable contribution.

The argument, then, is that Representative Wright didn't know it was being made. That is simply belied by Exhibit 11. Exhibit 11 is his own invoice or the invoice that the Community Health Foundation sent with Thomas Wright as president. The only people who even had access to this were Dr. Gottovi, one would assume -and he indicated he never sent anything -- and Representative Wright. There simply isn't anybody else who would have sent this. There's no evidence that you can rely on that anyone else could have sent it.

And so it seems again inescapable that the solicitation was made; it was intended to be a charitable contribution; the corporation sent it for that regard; the check was received in time to be deposited-this one sent September-or was invoiced in 2003. This check--or the request was sent in September, and the check issued on April 1, 2004. This check sat again for several months. The account remained open until sometime in June. It was not deposited in the foundation account and ended up in Representative Wright's account, which

he admits, again, as part of sweat equity.

You know, there's an argument that was made that there's no evidence, been no one testified. Well, in this case, the evidence is Representative Wright's own statements. That's my view of the evidence.

Other members?

Representative McGee.

REP. MCGEE: Thank you.

I do believe that it couldn't have been a contribution to his political account, because it's a -- written directly on Northern Trust Company.

THE CHAIR: That's true, too.

Other members? And the Chair will receive a motion when--on that from any member at this point.

REP. STAM: Mr. Chairman?

THE CHAIR: Representative Stam is recognized.

REP. STAM: I have a motion on it. I move that the Committee find by clear and convincing evidence that on or about April 1, 2004, while a member of the House of Representatives, Thomas E. Wright did engage in conduct unbecoming

-217-

1	and unfitting a member of the House of	1	Seeing none, all those in favor of the
2	Representatives by improperly, fraudulently, and	2	motion on Count Number 5 will vote aye. Those
3	unethically converting money intended to be a	3	opposed will vote no. The Clerk will call the
4	charitable contribution to the Community's Health	4	roll.
5	Foundation, Inc., to his own personal use. Thomas	5	THE CLERK: Chairman Glazier.
6	E. Wright wrote an invoice on the letterhead	6	THE CHAIR: Aye.
7	stationary of the Community's Health Foundation,	7	THE CLERK: Vice-chairman Stam.
8	Inc., to a representarepresentative of AT&T Corp.	8	REP. STAM: Aye.
9	as a solicitation of a charitable contribution to	9	THE CLERK: Representative Lucas.
10	the foundation, a charitable organization that	10	REP. LUCAS: Aye.
11	Thomas E. Wright represented to be qualified to	11	THE CLERK: Representative McGee.
12	receive tax-deductible donations. Thereafter, on	12	REP. MCGEE: Aye.
13	April 1, 2004, when a representative Aof AT&T	13	THE CLERK: Representative Warren.
14	Corp. signed and sent to Thomas E. Wright and the	14	REP. WARREN: Aye.
15	Community's Health Foundation, Inc., a check made	15	THE CLERK: Representative Wiley.
16	out to Community's Health Foundation, I, in thein	16	REP. WILEY: Aye.
17	quote, in the amount of fifteen hundred dollars	17	THE CHAIR: Count Number 5 is found
18	(\$1,500), Thomas E. Wright deposited that check	18	unanimously by clear and convincing evidence.
19	into his own personal account rather than into the	19	That moves us into the last set of
20	account of the Community's Health Foundation, Inc.	20	counts. And I will take these in the following
21	THE CHAIR: Is there a second to	21	order: Counts 1, 2, and 8.
22	Representative Stam's motion?	22	Count 1 is the count related to the
23	Representative Warren seconds.	23	request from Torlen Waderequest to Torlen Wade by
24	Discussion and debate?	24	Representative Wright for the letter that's Exhibit

-219-

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1	Number 3. And before we do any motions, obviously,
2	$\ensuremath{\text{I'm}}$ opening the count to discussion on the
3	evidence.
4	REP. STAM: Mr. Chairman?
5	THE CHAIR: Representative Stam is
6	recognized.
7	REP. STAM: Just for clarity, Count 1 is
8	distinguished from Count 2 in that Count 1 is
9	soliciting the letter
.0	THE CHAIR: That's correct.
.1	REP. STAM:is that right?
.2	THE CHAIR: Count 1 is soliciting the
.3	letter knowing that the letterprovisions in the
.4	letter were false.
.5	REP. STAM: Itit seems to me thatthat
.6	it's clear from Torlen Wade's testimony and from
.7	the agent's testimony of what Representative Wright
.8	told him that they both knew it was false, that
.9	they used state government equipment and resources
:0	to generate the letter, and that it was done for a
1	fraudulent purpose.
2	THE CHAIR: Other Committee members'
:3	discussion?

REP. STAM: And--and--I'm sorry.

Stam.

REP. STAM: I apologize. And--and I-at--at a time when Representative Wright was-chaired the health committee, which would have
jurisdiction over some of the matters, and was a
member of the appropriations subcommittee that
appropri--was the key committee for appropriating

money for the division that Torlen Wade headed.

THE CHAIR: I'm sorry, Representative

THE CHAIR: Torlen Wade was, it seems to me, a very credible and pained witness. And I don't remember if that was the term used by Mr. Hart in the discussion. There's--again looking at the simple document, there's no question--and Representative Wright did admit this, and, I think, commendably in his statement, that he solicited the letter. There's--that's not in question. And that he was--felt bad about what happened to Torlen Wade as a result.

This letter commits a hundred and fifty thousand dollars (\$150,000) in funding towards the completion of the conversion project. Simply, purely, utterly a false statement. That the funding will be awarded by June 30, 2002, utterly a

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false statement. That is exactly what was requested in Exhibit 2 in the e-mail that was sent.

Torlen Wade complied with the request, I

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think, out of the combination. I think it was in part because Representative Wright's position but, I think, clearly, as well, a friendship relationship in both cases.

The problem for me is twofold. One, placing--placing any state employee in that position is just untenable. To allow a legislator to do that would--it--it's--it utterly chills good government and effective government and fair government. That is just untenable to put that state employee in that position, to ask that employee to commit in a letter to funding that didn't exist and he couldn't provide and then to say, whether it was said or not, "Well, I'm not going to use the letter." Well, if you're not intending to ever use the letter, what in the world would be the purpose of the letter? I mean, why, if--that just is--escapes me. If the letter wasn't to be seen by somebody, then why would you ask a friend to write a false letter that, if it was ever seen, could get the friend fired, if you don't

intend to use the letter? That makes no sense to me whatsoever.

I think that this letter was intended as the argument was made by Committee counsel. I think it was requested in the sense that one of the reasons there was no guarantor on Exhibit 4, one of the ways that Burbank was able to satisfy both his community commitment and his commitment to the project was that he was told by Representative Wright there would be state funding. This was one of the ways to get state funding.

No, I don't think the letter was a requirement in the direct sense. But Burbank clearly testified that he likely would not have given the loan if it didn't--wasn't there.

Now, why it's not in the file is a question. But it is an irrelevant question for purposes of this count. It's irrelevant because Burbank's uncontradicted testimony is he relied on it. Burbank's uncontradicted testimony is he likely would never have given the loan without the letter.

So regardless of why you think or don't think, there was no assault on Burbank's

-223-

credibility at all as to that issue. And he certainly has nothing to gain one way or the other.

In the end, though, the gravamen, as
Representative Stam has said, of this count isn't
there. The gravamen is going to Torlen Wade in
asking him to write a false letter. And that's
exactly what happened.

I--I--this count, in--as much as I think the breach was massive in quantity in Count Number 7, this offense in quality is utter fraud. And--and someone lost their job and their career and their reputation because it was asked for. And legislators cannot be allowed to do this. That's my opinion.

Other discussion?

Representative Wiley is recognized for a motion.

If not, is -- is there a motion?

REP. WILEY: I move that the Committee find by clear and convincing evidence that on or about March 13th, 2002, and on or about March 15th, 2002, while a member of the North Carolina House of Representative, Thomas E. Wright did engage in conduct unbecoming and unfitting a member of the

-224House of Representatives by orally and in writing
improperly and unethically soliciting Torlen L.

Wade, acting director of the North Carolina

Department of Health and Human Services Office of Research, Demonstrations, and Rural Health Development, to write and mail to him a fraudulent letter stating that such office was endorsing the

Community's Health Foundation's project to convert

a building located on the 900 block of 4th Street in Wilmington, North Carolina, into Community's Health Foundation offices, New Hanover Community Health Center offices, and a history museum, and

committing of one hundred and fifty thousand

dollars (\$150,000) in funding toward the completion

of that project. At the time of the solicitation,

Thomas E. Wright was an officer of the Community's

Health Foundation, Incorporated, located at 322

18 South 17th Street, Wilmington, North Carolina.

19 Thomas E. Wright confirmed his earlier oral

20 solicitation by having his legislative assistant

type the necessary details needed in the commitment letter in an e-mail that was sent to Torlen L. Wade by use of his state e-mail account and on a state

computer, both of which were authorized for  $\mathop{\mathrm{him}}$ 

-225-

1	based on his position as a member of the North	1	THE CLERK: Vice-chairman Stam?
2	Carolina House of Representatives. At the time of	2	REP. STAM: Aye.
3	the oral solicitation, the typing and sending of	3	THE CLERK: Representative Lucas?
4	the e-mail, and the typing and the sending of the	4	REP. LUCAS: Aye.
5	Torlen L. Wade letter, both Thomas E. Wright and	5	THE CLERK: Representative McGee?
6	Torlen L. Wade knew that the Office of Rural Health	6	REP. MCGEE: Aye.
7	would not make such a grant and that Thomas ${\tt E.}$	7	THE CLERK: Representative Warren?
8	Wright would use the letter in seeking to	8	REP. WARREN: Aye.
9	fraudulently obtain funding for the Community's	9	THE CLERK: Representative Wiley?
10	Health Foundation from other sources, such as	10	REP. WILEY: Aye.
11	financial institutions and other organizations that	11	THE CHAIR: Count 1 is found by clear and
12	make grants and that would believe and rely on the	12	convincing evidence by a unanimous vote of the
13	false representations in Torlen L. Wade's letter.	13	Committee.
14	THE CHAIR: Is there a second to	14	That moves us to the second-from-last
15	Representative Wiley's motion?	15	count, Count Number 2.
16	REP. MCGEE: I second the motion.	16	Count Number 2 is part of the Wade issue,
17	THE CHAIR: Second by Representative	17	but it does not relate directly to the
18	McGee.	18	solicitation. It now relates to the use of the
19	Discussion and debate?	19	letter as to whether the letter then was used as
20	Seeing none, those in favor of the motion	20	part of the award of loan by Coastal Federal Bank.
21	will vote aye. Those opposed will vote no. Clerk	21	Discussion open on the evidence with
22	will call the role.	22	regard to Count 2.
23		0.0	The second set of the second set of
	THE CLERK: Chairman Glazier?	23	Representative Stam is recognized.
24	THE CLERK: Chairman Glazier? THE CHAIR: Aye.	24	REP. STAM: Yes. This is where he

-227-

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presented the letter to the bank for the purpose of getting a loan. And it's--what's charged is April 5th, 2002, which is the date of the closing. Dr. Joyner presented that loan application date, April 5, 2002, in his final conclusion, and it was referred to. There was some discussion about whether Exhibit 4--that since that was already approved, how could Mr. Burbank be relying on the letter when the letter wasn't sent till March 15th. But of course, Exhibit 4, dated March 5th, 2002, is an internal document to the bank. And what it says is grant money--"Source of repayment: grant money from state and federal government is a source of-primary source of payment." And then under "debt service coverage," "funded by state and federal grant money."

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So what is the clear inference is that
Representative Wright told him he was going to get
some grant money. Ten days later, he got a letter,
'cause he knew he needed to have it. And then
before the closing three weeks later, he showed the
letter to Ronnie--Mr. Burbank. Mr. Burbank said he
saw it and he relied on it. And so then the bank
released the money. And that's called obtaining

money--obtaining property by false pretenses, which was the title to the property and the loan by the false pretense and the fraudulent false pretense of having a source of payment that you don't have.

REP. LUCAS: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

I certainly concur that there was some effort made to obtain this loan. But I'm a little bit perturb--concerned about the absence of the letter. And this is not an indictment of the Coastal Federal Bank or Mr. Burbank or anybody else in that office. But it seems to me a little bit strange that that letter did disappear, or at least it's not--wasn't present in the evidence.

And with that being said, I have a little bit of a problem in determining that the evidence is clear, cogent, and convincing, only because of the letter not being there.

THE CHAIR: Representative McGee, I just have--just kind of in discussion. I know that you were formerly in the industry. Can you create any highlights or give us some thoughts on why the letter would or wouldn't be in the file?

-229--230-

1	REP. MCGEE: I cannot recall any reason	1	had a chance to look at that, sir?
2	that a letter supporting a loan would not be	2	"Yes, I have.
3	included in the file. No, I don't have any reason.	3	"Question: And do you recognize that?
4	THE CHAIR: Here's the testimonies that	4	"Answer: I do.
5	we have of Repof Representativenow I'm	5	"Question: What do you recognize that as
6	promoting peopleof Mr. Burbank. And this is from	6	being?
7	his testimony earlier.	7	"Answer: That appears to be the letter
8	"Question: The actual loan on the	8	that I received to confirm grant money was the
9	purchase of the property took was another month	9	primary source of repayment for our loan request.
10	later; is that correct?	10	"Question: All right. And did you
11	"Answer: I think that's correct, yes."	11	receive that letter or see that letter from
12	And then it goes on, and he's talking	12	received it from Representative Wright; is that
13	about that. Let me get to the specific.	13	recorrect?
14	"Question: Early April?	14	"Answer: I recall receiving the letter.
15	"Answer: I think that's correct.	15	I can't specifically say that Representative Wright
16	"Question: Okay. Was there further	16	handed it to me or delivered it to me, but I recall
17	discussion between you and Representative Wright	17	getting a copy, as I stated in my interview.
18	about the grants and any kind of documentation of	18	"Question: All right. And did you take
19	the grants?	19	the letter at face value?
20	"Answer: At some point prior to closing,	20	"Answer: I did.
21	I received a copy of the letter from Mr. Wade.	21	"Question: Did you call in any way to
22	"Question: All right. And when you	22	check with the Department of Health and Human
23	speak of the letter, I want to ask you to look at	23	Services or Torlen Wade or anybody else?
24	Exhibit Number 3, and that's before you. Have you	24	"Answer: I did not.

-231--232-

2	"Answer: I didn't feel the need to do	2	REP. STAM: Mr. Chairman?
3	so.	3	THE CHAIR: Representative Stam?
4	"Question: Did you trust Representative	4	REP. STAM: Coupcouple things. II
5	Wright to be giving that to you in good faith?	5	certainly don't want to defend the way this loan
6	"Answer: I did.	6	was handled, because it seems to me that there's a
7	"Professor Joyner: Objection.	7	whole lot less documentation here than what would
8	"The Chair: Overruled.	8	be required of almost all of us to get a loan.
9	"Question: Mr. Burbank, would you have	9	But it really has nothing to do with whether this
10	authorized this loan without a guarantor if it had	10	account is true or not, because the testimony is
11	not been for that letter, Exhibit Number 3?	11	yes, that's what the bank relied on.
12	"Answer: Possibly not. I don't think	12	It may have also relied on, if you recall
13	so. I really can't answer that, because I had the	13	the testimony of the SBI officerI'm sorry
14	letter. I	14	Agent
15	"Question: All right. Let me ask you	15	THE CHAIR: Umphlet.
16	this. As a banker and as someone concerned with	16	REP. STAM:Umphlet, that he showed the
17	repayments and collateral, as you said,	17	closing statement to Representative Wright and
18	guaranteeing the loan, was this letter at least a	18	asked him about the earnest money that was showed
19	factor in your approval process?	19	of twenty-five thousand (25,000) and that
20	"Answer: Yes.	20	Representativeif Ias I recall the testimony,
21	"Question: Did you rely upon this letter	21	Representative Wright said no, they didn't actually
22	to grant the loan?	22	have that money. So he may have seen some equity
23	"Answer: Yes."	23	down that never existed.
24	That's the end of that discussion.	24	But this county only relies on the

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"Question: And why is that?

That's the testimony that Mr. Burbank gave earlier.

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promise of a hundred and fifty thousand (150,000),
which would have been enough to take out the bank
on its debt.

THE CHAIR: Comments by other members of

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THE CHAIR: Comments by other members of the Committee?

Representative McGee.

REP. MCGEE: Thank you.

After--I thought I had remembered that he in fact did say that he depended on the letter. And I'm glad he reviewed the information, because he did in fact rely on the letter. He said he did.

THE CHAIR: My con-my concern--and I-this is the least clear count. The others, to me,
are, putting it mildly, easily clear and
convincing. This is a closer call for me, for the
reasons Representative Lucas said.

Where I--where--what is partially dispositive for me and the difficulty I'm having, number one, is it's uncontradicted in that he made that statement. There was no cross that made it unclear that he didn't rely in part on the letter. And in fact, he was questioned pretty extensively, if I recall, on cross about whether he received it. And he remembered he received it. That's when we

got in--if you'll remember, into this is it your recollection or was it your statement.

But why would you get the letter? I mean, there was only one reason that letter was solicited from Torlen Wade. That's the difficulty I have in saying it didn't happen or that there's not significant evidence to—to say it did, because he says it did. Burbank says he received it. Burbank says he relied on it. And the only possible reason you'd get the letter, particularly given the timing, is to show it to somebody to secure the loan. There's no other justifiable reason for soliciting the letter. So, you know, I'm trying hard not to throw my common sense out the door here. And that's, at least for me right now, my dilemma.

Other members of the Committee?

Representative McGee is recognized.

REP. MCGEE: You asked, because I have had some expertise in this area many, many years ago, what might have happened to the letter. And I don't want to speculate on what might happen—have happened to the letter. It wasn't in the file. It may have been in the desk of the person who

-235-

approved the--the loan. But that doesn't--that's only speculation on my part. He said he had the letter.

THE CHAIR: Representative Stam is recognized.

recognized. REP. STAM: Mr. Chairman, I move that the Committee find by clear and convincing evidence that on or about April 5, 2002, while a member of the North Carolina House of Representatives, Thomas E. Wright did engage in conduct unbecoming and unfitting a member of the House of Representatives by orally and in writing improperly, fraudulently and unethically presenting to a representative of Coastal Federal Bank as a factor to consider in whether to loan one hundred and fifty thousand dollars (\$150,000) to the Community's Health Foundation, Inc., a corporation of which Wright was an officer, a letter from Torlen L. Wade, acting director of the Office of Research, Demonstrations, and Rural Health Development of the North Carolina Department of Health and Human Services, falsely stating that the office endorsed the foundation's museum-conversion effort and was committed to

funding the project in the amount of one hundred

and fifty thousand (150,000) and that the award of the funding would occur by June 30th, 2002. At the time, Thomas E. Wright presented the letter to the representative of Coastal Federal Bank, he knew that the assertions in the letter were false, that the commitment of funds was not authorized, and that the award of funding would not be forthcoming. The one-hundred-and-fifty-thousand-dollar (\$150,000) loan to the Community's Health Foundation, Inc., obtained from Coastal Federal Bank was made in part relying on the contents of the fraudulent letter presented by Thomas E. Wright.

-236-

THE CHAIR: All right. That's the motion by Representative Stam. Is there a second to the motion to place it in discussion?

All right. There is no second as to the motion with regard to Count Number 2. The Committee will not take a vote with respect to Count Number 2.

 $\mbox{Is there any further motion with regard} \\ \mbox{to Count Number 2?}$ 

There being no further motion with respect--I'm sorry.

-237-

Count Number 8. Count Number 8 is that there was a

2	THE CHAIR: I'm sorry. Representative	2	pattern of evidence unbecoming and unfitting a
3	Lucas.	3	member of the House by improperly, fraudulently,
4	REP. LUCAS: Mr. Chairman?	4	deceptively, and unethically soliciting a financial
5	THE CHAIR: Yes, sir.	5	institution for the loan and corporations for
6	REP. LUCAS: In light of not receiving a	6	donations to the charitable corporation the
7	second on Count Number 2, I'd like to offer a	7	Community's Health Foundation by converting to his
8	motion that the Committee dispense of Count Number	8	own personal use money contributed to that
9	2.	9	charitable organization. And then as a pattern of
10	THE CHAIR: Help me understand what the	10	the conduct, Representative Wright solicited a
11	"dispense" means.	11	false document.
12	REP. LUCAS: That weone moment.	12	I'm going toI do want to proceed on
13	THE CHAIR: Certainly.	13	this count, but I want to amend the count. And if
14	Are you suggesting we withdraw	14	you'll give me a minute, I'm going to make an oral
15	consideration of Count Number 2? Is that not	15	motion to amend the count.
16	REP. LUCAS: I'm thinking.	16	All right. The Chair is going to make a
17	Sir, I'd like to offer motion that we	17	motion with respect to Count Number 8 since Count
18	withdraw consideration of Count Number 2, because	18	Number 8 is encompassing of previous conduct in a
19	of the lack of a second.	19	pattern-and-practice way.
20	THE CHAIR: What I'llwhat I'll do,	20	As to Count Number 8, I move that the
21	without taking a vote, is I'll simply withdraw	21	Committee find by clear and convincing evidence
22	Count Number 2 from Committee consideration at this	22	that between or on or about October 2001 and on or
23	time.	23	about August 2004, while a member of the North
24	That leads us to the last count, which is	24	Carolina House of Representatives, Thomas E. Wright

THE CLERK: Representative Lucas.

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-239- -240-

1	did engage in a pattern of conduct unbecoming and	1	Foundations, Inc., and by converting to his own
2	unfitting a member of the House of Representatives	2	personal use money contributed to that charitable
3	by improperly, fraudulently, deceptively, and	3	organization."
4	unethically soliciting a false document from a	4	Right. Right. All right. Is there a
5	state agency and soliciting corporations for	5	second to that motion as to Count Number 8?
6	donations to a charitable corporation, the	6	REP. STAM: Second.
7	Community's Health Foundation, Inc., and by	7	THE CHAIR: Second by Representative
8	converting to his own personal use money	8	Stam.
9	contributed to that charitable organization.	9	I'm making that motion because it's
10	That isI'm sorry?	10	consistent entirely with the individual counts that
11	PROF. JOYNER: Would you read that again	11	were previously found by clear and convincing
12	slowly.	12	evidence in this case, however, alleging that it
13	THE CHAIR: Read it again slowly?	13	was more than coincidental, that this is in fact
14	PROF. JOYNER: The middle part.	14	part of a pattern of conduct, the pattern of
15	THE CHAIR: All right. The middle part	15	conduct, the three solicitations, as well as the
16	reads that "Thomas E. Wright did engage in a	16	solicitation from Torlen Wade.
17	pattern of conduct unbecoming and unfitting a	17	REP. STAM: Mr. Chairman, just for
18	member of the House of Representatives by	18	clarity, is this intending to incorporate Counts 1,
19	improperly, fraudulently, deceptively, and	19	3, 4, and 5?
20	unethically soliciting a false document from a	20	THE CHAIR: Essentially, yes.
21	state agency and soliciting corporations for	21	REP. STAM: As a pattern?
22	donations to a charitable"I'm sorry"and	22	THE CHAIR: As a pattern.
23	soliciting," yes, "corporations for donations to a	23	All right. There's a motion and a
24	charitable corporation, the Community's Health	24	second. Discussion and debate.

-241-

1	Seeing none, all those in favor of the	1	This point, it becomes our responsibility under the
2	motion will vote aye. Those opposed will vote no.	2	charge for this Committee, having found six counts
3	The clerk will call the role.	3	by clear and convincing evidence, to make a
4	THE CLERK: Chairman Glazier?	4	recommendation as well to the House of
5	THE CHAIR: Aye.	5	Representatives as to an appropriate sanction. The
6	THE CLERK: Vice-chairman Stam?	6	way that the Committee has bifurcated the
7	REP. STAM: Aye.	7	proceedings, there'll be no further evidence before
8	THE CLERK: Representative Lucas?	8	the Committee as to sanction, but the counsel will
9	REP. LUCAS: Aye.	9	be allowed to make final argument to the Committee.
10	THE CLERK: Representative McGee?	10	As to the appropriate sanction that
11	REP. MCGEE: Aye.	11	should issue for the six counts found, this is,
12	THE CLERK: Representative Warren?	12	obviously, for many of us, the saddest evening that
13	REP. WARREN: Aye.	13	we'll spend in the General Assembly and one of the
14	THE CLERK: Representative Wiley?	14	most important. In that respect, it has been aa
15	REP. WILEY: Aye.	15	long day. We're going to make this decision this
16	THE CHAIR: Count Number 8 is amended	16	evening. But counsel needs some time to get their
17	through the motion, is adopted again by clear and	17	thoughts together based on our findings. Think we
18	convincing evidence, unanimously.	18	need some time to sit for a minute. And everybody
19	This Committee has now found six counts	19	needs time to grab some dinner so they can make
20	by clear and convincing evidence. Count number	20	their notes.
21	the other two counts have been withdrawn from	21	I'm going to recess Committee to
22	consideration at this time. Committee retains	22	reconvene at six-thirty this evening for the
23	jurisdiction over those counts.	23	decision with respect to sanction. But a couple of
24	At this point, it is ourthank you.	24	things before we go to reconvene at six-thirty in

-243- -244-

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2	First, is there any reason that Ms.
3	Strach and Agent Umphlet cannotcan nowcannot
4	now be released from their subpoena? Anybody need
5	either one here?
6	All right. Both can be released with the
7	thanks of the Committee, as to all witnesses, from
8	their subpoena.
9	Second, because we are in the process of
10	making this final decision, I'm going to ask the
11	Committee members to stay together for purposes of
12	our time during this break. We will hopefully be
13	all going to dinner. And I will ask us again to
14	adto be admonished as to the charge I gave
15	earlier, which I'm going to actually reread.
16	Before we take this break, I want to
17	remind the members of the Committee, the attorneys
18	for the Committee and Representative Wright,
19	Representative Wright, and members of the public,
20	because we are now in the final deliberative fact-
21	finding stage, I think it would be appropriatein
22	fact, I am directing that the members of the
23	Committee refrain from discussing this matter with

the press, the Committee's outside legal counsel,

this room.

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Representative Wright's attorneys, Representative Wright until after final deliberations are completed. I'll ask Mr. Hart, Mr. Peters, Dr. Joyner, Mr. Harris, Representative Wright from discussing evidence in the case with the Committee members, other than the Chair, during this period of time.

I'll also ask the members of the public to not approach Committee members or witnesses--well, there are no more witnesses--Committee members in this matter until after our deliberations are final and completed this evening.

In that regard, I have asked the sergeant-at-arms not only to assist but to escort Committee members in assuring compliance with this request for the remainder of the evening.

 $\label{eq:matters} \mbox{Any further matters, Mr. Reagan, before}$  we take a dinner recess?

And just so that we're clear, there will be no discussion of this case at all during dinner. We will talk about anything but this case.

 $\label{eq:continuous} \mbox{Anything further from anybody prior to} \\ \mbox{recess?}$ 

All right. We're in recess until six-

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(WHEREUPON, THE PROCEEDINGS WERE RECESSED AT 4:58 P.M.)

-i-

# 

Rep. Thomas E. Wright Prof. Irving Joyner, Counsel to Rep. Wright Mr. Douglas Harris, Counsel to Rep. Wright

 $\mbox{Mr.}$  William Hart, Outside Counsel to the Committee  $\mbox{Mr.}$  Alexander Peters, Outside Counsel to the Committee

Ms. Carin Savel, Committee Clerk

Mr. O. Walker Reagan, Staff Attorney Ms. Kory Goldsmith, Staff Attorney Mr. Brad Krehely, Staff Attorney Ms. Heather Fennell, Staff Attorney Ms. Denise Huntley, Research Assistant Ms. Amanda Smith, Research Assistant

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

COUNTY OF WAKE

### ${\tt C \ E \ R \ T \ I \ F \ I \ C \ A \ T \ E}$

I, Holly McGhin, a Notary Public in and for the State of North Carolina, duly commissioned and authorized to administer oaths and to take and certify hearings, do hereby certify that these proceedings were held before me at the time and place aforesaid, that all parties were present as hereinbefore stated, and that the record as set forth in the preceding Pages 2 through 245 represents a true and accurate transcription of the proceedings, to the best of my ability and understanding.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereto set my hand, this the  $\_$  day of March 2008.

Notary Public Notary Public No. 200424500712

My Commission Expires 9-7-2009

Holly McGhin Holly McGhin
PACE REPORTING SERVICE
P. O. Box 252
Cary, North Carolina 27512
Telephone: 919/859-0000 - Raleigh
910/433-2926 - Fayetteville
910/790-5599 - Wilmington

-ii-

-246-

# EXAMINATION INDEX

Witness	Examination/By Whom	Page No.
K. Strach	Cross/Joyner	3
K. Strach	Redirect/Peters	24
K. Strach	Recross/Joyner	52
K. Strach	Committee	76
K. Strach	Recross/Joyner	99
J. Umphlet	Committee	106

Hearing re: Thomas E. Wright, Day 4 Pgs 248 CR HM		
Date taken $3-6-08$ Date to go out $3-7-08$ Mail/Del Date $3-7-08$		
# of Exhibits 0 Pgs _ Retained Y By WhomVIDEO N		
Signed Mileage/Town Raleigh Hrs 9:00 AM-4:58 PM		
**************************************		
Bill original and one copy to		
Attorney needs by Expedite overnight FT N		
Atty responsible for obtaining signature:		
******		
CASE CAPTION: Hearing Re: Thomas E. Wright		
****		
Attorneys' addresses and orders		
**********		
****		
SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS: Day 4 of Wright hearing, goes with Katherine's portion of proceedings starting at 6:30 PM.		
*******		

MEETING OF THE HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE
TO INVESTIGATE ALLEGED MISCONDUCT AND OTHER MATTERS
INCLUDED IN INDICTMENTS REGARDING
REPRESENTATIVE THOMAS E. WEIGHT

#### TRANSCRIPT OF THE PROCEEDINGS

(Volume IV, Part II)

March 6, 2008

#### THE SELECT COMMITTEE:

Rep. Rick Glazier, Chair Rep. Paul Stam, Vice-chair Rep. Marvin Lucas Rep. William McGee Rep. Edith Warren Rep. Laura Wiley

In Raleigh, N.C. 6:38 P M

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Reported by: Katherine M. Becker THE CHAIR: All right. I now call this evening's session to order. I understand that—for the record, that sergeant—at—arms staff have checked; Representative Wright and his attorneys are not in the building. I understand that while we were on our dinner break there was an indication that they would not be participating this evening. At this point, we are well past getting started, so we will move into the sanction proceeding this evening. Thank you.

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Based on the findings that this Committee has made in Counts 1, 3, 4, 5, 7 and 8, we will proceed with deliberations on what sanction, if any, the Committee will recommend to the House of Representatives. I have asked Committee outside counsel to present their recommendations on sanction, including arguments and precedents, but not testimony, in support of any recommendation. After they've completed the presentation, Committee members certainly will be available to ask them questions.

At this point in the proceed--at that point in the proceeding, if Representative Wright and counsel are available, we will ask

- 248 -

2 recommendation on sanctions, including arguments and precedents, but not testimony, in support of his recommendation. After Dr. Joyner or Mr. Harris 5 have completed their presentations, I would allow Committee members to ask them questions, as well. At this point, Mr. Hart, Mr. Peters, and your presentation, if you don't mind--thank you. 9 MR. HART: Thank you, Mr. Chairman, 10 members of the Committee. 11 What I'd like to do first is take a look 12 at some of the North Carolina precedents on what 13 the General Assembly has -- has done in the past in terms of similar conduct to what you have found 14 Representative Wright has committed, and also to 15 look at what other public officials have been--16 have--what kind of sanctions have been levied 17 against other public officials who have engaged in 18 19 conduct such as what Representative Wright has 2.0 engaged in. 21 In an earlier session, one of our earlier 22 hearings in this matter, staff counsel presented 23 this Committee with a number of prior legislators

who had been expelled from the House or the

Representative Wright's counsel to present his

Senate--I believe mostly from the House--for various types of conduct. And I'd just like to go through those and--and tell you what--when they were expelled and for what offense we have indicated.

And first was James Carter, expelled from the House in 1757 for mishandling public funds. Second was Francis Brown, expelled from the House in 1758 for perjury and conduct unworthy. Next was Hermon Husband, expelled from the House in 1770 for gross prevarication, falsehood, and promoting riot and seditions; William Gilbert, expelled from the house in 1779 for intentionally defrauding the public; Edward Clay, expelled from the House in 1784 for petty larceny--and that was a situation that we understand there was no criminal charge pending at the time--Henry Montfort, expelled from the House in 1786 for fraud in disbursement of public money; John Bonds, expelled from the House in 1787 for fraud; John Roberts, expelled from the Senate in 1816 for forgery and fraud committing during--committed during the War of 1812, four years earlier; Robert Potter, expelled from the House in 1835 for engaging in a fight after a card

- 249 -

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game and drawing a pistol and a knife; J. William Thorne, expelled from the house in 1875 for advocating and promulgating "a most sacrilegious doctrine subversive of the principles of the Constitution of the State of North Carolina and of sound morality"; Josiah Turner, censured, then expelled when he left the House chamber, for gross improprieties, disorderly conduct, defiant conduct and disrespectful manner. That was in 1880.

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Those are the prior incidents in which the General Assembly has expelled one of its members, one--one house of the General Assembly has expelled one of its members, and I would submit to you that the conduct of Representative Wright matches and exceeds that conduct in those cases.

Now, we don't know exactly what was involved in each one of those cases, but in some of those cases, there at least appears to be an indication that there was a single incident of fraud or dishonesty or theft. And what you have just found is six counts involving fraud, dishonesty, conversion, deceit, concealment, the very kind of conduct which has justified expulsion in the past.

Again, in an earlier proceeding, Representative Wright's attorneys discussed the case of In Re: Spivey, who was a district attorney in New Hanover County in the 1990s who went into a public restaurant and used a racial epithet in arguing with one of the other people in the restaurant, and he was removed from his position as the elected D.A. of New Hanover County. And that removal by a superior court judge was upheld by the North Carolina Supreme Court, and saying that even though that conduct occurred not in the district attorney's office or in court, that the conduct of an elected official outside of where they ordinarily conduct business is still conduct of a public official, and in that case found that that conduct that occurred in a public restaurant not having to do with any particular case that the D.A. was prosecuting was conduct prejudicial to the administration of justice.

In similar manner, the Judicial Standards
Commission treats judges very--very similarly.
There are two different things that the Judicial
Standards Commission looks for. They look for
willful misconduct by a judge, and they look for

- 252 -

conduct prejudicial to the administration of justice. The North Carolina Supreme Court has held in several cases that when a judge's willful misconduct involves personal financial gain, moral turpitude, or corruption, then removal is a proper consequence for that action, for that willful misconduct.

And willful misconduct has not been limited to time in court or to actions that involve official duties of judges. The courts have upheld removals for willful misconduct, such as possession of cocaine, marijuana and drug paraphernalia, in the case of In Re: Sherrill, a 1991 case, failing to file federal tax returns in In Re: Inquiry Concerning a Judge, a 2007 case.

So we do treat public officials outside of the legislature in a way where we require them to be responsible and hold themselves appropriately as public officials and require that their conduct be appropriate, because otherwise it affect—it reflects adversely upon the position that—that they hold.

And I would submit to you in similar manner the conduct of Representative Wright that

you have found by clear and convincing evidence has not only been in violation of the law--and much of his conduct, I would submit to you, has--has involved felony violations. Certainly signing the -- signing the campaign disclosure reports and willfully and intentionally falsifying those reports is a felony in North Carolina. The conversion of the checks to his own personal use, each of those is a felony. Each of those was over a thousand dollars, so is a--is a felony in North Carolina. So you have several felonies which you have found that Representative Wright has committed over a period of time, showing a pattern of--of criminal conduct involving felony offenses. And I would submit to you that that puts a blight upon this chamber and adversely affects the public's view of the Legislature.

- 253 -

I would also point out that for only one of the offenses that you have found Representative Wright has committed, Torlen Wade lost his job and his career, certainly was embarrassed, came in here yet and told you what happened. And if anything, perhaps in some ways he's, to at least a certain extent, a victim of the power that Representative

- 254 -

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Wright exploited. Certainly, he did something that was wrong, and he suffered the appropriate consequences.

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And that's something that you need to think about as you determine what are the appropriate consequences, not only for that action, soliciting the false statement, but for the entire pattern of conduct. And I would submit to you that that's important. It's not looking at each one of these things individually, but it's that pattern of conduct that Representative Wright began to engage in at some point in his career.

And we all sat and we listened to Dan Gottovi and Torlen Wade talk about Representative Wright in glowing terms of the person he was at one time and what he did for his community and what he did for the people of this state. But at some point, Representative Wright went astray. Why? We don't know. Did he become--did--did he lose sight of the duty that he had to rein in the power that he had as a legislator? Did he start believing that he could commingle funds and do whatever he wanted to with whatever funds he had? We don't know. We don't know what the--the circumstances

were that caused him to go astray, but clearly he went astray at some point back in the early part of this century, went astray from that person that he was, that official that he was, and he began to engage in a pattern of conduct of fraud, violation of trust, deceit, concealment, abuse of power and influence, and entitlement.

I heard at least one comment during the deliberations about the concern of the "sweat equity" that Representative Wright felt he was entitled to. And--and certainly we all ought to be concerned about that. No one is entitled to money that--that is not theirs. No one is entitled to use power in a way that is not appropriate.

I would submit, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Committee, that the only appropriate consequence for the pattern of conduct that you have found that Representative Wright has engaged in is expulsion from the House, and I would urge you to recommend that to the full House.

THE CHAIR: Any questions that any Committee member has of Mr. Hart? All right. Thank you, Mr. Hart.

I want to draw Committee members'

- 256 -

attention just so they also--I know you've seen the document before. In your notebook, under the March 3rd--black notebook under March 3rd--I'm sorry? Well, it's in the blue notebook under March 3rd. You'll find the tabs of other states and the penalties that--issued to legislators throughout the country. It's the same information consolidated that you've looked at through the motions process, but it's there for your review, as well.

I also want to provide information that we obtained and you've, again, had in your notebook previously from a synopsis of other state disciplinary actions, from Connecticut, citing a New Mexico rule, which I think is probably pretty appropriate, which elaborates on the punishment possibilities.

Under New Mexico House rules, a reprimand—this is quote—"A reprimand is normally appropriate for a single, relatively minor act of unethical conduct or disorderly behavior. Censure is normally the appropriate sanction for a more serious act or repeated acts of unethical conduct in the presence of the House, although aggravated

or repeated violations may merit expulsion." Then it goes, "The power of expulsion is reserved for very serious breaches of legal or ethical responsibilities that impugn the integrity of the House, reflect adversely on the House, or undermine public trust in the institution of the House."

- 257 -

 $$\operatorname{And}$  I pass that information along to you from the Connecticut study and the New Mexico House rule.

With that, the Chair has generally, throughout the proceedings, taken the position that it should question last and has done that. But on this evening, it's going to take the lead in making comments.

I said before we broke that this is the saddest thing--and I said it in the person, but I think it relates to all of us--that we will ever have to do in public life. And this has been a extraordinarily difficult process, I know, for the six members of this Committee, as well as for Counsel and Committee staff.

The argument was made that Representative Wright's violations in many cases were a paradigm of incompetence, in terms of the campaign

- 258 -

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violations. They were not a paradigm of incompetence; they were a paradigm of arrogance unchecked and unfounded, and with each set of misconduct seemingly allowing and emboldening another step forward.

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I think Counsel's argument was on point. This man, who once was a very good legislator, from everything I know before I came, and who used his position to further the public good, somewhere some time ago lost his way, to the point that he used and abused a friend, and that friend, as a result of the fraud committed, lost his job. I am at a loss to see how the innocent party loses his job and the far more culpable one in any way gets to keep his.

The allegations that were contained particularly in Count 7 were, as I described them earlier, in my view, breathtakingly massive, literally spanning years. To allow someone to continue in public service in the House of Representatives after violating literally hundreds of times over seven years the law of this state would make--would, I think, hinder in ways I can't even imagine the House's ability to govern.

We depend on public confidence and, in many ways, on the moral authority to govern. If one of our members can simply disobey the law hundreds of times over years, and then even with being shown the violations, essentially thumb his nose continually at the law, not even bothering to comply with it in any respect this year, how do we possibly argue as an institution to our fellow citizens that they must obey the law and that there are consequences when they do not?

Representative Wright holds public office because of his lies. If he had candidly admitted all the violations that he had, he would never have been certified by the Board of Elections to be a representative in 2002, 2004, and certainly in 2006.

There has been in this proceeding, in my view, absolutely no acceptance of responsibility or contrition. The severity of the offenses here and the number of offenses are more than consistent with every state's expulsion power, and this state's. The harm involved, although not irreparable to this institution, has been significant, and in my view, almost on a scale

- 260 -

unprecedented with regard to campaign violations.

I understand what my comments and what my motion will be in a minute and the solemnity of what we are doing here. And there are good reasons why no member has been expelled in the North Carolina House of Representatives since 1880. But Representative Wright's conduct over the last number of years makes this decision, for me, not even a close one.

For someone to continue to hold public office, elected office, after lying for years to his voters, to his colleagues, would be, to quote a word used today, a sham of immense proportions. He has, in my opinion, disregarded his oath of office, disgraced the House of Representatives, and dishonored himself by his conduct.

In that regard, and for me, I move that the Committee recommend based on its findings that the allegations in Counts 1, 3, 4, 5, 7 and 8 as amended were true, that Representative Wright be expelled from the North Carolina House of Representatives.

Is there a second to that motion? Second by Representative Stam. Discussion and debate?

Representative Stam?

 $\mbox{REP. STAM:} \quad \mbox{Thank you, Mr. Chairman.} \quad \mbox{And} \\ \mbox{I, too, will vote to expel.} \\$ 

- 261 -

The precedents that were listed, I think, are of limited usefulness. We just don't know enough about the circumstances, and we don't know about maybe the bad people who were not expelled to really compare. But it's--it's good as a check on what we're doing.

I see there are four issues here, most of which have been covered by the Chair. I'll just very--be very brief.

First are the rights of the voters in Representative Wright's district. An election should never be overturned by an expulsion, but because Representative Wright concealed his frauds from the public, there's no way that the voting public of New Hanover and Pender County can be said to have actually judged him as a candidate. Would anyone have--would they have voted for him if they knew he was pocketing charitable contributions? Would they have voted for him if they knew he was receiving contributions from XYZ group when he refused to tell them that?

- 263 -

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Secondly are the rights of the House. We have to operate here on some level of trust. We just don't have time in the course of a legislative day to negotiate a twenty-page contract to get something-get something done. We have to be able somehow to believe each other at some level when we agree on things, or the House would just come to a standstill. And what we know here is that Representative Wright is willing to lie under oath multiple times.

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In a debate, we need to know that the other side, you know, hasn't been bought, that they're making real arguments. And we have no way of knowing that, since he adamantly and to this day refuses to accurately report his finances.

Third are the rights of third parties, which have been mentioned, such as Torlen Wade.

I--I think of the corporations whose money was taken that was intended for charitable deductions.

I think about the contributors to his campaign who may have thought he was desperate for money to win, not knowing that he had an extra hundred and eighty thousand in his account from time to time.

But probably the fourth thing that just

ices the cake is I have seen absolutely no remorse from day one. This is not a person who has said,
"I was wrong. Let me fix it."

If--if we do not expel him from the House, then we are saying we want him to continue the behavior that we have found that he's engaged in.

THE CHAIR: Representative Lucas is recognized.

REP. LUCAS: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

It's with mixed emotions that I consider the really criminal action that we are attempting to address at this forum. We have to weigh every side of this coin.

We must recognize that regardless of the circumstances, Representative Wright was duly elected by the citizens of House District 18 and that his term is still current. I wish that we had some barometer by which we could measure the sentiments of the citizens of House District 18 to see if they still consider Representative Wright their representative. But, of course, we've moved along--much further along on that, and that no longer can be considered. There would have been an

- 264 -

opportunity in May to determine how the folk in that district feel.

You know, I don't have a vote in District 18. If I did, I think I probably would--I know how I would vote. But those citizens have to be recognized as the ones who have determined who they want to lead them. Their minds may have changed, but, again, like I said, we have no barometer at this point, recall or some other circumstance, to make that determination. So it becomes quite difficult.

I suppose it's tempered, though, by considering the egregious and abhorrent acts that we've come to know, or that we've agreed upon, that are true. And so I will, with heavy heart, have to vote for expulsion.

THE CHAIR: I'm sorry. Other comments by any member of the Committee? Representative McGee?

REP. McGEE: Thank you, Mr. Chair.

It is a sad--sad time for us. But our employees who work for the State and work for the people of North Carolina must not be asked to do unlawful and untrue things by House members.

Torlen Wade, if he was doing his job well--and it

seems he was, and I believe he thought he was. The one time he sat up straighter and was more forceful seemed to me to be when he grasped that he had done a good job.

- 265 -

But his services have been lost to the citizens of North Carolina. And he changed back to a more somber reflection upon his aban--upon his realization that his abandonment of protocol and good judgment had cost his job, had cost his--cost him to lose his job, or to be forced to give up his job. And for that reason being one of the main reasons, I am going to vote to--for expulsion. Thank you.

THE CHAIR: Representative Warren is recognized.

REP. WARREN: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

This is a most solemn time, the most solemn that I have experienced in this body. It is with a very heavy heart that we all sit here tonight.

Thinking back over the testimony that we have heard over recent days and what we have read in these exhibits, there appears to be a pattern that we cannot overlook. Representative Wright, in

- 266 -- 267 -

1	the past, has done many, many good things for the	1	too easy to rationalize one's errant behavior. A
2	good of his district, the good of his state,	2	sense of entitlement is the result, and a disregard
3	looking at health issues and the differences that	3	for the very law we create and must abide by. No
4	he has made there.	4	one is above the law, no matter what good they may
5	But tonight we are at this very difficult	5	bethey may be trying to accomplish.
6	point that we must look at the decision that we	6	What we have seen and heard and believe
7	must make. And I will support expulsion with a	7	here today should serve as a cautionary tale to
8	very heavy heart.	8	anyone in elected office. There is no excuse for
9	THE CHAIR: Representative Wiley is	9	deliberate flaunting of the laws that we ourselves
10	recognized.	10	make. And so it is with a very, very heavy heart
11	REP. WILEY: Thank you, Mr. Chair.	11	that I will also support expulsion from the House.
12	This is perhaps one of the most difficult	12	THE CHAIR: Any further comments by any
13	and saddest things that I have ever had to do in	13	member of the Committee? All right.
14	elected office, and I'm sure that's for all of us.	14	The motion has been made and seconded
15	I'm very sure, from listening to what	15	that the recommendation from this Committee to the
16	RepresenRepresentative Wright has done in his	16	Speaker and the North Carolina House of
17	career, that he started out as a very good	17	Representatives be that Representative Wright be
18	legislator. This is an example of the most	18	expelled from the North Carolina House for
19	dangerous path one in elected office can start	19	unethical misconduct.
20	down, and that is the errant belief that we can use	20	The motion has been seconded. All those
21	any means to accomplish something that we think is	21	in favor will vote "aye." Those opposed will vote
22	good. It's dangerous because it quickly diminishes	22	"no." The clerk will call the role.
23	the internalized knowledge of adherence to the law.	23	THE CLERK: Chairman Glazier?
24	Once one is outside the law, it is much	24	THE CHAIR: Aye.

- 269 -- 268 -

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2	REP. STAM: Aye.
3	THE CLERK: Representative Lucas?
4	REP. LUCAS: Aye.
5	THE CLERK: Representative McGee?
6	REP. McGEE: Aye.
7	THE CLERK: Representative Warren?
8	REP. WARREN: Aye.
9	THE CLERK: Representative Wiley?
10	REP. WILEY: Aye.
11	THE CHAIR: That recommendation is
12	unanimous.
13	We have some logistics things that we
14	need to take care of for a moment, if you'll bear
15	with me.
16	First, I'm going to askmove that the
17	Chair of the Committee be directed by the Committee
18	to have prepared and submitted to the Speaker of
19	the House on behalf of the Committee the report of
20	the Committee setting forth the findings of the
21	Committee with regard to Counts 1, 3, 4, 5, 7 and 8
22	as amended, together with the Committee's
23	recommendation on sanctions, and that the

appropriate transcripts of all relevant meetings

THE CLERK: Vice-chairman Stam?

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and hearings, motions, pleadings and rulings, be attached to the report in the discretion of the Chair.

Do I have a second as to that motion? Representative Warren has--has seconded. Any discussion or debate? Mr. Reagan, do I need to take a roll call on that?

MR. REAGAN: No, sir. I don't think you do.

THE CHAIR: All right. All those in favor, please say--signify by raising your hand. All those opposed? That motion carries unanimously.

This has been most difficult, but I want to do a couple commendations to some folks before  $% \left\{ 1\right\} =\left\{ 1\right\} =$ we close out.

I want to thank the Attorney General of the State of North Carolina and the Deputy Attorney Generals Mr. Hart and Mr. Peters for a great sacrifice of time and a tremendous public service and their advocacy on behalf of the Committee and their representation of the citizens of the state.

Although they're not here, I want to thank and commend Dr. Joyner and Mr. Harris,

- 270 - - 271 -

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Dr. Joyner particularly during these proceedings, 2 for eloquent and passionate and zealous representation of their client. 3 I want to thank the court reporter and her staff, who have changed schedules constantly to 5 meet us and who have turned transcript over overnight. I want to thank Committee clerk, who has 9 just done a tremendous job in--in keeping this 10 Committee going, and its chairman. 11 I want to thank the Committee staff, who 12 also have sacrificed immensely for many weekends 13 and much time and many birthdays to be here and to do this service. Mr. Hart and Mr. Peters have 14 commented, and I agree, and I think all of us know, 15 there is no finer committee staff in the United 16 States than the committee staff for this Committee 17 and in this House of Representatives, and--and our 18 19 work is immensely better because of it, as it is because of the counsel who appeared here. 2.0 21 I want to thank the sergeant-at-arms, who 22 have had to put in extraordinary overtime and have 23 had stressful times in making sure that this 24 building is always open and secure to us and taking

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

COUNTY OF WAKE

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I, Katherine M. Becker, a Notary Public in and for the State of North Carolina, duly commissioned and authorized to administer oaths and to take and certify hearings, do hereby certify that these proceedings were held before me at the time and place aforesaid, that all parties were present as hereinbefore stated, and that the record as set forth in the preceding Pages 247 through 271 represents a true and accurate transcription of the proceedings, to the best of my ability and understanding.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereto set my hand, this the 7th day of March, 2008.

Notary Public Notary Public No. 20023570191

- 272 -

My Commission Expires 12-29-2012

Katherine M. Becker
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2 much easier. With that, are there any further motions or anything we needed to do, Mr. Hart and Mr. Peters? 5 MR. HART: No, sir. THE CHAIR: Mr. Reagan? This case is submitted to the Speaker of 9 the North Carolina House of Representatives on 10 unanimous recommendation of this Committee. We are 11 adjourned. 12 13 (WHEREUPON, THE PROCEEDINGS WERE CONCLUDED AT 7:15 P.M.)

care of--of us and making a very difficult task

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# ALSO IN ATTENDANCE

 ${\tt Mr.}$  William Hart, Outside Counsel to the Committee  ${\tt Mr.}$  Alexander Peters, Outside Counsel to the Committee

Ms. Carin Savel, Committee Clerk

Mr. O. Walker Reagan, Staff Attorney Ms. Kory Goldsmith, Staff Attorney Mr. Brad Krehely, Staff Attorney Ms. Heather Fennell, Staff Attorney Ms. Denise Huntley, Research Assistant