## IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK



## NOTICE OF FILING OF DEPOSITION DESIGNATIONS FOR EARL COMSTOCK

Plaintiffs hereby file with the Court the synopsis of deposition excerpts for Earl
Comstock (Exhibit 1), and the deposition excerpts for Earl Comstock that will be offered as substantive evidence (Exhibit 2).

Respectfully submitted,

By: /s/Dale Ho

| Dale Ho | Andrew Bauer |
| :---: | :---: |
| American Civil Liberties Union Foundation | Arnold \& Porter Kaye Scholer LLP |
| 125 Broad St. | 250 West 55th Street |
| New York, NY 10004 | New York, NY 10019-9710 |
| (212) 549-2693 | (212) 836-7669 |
| dho@aclu.org | Andrew.Bauer@arnoldporter.com |
| Sarah Brannon* | John A. Freedman |
| American Civil Liberties Union Foundation | Arnold \& Porter Kaye Scholer LLP |
| 915 15th Street, NW | 601 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. |
| Washington, DC 20005-2313 | Washington, DC 20001-3743 |
| 202-675-2337 | (202) 942-5000 |
| sbrannon@aclu.org | John.Freedman@arnoldporter.com |
| * Not admitted in the District of Columbia; practice limited per D.C. App. R. 49(c)(3). |  |
| Perry M. Grossman |  |
| New York Civil Liberties Union |  |
| Foundation |  |
| 125 Broad St. |  |
| New York, NY 10004 |  |
| (212) 607-3300 601 |  |
| pgrossman@nyclu.org |  |

Attorneys for the NYIC Plaintiffs

BARBARA D. UNDERWOOD
Attorney General of the State of New York
By: /s/ Matthew Colangelo
Matthew Colangelo, Executive Deputy Attorney General Elena Goldstein, Senior Trial Counsel
Office of the New York State Attorney General
28 Liberty Street
New York, NY 10005
Phone: (212) 416-6057
matthew.colangelo@ag.ny.gov
Attorneys for the State of New York Plaintiffs

## Summary: Earl Comstock (August 30, 2018)

Earl Comstock has no education, training or experience in voting rights law, redistricting, or election law. Tr. 14-15; 192-194. He started working at the Commerce Department on January 31, 2017. His current title is Deputy Chief of Staff and Director of Policy, and he reports to Secretary Ross. Tr. 33-40. No one from the Commerce Department was more involved than Comstock in the citizenship question. 340-341.

Comstock first heard about the possibility of adding a citizenship question to the Census from Secretary Ross shortly after the Secretary was confirmed in February 2017. Tr. 54-55. Comstock testified that Ross was interested in adding the citizenship question to the 2020 census. Tr. 137-146 and Ex. 9. By late July 2017, Comstock had been working on the citizenship question for months. Tr. 209-210. In March 2017, Ross asked Comstock whether noncitizens are counted for apportionment purposes. Tr. 62-66, 68, 78-82, 205-209 \& Ex 2. Comstock testified that adding the citizenship question is a good idea to determine "how many undocumented citizens there are." Tr. 262-264. Comstock did not review any materials in concluding that the citizenship question should be added, though he conducted an internet search to find out if other countries ask about citizenship on their censuses. Tr. 104, 109-110.

Comstock testified that did not know why Secretary Ross wanted to add the citizenship question to the Census, never had a discussion with the Secretary about why he wanted it added, and did not need that information in order to respond to Secretary Ross's request to get the question added to the Census. Comstock Tr. 105, 112-113, 253-268, 285-287. Comstock believed his job was to find a rationale for adding the citizenship question. Tr. 266. Comstock reached out to DOJ, which referred him to DHS. DHS declined to request the citizenship question. This was reported to Ross, who then reached out directly to Attorney General Jeff Sessions about the citizenship question. Tr. 166-186, 213-218, 221-223, 269-273, 275-277, 277-$285,297,337,347-348$, and Exs. 13-15, 19-24 and 27. In spring 2017, Ross was frustrated that there was no request for citizenship question yet on the Census. Tr. 196-197. AG Sessions agreed to look into the citizenship matter. Tr. 233 and Ex. 15.

Comstock did not discuss the citizenship question with people in DOJ's Voting Section. Tr. 409-412. He is not aware of any Voting Rights Act cases DOJ declined to bring because of the lack of block-level CVAP data. Tr. 416. DOJ was not informed of the Census Bureau's recommendation to use administrative records to satisfy their request. Tr. 419-422. The Commerce Department did not send DOJ the Census Bureau analyses of their request. Tr. 422425.

Comstock and James Uthmeier were the principal drafters of Ross's March 2018 decision memorandum. Tr. 242-243 and Ex. 30. The first draft of the June 21, 2018 supplemental memo came from DOJ. Tr. 94-97, 99, 100-102, 247-248 and Ex. 5. He does not know who the officials referenced in the memorandum are. Tr. 111-114 and Ex. 5. Comstock agrees that the Census Bureau never revised or withdrew their analysis as stated in the Abowd memo. Tr. 309323. Comstock drafted the portion of the decision memo about Alternative D. Tr. 429-432 and Ex 30. He thought Alternative D made sense given his own experience and Ross's intelligence. Tr. 433-434. Comstock was the primary assembler of the 35 questions that went to the Census Bureau. Tr. 369-372 and Ex. 31.

> Plaintiffs,

Vs. Case No. 1:18-CF-05025-JMF
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE, ETAL., Defendants.

Washington, D.C.
Thursday, August 30,2018
Deposition of:

## EARL COMSTOCK

called for oral examination by counsel for Plaintiffs, pursuant to notice, at the office of Arnold \& Porter, 601 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Washington, D.C., before KAREN LYNN JORGENSON, RPR, CSR, CCR of Capital Reporting company, beginning at 9:08 a.m. when were present on behalf of the respective parties:



A P P E A R A N C E S
On behalf of New York Immigration
Coalition, CASA De Maryland, American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, ADC Research Institute and Make the Road New York:

David Gersch, Esquire ARNOLD \& PORTER


On behalf of Kravitz Plaintiffs:
Daniel Grant, Esquire COVINGTON \& BURLING
REDACTED

On behalf of Los Angeles Unified School District: Brian Park, Esquire (Telephonically) DANNIS WOLIVER KELLEY
REDACTED

On behalf of County of Los Angeles:

# David I. Holtzman, Esquire HOLLAND \& KNIGHT <br> REDACTED 

On behalf of LUPE Plaintiffs: Andrea Senteno, Esquire MALDEF
REDACTED

Niyati Shah, Esquire
John C. Yang, Esquire
ASIAN AMERICANS ADVANCING Justice


Ezra Rosenberg, Esquire<br>Dorian Spence, Esquire<br>LAWYERS COMMITTEE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS UNDER LAW



On behalf of state of California:
Gabrielle Boutin, Esquire
R. Matthew Wise, Esquire (Telephonically)

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
REDACTED

Veritext Legal Solutions

On behalf of State of New York:
Danielle Fidler, Esquire
Elena Goldstein, Esquire Matthew Colangelo, Esquire Alex Finkelstein, Esquire ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION BUREAU


On behalf of Defendants:
Kate Bailey, Esquire
Joshua Gardner, Esquire
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

# REDACTED 

Michael Cannon, Esquire
David M.S. Dewhirst, Esquire
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE, OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT GENERAL COUNSEL FOR FINANCE \& LITIGATION


Michael Walsh, Jr., Esquire DEPUTY GENERAL COUNSEL
REDACTED


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WHEREUPON,

VIDEOGRAPHER: Good morning. We are going on the record at 9:01 a.m. on Thursday, August 30,2018 . Please note that the microphones are sensitive and may pick up whispering, private conversations and cellular interference. Please turn off all cell phones or place them away from the microphones, as that can interfere with the deposition audio. Audio and video recording will continue to take place unless all parties agree to going off the record.

This is Media Unit 1 of the video recorded deposition of Earl Comstock to be taken by counsel for the plaintiff in the matter of the New York Immigration Coalition, et al., v. The United states Department of Commerce, et al. This case is filed in the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York. This deposition is being held at the law office of Arnold \& Porter located a 601 Massachusetts Avenue Northwest, Washington, D.C. 20001.

My name is Dan Reidy from the firm
Veritext Legal Solutions, and I am the videographer. The court reporter is Karen Jorgenson from Veritext Legal Solutions.

I am not authorized to administer an oath. I am not related to any party in this action, nor am $I$ financially interested in the outcome.

Also, counsel appearances will be noted on the stenographic report rather than orally at this time.

Will the court reporter please swear in the witness?

Global objection $401 / 403$
called as a witness, and having been first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

THE WITNESS: I do.



A No.
Q Do you have any education, training or experience in election law?

A Again, other than as an attorney and the ability to read laws, no.

Q Okay. By as an attorney and the ability to read laws, you mean if you needed to read a law, you could?

A Meaning if $I$ had read a statute related to those, then $I$ would be able to understand it, yes.

Q But you've never studied election law?
A I've never studied election law.
Q You've never practiced election law?
A No.


Q And is that the same as director of policy and strategic planning?

A Correct.
Q Who do you report to?
A The Secretary.
Q Directly to the Secretary?
A Well, and to the chief of staff and to the deputy secretary.

Q Okay. Was there a chief of staff on January 30, 2017?

A There was not.
Q Okay. So until there was a chief of staff, who would you say you reported to?

A Well, until the Secretary came on board, sort of no one. REDACTED

Q So you mentioned you work on whatever the Secretary wants you to work on?

A Correct.
Q How does he identify matters that he wants you to work on?

A He says, Earl, can you get this done? Or we attend this meeting, and he says, can you follow up on that?

Q And how do you keep the Secretary informed about what you are doing on important matters or on assignments that he's given you?

A By email, by oral briefing, and sometimes by memos.

Q How do you decide whether you're going to update secretary Ross by email, by briefing or by memo?

A Just depends on the time frame, the speed REDACTED of which I need to get something to him, REDACTED
Page 47
A He is in the Economic \& Statistics
Administration and knows -- knows the people down
there, knows how to get stuff done, so --

Q And the secretary was confirmed on February 28, 2017; is that right?

A I -- like I said, you'd have to confirm that date, but $I$ think that was the date, yes.

Q And what did the secretary tell you about the idea of adding a question on citizenship to the census during that first conversation shortly after his confirmation?

A Again, the exact time frame of the conversation, I can't tell you. It was sometime in that spring period. I don't recall the details. I think he simply inquired as to why don't we have a citizenship question on the census.

Q Okay. And what did you say to him when he inquired?

A Short answer, I don't know. I'll check. REDACTED

|  | Page 58 |
| :---: | :---: |
| 1 2 3 | $\square$ |
| 4 |  |
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| 10 | Q And then Mr. Langdon then says, "Earl is |
| 11 | very" -- underlined very -- "interested and thinks |
| 12 | the Secretary will be, as well." |
| 13 | Do you see that? |
| 14 | A Yes. |
| 15 | Q On February 2nd of 2017 would have been |
| 16 | your fourth day on the job; is that right? |
| 17 | A Yep. |
| 18 | Q Okay. And do you recall telling |
| 19 | Mr. Langdon that you were very interested in |
| 20 | Congressional notification of decennial ACS |
| 21 | topics? |
| 22 | A I recall telling him that we were very |
|  | REDACTED Veritext Legal Solutions |

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interested in the census and getting a briefing on
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it.

Q Okay.
A I don't specifically recall that, but --
Q Were you very interested in the decennial

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topics on February 2, 2017?
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A What probably would have caught my

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attention is if we had to notify Congress about
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something, I would want to make sure we were up to
speed on what we needed to notify them about.

Q As of this date, February 2, 2017, do you
recall if you had already had discussions
regarding adding a citizenship question to the
census?

A I don't recall having a discussion before that.

Q Mr. Langdon's email says, quote, it would make sense for John Thompson to touch on this topic in his overview briefing and then to have a follow-up briefing very soon.

Was Mr. Thompson the Census Bureau
director at the time?



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Q When's the last time you saw this document, Mr. Comstock?
A Yesterday.
Q And do you see the subject line of this email is your question on the census?
A Yep.
Q Okay. And Secretary Ross was confirmed on February 28th, \(I\) think we agreed; is that right?
A Like \(I\) said, if that's the date, yes.
Q Okay. So this would have been
Secretary Ross's eleventh day on the job as Commerce Secretary, give or take?
A Approximately, yes.
Q And the subject line of this email is your question on the census?
A Right.
Q What was the Secretary's question on the census?
A He appeared to have asked whether undocumented people were counted in the census.
Q Okay. And how did he ask you that
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question?
A I don't recall. Probably at a meeting, possibly following up on a census briefing. I don't know. REDACTED

Q Okay.
A By the way, I wanted to add one point.
On the prior document, you need to understand that
at that time, there were a number of questions
that the prior administration had requested be
placed, potentially, on the census that would have been involved in that notification. So that would
have been a reason of why I would have been
interested in that, on sexual orientation and gender identity. So that was an issue that was very at the forefront at the time of what to do about those requests. REDACTED

have also just asked do we count undocumented persons, and this is what $I$ found on the Census website.

## REDACTED

Q This link you've identified at www. census.gov, that's the Census Bureau's frequently asked web page for Congressional apportionment; is that right?

A Again, without pulling it up, I couldn't tell you specifically what it says.

Q Okay. If I represent to you that if you pulled up that website, it would say frequently asked questions for Congressional apportionment, would that assist you?

A I'd be happy to take your word for it.

Q So does that assist you in recalling that the secretary asked whether noncitizens were counted for apportionment purposes?

A And I have no recollection of the question, so $I$ can only go by the answer.

Q Okay. The email also includes a blog post from the Wall Street Journal; is that right?

A Uh-huh.
Q Okay. And your email to the Secretary says that this blog post, quote, confirms that neither the 2000 , nor the 2010 census asked about citizenship?

A Correct.
Q So does that lead you to conclude that the Secretary asked about whether the decennial census asks about citizenship?

A That would be a reasonable supposition, based on the response.

Q And this blog post is called the pitfalls of counting illegal immigrants; is that right?

A Yep.
Q And were you concerned on March 10, 2017

> about counting illegal immigrants?

A I - no, not personally.
Q Was the secretary concerned on
March 10, 2017 about counting illegal immigrants?
A Again, I have no recollection of the question, so I couldn't speculate as to what his concern was.

Q But you testified that a significant part of your job function involves answering questions from the Secretary on issues that matter to him, right?

A Correct.
Q And if he asked you a question, you would try to be responsive?

A Generally, yes.
Q You wouldn't ordinarily send him
information that wasn't responsive to a question he asked, would you?

A Not -- not characterized this way, no.
Q So you testified a minute ago that the Secretary -- that you first heard about the notion of adding a question about citizenship to the
census when the secretary raised it with you
shortly after his confirmation. Does this email
indicate to you that it was by March loth that the
Secretary first raised it with you?
A I wouldn't necessarily draw that
conclusion from this email.
Q Would you draw the conclusion that it was
later than March 10?
A No, I wouldn't. Again, this -- this
question does not directly address -- it's a
question about how -- who do we count, not whether
or not -- and whether there's a citizenship
question. So I don't know at this point whether
he indicated he was interested in such a question,
other than getting the factual information.
REDACTED

A Uh-huh.
Q So the decennial census now underway, do you understand we refer to --

A Would have been the 2010, yeah.
Q Remember to please wait for me to finish my question before you answer.

A Sure.
Q Did you highlight this line?
A Well, unless you did, then I'm assuming I did.

Q I can represent to you we did not highlight this line.

A Okay. Then $I$ will assume that it was highlighted in the email.

Q And why did you highlight this line of the blog post before sending it to the secretary?

A Well, it appears that the question was whether or not the citizenship question had been asked, at least on the 2010 census, and so I'm highlighting for him where in this article, so he doesn't have to read the whole thing that $I$ found the information responsive to his question, which

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    is a statement by somebody in Wall Street Journal,
    which is, you know, in some circles considered a
    reasonably accurate paper. Stating that it was
    not collected in the 2010 census.
    Q Okay. And take a look -- let's do that
    again. We had some interference from the
    conference line.
    Take a look at the second page of
    Comstock Exhibit 2. This is the page marked 2522.
    A Yep.
    Q And, again, about two-thirds of the way
    down the page, there's another highlighted line.
        Do you see that?
    A I -- yep.
    Q I'll represent to you this line was
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highlighted as the documents were produced to the
plaintiffs in this lawsuits. We did not
highlight.

A Okay.
Q That line reads --
A I can't read what it says.
Q -- "Many more foreign-born residents were
counted in 2000 than was expected based on annual
estimates produced by the Bureau."
Do you see that line?
A Yep. I'm - I see the highlighted line,
but I'm taking it at your word that that's what it
says.

Q Okay. The -- do you know why you highlighted that line when you sent this blog post to the secretary?

A Again, it would appear to indicate that the census may have underestimated the number of undocumented folks.

Q Okay. So you told me that the secretary first raised the idea of adding a citizenship question to the census shortly after he was confirmed. You've testified that on March loth, you emailed him information showing that undocumented residents are included in the apportionment counts. You've testified on March loth, you emailed him a blog post from the Wall Street Journal highlighting a line that no major government survey asks American's about

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    their citizenship status.
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        Does that help you remember when the
    Secretary first expressed interest in adding a
    citizenship question to the decennial census?
        A No.
        Q And does that help you remember that it
        was no later than March loth that the Secretary
        first asked you that question?
            A Again, you're speculating as to when he
        asked. But he appeared to have inquired about
        some relevant aspects of it --
            Q Okay.
            A -- on March 10th.
        REDACTED
    Q When's the first time you saw this document?

A Probably when we reviewed a draft in the Justice Department.

Q Okay. When was that?
A I couldn't tell you the date.
Q Was it near in time to the date below Secretary Ross's signature, which is June 21, 2018?

A I'd say that's likely, yes.
Q When's the last time you saw this document?

A Right now.
Q When's the last time before right now that you saw this document?

A I think maybe yesterday. I can't recall.
Q Okay. Did you draft this memo?
A I did not draft this memo, no.

Q Did you assist in drafting this memo?
A I provided some edits to this memo.
Q Okay. Who else assisted in providing

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edits to the memo?
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A The Office of General Counsel.
Q Who in the Office of General Counsel?
A I believe Mike Walsh.
Q Anyone else?
A There may have been other counsel. I don't know.

Q Did Peter Davidson provide edits to this memo?

A It's entirely possible he did.
Q Did James Uthmeier provide edits to this memo?

A It's possible, yes.
Q The second sentence of this memo says, "Soon after my appointment as secretary of Commerce, I began considering various fundamental issues regarding the upcoming 2020 census, including funding and content. Part of these considerations included whether to reinstate a

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citizenship question, which other senior
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administration officials had previously raised."

A Yes.
Q Do you see that?
A I do.
Q Do you recall when -- strike that.
Do you know what time period the
Secretary is referring to in this memo when he
says, "Soon after my appointment, I began
considering various fundamental issues"?
A Well, it appears that he would be talking about spring of 2017 .

Q And the secretary says in this memo, "My staff and I thought reinstating a citizenship question could be warranted."

Do you see that line?
A Yep.
Q Okay. Who is the secretary referring to when he says my staff and I?

A That probably includes me and could include other staff.

Q Which other staff?

A Other staff involved in this process
would include James Uthmeier, Mike Walsh,
Wendy Teramoto, the Census staff. You know, again, the entire department that works for him, so --

Q Okay. He refers in that line to, "My staff and $I$ thought reinstating a citizenship question could be warranted."

Is that right?
A Right. So he's likely talking about me.
And, again, whether he discussed this with
Eric Branstad, I have no idea. Izzy Hernandez was
working on this for a while, so he might have
talked to him about it. And then, obviously,
James Uthmeier was working on this. Ellen Herbst,
whether he discussed it with her, I don't know.



A Mr. Secretary, the Justice Department recommends that we file this supplemental memo, and so we recommend you sign it.

Q And did he read it when you showed it to him?

A I believe he did, yes.
Q Had you shown it to him before that conversation?

A I - I don't know.
Q Do you know if OGC had shown it to him before that conversation?

A It's entirely possible, yes.
Q Do you know if the Justice Department showed it to him before that conversation?

A I don't believe the Justice Department came over to meet with them.

Q Did you talk with anyone other than the Secretary or your colleagues from the Office of General Counsel about this memo before June 21 st?

A Not that I recall.
Q Did you discuss with it
Karen Dunn Kelley?

says my staff and I thought reinstating a

## question?

A Again, $I$ think it provides important information that's used for all kind of programs. And if you want a complete and accurate census, you would provide it.

Q What caused you to form a view on whether the citizenship question should or should not be added?

A When I was -- and I didn't really know that it wasn't included in the census, but once $I$ became informed of that, it struck me as odd that
we don't ask the question.
Q And you testified earlier that the Secretary is the first person who raised it to you?

A In my employment at the Department of Commerce, yes.

Q Do you recall discussing it before you worked at the Commerce Department?

A Probably sometime in the last 30-odd years, I'm in -- you know, in political science and politics, so I'm sure I discussed at.

Q But the first time in 2017 that you recall considering this issue is when the REDACTED

just outlined.
Q And so in forming your view that a
citizenship question should be added --
A Again, you're characterizing it in a way
that I'm not. In forming my view that a
citizenship question would be appropriate to
include in a census, that's one thing.
Q Okay.
A Should be added is a separate --
Q Hang on a second. I haven't added a
question yet.
The Secretary's memo says my staff and I
thought reinstating a citizenship question could
be warranted, right? And you've testified that
you were among the people he was referring to when
he says my staff and I.
A Right.
Q So you were of the view that the
citizenship -- adding a citizenship question could
be warranted?
A Yes.
Q And I'm asking in forming the view that
adding a citizenship question could be warranted, you relied only on common sense; is that what you testified? MR. GARDNER: Objection. Mischaracterizes the witness's prior testimony. BY MR. COLANGELO:

Q What did you rely on in forming that view?

A So, again, the key word is could. Could be warranted, meaning it is worthy of investigating further. That is what the document says.

Q What did you rely on in forming that view?

A The fact that other countries ask this information; the fact that we ask it on the ACS of
a percentage of the population every year; the fact that as a citizen, most people wouldn't be concerned with answering that question. All of those things are relevant. REDACTED

## REDACTED

Q When did you -- did there come a time when you researched the statistical practices of other countries?

A Why would that be relevant?
Q Mr. Comstock, you just testified that in forming the view that adding a citizenship question could be warranted, among the things you considered was that other countries do. So I'm asking you --

A Okay.
Q -- did you research the practices of other countries?

A By that, you mean did I -- did I determine that other countries ask the question? Yes.

Q In the spring of 2017?
A Yeah. I think we did a quick Google search, you know.

Q So you Googled the census practices of other countries in order to determine that adding
a citizenship question could be warranted?
A Again, my formulation of a -- of a decision that it could be warranted is largely based on common sense.

Q Okay. I just want to make sure that I understand. That as to the part of your answer that related to the practices of other countries, in the spring of 2017, you formed that view by Googling it?

A I may have asked if other countries did it or $I$ may have gotten online and looked. don't recall. REDACTED


A Correct.
Q It was important to the secretary?
A Correct.
Q He was motivated to get this done?
A He was working on a lot of different issues at the time.

Q But this one was important to him?
A Yes. Absolutely.
Q Okay. And when you saw the draft of this memo before June 21 st and it refers to other senior administration officials, you didn't yourself have any view or understanding of who those other administration officials were?

A I did not, no.
Q You didn't ask the secretary who those other administration officials were?

A No.
Q Okay. When recommending that he sign the memo, he didn't say to you who are the other senior -- who the other senior administration officials were?

A We did not discuss that, no.

## REDACTED

Q Did the Secretary speak with Mr. Bannon that night?

A I don't know.
MR. GARDNER: Objection. Calls for
speculation. Lack of foundation.
THE WITNESS: I do not know.
BY MR. COLANGELO:
Q Did the Secretary speak with Kris Kobach on April 7, 2017?

A No idea.
Q Did you join a call with the Secretary regarding the census on April 5th of 2017?

A I have no idea.
Q You don't know if you joined the call with the Secretary on April 5th of 2017?

A I don't know what $I$ was doing on April 5, 2017 without looking at a calendar or something else that would remind me. I'd have to go through my emails that day. I could not tell you what $I$ was doing on that day.

Q Do you know who Kris Kobach is?

spring of 2017 , correct?

A Yes.
Q And the Secretary frequently asked you
for updates on the census-related matters in the spring of 2017 , right?

A I wouldn't characterize it as frequently.
Q Did the Secretary ever ask you for updates on census matters in the spring of 2017?

A Yes, he did.
Q Did he ever update you on developments that he was aware of regarding the census in the spring of 2017?

A It's unusual for the secretary to update me on anything.

Q Would the secretary have told you if he had a conversation with Steven Bannon about the census?

A Not necessarily.
Q Would he have told you if he had a conversation about the census with Kris Kobach?

A Not necessarily.
Q Why not?

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                                    Page 120
    MR. GARDNER: Objection. Form.
    THE WITNESS: I wouldn't speculate, but
    he's the Secretary. He makes his own decisions.
    BY MR. COLANGELO:
    Q So has the Secretary ever told you about
a conversation he had with someone else?
    MR. GARDNER: Objection. Form.
    THE WITNESS: Yes. He reports to me
    sometimes if he feels that it's essential that I
    know the substance of conversation.
    BY MR. COLANGELO:
        Q Okay.
            MR. COLANGELO: Can we mark this
    Exhibit 7?
                            (Plaintiffs' Exhibit 7, Email, was
marked.)
            THE WITNESS: Thank you very much.
BY MR. COLANGELO:
            Q Handed the witness a document stamped 763
        and marked Exhibit 7.
            Mr. Comstock, do you have Exhibit 7 in
        front of you?
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                                    Page 121
    A I do.
    Q Have you seen this email before?
    A No, I haven't.
    Q This is the first you've ever seen this
    email?
    A Yes.
    Q Okay. If you turn to the second page --
    A I'm sorry. I'm just reading the
    document.
            Okay.
            Q Do you see at the bottom of page -- of
    the first page of this exhibit, Mr. Comstock,
    there's an email from Kris Kobach to
    Wendy Teramoto --
    A Right.
    Q -- on July 21, 2017; is that right?
    A That's what it says.
    Q And the email says, "Wendy, nice meeting
    you on the phone this afternoon. Below is the
    email that I sent to Secretary Ross. He and I had
    spoken briefly on the phone about this issue at
    the direction of Steven Bannon a few months
```

earlier."
Do you see that?
A I see that.
Q Okay. That was the call on April 5th
that we were just talking about, right?
MR. GARDNER: Objection. Lack of
foundation. Calls for speculation.
THE WITNESS: Doesn't specify when the
phone call took place.
BY MR. COLANGELO:
Q And did Wendy tell you she got this email from Kris Kobach in July of 2017?

A No.
Q You've never spoken to Wendy about Kris Kobach, at all?

A Not that I recall.
Q Is there anyone else that you're aware of that Steven Bannon directed the Secretary to talk to about the census, other than Kris Kobach?

MR. GARDNER: Objection. Lack of

## foundation.

THE WITNESS: I have no knowledge of any
conversations with Steven Bannon, so $I$ wouldn't
know who he might have suggested the secretary
talk to.
BY MR. COLANGELO:
Q Have you ever spoken to Steven Bannon
yourself?
A I have never spoken to Steven Bannon
myself.
REDACTED

## REDACTED

Q Did he ever tell you that he spoke with Mr. Newman about the citizenship question?

A I'm fairly certain he was -- he did talk to him at some point.

Q Okay. When was that?
A I couldn't tell you.
Q Did Mr. Newman ever say to you that he had spoken to the secretary about adding a citizenship question?

A It's possible, yeah.
Q Okay. When did he tell you?
A Again, $I$ don't recall the exact date.
Q Try to place it, roughly.
A To your question, was there discussion of the possibility of adding a citizenship question in the spring? Yes. That does not mean any firm decision had been made. We were exploring the opportunity.

## REDACTED

# REDACTED 

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Q Can you tell me what you mean by decision
memo?
A The memo that the Secretary produced
documenting his decision. There was a reference
to other response rates and demographic. So,
clearly, at some point, the information became
available.
Q And you're referring to the
March 26,2018 from the Secretary to Karen
Dunn Kelley?

A Yes.

## REDAACTED

MR. COLANGELO: Let's mark Exhibit 9.
(Plaintiffs' Exhibit 9, Email, was
marked.)
BY MR. COLANGELO:
Q We have marked a document stamped 3694 as Exhibit 9. Do you have this email in front of you?

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    A I do.
    Q Have you seen this email before?
    A Yes.
    Q Before today, when is the last time you
    saw this email?
    A Yesterday.
    Q And this is an email from
    Brooke Alexander to you with a copy to
    Wendy Teramoto; is that right?
    A Correct.
    Q Dated April 20, 2017?
    A Yep.
    Q And did you understand this to be a
    message from the Secretary?
    A That's what Brooke's message says.
    Q Brooke has access to the Secretary's
    email?
    A Yes.
    Q And is it -- okay. Withdrawn.
            Are you familiar with the National
Advisory Committee on Racial, Ethnic and Other
Populations?
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A No.
Q You have no idea what the National
Advisory Committee is?
A I mean, I know it's an advisory committee to Census, but outside of that, I -- I couldn't tell you what they do, other than what their title suggests that they do.
Q So you're aware that there's a National Advisory Committee on Racial, Ethnic and Other Populations that advises the Census Bureau?
A I take that from this email that's correct, yes.
Q And what do you understand the role of the advisory committee to be?
A To provide advice to the Census Bureau.
Q Okay. The message from Brooke speaking for the Secretary to you says, "Earl, Census director has on April $29 t h$ a meeting of the National Advisory Committee. We must get our issue resolved before this" -- exclamation point, and the must is underlined. Do you see that?

| Page 140 |
| :---: |
| A I see that. |
| Q What is our issue? |
| A I couldn't tell you. |
| Q Our issue is the citizenship question, |
| right? |
| MR. GARDNER: Objection. Calls for |
| speculation. Lack of foundation. |
| THE WITNESS: I would say likely not, |
| actually, given there's no reason to believe the |
| National Advisory Committee on Racial, Ethnic and |
| Other Populations would be advising on a |
| citizenship question. |
| BY MR. COLANGELO: |
| Q Were there other issues that you'd been |
| talking about with the Secretary involving the |
| census in the spring of 2017 that would relate to |
| the National Advisory's mandate? |
| A Certainly the SOGI question would, and |
| the MENA question would. |
| Q But the notification date for the SOGI |
| question was at the end of March in 2017 -- for |
| the SOGI topics, I should say, correct? |

A Correct.
Q So that was already resolved by April, right?
A I'm not certain of the timing, but MENA, I think, was not resolved until sometime in the spring or summer.
Q And sticking with the SOGI question -and for the record, that' S-O-G-I. SOGI stands for sex orientation and gender identity.
A Correct.
Q Would you conclude if the secretary referred to a National Advisory Committee on Racial and Ethnic, Populations that the SOGI question would be what he had in mind?
A I would guess. Again, this is speculation, but my best guess, based on this reference, is probably more like the MENA issue is what was in front of us.
Q Okay. And describe the MENA issue?
A The Middle Eastern North African
question. There's a question as to whether you ask two questions or you ask one question. And
it's not a topic I spent a tremendous amount of time on, but it was something that the Census was very much discussing at the time.

Q And had you discussed that issue with the Secretary?

A We had a conversation or two about it. And, again, it was largely in the context of which way to go on that question.

Q And why would the Secretary have said that that issue must be resolved by April 29th?

MR. GARDNER: Objection. Calls for
speculation. Lack of foundation.
BY MR. COLANGELO:
Q You can answer.
A You know, again, at that point -- this is shortly before a -- if I recall correctly, a Congressional hearing that was going to go into the census and probably wanted to have a position to recommend to Director Thompson as to what he should say to the advisory group. Again, I don't recall this reference or precisely what he was speaking to.

Q Okay. This isn't a topic you'd spent a lot of time on, right, the Middle Eastern

North African question?
A Correct.
Q There's no reason the secretary would have referred to it as our issue, is there?

MR. GARDNER: Objection. Calls for
speculation. Lack of foundation.
THE WITNESS: Again, depending on if his
perception was that there was an administration policy call to make on it, he would refer to it as our issue. BY MR. COLANGELO:

Q He could also have referred to the citizenship issue as your issue, right? MR. GARDNER: Objection. Calls for speculation. Lack of foundation. THE WITNESS: Again, I would say looking at the context of the email, $I$ would say that's an unlikely connection.
BY MR. COLANGELO:
Q And by April 20th of 2017, how many times
had you discussed the citizenship question with Secretary Ross?

A I have no idea.
Q More than a handful?
A Possibly.
Q Okay. Would you say he was extremely interested in the issue?

A Certainly, when he raised it, he was interested in it.

Q Okay. You wouldn't say he was extremely interested in the MENA question, right?

A When we discussed it, he was equally interested in that.

Q He didn't raise it with you with the same frequency he raised the citizenship question, right?

A That's correct.
Q Why was Wendy Teramoto copied on this email?

MR. GARDNER: Objection. Calls for speculation.

THE WITNESS: Couldn't tell you.

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BY MR. COLANGELO:
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Q Did you speak with her about this issue after you got this message?

A It's possible. I don't recall.
MR. COLANGELO: Can we mark this
Exhibit 10?
(Plaintiffs' Exhibit 10, Email, was
marked.)
BY MR. COLANGELO:
Q Handed the witness a document stamped 3710 and we've marked it as Exhibit 10 .

A Okay.
Q Have you read this email?
A Yep.
Q Okay. You've seen this email before?
A I have.
Q When's the last time you saw this email?
A Yesterday.
Q When you saw this email yesterday, was it redacted as it is in the form I've shown it to you now or was it unredacted?

A It was redacted.


you sent the Secretary, Director Thompson's House
appropriation subcommittee written testimony?
A Yes.
Q And his testimony was for, quote, this
Wednesday?
A Right. That's what it appears.
Q And if I told you that -- oh, if you look
at the subject line it says, Wednesday, May 3rd;
is that right?
A That's correct.
Q Okay. So let's refer back to Exhibit 10 .
A Yep.
Q Now that you see the day before you had
sent the Secretary Mr. Thompson's written
testimony for the House appropriation subcommittee
hearing --
A Right.
Q - - what do you understand, worst of all
they emphasize they have settled with Congress to
mean?
MR. GARDNER: Same objection. Calls for
speculation.

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    THE WITNESS: Again, I'm not sure without
    further context who they is. He could be
    referring to that advisory committee that you had
    had in a previous email. He could be referring to
    Census.
    BY MR. COLANGELO:
    Q Does the advisory committee establish the
    content for the census?
    A Again, the context of this email is that
    somebody appears to be emphasizing that they've
    settled with Congress on the questions. That
    clearly is not the case, because questions aren't
    due until March of 2018. So they couldn't have
    settled on the questions.
    Q And you see that at the top of
    Exhibit 10, you email the Secretary saying, "On
    the citizenship question, we will get that in
    place"?
    A Uh-huh.
    Q Do you see that?
    A Yep.
    Q What did you mean by that?
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correct?

A To pursue, exploring the question.
Q This was instructions to add the question in response to my months' old request that we include the citizenship question, correct?

A This would be instructions to review and consider and present to him information that would allow him to make a decision on whether or not to take final action.

Q Mr. Comstock, I'm just asking you what you understood on May 2nd --

A And that's what I'm telling you $I$ understood on May $2 n d$.

Q Hold on one second. Let me finish the question.

A Uh-huh.
Q The Secretary wrote, "I am mystified why nothing has been done in response to my months' old request that we include the citizenship question."

And you responded, "On the citizenship question, we will get that in place"?

A Correct.
Q Okay. So my question is: By we will get that in place, what did you mean?

A I meant that $I$ will present to you the information and the process necessary for you to decide if you would like to pursue this question.

Q Your email says we will get that in place, correct?

A I mean, we will get in front of you the necessary information for you to make a decision. Part of my role in this process is explaining to people who have never worked in government before that there are processes that you have to follow in order to make an action happen. You're dealing with people who are used to being able to make a decision and it simply goes into effect.

Q Okay.
A That's not the way the U.S. government works.

Q So the process that you then go on to tell the Secretary he has to follow is later in your message; is that right?

| Page 153 |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| A That part of the process, yes. |  |  |  |  |
| Q And that email says we need to work wit |  |  |  |  |
| Justice to get them to request that citizenship be |  |  |  |  |
| added back as a census question; is that right? |  |  |  |  |
| A That's right. |  |  |  |  |
| Q Why would you say you needed to work with |  |  |  |  |
| the Justice Department to get them to request that |  |  |  |  |
| citizenship be added back? |  |  |  |  |
| A Because based on a very preliminary |  |  |  |  |
| review, they appeared to be the most likely |  |  |  |  |
| government body that would have a specific need |  |  |  |  |
| for the information that would support adding a |  |  |  |  |
| citizenship question to the decennial census. |  |  |  |  |
| Q Who conducted that preliminary review? |  |  |  |  |
| A We were told by the Census Bureau that |  |  |  |  |
| the Justice Department was the person that had |  |  |  |  |
| requested the citizenship question on the ACS and |  |  |  |  |
| that they utilized the ACS data for Voting Rights |  |  |  |  |
| Act information. |  |  |  |  |
| REDACTED |  |  |  |  |
| Q And why did you need a request from |  |  |  |  |

## Justice?

A Again, based on the preliminary review, the understanding we had was questions are added, based on requests from a government agency. There is such a thing as the Paperwork Reduction Act where you have to justify to OMB why do I need this information? That has to get cleared. So there are certain hurdles you have to get through. So if at the end of the day the Secretary decided to pursue this question, we would need to clear certain legal thresholds.

Q Why not just tell the Census Bureau to add the citizenship question and say the Secretary wanted it?

A Because I'm not sure that that would be the process they would necessarily agree to follow.

Q So you had to have it come from DOJ in order for the Census Bureau to agree to follow it?

A Again, that was a preliminary conclusion based on a cursory analysis.

## REDACTED

# REDACTED 

What court cases were your referring?
A I don't recall the exact court cases.
Q Did you research those court cases?
A I did research a court case where there was a scenario in which you would need -- it would be important to have Citizen Voting Age Population data in order to make a Voting Rights Act claim.

Q How did you identify that case?
A By a legal research.
Q What do you mean by legal research?
A Well, I think I talked to -- I'm trying to think -- I think Mark Neuman may have provided a case name. I talked to James Uthmeier, who looked at some cases. Basically said, okay, if this is the question -- I mean, it's what you do as an attorney all day long, is to go find cases to support what you're looking for.

Q So Mark Neuman identified for you a case that would support DOJ's need for this information?

Do you see that?

A Yes.
Q Okay. So before May 2, 2017, you had not had any discussions with the Department of Justice about the citizenship question, right?

A Not to my knowledge.
Q What did you do to arrange a meeting with DOJ staff to discuss?

A I asked Eric Branstad for a name over at DOJ, and he provided me the name of Mary -- Mary Jane [sic] Hankey I think it was, whom I then contacted.

Q Okay. Your email refers to the court cases to illustrate that DOJ has a legitimate need for the question to be included.

A That's what it says, yes.
Q What were the other needs that you had talked about for including the citizenship question?

A I don't recall.
Q Okay. And by legitimate need, were you concerned that other needs that didn't come from

DOJ would not be legitimate needs?
A No. I think that's just an
imprecise -- the use of the term legitimate,
something to say that it would be a need that
would be considered a government need for the
information.
REDACTED
with the Secretary and Mr. Newman on the census.
Q Before May 2017?
A Yes.
Q How many times?
A I don't know. Two times, three times.
I'd -- you'd have to check his count.
Q Okay. And the citizenship question was
discussed in those earlier meetings?
A I don't recall.
REDACTED
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why nothing had been done in response to his
months' old request. You told him you needed to
get the Justice Department to request the
question. You also told him that you would set up
meetings with the Justice Department to discuss.
And then after that, you asked Eric Branstad to
get you a point of contact at the Justice
hefore that on the citizenship issue?
Department and he did, right?

Q And why were you contacting Mary Blanche?
Her surname is redacted on this email, I assume
for personal privacy reasons. But this is Mary
Blanche Hankey, correct?
A Yes.
Q Why were you contacting Mary Blanche Hankey?

A That was the name that Eric Branstad said he'd provide me.

Q Okay. And do you know where in the White House -- strike that.

Do you know where in the
Justice Department she worked?
A She was advisor for - to
Attorney General Sessions.

Q So she worked for the Attorney General?
A Correct.
Q And you reached out to her to talk about the citizenship question, right?

A Amongst other things, yes.
Q And you reached out to her and asked her for times for a call that day, right?

A That's what I'm asking for, yes.
Q Okay. Is that because this was an urgent priority for the secretary?

A I think you can divine from his prior email that he was hoping I might take a quick action on this, so $I$ was trying to be responsive.

Q So the answer is yes?
A I'm not going to speculate as to whether he thought it was urgent or not, but he was conveying he would like me to get moving.

Q You were treating it as an urgent matter?
A Correct.

## REDACTED

A I met with her - I think I spoke with her by phone and then met with her in her office.

Q When did you speak with her by phone?
A I couldn't tell you.
Q Was it on May 4 th?
A It's possible.
Q And then you met with her in her office,

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you said?
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A Yes.
Q When was that meeting?
A I don't know the exact date.
Q When you spoke to her on the phone, was anyone else on the call with you?

A No.
Q Was anyone else on the call on her end?
A Not that $I$ was aware of, no.
Q When you met with her in person, did anyone from the Commerce Department go with you?

A No.
Q Did anyone from the Census Bureau go with

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you?
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                                    Page 170
A No.
Q Was there anyone else in the meeting that she brought?
A No.
Q What did you say to her when you spoke to her on the phone?
A That I'd like to come over and discuss what issues the Justice Department might have with Commerce that I could be helpful on and talk to her about an issue that we were interested in.
Q And that issue was the citizenship question?
A Correct.
Q And what did she say about that?
A Let's get together and meet.
Q So then you went over to meet with her. Did she have any issues that she wanted to raise with you?
A I don't recall that Justice had any particular Commerce issues, no.
Q So this was a meeting about the citizenship question?
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A I'd say that was the primary topic.
Q Okay. And what did you say to her when
you met with her in person?

A That we -- the Secretary had asked us to look into the possibility of adding a citizenship question, and that since the Justice Department was the agency that had sponsored the question for the ACS, it seemed that that was a logical place to start, and was there someone in the Justice Department with whom I should speak about that.

Q And what did she say?
A Let me look into it.
Q How long was the meeting?
A Well, we met for about 20 minutes.
Q Did you explain why the Secretary wanted the citizenship question?

A No.
Q Did you have an understanding at that point as to why the secretary wanted the citizenship question?

A I've never asked the Secretary why he


## REDACTED

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Q And after you met with Ms. Hankey and she said she'd look into it, what was the next that you heard from the Justice Department on this issue?
A I think when she contacted me, provided a name.
Q How long after your meeting did she contact you and provide a name?
A There's an email that documents it, you could tell from that, but otherwise, I have no idea.
Q Okay.
A I mean, it was sometime in the next
``` couple weeks, but --

Q And what name did she give you?
A I -- I know I put it in a memo to the Secretary later on, so you'd have to look at that memo.

Q Is it James McHenry?
A That sounds like the right name.
Q When she spoke to you to pass along

James McHenry's name, what did she say about why she was directing you to him?

A She didn't say much. Just said this would be the best guy to talk to.

Q Okay. Had you spoken to James McHenry before?

A Never talked to him before.
Q Did she tell you what his position was in the Department of Justice?

A She might have.
Q What was his position?
A I don't know, actually.
Q After she gave you Mr. McHenry's name, what did you do next to contact him?

A I called him on the phone.
Q And when you spoke to him on the phone what did you say?

A I outlined that we were interested in seeing what kind of level of interest the Justice Department would have in requesting the citizenship question be asked -- added to the decennial census.

Q And did you tell him why the
Commerce Department wanted the Justice Department to make that request?

A Because that was our understanding of the process. They were the people that needed it for ACS, and our understanding was that it might be useful for them to have it at a more granule level, which would be needed -- you'd need to put it on the decennial census to do that.

Q So you were -- you told him that the Commerce Secretary wanted the question and wanted to know if DOJ would ask for the Census Bureau to add the question; is that right?

A Those are your words.
Q Well, I'm asking you to tell me yes or no.

A Well, if the question is yes or no, then the answer is no.

Q Okay. How would you put it in your words?

A In my words, what \(I\) told him was that we were exploring the possibility and wanting to know
    the level of interest at the Justice Department in
    making such a request, would this be information
    they could use?

Q So this is the shortly -- this is shortly after the Secretary of Commerce emailed you and said I am mystified why nothing had been done in response to my months' old request?

A Right.
Q But your testimony is that you conveyed to the Justice Department that you were exploring the issue?

A As I explained before, when -- when the Secretary says he would like to do something, there's a presumption that we will attempt to do that. That's subject to revision as more information is made available. So I'm exploring what is necessary to follow through on the Secretary's request. That request may be modified or changed, based on the information that \(I\) provide.

Q Okay. How many times did you speak to Mr. McHenry?

A I think three or four times.
Q And what was the next time you spoke to him after the initial phone call?

A Maybe a week later.
Q Okay. And what did he say when he - - did he call you or did you call him?

A I don't recall.
Q And what did you discuss on that conversation?

A That he was still exploring the question.
Q How long was that conversation?
A Five minutes.
Q Okay. So he didn't have anything new to report?

A Right.
Q Okay. And you said you spoke to him at least a couple more times; is that right?

A Again, I don't recall the exact number of times, but somewhere in the vicinity of three or four times.

Q So after the second call where he said he was still exploring it, tell me about the next
conversation?
A Memory serves, I think the next
conversation was a similar one. He was still
looking into the matter and then -- and then the
last conversation he and \(I\) had, he directed me to
somebody at the Department of Homeland Security.
Q Okay. And over what period of time were you talking to Mr. McHenry on the phone?

A Probably over the course of a month.
Q So this was primarily in May of 2017?
A I honestly don't recall, but sometime in May, early June.

Q And who did he direct you to at the Department of Homeland Security?

A I don't remember the person's name.
Q Was it Gene Hamilton?
A Again, I know I prepared a memo for the Secretary that had the name. So if that's the name that was on the memo, then, yes, that would be the person I spoke with.

Q How many times did you speak to your point of contact at the Department of

Homeland Security?
A Again, I think it was -- I think this was like two or three times.

Q And what did you say when you first spoke to Mr. Hamilton?

A Same -- same basic message, we're looking into the -- exploring the possibility of putting a
census question on -- a citizenship question on
the decennial census, would this be information
that the Department of Homeland security would need or use, and could he answer that, and his response was, let me look into it.

Q Now, the Department of Homeland security wasn't the original requester for the ACS citizenship question, to your understanding, correct?

A Correct.
Q Was it your view that the Department of Homeland Security would also be a legitimate requester of this information?

A Legitimate is not the right word, but the -- I think my view was, let me see if
there's -- what their explanation would be, but they were obviously not our first choice.

Q So you were looking for an agency to make this ask?

A Again, my understanding of the process, based on the research I've been able to do, and consequently was advising the Secretary was an agency needed to make the request; therefore, you have to find an agency that would have a reason to be using this information. And Justice, obviously, was the primary recipient of the CVAP data from the ACS, so they were the logical place to start. Justice then says go to Homeland Security, and I say, okay, maybe there's something about Homeland Security that \(I\) don't know about that might justify this data. So you follow up on a call, get more information, informs your decision, you might change it.

Q And so my question was: So you were looking for an agency to make this ask and --

A Correct. In order to implement the process that had been outlined to us, you needed
an agency. So that was my task at the time.
Q Thank you.
MR. COLANGELO: Let's mark this
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Exhibit --

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MR. GARDNER: 15 .
MR. COLANGELO: -- 15 .
(Plaintiffs' Exhibit 15, Memo, was marked.)

THE WITNESS: The very memo \(I\) was
speaking of.
BY MR. COLANGELO:
Q Exhibit 15 is document stamped 9834 .
Mr. Comstock, do you have Exhibit 15 if
front of you?
A I do.
Q Is this the very memo you were just
speaking about?
A It's the very memo I was just speaking about.

Q And what's the date on this memo?
A September 8 th.
Q And you see in the second paragraph of
    this memo, the sentence that says, "James directed
    me to Gene Hamilton at the Department of
    Homeland Security."
    A Correct.
    Q So the person you were speaking to at DHS
    was Gene Hamilton, right?
    A Apparently so, yes.
    Q The -- in that paragraph -- strike that.
        This is a memo from you to the secretary
    dated september 8 th of 2017 , correct?
    A Correct.
    Q Why did you prepare this memo?
    A Because the Secretary was asking about
    the lack of progress and said he was prepared to
    call the Attorney General, and so he needed the
    timeline of who \(I\) had spoken to.
    Q Okay. What do you mean by lack of
progress?
    A Well, obviously, we're now September 8th,
        and he inquired on May -- May whatever the date
        was, 2 nd, 5 th, whatever it was, saying how come we
        haven't made more progress? Three months later we
don't have any response from the
Justice Department, so --

Q In his May 2nd email it said, why has nothing been done in response to my months' old request?

A That is what it says, yes.
Q So the Secretary had been asking about this since the early spring of 2017?

A Yes.
Q And you testified and this memo says you met in person with Mary Blanche and she said what?

A Well, as I said, she directed me to

\section*{James McHenry.}

Q And then after speaking with Mr. McHenry, he told you what?

A He directed me to Gene Hamilton.
Q Okay. And then after several phone calls with Gene Hamilton, according to this memo, he relayed that, "After discussion, DHS really felt it was best handled by the Justice Department." Do you see that?
A I see that.

Q Why did Mr. Hamilton feel this was best handled by the Justice Department?

A As relayed to me, DHS felt the agency that would most utilize this data was

Department of Justice, which was our original conclusion.

Q So DHS said they were not going to make this request, right?

A Well, Gene never made a commitment, one way or the other, for the department. He simply directed me back to the other department. It's not an uncommon experience in the federal government.

Q Tell me what's not uncommon in the federal government.

A Being directed to somebody.
Q Your memo then says at that point the conversation ceased.

A Correct.
Q What do you mean by that?
A Means that \(I\) did not talk to
Mary Blanche, James McHenry or Gene Hamilton after

    that point in time.
    Q You didn't, at this point, have a request
    from the Justice Department, right?
    A That's correct.
    \(\square\) 促


\section*{REDACTED}
 Act cases or that Voting Rights case on your own?
                    Page 193
A Again, I think in doing some basic
research on it, it was pointed out there was a
case where the Court had said you could -- you
would need more granule information to answer this
question, which would then support a citizenship
question.
    Q And you told me before that you're not a
    voting rights lawyer, right?
    A Again, what do you mean by a voting
    rights lawyer?
    Q Have you ever practiced voting rights
        law?
            A No.
            Q Have you ever tried a voting rights case?
            A No.
            Q Have you ever advised a client on a
        voting rights matter?
            A No.
            Q Have you ever practiced redistricting
        law, tried a redistricting case --
            A No.
            Q -- or advised a client on a redistricting
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                                    Page 197
    A Mr. Secretary, I contacted the
    Justice Department today. I would not have
    given -- I mean, there was nothing to report. So
    I hadn't made any progress.
    Q Well, he was frustrated there was no
    request yet?
    A Right.
    Q So one of the things to report might have
    been --
    A That I contacted them, yes.
    Q Okay. And did you keep Ms. Teramoto
    informed during that time period?
    A Again, I might have. At that time
    period, we operated in bullpens, so we were
    all -- there were five people in the same room.
    So it's entirely possible I might have mentioned I
    was going to the Justice Department or I had
    spoken with the Justice Department, yes.
    Q I'm sorry. If you were not finished.
    A Nope.
    Q Who was sitting in the bullpen with you?
    A Wendy Teramoto, Eric Branstad,
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    James Rockas, me, and occasionally Izzy Hernandez.
    Q Who is James Rockas?
    A He was acting press secretary at the
    time.
    Q And who is Izzy Hernandez?
    A Israel Hernandez, he was the acting -- or
    I'm not sure what his formal title was. I think
    he was deputy chief of staff.
    Q And where was the bullpen you referred
        to?
            A It was the -- what is now the chief of
        staff.
            Q And there were five of you working in the
        office?
            A Correct.
            Q How long were the five of you working in
        that office together?
            A Maybe nine months.
            Q So from January of 2018 through the
    end -- strike that.
From January 2017 through the end of
the --

# $\square$ ए $\square$ L 

Q Okay. And Exhibit 7 is the email exchange with Kris Kobach; is that right?

A It's an email exchange between
Kris Kobach and Wendy Teramoto.
Q And the Secretary, correct, on the second page?

A Yes. Appears to be one to the Secretary on the second page.

Q Okay.
A Though it's blanked out as to who it goes to.

Q If I represent to you that the government has represented to us that this was an email to the secretary and that they've blanked out his name for personal privacy reasons, can we agree that it's an email to the secretary on July l4th?

A I'll stipulate to that, yes.
Q And Mr. Gardner will tell me after lunch if that's wrong.

The -- so you see that the -- that

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Mr. Kobach, who identifies himself as the Kansas
Secretary of State, emailed the secretary on
July 14, 2017, correct?
    A Correct.
    MR. GARDNER: Objection. Lack of
    foundation.
    BY MR. COLANGELO:
    Q And you'll see that it says I'm following
    up on our telephone discussion from a few months
    ago, correct?
            MR. GARDNER: Objection. Lack of
    foundation.
    THE WITNESS: And you're reading from the
    email. So I have no idea if the email is correct
    or not.
    BY MR. COLANGELO:
            Q Did the Secretary ever tell you that he
        spoke to Kris Kobach?
            MR. GARDNER: Objection. Asked and
        answered.
        BY MR. COLANGELO:
            Q You can still answer.
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A No.
Q Sorry. We were speaking at the same time.
A I don't recall him ever telling me that he spoke to Kris Kobach.
Q This email reads, "As you may recall, we talked about the fact that the U.S. Census does not currently ask respondents their citizenship."
Do you see that?
A I see that.
Q The email also reads, "It also leads to the problem that aliens who do not actually reside in the United States are still counted for Congressional apportionment purposes." Do you see that?
A I see that.
Q Did the Secretary ever tell you he was concerned about the problem that aliens who do not reside in the United States are still counted for Congressional apportionment purposes?
A He never expressed an opinion on that.
Q And when the secretary asked you on
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March 10, 2017 about the census and the citizenship question, did he ask you in the context of whether noncitizens should be included for Congressional apportionment purposes?

A He discussed Congressional apportionment purposes. If asked were the noncitizens counted, and we answered the question, which is they are counted.

Q Well, you testified the link you sent him was the link to the Census Bureau's web page on whether noncitizens are counted for apportionment?

A That's correct. Well, I don't believe you can find a web page on the census that doesn't speak to it in that context, whether noncitizens are counted other than for apportionment. That's the question that we asked. Do we count noncitizens? The answer is yes. What is the Census used for? It's used for apportionment. That's its primary function.

Q And you'll see that -- going back to the first page of Exhibit 7, Ms. Teramoto has written to Mr. Kobach, "Kris, can you do a call with the

Secretary and Izzy tomorrow at 11:00 a.m.?"
A Correct.
Q And that's Izzy Hernandez, correct?
A I would believe that's the reference she's making, yes.

Q And he's copied at the top of this page, correct?

A Yes, he is.
Q Did you ever discuss with Izzy Hernandez
a call with Mr. Kobach and the Secretary?
A I did not.
Q Did you ever discuss the citizenship
question with Mr. Hernandez, at all?
A I think we discussed it once or twice.
Q And when were those conversations?
A I don't recall exactly.
Q Was it in the summer of 2017?
A It was sometime in the spring/summer of 2017.

Q Okay. So you had been working on the citizenship question for some number of months by late July of 2017 ; is that right?

## RED DABCTED

Q Okay. This is an email from the
Secretary to you on August 8, 2017, and the
Secretary asks were you on the call this morning
about census?

Do you see that?
A Uh-huh.
Q What call is he referring to?
A I don't know. I'm not sure $I$ was on it.
Q Okay. Did you hear from anybody about a

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\text { call on the census on August } 8 \text { th? }
$$

A I have no idea.
Q And you'll see that later in the email, the secretary says, "Where is the DOJ in their analysis? If they still have not come to a conclusion, please let me know your contact person and I will call the AG. Wilbur Ross."

Do you see that?
A I see that.
Q And what analysis is the secretary
referring to?
A Again, this pre-dates the memo I wrote
outlining my contacts with the DOJ. So this is a question about where are we with the DOJ?

Q Okay. And you wrote back that evening saying, "We'll be back shortly with an update on the census question."

A Yes.
Q I have two attorneys in the DOC's general counsel's office working on it?

A Yes.
Q And you testified one of those two attorneys was James Uthmeier; is that right?

A That's correct.
Q And who was the other?
A I don't recall.
Q Okay. Going back to the Secretary's email where he says, "If they still have not come to a conclusion, please let me know your contact person and $I$ will call the AG."

A Yes.
Q Did you understand that to mean that the Secretary was concerned this was not done yet?

A He was concerned that we had not made
more progress.
Q Okay. How did he communicate that
concern to you?
A By saying let me know who your contact
person is and $I$ will call the AG.
Q This email that you sent in your response
doesn't identify your contact person; is that
right?
A That - well, at least not in the part
that's not blacked out.
Q Okay. Do you recall identifying for the
Secretary before the September 8, 2017 memo who
your contact person was at DOJ?
A I might have. I probably would have had
to go back and look and see who I spoke to.
Q Okay.
MR. COLANGELO: Let's mark Document 3984
as Exhibit 20 .
(Plaintiffs' Exhibit 20, email, was
marked.)
THE WITNESS: Thank you.
BY MR. COLANGELO:

Q Mr. Comstock, have you seen this email
before?
A It's to me, so, yes.
Q Okay. And this is in further response to the Secretary's August 8th question; is that right?

A Would appear to be, yes.
Q Okay. And it says, "Mr. Secretary, we are preparing a memo and full briefing for you on the citizenship question. The memo will be ready by Friday, and we can do the briefing whenever you are back in the office."

Do you see that?
A Yes.
Q And at this point, you had not received any information from the Justice Department; is that right?

A That's correct.
Q Okay. So the memo that you're referring to is a memo on the citizenship question that includes no input from DOJ; is that right?

A I -- I don't know. I had not spoken to

> DOJ, no.

Q You're not aware that anyone else had spoken to DOJ on it?

A Actually, I believe counsel might have been talking to DOJ, but $I$ don't know who they were talking to.

Q And which counsel is that?
A James Uthmeier.
Q And did he tell you he was talking to DOJ?

A I don't recall.
Q So you're not aware that anybody had been in touch with DOJ in order to get information for this memo going to the Secretary?

A I -- I'm not sure exactly the contents of the memo to which you're referring, so I don't know if it contained information from DOJ or not.

Q And the secretary responded by saying, "I would like to be briefed on Friday by phone."

A Yes.
Q So it's fair to say that this reflects the Secretary's continued impatience about getting


Mr. Comstock?
A I do.
Q And do you recognize this document?
A Again, it's an email from the secretary
to me, so presumably $I$ saw it then. There's a lot blanked out.

Q And you understand that the
Justice Department has applied those redactions, correct?

A I do.
Q And in this email dated September 1,

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2017, the Secretary says, "I have received no
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update, nor has there been an updated," -- blocked
out -- "nor the issue of the census question, nor
whether KDB thinks we have our arms around the
census cost data."
Do you see that?
A Yes.
Q And by KDB, do you think he meant KDK?
A I believe that would be who he would be
referring to, yes.

Q Referring to Karen Dunn Kelley?

So we -- I mean, we had a huge issue.

They were $\$ 3$ billion -- basically, 25 percent of their budget off, which is a shocking figure --


THE WITNESS: -- that does not inspire
confidence in the Census Bureau or its current
leadership at the time. So we were dealing with
quite a few issues connected with Census,
primarily related to the budget, trying to find people to run the census that we could count on.

So, yes, citizenship was one small piece of this, but it was by no means the driving piece. REDACTED

## REDACTED

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BY MR. COLANGELO:
Q And why would the Secretary have asked
for an update by the next day?
MR. GARDNER: Objection. Calls for
speculation.
    THE WITNESS: As I've mentioned before,
    we like to get things done. We're not here to do
    this all year long. So I was asked similar
    questions on numerous other issues I was working
    on.
    BY MR. COLANGELO:
    Q But it's fair to say the secretary wanted
        an answer quickly?
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            A He always wants an answer quickly.
            MR. COLANGELO: Let's mark Document 2395
        as Exhibit 25.
            (Plaintiffs' Exhibit 25, Email, was
        marked.)
        BY MR. COLANGELO:
            Q Mr. Comstock, do you have Exhibit 25?
            A I do.
    Q Okay. Have you seen this document

## before?

A Yes.
Q When's the last time you saw it before today?

A Yesterday counsel pointed it out to me.
Q And did you review a version yesterday that was redacted like this or unredacted?

A I did.
Q Pardon me?
A It was redacted.
Q Okay. Like this?
A Exactly like this.
Q And this is an email from Mr. Uthmeier to you on the evening of September 7th saying, "Earl,

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I touched base with Peter," redacted, "He spoke
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with Kassinger this evening."

Do you see that?
A Yes.
Q Who is Kassinger?
A That would be Ted Kassinger, former
general counsel for the Department of Commerce.




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Q Okay. What did you say to the secretary about the December 2017 letter when it came in?

A Justice Department has requested this, so now we can start the formal process.

Q And what formal process are you referring to?

A Well, as I've outlined before, in order for the government to take an action, you have to, basically, create a record and make your decision on the basis of that record. So without a request from an agency to ask for the inclusion of citizenship, you were -- this was, basically, a hypothetical question.

Q Okay. But you had told the Secretary in May, we will get the Justice Department to request the question?

A I am going to do everything I can to carry out the secretary's wishes, if they are legal, and so $I$ will do my best. I can't promise things.

## REDACTED

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                                    Page 242
    REDACTED
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    You recall there was a time,
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    You recall there was a time,
    March 26, 2018, when the Secretary issued a
    March 26, 2018, when the Secretary issued a
    decisional memorandum regarding his decision to
    decisional memorandum regarding his decision to
    add a citizenship question?
    add a citizenship question?
    A Yes.
    A Yes.
    Q You worked on that memorandum?
    Q You worked on that memorandum?
            A Yes.
            A Yes.
            Q Okay. Were you the principal drafter?
            Q Okay. Were you the principal drafter?
            A I was one of the principal drafters.
            A I was one of the principal drafters.
            Q Who were the other principal drafters?
            Q Who were the other principal drafters?
            A James Uthmeier was the primary other
            A James Uthmeier was the primary other
        drafter.
        drafter.
            Q Did you have a division of responsibility
            Q Did you have a division of responsibility
        between the two of you?
        between the two of you?
            A No. I believe he did the first draft.
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            A No. I believe he did the first draft.
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And did anyone else work on the draft besides you, the Secretary and Mr. Uthmeier?

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Department of Justice, who are our counsel, suggested that a supplemental memorandum was needed. This was not something Department of Commerce generated. This was something the Department of Justice, as our counsel, recommended be provided. Following up on that advice, we worked on the document and then had the secretary sign it. We were following advice of counsel. REDACTED
inclusion of a citizenship question on the census.
At that point in time, the Department of Justice had made no request to commerce for the addition of a citizenship question, correct?

A That's correct.
Q And they certainly hadn't
asked -- withdrawn.
The Department of Justice certainly
hadn't asked Commerce to add a citizenship
question because of the VRA. That's also correct; isn't it?

A Well, they didn't ask us to add a citizenship question at that point. So speculating as to why they would ask is irrelevant.

Q I'm not asking you to speculate. The one thing we can be sure of is they didn't ask about the VRA is because they didn't ask at all?

A Correct.
Q All right. And when Secretary Ross says to you in the spring, in whatever words he used, that he wants a citizenship question added to the

\title{
REDACTED
}


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helpful to you in your job of assisting the
Secretary to have a complete understanding of why
the secretary wants to add a citizenship question?
MR. GARDNER: Objection. Form.
THE WITNESS: Again, it's not relevant to
the question of whether or not he needs -- of whether or not a question should be added, so, no. BY MR. GERSCH:

Q Is it your testimony that why he wants a citizenship question to be added is not relevant to whether it should be added? Did I -- did I hear that right?

MR. GARDNER: Objection.
Mischaracterizes the witness's prior testimony.
THE WITNESS: My test- --
MR. COLANGELO: That's exactly what he
said, Counsel.
THE WITNESS: No. My testimony is: The
rationale for why he would want it added is not relevant to my initial inquiry as to whether or not a question can be added.

BY MR. GERSCH:
Q Yeah. My question was a little different. The question \(I\) am trying to get you to focus on is: In your work for the secretary, wouldn't it be helpful to you to understand as fully as possible why he thinks it's a good idea to add a citizenship question?

A And let --
MR. GARDNER: Objection. Asked and answered.

THE WITNESS: And let me get you to understand my answer, which is, no, it would not make a difference, because \(I\) don't need that information to investigate the question. REDACTED



help the secretary add a citizenship question?
A If I had found it difficult or
challenging, yes. Knowing more about why he wanted it would have been helpful, but I didn't say that there was an issue. It had been asked for hundreds of years, and it had been asked on the ACS. So, clearly, there's a need for it. And so, no, that was not a particularly troublesome aspect of the question \(I\) was being asked to look into.

Q When you said if \(I\) had found it difficult or challenging, what did you mean? What's the it?

A If -- if what \(I\) had been requested to do seemed to have significant legal obstacles to the ability to do that question or take that action, then \(I\) would probably inquire more fully to see if there's an alternative way to address what the Secretary is trying to get to. In this particular case, you have something that has been on the decennial census before that is currently being asked on the ACS. There's clear legal authority for him to add the question. So, frankly, the
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reasons that he wants to add it doesn't add
anything to the analysis. There is a governmental
need for this information. That's a question
that's already established, so I don't need to
inquire further as to what his personal beliefs
regarding this question might be.
Q What's the governmental need for the
question?
A Enforcement to the Voting Rights Act,
determining how many undocumented citizens there
are. You name it, there's a whole bunch of
reasons. That's why every government in the world
collects this information.
Q Well, correct me if I'm wrong, we're
talking about at a period in the spring of }201
when the Voting Rights Act hadn't come up, the
Department of Justice hadn't made a request for
it. What does the Voting Rights Act got to do
with it in the spring of 2017?
A When you inquire as to what does the
Department of Justice use the citizenship data
on --

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reported back to the secretary, I'm sorry,Mr. Secretary, it does not appear we canaccomplish this objective.

Q Why did you need to come up with a reason for asking the question, separate and apart from whatever reason the secretary had in his own head?

A Again, my job is to figure out how to carry out what my boss asks me to do. So you go forward and you find a legal rationale. Doesn't matter what his particular personal perspective is on it. It's not -- it's not going to be the basis on which a decision is made.

Q That's your understanding, that the way you should do it, is come up with a rationale that has nothing to do with what's in the Secretary's mind as to why he wants it; is that your understanding of how it's supposed to work?

A No. Again, you continue to characterize things in a way that you believe may be correct, but not the way I believe to be correct. My job, as a person who has been doing this for \(30-\mathrm{plus}\) years for clients and people in the government, is

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if they would like to accomplish an objective, I
see if there's a way to do that. And, again, ifit's not legal, you tell them that. If it can'tbe done, you tell them that. If there's a way to
    do it, then you help them find the best rationale
    to do it. That's what a policy person does.
    And so, again, if \(I\) came up with a
    rationale that the secretary didn't agree with or
    didn't support, then he was going to tell me that.
    I have no doubt about that. But in the meantime,
    he doesn't -- I don't need to know what his
    rationale might be, because it may or may not be
    one that is -- that is something that's going to a
    legally-valid basis.
    So, again, he's got -- he's asked, can we
    put - can we put a question on? The job of a
    policy person is go out and find out how you do
    that. Whether that decision is going to be made
    ultimately to do it or not, that's up to the
    decision-maker.
            Q Are you saying you're better off not
        knowing what the secretary's own rationale is for

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    A Correct.
    Q -- with regard to adding a citizenship
    question to the census, right?
    A Correct.
    Q And you wanted to see if the
    Department of Justice would sponsor the question?
    A Correct.
    Q And you had a phone call with her, and
    you had at least a meeting with her, right?
    A Right.
    Q So at least two contacts?
    A Three, when she called me back with
    somebody else's name.
    Q Fair enough.
    Didn't -- didn't Ms. Hankey say, why do
    you want to have a citizenship question?
    A No, she didn't.
    Q Didn't come up, at all?
    A Nope.
    Q She referred you to a Mr. McHenry; is
        that right?
            A Correct.
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citizenship question on the census, right?
A I didn't ask Mr. McHenry if he would. I asked if the Department of Justice would be inclined to send a letter asking us to add the citizenship question.

Q Fair enough. And when you did that, you didn't explain to Mr. McHenry why the Secretary wanted a citizenship question?

A I would have no reason to.
Q And Mr. McHenry never asked, hey, you want me to do this? Why do you need it? He never asked you that?

A I think I explained at the outset that the department currently got a report from the ACS on citizenship level -- I mean, on census -- certain census size, Citizen Voting Age Population, and if they were to get it from the decennial, that would allow them a greater granularity and would that be useful to them, and he said he would inquire.

Q You asked Mr. McHenry if the

Department of Justice would find it useful to have
more granularity about citizenship?
A Correct.
Q But at no point did Mr. McHenry say,
look, if we want it, we'll ask for it, but how
come you want it? Didn't he ask you something
like that?
A No.
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    REDACTED
THE WITNESS: Again, I already provided
the reason for Department of Justice. I said,
would it be useful for you to have more granular
voting data at the census lock level? He said he
would inquire. That answers your question. I'd
already provided the answer.
REDACTED
Q Mr. McHenry comes back at some point and
he says he's not interested, right, in words or
substance?
A He suggested that I contact the
Department of Homeland Security.
Q But I take it he makes it clear to you in
some fashion -- withdrawn.
Let's start with this. What did he say
to you?
A He suggested I talk to the Department of
Homeland Security.

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need that information, or my guys don't need that information, or my department doesn't need that information or something like that? MR. GARDNER: Objection to form. THE WITNESS: Again, no, he did not indicate that they did not need the information. He simply suggested that they were rather busy and why don't \(I\) talk to the Department of Homeland Security. BY MR. GERSCH:

Q It's your testimony that he said they were too busy to do it?

A Unfortunately, that's not an uncommon response from other agencies. They don't necessarily look for extra work.

Q Okay. So they were too busy to ask for it, that's what you understood them to say?

A Yeah. Their inclination was they weren't inclined to do the work, to ask for it, yeah.

Q Okay. Okay. So Mr. McHenry let's you know he's not inclined or the department is not
inclined to do the work, to ask for it, and he refers you to Homeland Security, correct?

A Correct.
Q And you speak to a Mr. Hamilton, right?
A Right.
Q And Mr. Hamilton, he's not a VRA guy, right?

A I have no idea what his background is.
Q Certainly, it's your understanding that the Department of Homeland Security has nothing to do with enforcing the Voting Rights Act?

A It would not normally be something I would think they would do, no.

Q And you talked to Mr. Hamilton how many times?

A I don't know, three or four times.
Q Over what period?
A Again, two weeks. I don't know.
Q And don't you say to Mr. Hamilton, here's why we want the information, here's why we want you to ask for the citizenship question?

A Again, it was the same explanation as I
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    gave the Department of Justice. And as you
    pointed out, DHS doesn't really do that. So I was
    simply following up on the suggestion that
    Mr. McHenry had made, and perhaps there was
    something that DHS did that I was unaware of that
    would have them -- have the need for this
    information. Turns out they didn't, so back to
    Square 1.
    Q Yeah. My question is -- and maybe I
    didn't phrase it exactly right.
    Did you explain to Mr. McHenry [sic] in
    any of these several calls, here's why it's
    important to the Department of Commerce, or your
    boss or whomever, here's why it's important
    that -- to get a citizenship question added?
    MR. GARDNER: I think you mean
    Mr. Hamilton. You said Mr. McHenry.
    MR. GERSCH: Withdrawn. Let me rephrase.
    Thank you, Counsel.
    BY MR. GERSCH:
    Q In any of these several calls, you say to
    Mr. Hamilton, here's why it's important to
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    Department of Commerce to have you folks request
    the addition of a citizenship question.

A No. I never explained that to him.
Q And is it your testimony that in your several conversations with Mr. Hamilton, he never says, hey, why do you want this?

A That's correct.
Q He never says, why do you want a citizenship question added?

A Again, when somebody calls up and says -my boss, you know, secretary Ross, AG Sessions, whomever has asked us to pursue this, I don't typically question back and say, well, why do you think -- does your boss think this is needed? I just don't do that. It's kind of discourteous to other staff. So no, he took me at face value. I'm calling to inquire, would they find this useful? He gets back to me, no.

Q I just want to make sure I caught part of what you're saying correctly.

Are you saying it would have been
discourteous for Mr. Hamilton at Homeland Security
    to say, hey, why do you guys at Commerce want us
    to ask for a citizenship question?

A For him to challenge why my boss might ask for it.

Q I didn't say challenge.
Is it your testimony it would be discourteous for him to say, hey, you're asking me to do something --

A Uh-huh.
Q -- something which involves some work --
A Uh-huh.
Q -- would you just explain to me why it's important for you to have me ask for a citizenship question?

MR. GARDNER: Objection. Form.
THE WITNESS: No such conversation
occurred.
BY MR. GERSCH:
Q Yeah. My question is: Would that have been discourteous for him to say that to you?

A Depends on how he phrased it.
Q He could have phrased it in a way that
was properly respectful, right?
A Theoretically, yes.
Q In the time that you were dealing with
Mr. McHenry or getting ready to deal with
Mr. McHenry -- this is back at the Justice
Department now -- did you ever learn that he was director of the Executive Office of Immigration Review?

A I never learned that, no.
Q How about Ms. Hankey, did she say why she was going to refer you to Mr. McHenry?

A No, she didn't.
Q Is it common for you to call people like Mr. McHenry without knowing what their position is?

A Certainly at that time, yes.
Q What was it about that time?
A Well, it was shortly into the administration, and titles are not necessarily informative of what people do, so --

Q Did you have an understanding of what Mr. McHenry's portfolio was, independent of his
title?
A No.
Q About what his expertise was independent of his title?

A No.
Q You didn't know -- withdrawn.
You're trying to accomplish something for
your boss, right?
A Correct.
Q And you're calling another agency and you're going to ask them to do some work, right?

A Right.
Q And you know from your vast experience that sometimes people just say no because they just don't want to do the work, right?

A Correct.
Q That's not uncommon, right?
A It's been my experience.
Q So in order to have the best possible chance of persuading a person like Mr. McHenry, don't you want to do a little research beforehand?

A Again, I was dealing with, literally,
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hundreds of issue, as well as clearing
correspondence, clearing Federal Register notices,
no. I did not have time to research this guy's
background. That's why I went through
Eric Branstad to say, hey, get me somebody over at
DOJ who I can talk to. I want to Hankey -- and I
don't know her from Adam, but relying on the fact
that she was recommended by folks over at the
White House as somebody who was connected with
AG Sessions, I'm assuming she's going to steer me
in the right direction. So I take on faith who
she suggested I talked to. Turned out they
weren't the right person, so we didn't get
anywhere.
Q Did you have an assistant during this
period?
A No.
Q Any staff?
A I had my OPSP staff.
Q Who's that?
A Office of Policy and Strategic Planning.
They were the detailees I discussed earlier.

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                                    Page 284
        Q Got it.
                            You couldn't ask one of them, hey, I'm
    supposed to have a call with Mr. McHenry, can one
of you figure out what he is and why --
A No.
Q Excuse me. I got to -- just a second.
I've got to finish the question. You can answer
it any way you want.
Didn't you want to call -- talk to one of
your staff people and say, listen, I got a call
with Mr. McHenry, I got to persuade him to do some
work he's not going to want to do, to help out our
boss, Mr. Ross, Secretary Ross, and can one of
your look up and tell me who he is and what levers
we might be able to pull to persuade him to do
this work for us?
MR. GARDNER: Objection.
BY MR. GERSCH:
Q You didn't want to ask someone on your
staff to do some work like that for you?
MR. GARDNER: Objection. Form.
THE WITNESS: Again, that's a view of

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both the workload I was under and the workload that they're under that \(I\) think is misinformed.

In fact, several of my calls with
Mr. McHenry were made while I was driving into work, so there was no opportunity to call somebody and do that research.

And, besides, this wasn't about getting
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leverage on Mr. McHenry. This was simply to

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    ask -- following up on the person I'd been
    directed to, who, based on the fact that it was
    recommended by an assistant to the AG, I'm
    assuming is going to at least be somewhat
    receptive. Probably an error on my part, but
    that's -- I've got a dozen other things I'm
    dealing with at the same time. So, no, I'm not
    going to spend a lot of time researching this guy.
    BY MR. GERSCH:

Q You didn't spend any time researching this guy?

A Correct. I didn't.
Q Secretary Ross certainly knows why he wanted a citizenship question back in the spring
    of 2017, right?

A You'd have to ask him.
Q Is there anyone besides Secretary Ross
who we could go to who would have that
information?
MR. GARDNER: Objection. Lack of
foundation. Calls for speculation.
THE WITNESS: I'm not aware of anybody.
BY MR. GERSCH:
Q Do you have any reason to believe that Secretary Ross's rationale for wanting to add a citizenship question is some kind of supersecret?

A No.
Q Doesn't involve national security, right?
MR. GARDNER: Objection. Lack of
foundation. Calls for speculation.
THE WITNESS: I don't know what the
Secretary's rationale is. You'd have to ask him. BY MR. GERSCH:

Q But you don't think it involves national

\section*{security?}

MR. GARDNER: Same objections.
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                                    Page 287
    THE WITNESS: I'm not going to speculate
    on that.
    BY MR. GERSCH:
    Q You heard about this suit back when it
    was filed, right, this lawsuit?
    A Yeah.
    Q Okay. And there's several lawsuits,
    right?
    A Lost count, but yes.
    Q And you've known that you were going to
    sit for a deposition for a while, also?
    A Maybe for two weeks or so.
    Q Okay. Well, at any time since these
    lawsuits started to get filed, did you have a
    discussion with anyone about why it is the
    Secretary wanted a citizenship question added?
    A No.
    Q Secretary Ross gave Congressional
    testimony in March of 2018 in advance of his
    decisional memorandum. Do you remember that?
    A I'll take your word for it.
    Q Testified before committees of both
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both House, right?
A Again, I'd have to look at a calendar to refresh my memory as to when he testified. But, yes, he testified to Congress during the course of the year.

Q Fair enough.
And he was asked questions about a
citizenship question?
A I believe that's correct.
Q Who prepared him to testify on that subject?

A He -- he does a lot of his own hearing prep, but we would have -- I would have been involved, as well as James Uthmeier, Peter Davidson, of course, Karen Dunn Kelley. I mean, this was not a hearing specifically on the citizenship question, so we mostly would have been preparing for the broad range of questions on whatever the topic was. We were going up and testifying on the steel tariffs. We were going up and testifying on the lifecycle cost estimate, a whole series of things, so --

Q Sure. You want to get him prepped on everything, though, right?

A Yeah.
Q And one of the things that you anticipated would come up was the question about the citizenship question, right?

A Seems reasonable if that was the time frame, yes.

Q And were you the one who worked with Secretary Ross on how he was going to answer those questions?

A I would have been one of the people, yes.
Q Was there a division of responsibility between the folks you mentioned just a minute ago, the people who helped prepare him?

A Not per se. I think he's fairly open to suggestions from staff of what to consider. So if somebody had an idea, he would consider it.

Q Did you tell the Secretary, listen, you can expect that someone is going to ask whether -- whether you're going to add a citizenship question? Did you have that
    discussion with him? That would have been normal,
    right?

A Well, again, if this is in the time period after we received the DOJ letter and while he was considering making his decision, then, yes, we might have anticipated. But the answer would have been fairly straightforward, which is we have that matter under review, and I'm considering all -- all information. So there would have been very little we're prepping for on that.

Q Didn't you discuss with the Secretary -- withdrawn.

First of all, I'll represent that he did -- the Secretary did, in fact, testify before multiple committees after the Department of Justice request came in in December of 2017 and before the issuance of the March decisional memorandum.

A Okay.
Q And my question to you is: In those discussions that you had with the secretary to prepare him, wasn't it discussed whether the

Secretary was going to reveal the reasons he had wanted to the addition of a citizenship question?

A No.
Q Subject never came up?
A Never came up.
Q Didn't it come up whether the secretary
would reveal that the reason that Commerce had
received a request from DOJ to add a citizenship
question is because Commerce had gone to DOJ and asked DOJ to make that request?

A No.
Q Never came up?
A Never came up.


Department of Justice [sic]?
A If that was information that they found
useful, then they could request it, yes.
Q You asked them to request it from the Department of Justice, correct?

A Again, what we asked them was if they could use this information, and if so, then they would need to request it.

Q Do you deny that you personally went to representatives in the Department of Justice and asked them if they would request the addition of a citizenship question?

MR. GARDNER: Objection. Asked and answered.

THE WITNESS: To answer, once again, I
went to representatives of the
Department of Justice and asked them if this would be information that they would find useful, and if so, they could request it. REDACTED

REDACTED
Didn't you say to the
Department of Justice when you were talking to
them, in words or substance, we would appreciate
it if you would ask us to include a citizenship question?

\title{
A I never made such a request. REDACTED
}


\section*{REDACTED}

Q When Representative Norton asks you the why question, don't you think it's responsive to the why question that the secretary of Commerce wanted to add a citizenship question independent of the Department of Justice's request?

A No. I don't think it's relevant. His decisional memo laid out very clearly the rationale that was the basis of his decision. Whatever his personal feelings may have been are irrelevant to that decision.

Q It laid out a rationale. We can agree on that, right?

A That's what he's required to do under the law, is lay out a rationale. That is the rationale for his decision and that's what he's standing on.

Q Okay. He laid out a rationale. Is it your understanding, under the law, that if the rationale is not his real reason for doing it, we should ignore the real reason, and we should only
focus on the pretextual reasons that he offers up?

\section*{REDACTED}

\author{
THE WITNESS: The Secretary's decision memo lays out a valid reason that's consigned to his discretion under the law, and that is the rationale he provided to staff, and that is the rationale that we placed in the record. So that is his reason for having the question. BY MR. GERSCH: \\ Q My question is a little different. If the Secretary's real rationale is something different than the rationale he lays out in his decisional memo, is it your understanding, under the law, that we're to ignore the real reason and only focus on what's in the decisional memorandum? MR. GARDNER: Objection. Calls for a legal decision. THE WITNESS: Your hypothetical is premised on the false conclusion that there is some illegal rationale that would be provided and be exposed and be referenced. There is none.
}

It's committed to his discretion to add a question, as long as you make it through the other things, Paperwork Production Act, et cetera. So it's -- I don't understand the basis for your question. But there's -- at the base of your question is this hypothetical that there's some supposed illegal reason that would be -- that would nullify a perfectly valid decision. I don't agree with that assessment.

BY MR. GERSCH:
Q Mr. Comstock, I want you to listen to my question carefully, because there was no reference to any illegal rationale, and I'm going to put it to you again and there will be no reference to an illegal rationale. And my only question -- and, by the way, I'm happy if you want to take this as a hypothetical.

My only question is: If the Secretary lays out a rationale in his decisional memorandum which is different than his real rationale, is it your understanding that we're supposed to ignore the real rationale and only focus on what's in the
decision memo?
MR. GARDNER: Given your introductory
clause, objection. Calls for a hypothetical.
Objection. Calls for a legal conclusion.
THE WITNESS: Again, a decision is valid
if a valid reason has been spelled out, and that
is what we did.
BY MR. GERSCH:
Q Could you answer my question?
A Again, I don't accept the premise of your question, which is that there's some other reason besides what was provided in the memo.

Q It's a hypothetical question, sir. The question is --

A I'm not going to answer a hypothetical on that basis.

Q I'm asking you to answer it, and you're here to answer questions, and \(I\) think I'm fairly following up on your testimony.

My question to you is real simple: If
the secretary lays out a rationale in his decisional memorandum and it's not his real
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    rationale, is it your understanding that what
    we're supposed to focus on is what's in the
    decisional memorandum and we're not supposed to
    look at the rationale?
    MR. GARDNER: Objection. Calls for
    hypothetical. Objection. Calls for legal
    conclusion.
    THE WITNESS: Again, we're at loggerheads
    here because you keep spelling out something that
    is -- that presupposes there is some other
    rationale that would be sufficient to outweigh a
    legitimate rationale and, therefore, must be
    noticed and taken care of. I mean, the government
    makes decisions all the time and spells out a
    rationale. Do some of decision-makers have,
    perhaps, other reasons, maybe, but it's not
    relevant to the legal analysis.
    Q We shouldn't know what Secretary --
        withdrawn.
            We shouldn't know what the real rationale
        is; is that testimony?
            A I --
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                                    Page 305
    MR. GARDNER: Objection. Calls for a
    legal conclusion.
    THE WITNESS: Again, I have no reason to
    believe that the rationale is anything other than
    what's in the memo.
    BY MR. GERSCH:
    Q Well, sir, actually, you testified
    previously that the Secretary had a rationale for
    asking this question, which he didn't reveal to
    you and had nothing to do with the
    Department of Justice's request.
    A I disagree with that statement.
    Q Let's try this one other way. You don't
        disagree with the proposition that a
        decision-maker could have a rationale that is
        different than what he chooses to spell out in his
        decisional memorandum, right?
                            MR. GARDNER: Objection. Calls for
        hypothetical.
            THE WITNESS: Again, I don't know -- I
        don't -- it's impossible to answer that question,
        because you -- I'm not sure where you're going
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with it.

BY MR. GERSCH:
Q I'm not asking you to know where I'm going with it. I'm asking you to answer the question. I'll put it to you again.

You don't disagree with the proposition that it's possible for the decision-maker to have one rationale which he puts in the decisional memorandum and a completely different rationale which is the real reason he wants the decision done?

MR. GARDNER: Objection. Calls for a hypothetical.

THE WITNESS: Again, in the context we're dealing with, \(I\) don't agree with that statement. BY MR. GERSCH:

Q It's not possible for that to happen, it's not possible for the decision-maker to put one rationale in the decisional memo and have a completely different rationale for why he wants the decision?

MR. GARDNER: Objection. Calls for a
hypothetical.
THE WITNESS: In my experience with the
federal government service across 30 years, both
Democrat and Republican, I'm not aware of
decision-makers who would do such a thing. BY MR. GERSCH:

Q This would never happen, in your view, right?

A I'm not going to use the word never. Clearly, in the course of human history, things like that do happen. That's not been my experience that it generally is the case.

Q That's fine. Put aside your experience. I'm just asking you conceptually, you don't have difficulty understanding that a decision-maker could say I'm doing this for one reason without revealing that he is actually doing it for a different reason. You understand that concept, right?

MR. GARDNER: Objection. Calls for a hypothetical.

THE WITNESS: Yeah. It's a hypothetical
to which the answer is always going to be yes. So to the extent that makes you happy, sure.

BY MR. GERSCH:
Q Okay. So you do understand that concept.
So when that occurs, when it is the case that the decision-maker puts forth a stated rationale, which is, in fact, not his real rationale, is it your understanding that we should pay no attention to his real rationale and focus only on his stated rationale?

MR. GARDNER: Objection. Calls for hypothetical objection. Calls for a legal conclusion.

THE WITNESS: I'm not going to answer that question. REDACTED \begin{tabular}{c} 
Page 309 \\
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to Secretary Ross through Karen Dunn Kelley.
You've seen this before, haven't you?
A I don't know that I've seen this
particular draft. It's marked draft, so I don't know that this document ever made it up to the Secretary's office.

Q Did you see a form of this document, whether it was this one or not?

A I saw some form of this document, yes.
Q I want to direct your attention to the one, two, three -- third full paragraph, last sentence, and in it Mr. Abowd addresses Alternative \(B\)-- and, by the way, you understand Alternative \(B\) is adding a citizenship question to the census, right?

A That appears to be what the memo says, yeah.

Q So what Mr. Abowd reports is Alternative \(B\) - that is adding a citizenship question -- is, quote, very costly, harms the quality of the census count, and would use substantially-less active citizenship status data
that are available from administrative sources.
    You knew that that is what the
    Census Bureau had concluded, right?

A Well, again, that's a -- this is a draft
    pre-decisional memo. So I'm not sure if this was
    the final document that was sent to us or not.
    Q I'll represent to you that this
    is -- that the record made in this case so far is
    that this is the last draft produced. Does that
    help you --
    A Is that -- okay.
    Q I'm happy if you want to consult with
your counsel.
    MR. GARDNER: If you -- you can answer
        the question, yes.
            THE WITNESS: Sure. Assuming this is the
        final version, then that's what the document says,
        yes.
        BY MR. GERSCH:
            Q That's not my question. You came to
        understand, isn't that right, that the view of the
        Census Bureau was that asking the citizenship
question is very costly, harms the quality of the census count and would use substantially-less citizenship status than are available from administrative sources?

A I would agree that that's the summary statement here. That it overstates the case they made further in the document. But that is not an accurate representation of what's actually reflected in the document.

Q I want to make sure I understand your testimony. You're saying you disagree with their conclusion?

A I disagree with that characterization as being the final conclusion of the Census Bureau, yes.

Q Ah. Okay. So you think that what \(I\) just read to you doesn't fairly reflect the view of the Census Bureau; is that right?

A I think that reflects the view of Dr. Abowd and that it's very imprecisely stated. If you read the rest of the memo, it provides more detail, and so \(I\) would not agree with the
statement, because it's not backed up in the document that it would be very costly. That's a relative term. And that it would use substantially-less accurate, I disagree with those statements.

Q Yeah. I understand, and I stipulate that you disagree with them. My question is a little different. I'm asking if you understand this is the position of the Census Bureau, whether you agree with it or not, and I stipulate that you don't.

A And just, again, I'm being very clear that this sentence taken out of context, I would say is not the position of the Census Bureau. The position of the Census Bureau is reflected in this full memo, which provides greater detail, which is not, \(I\) would say, accurately characterized in this summary statement at the front.

Q Did you ever meet with the folks at the Census Bureau about this analysis?

A Yes, we did.
Q Okay. When did you do that?

A I couldn't tell you the exact date.
Q Who did you meet with?
A Dr. Abowd, Dr. Jarmin. It was a large meeting.

Q And Dr. Abowd and Dr. Jarmin, they stood by this analysis, right, the analysis in Exhibit 28?

A I'd say that, yeah, they stood by the entire analysis, not necessarily that statement.

Q And the entire analysis includes the statement that \(I\) read to you, right?

A Again, you're -- I think you're taking a single statement out of context.

Q My question is a little different. I'm saying when you said, they stood by the entire analysis, that includes the statement that \(I\) read you?

A And, again, \(I\) will say that \(I\) think you're trying to get me to say that particular statement represents the view of the Census Bureau, and that is not my understanding.

Q Okay. When you say it's not your
understanding, at no point did Dr. Jarmin or
Dr. Abowd say, no, we don't believe that
Alternative \(B\) is very costly, harms the quality of
the census count and would use substantially-less
accurate citizenship status data that are
available from administration sources; isn't that
right? They never took it back?
A We never asked them to take it back.
Q And they never did?
A I don't know if they took it back or not.
Q In your presence, sir.
A Again, they were never asked, to my
knowledge, to take that statement back, so there would be no reason for them to take it back.

Q And they didn't take it back, did they?
A I don't know whether they took it back.
Q In your presence, they didn't take it
back?
A Again, I look at their entire memo, not that statement.

Q I'm not asking that question. They didn't take this statement back that \(I\) just read
to you three times?
A Again, my point is, they were never asked to take it back, so there would be no reason for them to take it back.

Q I just want there to be no misunderstanding, Mr. Abowd [sic], if at trial you're going to say they took it back, I want to hear that right now.

MR. GARDNER: He's not Mr. Abowd.
BY MR. GERSCH:
Q I'm sorry, Mr. Comstock. It's late in the day.

Mr. Comstock, if you're going to say at trial that Dr. Abowd or Dr. Jarmin took this statement back, I want to hear that right now. Can we agree on that, that you'll tell me right now?

A I will agree -- I will agree that \(I\) would say that is not representative of the data that was presented to us in the course of extensive discussions. That that statement is an early statement that mischaracterizes the final
    conclusions that we understood.

Q When you say earlier, it's the statement as of the January 19th memo, you don't disagree with that?

A Again, I'm not contesting they provided this investigation.

Q Focus on timing. You said this was an early statement and you don't think it was reflective of their final conclusions.

My question is: You're not saying it doesn't reflect their position as of January 19th, are you?

A I am saying, again, that \(I\) think you're taking a single statement out of context and trying to represent it has the position of the Bureau as conclusive, and I'm saying I disagree with that statement.

Q Let me show you -- let's mark this as Exhibit 29.
(Plaintiffs' Exhibit 29, Memo, was
marked.)
BY MR. GERSCH:

A That's correct. But I'm still asking a
question, why am I getting a draft version of this
instead of a final?
Q I don't get to testify. All I can do is
ask the questions.
Secretary Ross, that perhaps you could combine
Alternative B, which is asking the citizenship
question of every household in the decennial
census, and Alternative c, which was don't ask the
question but use administration data to figure out
citizenship status, correct?
document \(I\) saw, because \(I\) did not see something marked draft pre-decisional V10.

Q You think you saw a version of it that didn't have draft on it?

A I have no idea. But we don't typically see documents that say draft.

Q I'll represent that we've never seen a version of either of these documents that aren't marked draft. If there is one -- if there are versions, I would like them right now. MR. GARDNER: I represent we've produced what we have. BY MR. GERSCH:

Q Regardless of the format, you became acquainted with the views of Census that Alternative \(B\) would result in poorer quality Citizenship data than Alternative \(C\) and still have all the cost and quality implications of Alternative \(B\) outlined in the draft January 19th memo to the Department of Commerce; you became acquainted with that conclusion of theirs, right?

A I did.
Q Okay. By the way, you'll notice it says -- this refers to the January 19 th memo as being a draft.
A Okay. Like I said --
Q Do you see that?
A I see it. That it says that, yes.
Perhaps that is what they provided to us. I don't know. We produced whatever is in the record, so if this is what's in the record -- as long as I'm being given the final version, then okay.
Q All right. You're not saying that the Census Bureau took back the conclusion reflected in this last paragraph that I've read you from Exhibit 29, are you?
A Again, I think there was iterative exchange in which the conclusions of the Census Bureau to staff and some of their assertions did not hold up under cross-examination.
Q Whether you think they held up or not, my question to you is: Did the Census Bureau ever take back the conclusion that's in the last
paragraph of this March 1 memo?

A You'd have to ask them.
Q In your presence, did they say any such thing?

A I didn't ask them to take it back.
Q I'm not asking whether you asked them. I'm asking -- withdrawn.

There were other people in the meeting
besides you, right?
A There were a series of meetings, so --
Q How many meetings did you have about this memo, this March 1 memo?

A I couldn't tell you.
Q About?
A Might have met once or twice. I really couldn't tell you.

Q And who did you remember being there besides Dr. Abowd and Dr. Jarmin?

A Again, I don't know if it was specifically on this memo or this presentation or whether they sent it to us. There were multiple meetings on the question. Who was at each
meeting, \(I\) couldn't tell you.
Q I think it would be fair to say there were multiple meetings about Census Bureau's analysis of the citizenship question, right?

A Yes.
Q Okay. And what's your best recollection of how many meetings there were?

A I don't know. Two or three.
Q And if this memo is dated March 1 and the decisional memo is dated March 26 th. What's your best recollection about when the last -- the last meeting was, the last of these two or three meetings?

A Probably somewhere in the vicinity of March 20th.

Q Okay. And my question simply to you is, sir: Did the Census Bureau people ever say we're taking it back, you've convinced us, we don't agree with the conclusion we put forth in the last paragraph?

A No. REDACTED
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\hline 15 & Q Did you ever have any analysis of the \\
\hline 16 & citizenship question prepared by experts other \\
\hline 17 & than the folks at the Census Bureau? \\
\hline 18 & A Not that \(I\) know of, no. \\
\hline 19 & Q Did you ever get any input from somebody \\
\hline 20 & with technical expertise with respect to the \\
\hline 21 & Census Bureau's analysis of the citizenship \\
\hline 22 & question who was not from the Census Bureau? \\
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    A No.
    Q Did anyone review the Census Bureau's
    analysis of what was wrong with the citizenship
    question who was not a lawyer?
    A The Secretary.
    Q Other than the secretary?
    A Karen Dunn Kelley.
    Q Other than the Secretary and Karen Dunn
    Kelley?
    A Obviously, Dr. Jarmin, Dr. Abowd.
    Q I'm talking about people outside the
    Census Bureau.
A Census Bureau.
Well, let's see -- well, Wendy Teramoto
might have. But, no, primarily would have been
Office of General Counsel doing the review.
Q And you?
A And me.
Q And you're a lawyer?
A Yes, I am a lawyer.
Q All right. Let's mark the decisional
memorandum as Exhibit 30.

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Veritext Legal Solutions
Q The initial impetus for putting the citizenship question on the 2020 census was not DOJ's idea; is that correct?
A That's correct.
Q It was Secretary Ross's idea, I think you've testified to that, correct?
A He was the one who asked me to investigate it, yes.
Q He told you sometime shortly after he was confirmed that he wanted the question on the 2020 census, correct?
A He asked me to explore putting it on, yes.
Q Well, he actually said he requests the question be put on the census, correct?
A That was the way he phrased it, yes.
Q You said you would make that happen,

\section*{correct?}
A I said I would do my best.
Q And you would get the citizenship question in place, I think was -- were your words?
A I said I would work to get that in place.

A I'd--
Q -- isn't that correct?
A I'd been directed to explore putting a citizenship question on the census.

Q He said he wanted it on the census,

\section*{correct?}

A That was certainly his expressed interest.

Q It was an expressed statement, was it not?

A That's the way he phrased it. But, again, he can't put something on the census without having the legal authority or process in place to do so. REDACTED
be this decline in this response rate. Their entire analysis relied on the assumption that there would be this decline in response rate of a certain percentage and that that would, therefore, make the data less reliable. What they couldn't refute was the fact that under their proposed approach, they would have had to impute -- again, based on statistical models -- the citizenship of 25 million voting age citizens. That was not a complete and accurate picture as far as the secretary was concerned. So the Secretary said this is why we need to look at combining the two approaches, \(B\) and \(C\), to come up with Alternative \(D\). Because in the absence of that, we don't have good enough data on which to build the formula to impute those people that we would have to because we don't have answers on what their citizenship is. So that's the rationale that's laid out in this memo, and as far as I know, that's been the rationale that's been the Secretary's all along.

Q But not the rationale that was accepted
by the Census Bureau, which nevertheless, rejected as -- from a technical perspective, the Secretary's rationale; isn't that correct?

A I disagree that they rejected it from a technical perspective. They made some assumptions in making their recommendation -- and that's exactly what it is, it's a recommendation -- that this would be the case.

Q Let me turn your attention to C30, Page 001314, which is Page 2 of the March 26 th memo. And turning your attention to the Option A, the third line in the sentence that says, "Additionally, the block group levels CVAP data currently obtained through the ACS has associated margins of error" --

A Correct.
Q -- "because the ACS is extrapolated based on the sample servers of the population."

A That's correct.
Q Do you know what the margins of errors are that are referred to in this sentence?

A I think you go on and see, you'll see it
described later in the same memo, which is that they have an error of approximately 30 percent, 28 to 34, I believe, is the range.

Yeah. If you look on Page 4,
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"Census Bureau analysis showed that between 28 and

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34 percent of citizenship self-responses for
persons with administrative records show are
noncitizen were inaccurate. In other words, when
noncitizens respond to long form or ACS questions
on citizenship, they inaccurately mark citizen
about 30 percent of the time. However, the
Census Bureau is still evolving its use of
administrative records. The Bureau does not have"
--
    (Thereupon, the court reporter
clarified.)
    THE WITNESS: This is in the -- under
Option \(C\) of Page 4.
    MR. GARDNER: You're going to have to
slow down for the court reporter.
    THE WITNESS: "So they inaccurately mark
    noncitizen about 30 percent of the time. However,
the Census Bureau is still evolving its use of administrative records, and the Bureau does not yet have a complete administrative record set for the entire population. Thus, using administrative records alone would provide DOJ data with CVAP data that was not a" -- "that would provide an incomplete picture." BY MR. ROSENBERG:

Q And that's your understanding of what margins of error means as used on Page 01314?

A Well, yes. They're referring to that -that margin of error they're referring to is the 28 to 34 percent they were off. \(\square\) ए \(\square\)
\begin{tabular}{|c|}
\hline Page 369 \\
\hline  \\
\hline Q Let me draw your attention to the period \\
\hline around January 2018. Do you recall taking part in \\
\hline the signing of the list of 35 questions to the \\
\hline Census Bureau to answer? \\
\hline A Yes. I helped prepare that list. \\
\hline Q Do you -- who else helped prepare that \\
\hline list? \\
\hline A The Secretary, Karen Dunn Kelley, \\
\hline James Uthmeier, myself. There may have been \\
\hline others. \\
\hline Q Were you the prime drafter? \\
\hline A Of that particular list, I may have been \\
\hline the prime assembler. I was not necessarily the \\
\hline prime drafter of all the questions. \\
\hline Q And what was your purpose -- what was the \\
\hline purpose in proposing those questions? \\
\hline A Basically, it has -- I think it was \\
\hline pointed out earlier we got an analysis from the \\
\hline Census Bureau that seemed to have a particular \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
    viewpoint, and it wasn't well supported in some
    cases. So those are the questions that arose
    after reviewing their memo.

Q And when you -- after the questions were formulated, whom did you send them to?

A I believe they were sent to the Census Bureau.

Q And the idea was the Census Bureau would answer the questions; is that correct?

A They would provide that input, yes.
Q And you gave them a deadline, did you not?

A I imagine we did, yeah.
Q Four days; is that correct?
A I don't recall.
Q Was it your understanding that the answers were going to be provided solely by the Census Bureau to those questions?

A I believe all the questions were directed to the Census Bureau, but if they were directed to somebody else, then, obviously, they would provide them.

Q But it was your understanding that the Census Bureau would answer them; is that correct?

A Again, without going back and looking at the documents and the accompanying emails, \(I\) can't tell you exactly who it was. But my understanding was, yes, they were drafted for the Census Bureau.

Q Did there come a time when you reviewed the answers for the questions?

A I imagine there was.
Q Well, was there?
A Again, \(I\) know all of you are focused on this case and everything else. This was one small fraction of the work \(I\) was doing at that time. So I'm quite certain \(I\) reviewed the answers. Exactly when, \(I\) can't tell you. But, clearly, they went -- the responses to those questions were considered in the decision memo. So I, obviously, reviewed them at some point.

Q Do you recall whether you reviewed those responses all at once or some kind of rolling basis?

A If memory serves, I believe the Census
responded back to some, and then provided follow-up answers to others that took more time.

Q Do you recall whether in connection with any of the questions the Census Bureau was asked to change their answers to any questions?

A I believe -- well, I believe in one case, they provided a response that indicated that there was a very set format for putting questions on the census. And we went back to them and said, how can that be? You haven't -- there hasn't been a question added to the long form? They went back and reviewed and said, yes, that's correct. This was the process we used for the ACS. REDACTED

changed at some point?
A Yeah. Because this was -- as I said,
when we explored the question further, it became
evident that this was not, in fact, an accurate
representation for the process for the decennial.
\(\square\)
the voting rights section, to discuss this
request --
    MR. GARDNER: Objection. Form.
    BY MS. SENTENO:
    Q -- for a citizenship question?
        MR. GARDNER: Sorry. Objection to form.
        THE WITNESS: No. Again, as I think we
    established in the earlier testimony, I was
    referred to Mary Blanche Hankey by someone in the
    Department of Commerce, by Eric Branstad, who I
    think got her name from a contract of his at the
    White House. She referred me to -- I'm already
    blanking on his name -- John McHenry. I did not
    investigate John McHenry's position in the
    department. I just took it on face value he would
    be the right person to talk to and those are the
    two people I spoke to at Department of Justice,
    so -- outside of litigation counsel, obviously.
    BY MS. SENTENO:
    Q You testified earlier in the memo that
    you drafted for the secretary that stated that
    once you had been told by DHS that your request
would be more appropriately handled by the Department of Justice, you said that the interaction ceased; is that correct?

A Well --
Q From you?
A My efforts at that point to track down somebody ceased because they had run into a dead end. I mean, our initial conclusion was that Department of Justice was the right place to go. They seemed occupied on other matters, so they referred us to DHS. DHS referred us back, so now I'm back to where I started.

Q So once you were referred back to DOJ, you didn't ask another follow-up as to who in the voting section would be more appropriate to talk about this particular issue?

A Again, \(I\) was working on literally dozens of issues that consumed a lot of time. And so I had put the time into it that I could afford to put into it and had come up empty. So I reported that to my boss, and basically, said if absent some instruction from higher up, it appears that

\section*{REDACTED}

\section*{BY MS. SENTENO:}

Q Okay. Are you aware of any VRA cases that the Department of Justice declined to bring, only because they needed block-level citizenship data?

A I'm not aware of that, but I didn't research that either.

Q So no -- neither yourself or anyone else at the Department of Commerce asked DOJ for this information?

A I did not. I can't say whether anybody else did.

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                                    Page 418
    Q But the data suggests -- the data that
    the Census Bureau provided suggests that the
    break-off rate for noncitizens was higher with
    respect to a citizen question; is that correct?
    A Higher than noncitizen?
    Q Yes.
    A Yes. That's true.
    Q Okay. So if the same people who did not
    respond to the citizen question on the ACS also
    didn't respond to the short form of the decennial
    census, that would cause a drop in the total head
    count, correct?
    A No. It would not.
    Q Could you explain?
    A Secretary Ross placed the question at the
    end of the census so they would be able to not
    answer that and still complete the census. We
    also have administrative records and
    Secretary Ross directed we use administrative
    records, which we're actively doing for a variety
    Of reasons, not just citizenship.
    So we have every confidence between the
    ```
increased outreach that's planned, the additional
money and resources that are to be put into the
advertising and other things, that we will more
than compensate -- in fact, our objection is to
have a complete and accurate count above and
beyond the count that was done in 2010 . \(\square\) ए \(\square\)

Secretary Ross issued the March 26 memo -decision memo.

A I'm sorry. Could you tell me who you're with?

Q Sure. My name is Gabrielle Boutin. I'm with the Attorney General's of the state of California, and \(I\) represent plaintiffs, the State of California -- excuse me -- State of California \(v\). Ross in the Northern District of California.

A Okay. Thank you.
Q So during the time period between the December l2th DOJ letter and the issuance of Secretary Ross's March \(26 t h\) memorandum, that's what we're talking about.

A I understand.
Q Do you understand?
A So far so good.
Q Good.
During that time period, did the
Department of Commerce ever inform the
Department of Justice that the Census Bureau
recommended using administrative records alone to meet Justice's December 12 th request rather than adding the citizenship question to the census?

A I believe that was part of the purposes of the meeting they were seeking with the -- the Census Bureau was seeking with the Justice Department.

Q Okay. My question is: Did the Commerce Department ever inform DOJ that the Census Bureau recommended using administrative records alone to meet their requests, rather than adding a citizenship question to the census?

A Again, I'm not privy to all the conversations with the Justice Department, so --

Q Do you --
A -- I was not --
Q -- know --
A I was not involved in such a discussion, no.

Q Okay. But you were one of the primary people working on this at Commerce; isn't that right?
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    A Yes.
    Q Do you think you would have known if
    someone from Commerce conveyed that information to
    the Department of Justice?
    MR. GARDNER: Objection. Calls for
    speculation.
    BY MS. BOUTIN:
        Q Do you think it's likely you would have
    known?
            A It's possible, yes.
        REDACTED
            Q Did Commerce ever transmit to
        Department of Justice any of the Census Bureau's
    ```
memos that analyzed the options for providing to DOJ block-level citizenship data?

MR. GARDNER: Objection. Lack of
foundation.
THE WITNESS: I would just note it's the Secretary of Commerce's decision as to whether this goes forward. His focus is on a complete and accurate count.

And as explained earlier, the Option \(C\) alternative, which was to use the administrative records only, would have inquired us to impute -so, in other words, fill in the blanks -- for 25 million voting age citizens. That was not something secretary Ross was prepared to have the department do. BY MS. BOUTIN:

Q Mr. Comstock, I understand that. Your counsel is -- wants us to limit the amount or time that we're here today, and the best way to do that is if you would answer my questions directly. So I'll ask you again.

Did the Department of Justice ever --
```

    A Not to my knowledge.
    Q Okay. Thank you.
        And again, we're talking about between
    December 12th and the March 26th.
    A Right.
    Q Did the Department of Commerce ever
    inform DOJ that the Census Bureau believed that
    administrative records alone would be more
    complete -- would create more complete and
    accurate citizenship data than asking a
    citizenship question on the census and then
    combining the data from that question with
    administrative records?
        MR. GARDNER: Objection. Form.
    Objection. Lack of foundation.
    BY MS. BOUTIN:
            Q Do you want me to re-ask that question?
            A Sure.
            Q Did the Department of Commerce ever
        inform Justice that the Census Bureau believes
        that admin -- using administrative records alone
        would provide more complete and accurate data than
    ```
instead of doing that asking the citizenship
question on the census and then combining that with the use of administrative records?

MR. GARDNER: Same objection.
THE WITNESS: Again, I think you
mischaracterize the Census Department's - - Census
Bureau's analysis. But, again, it's the
Secretary of Commerce's decision as to what to make, and so he would only transmit to the Justice Department what he considered that would provide complete and accurate data. BY MS. BOUTIN:

Q But the Commerce Department did inform the Department of Justice about that belief by the Census Bureau?

MR. GARDNER: Same objections. THE WITNESS: Again, not to my knowledge. REDACTED
    Census Bureau to determine the inaccurate response
    rate for citizens and noncitizens alike using the
    entire population. This will enable the
    Census Bureau to establish, to the best of its
    ability, the accurate ratio of citizen to
    noncitizen responses to impute for that small
    percentage of cases where it is necessary to do
    so."

A Yes.
Q So with respect to those two sentences starting with the word finally, who wrote that language?

A I couldn't say for certain, but I likely had a hand in drafting that.

Q Okay. Can you explain, how does adding a citizenship question to the census and determining the incorrect response rate for citizens and noncitizens help the Census Bureau impute with respect to people who did not respond at all and did not have administrative records?

A I mean, you could ask the Census Bureau for a fuller explanation of imputation, but
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    basically, they do a formula that looks at data
    that they have. And so if they know for the
    people -- let's say }95\mathrm{ percent of the population
    that they have accurate records for and which they
    have responses for, if they discover that -- pick
    a number -- it's now 10 percent of the people who
    aren't citizens, are, in fact, noncitizens, then
    they would probably apply that to 5 percent
    remaining. So they would take whatever number of
    people who are citizens, multiply that by that 5
    percent, and then they would take the noncitizens
    and say, okay, we now know the accurate count,
    based on the entire population of what we have,
    there's a 10 percent error rate, 10 percent of the
    people that might say they're citizens are
    noncitizens, so we're going to multiply that
    number out. That's going to give you the most
    accurate count that you can get.
            Q So what's your source of that
        explanation?
            A Based on the briefings.
            Q So you're saying that the Census Bureau
    ```


BY MS. BOUTIN:
Q Do you believe you have more expertise in the science of imputation than the experts at the Census Bureau?

A I'm not going to get caught in making such a statement, but I'm perfectly capable of looking at the analysis they provided and deciding whether or not I agreed with that analysis.

Q What's your background in statistical imputation?

A \(\quad\) I --
(Conference call interruption.)
BY MS. BOUTIN:
Q What is your background in statistical
imputation?
A I don't have one. REDACTED



\section*{CERTIFICATE OF REPORTER}

I, KAREN LYNN JORGENSON, RPR, CSR, CCR the officer before whom the foregoing deposition was taken, do hereby certify that the witness whose testimony appears in the foregoing deposition was duly sworn by me; that the testimony of said witness was taken by me in stenotype and thereafter reduced to typewriting under my direction; that the said deposition is a true record of the testimony given by said witness; that \(I\) am neither counsel for, related to, nor employed by any of the parties to the action in which this deposition was taken; and further, that I am not a relative or employee of any counsel or attorney employed by the parties hereto, nor financially or otherwise interested in the outcome of this action.


KAREN LYNN JORGENSON, RPR, CCR, CSR
Dated this 3rd day of September , 2018.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF DEPONENT
I, EARL COMSTOCK, do hereby acknowledge I have read and examined the foregoing pages of testimony, and the same is a true, correct and complete transcription of the testimony given by me, and any changes or corrections, if any, appear in the attached errata sheet signed by me.

Date
EARL COMSTOCK

Joshua E. Gardner, Esquire
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

20 Massachusetts Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20530
IN RE: New York Immigration Coalition, et al., v. United States Department of Commerce, et al.

Dear Mr. Gardner:
Enclosed please find your copy of the deposition of EARL COMSTOCK, along with the original signature page. As agreed, you will be responsible for contacting the witness regarding signature.

Within 21 days of receipt of transcript, please forward errata sheet and original signed signature page to counsel for, John Freedman and all counsel of record.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to call. Thank you.

Yours,


Karen Lynn Jorgenson, RPR, CCR, CSR Capital Reporting Company

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cc: All counsel of record

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E R R A T A \quad S H E E T
\]

Case Name: New York Immigration Coalition, et al., v. United States Department of Commerce, et al.,

Witness Name: EARL COMSTOCK
Deposition Date: Thursday, August 30, 2018
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Signature

Date
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Federal Rules of Civil Procedure
Rule 30
(e) Review By the Witness; Changes.
(1) Review; Statement of Changes. On request by the deponent or a party before the deposition is completed, the deponent must be allowed 30 days after being notified by the officer that the transcript or recording is available in which:
(A) to review the transcript or recording; and (B) if there are changes in form or substance, to sign a statement listing the changes and the reasons for making them.
(2) Changes Indicated in the Officer's Certificate. The officer must note in the certificate prescribed by Rule \(30(f)(1)\) whether a review was requested and, if so, must attach any changes the deponent makes during the \(30-d a y\) period.

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