```
BEFORE THE ILLINOIS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
                        IMPEACHMENT COMMITTEE
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12
         Hearing held on the 18th day of December, 2008, at
13
    the hour of 10:00 a.m., in Room 114, Illinois State
    Capitol, Springfield, Illinois.
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                     TRANSCRIPT OF PROCEEDINGS
19
                              VOLUME III
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2 2
                      CAPITOL REPORTING SERVICE, INC.
2 3
                          2021 TIMBERBROOK DRIVE
                          SPRINGFIELD, IL 62702
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   COMMITTEE MEMBERS:
   HOUSE MAJORITY LEADER BARBARA FLYNN CURRIE, CHAIRWOMAN
    REPRESENTATIVE JIM DURKIN, MINORITY SPOKESPERSON
    REPRESENTATIVE EDWARD J. ACEVEDO
5
    REPRESENTATIVE SUZANNE BASSI
6
    REPRESENTATIVE PATRICIA R. BELLOCK
7
    REPRESENTATIVE WILLIAM B. BLACK
8
    REPRESENTATIVE MIKE BOST
9
    REPRESENTATIVE MONIQUE D. DAVIS
10
    REPRESENTATIVE ROGER L. EDDY
11
    REPRESENTATIVE MARY E. FLOWERS
12
    REPRESENTATIVE JACK D. FRANKS
13
    REPRESENTATIVE JOHN A. FRITCHEY
14
    REPRESENTATIVE JULIE HAMOS
15
    REPRESENTATIVE SUSANA A. MENDOZA
16
    REPRESENTATIVE CONSTANCE A. HOWARD
17
    REPRESENTATIVE LOU LANG
18
    REPRESENTATIVE FRANK J. MAUTINO
19
    REPRESENTATIVE CHAPIN ROSE
20
    REPRESENTATIVE JIM SACIA
21
    REPRESENTATIVE JIL TRACY
22
    REPRESENTATIVE ARTHUR J. TURNER
2 3
24
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CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: The Special Investigative
1
    Committee will come to order. Apologies for our
    delayed start, but, Clerk, please call the roll.
             CLERK: Currie?
5
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Here.
6
             CLERK: Durkin?
7
             REPRESENTATIVE DURKIN:
                                      Here.
8
             CLERK: Acevedo.
9
             REPRESENTATIVE ACEVEDO: Here.
                     Bassi.
10
             CLERK:
11
             REPRESENTATIVE BASSI: Here.
12
             CLERK: Bellock.
13
             REPRESENTATIVE BELLOCK: Here.
14
             CLERK:
                     Black.
15
             REPRESENTATIVE BLACK: Here.
16
             CLERK:
                     Bost.
17
             REPRESENTATIVE BOST: Here.
18
             CLERK:
                     pavis.
19
             REPRESENTATIVE DAVIS: Here.
20
             CLERK: Eddy.
21
             REPRESENTATIVE EDDY:
                                    Here.
2 2
             CLERK: Flowers.
2 3
                  (No response.)
2 4
             CLERK:
                     Franks.
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1
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: Here.
             CLERK: Fritchey.
             REPRESENTATIVE FRITCHEY:
3
                                        Here.
             CLERK:
                     Hamos.
5
                  (No response.)
6
             CLERK: Hannig.
7
             UNIDENTIFIED: Hannig's here.
8
             CLERK: Howard.
9
             REPRESENTATIVE HOWARD: Here.
             CLERK: Lang.
10
11
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG:
12
             CLERK: Mautino.
13
             REPRESENTATIVE MAUTINO: Here.
14
             CLERK:
                     Rose.
15
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: Yes. Thank you.
16
             CLERK: Sacia.
17
             REPRESENTATIVE SACIA: Here.
18
             CLERK:
                     Tracy.
19
                  (No response)
20
             CLERK:
                     Turner.
21
             REPRESENTATIVE TURNER:
                                      Here.
2 2
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: We have a quorum, and
2 3
   it's our intention this morning to talk about issues
    involving the Governor's relationship with the Joint
2 4
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Committee on Administrative Rules, the Governor's
1
    response to requests for information under the Freedom
    of Information Act, and to discuss with the Auditor
    General several audits run with respect to the flu
    vaccine buy, and the other -- the other audit was --
5
6
    had to do with efficiency standards.
7
        Before we begin that, Representative Durkin, did
    you have a comment?
8
9
             REPRESENTATIVE DURKIN: I just want to
10
    introduce -- joining us today is Special Counsel to
11
    the House Minority Leader is Bill Roberts, who will be
12
    joining from now on through the proceedings as far as
13
    they go.
14
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Welcome, Mr. Roberts.
15
    Before we begin with this, Mr. Genson, if you have
16
    anything you'd like to tell us about, to say to us, we
17
    would be happy to hear it.
18
             MR. GENSON: Thank you. I would like to make
19
    a correction. I quoted a statute yesterday, and I'd
20
    like to change the citation and briefly read the
21
              It's regarding -- and I have no argument
    statute.
22
              I just want to read it into the record.
2 3
    That -- I figure that gets me in easier. Might I do
24
    that, Your Honor?
```

```
1
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: You may absolutely do
2
    that.
3
             MR. GENSON: I'd like to call to the
4
    attention of the committee Title 18, Part 1, Chapter
    119, 2515. Prohibition of use as evidence of
5
6
    intercepted wire or oral communications. Quote,
7
    Whenever any wire or oral communication has been
8
    intercepted, no part of the contents of such
9
    communication and no evidence derived therefrom may be
10
    received in evidence in any trial, hearing, or other
11
    proceedings in or before any court, grand jury,
    department, officer, agency, regulatory body,
12
13
    legislative committee, or other authority of the
    United States, a state, or a political subdivision
14
15
    thereof if the disclosure of that information would be
16
    in violation of this chapter.
17
        It follows with certain rules that have to be
    followed before, in fact, these things are done, and
18
19
    none of them were, to my knowledge, done in this case.
20
    This is not an argument. I just am trying to inform
21
    the panel as to the nature of the statute that's
22
    applicable.
2 3
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Yeah. And could we have
2 4
    a copy of that citation?
```

```
1
             MR. GENSON: Yes, you can.
2
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Tell us again -- tell us
    again the cite so that we can --
3
4
             MR. GENSON: Title 18.
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: And this is where?
5
6
             MR. GENSON: The United States Code.
7
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE:
                                 okay.
8
             MR. GENSON: Title 18, Part 1, Chapter
9
    119, Section 2, 22, 15, and the follow -- and the
    following --
10
             CHAIRWOMAN Currie: All right. Thank you
11
12
    very much.
13
             MR. GENSON: -- and the following
14
    subsections. I'd rather not -- I don't want to
15
    belabor you with all of that but --
16
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: And if you have a copy
17
   we'd be happy just to --
18
             MR. GENSON: I do. If they could make a copy
19
    for me, I'd give it to Mr. Ellis. Thank you.
20
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Okay. That's great.
    Thank you very much. We'll then go to the first order
21
2 2
    which is the consideration of issues in respect to the
2 3
    Joint Committee on Administrative Rules, and the first
24
    witnesses are Robert Rich and Andy Morriss, both on
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the faculty of the University of Illinois.
2
             And I'm going to ask -- I'm going to swear
    each of you in. So, first of all, if you would just
3
    raise your right hand, you can do it together.
5
                  (Mr. Rich and Mr. Morriss
6
                  were duly sworn.)
7
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Good. And now if you'd
    be kind enough to state your name and your occupation.
8
9
    If you would spell your name for purposes of the court
    reporter, that would be particularly useful.
10
11
             MR. MORRISS: My name is Andrew Morriss,
12
    M-o-r-r-i-s-s. I'm an H. Ross and Helen Workman
13
    professor of law and professor of business and a
14
    professor at the Institute and Government and Public
15
    Affairs at the University of Illinois, Urbana-
16
    Champaign.
17
             MR. RICH: My name is Robert Rich, R-i-c-h.
    I'm director of the University of Illinois Institute
18
    of Government and Public Affairs and professor of law,
19
20
    political science, and medicine.
21
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Thank you very much.
2 2
    now if you'd proceed with your testimony.
2 3
             MR. MORRISS: Thank you for the opportunity
24
    to address the committee. I'm a law professor at the
```

University of Illinois where I teach administrative In addition, much of my research concerns administrative law topics. 3 Administrative rulemaking is a key part of state 4 government in Illinois and in every state of the 5 6 Properly done, administrative rulemaking 7 enables governments to function by allowing the 8 legislature to delegate to executive branch agencies 9 the task of creating detailed procedures and rules 10 that implement the policies embodied in legislation. If legislators had to consider every detail of the 11 12 rules necessary to put policies into effect before 13 passing legislation, it would be virtually impossible 14 for the state to act. To give you a sense of the 15 volume of rulemaking in Illinois, the legislature's 16 Joint Committee on Administrative Rulemaking or JCAR 17 reports that it reviews approximately 20,000 pages of rules each year. 18 19 Rulemaking generally operates by an agency 20 proposing a rule, implementing legislation, an 21 opportunity for public comment, agency review of the public comment, and final determination of the content 2 2

of the rule. Agencies can also issue emergency rules

which take effect immediately.

2 3

24

```
1
             In Illinois, since 1977, proposed agency
    rules or adopted emergency rules are submitted to the
    Joint Committee on Administrative Rules. As you know,
3
    JCAR has 12 members divided equally among the two
    parties and the two houses. JCAR review also includes
5
6
    opportunities for additional public input as well as
7
    for JCAR and the agency to agree to changes in the
8
    proposed rules. In some cases, JCAR issues
9
    recommendations to agencies, suggesting changes to
10
    proposed rules.
                     JCAR can also issue a formal
11
    objection to a rule, and agencies must respond to such
12
    objections but are not required to change the rule in
13
    response to the objection.
14
        Finally, JCAR has the authority to review rules
15
    issued by agencies to determine whether the rules are
16
    a threat to the public interest, safety, or welfare.
17
    If eight of the 12 members vote to reject the rule on
    these grounds, the proposed rule may not be made
18
19
    effective and an emergency rule is repealed.
20
             Governor Blagojevich challenged the
21
    constitutionality of JCAR in November 2007 when he
    refused to accept JCAR's veto of proposed rules
2 2
2 3
    extending the FamilyCare program to additional
24
    individuals without seeking a change in the underlying
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```
My colleague, Bob Rich, will discuss this in
1
    statute.
    detail.
2
3
             For the delegations of power from the
4
    legislature to executive branch agencies necessary to
    allow the gover -- state government to function to
5
    have democratic legitimacy, the legislature must have
    powers of review of the details implemented to
7
8
    rulemaking. Without such oversight, the executive
9
    branch would be able to exercise legislative powers it
10
    is forbidden to exercise by the principles of
11
    separation of powers embodied in every state's
12
    constitution, which Florida State University of Law
13
    Professor Jim Rossi termed a bedrock principle in all
14
    50 state constitutions.
15
             Moreover, administrative agencies not subject
16
    to legislative review are not readily accountable to
17
    the public for their actions. Individual agencies may
18
    also suffer from tunnel vision, focusing on their
19
    particular missions at the expense of broader state
20
    policy. Legislative review of agency rulemaking can
21
    ensure both that executive branch officials are
22
    accountable to the public and that an appropriate
    balance is struck among the many policy priorities of
2 3
24
    the state government. Most importantly, legislative
```

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review of agency rulemaking ensures that the
    fundamental policy choices are made by elected
    representatives of the people, not unelected officials
    serving at the pleasure of the governor.
5
             Thirty-eight states, including Illinois, have
6
    official mechanisms for legislative review of
7
    administrative rules created by the executive branch.
8
    Twenty-two states, including Illinois, have
9
    legislative rule review committees, and 18 states,
10
    including Illinois, allow the legislature to veto a
11
    rule by resolution or one of both houses.
                                                Such
12
    mechanisms have a long historical pedigree dating back
13
    to at least 1939 when Kansas adopted the first state
14
    legislative review mechanism. Illinois' practice is
15
    also consistent with British practice under which
16
    rules are laid before Parliament and subject to its
17
           Federal efforts, however, to provide
18
    legislative veto provisions for Congress have been
19
    held unconstitutional by the Supreme Court under the
20
    federal Constitution as violating the Presentment and
21
    Bicameralism Clauses of the Constitution.
2 2
    decision has been heavily criticized as excessively
    formalistic and has not been followed by states.
2 3
24
             While there have been legitimate questions
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raised about the constitutionality of the JCAR process
   under the Illinois Constitution, those questions
    should be resolved through the courts. Moreover, JCAR
3
   is an important and integral part of the Illinois
   Administrative Procedure Act, and it is unlikely that
5
6
   it could be readily severed from the rest of the Act.
   Thus if JCAR is unconstitutional, it likely means the
7
8
   entire rulemaking process would need to be rewritten.
9
   Governor Blagojevich's actions in 2007 in unilaterally
10
    rejecting the JCAR process alone attempted to sever
   one check from the set of checks and balances embodied
11
12
    in the state administrative process, shifting a
13
    significant degree of power from the legislature to
    the executive branch.
14
15
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Thank you very much.
                  I think we'll hear from Professor Rich
16
   Mr. Morriss.
17
   and then have questions for both of you. But if your
   testimony is written, we'd appreciate a copy.
18
19
   you.
20
             MR. RICH: Thank you for the opportunity to
21
   present testimony before you today. I've been asked
2 2
   to comment on the rulemaking authority of the Chief
2 3
   Executive in Illinois and about rulemaking in the area
24
   of healthcare programs and policies which have been
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promoted by the Governor. I will focus on the case of
1
    the attempt to expand FamilyCare -- the FamilyCare
    program through adminis -- emergency -- so-called
3
    emergency rulemaking.
5
             In 1975, the Illinois General Assembly
    enacted the Illinois Administrative Procedures Code,
6
7
    IAPA, to create a procedure through which
8
    administrative agencies would exercise the authority
9
    delegated to them by the legislature to create
10
    administrative law through the adoption of agency
11
    regulations. In 1977 the IAPA was amended to add a
12
    process by which the General Assembly would oversee
13
    the exercise of this delegated authority to the Joint
14
    Committee on Administrative Rules, JCAR, a service
15
    agency of the General Assembly. Rules of
16
    administrative agencies are valid and enforceable only
17
    after they've been through the rulemaking process
18
    prescribed by IAPA. Rules are for the purpose of --
19
    rules are for the purpose of interpreting or
20
    implementing provisions of a statute and should not
21
    actually expand or limit the scope of the statute.
    The premise underlying the Administrative Procedures
2 2
    Act and JCAR reflects the fundamental division of
2 3
24
    governmental power of the federal and state levels
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into three branches -- a separation that is designed
    to provide an effective check and balance against
    excesses by any single branch.
3
             Most Illinois residents don't pay much
4
    attention to JCAR and its functions, but this panel
5
6
    came into specific spotlight when Governor Blagojevich
7
    in November of 19 -- November of 2007 unilaterally
8
    attempted to expand eligibility for state-subsidized
9
    health insurance, which represented a first step in
10
    his goal of providing universal healthcare in
    Illinois. JCAR decided to block this attempt.
11
                                                     Αs
12
    already alluded to, the Governor sought an emergency
13
    change in the eligibility rules for his FamilyCare
14
    program so that people earning as much as 400 percent
15
    of the federal poverty level, $92,600 for a family of
    four, would be eligible for the program.
16
17
        Currently, the eligibility standard is 185 percent
18
    of poverty or $32,803 for a family of four.
19
    represents a component of the $2.1 billion healthcare
20
    program envisioned by the Governor which was not
21
    passed by the legislature.
2 2
             It was in November of 2007, as Andy already
2 3
    alluded to, that the Governor filed an emerg -- quote,
24
    emergency order, end quote, that would have allowed
```

```
147,000 parents and other caretakers to buy discounted
    insurance through the state's FamilyCare program.
    order said that the move qualified as a, quote,
    crisis, end quote, because these individuals lacked,
    quote, access to affordable health insurance.
5
6
        As you know, JCAR voted nine to two to reject this
7
    change, stating this was not an emergency. And as
8
    Professor Morriss already indicated, the threshold is
9
    eight votes. It would only be under an, quote,
10
    emergency, end quote, the Governor would be able to
11
    unilaterally introduce such a change, which is why the
12
    Governor then ordered the Department of Health and
13
    Family Services to start enrolling people at the
14
    higher income level despite JCAR's decision.
15
        As we think about this case, let's remind
16
    ourselves what the role of JCAR is. The panel's job
17
    is to review all rules the state agencies want to
18
    adopt to make sure that every proposal accurately
19
    carries out what the legislature intended when it
20
    creates a program.
21
        JCAR is the watchdog for the General Assembly
2 2
    charged with overseeing the implementation of the laws
    made by the legislative branch. If JCAR prohibits a
2 3
24
    rule, as it did with Governor Blagojevich's health
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proposal, the state agency in question may not enforce
    the rule. Hence the Governor's order to Health and
    Family Services intake workers is highly problematic
    because the ban is permanent until the agency revises
    the proposed rule to JCAR's satisfaction, which did
5
6
    not occur in this case.
7
        Given the Governor's stance in this important
8
    healthcare case, there are a set of reviewing
9
    questions that should be posed. First, would a family
10
    care intake worker by committing -- would a family
    intake worker be committing welfare fraud in enrolling
11
12
    someone for state-subsidized health insurance which
13
    income exceeds the legal limit established by the rule
14
    the Governor sought to change?
15
        Two, if a doctor treated that person and then
16
    billed the state, would he or she be party to welfare
17
    fraud? Would the bill even be paid?
        Third, if the state refused to pay a medical bill,
18
19
    would the patient then face an unexpected medical cost
20
    potentially leading to action by a collection agency
21
    and unfavorable credit rating?
        And, fourth, if the state were to decide to cover
2 2
    the medical bills projected to be more than $200
2 3
    million, where would the money come from?
24
```

1 Ultimately, in my judgment, what was done here 2 represents a real problem. The Governor was trying to dramatically increase eligibility without legislation 3 or spending authority. This leads one to the inevitable conclusion that the Governor was either 5 6 going to try to force the legislature into passing 7 more funding or simply fund program changes without appropriations, claiming that he has the authority to 8 9 do so. 10 Either one of these interpretations raises serious questions about the Chief Executive's exercise of 11 12 appropriate authority. In my judgment, these actions 13 are irresponsible, not consistent with appropriate 14 constitutionally-provided checks and balances, and they are very problematic. 15 16 Our Constitution in Illinois provides that 17 spending can only occur on programs designated by the General Assembly or through delegated power by the 18 19 executive. That delegated authority is relatively 20 small and primarily allows for a program to be 21 supported if it ends up costing more than expected, 2 2 not simply because the Governor does not agree or because he has different priorities from the General 2 3 24 Assembly.

```
Let me conclude by saying the Governor's
1
    healthcare goals are laudatory. They're designed to
3
    address critical access and affordability problems
    facing Illinois and the nation.
5
        However, the way in which he exercised rulemaking
6
    authority in this case far exceeded his authority and
7
    actions and represent a problematic action.
8
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Thank you very much,
9
    Professor.
                I know we have copies of your written
10
    testimony.
11
             MR. RICH:
                        we do.
12
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: And it's up to the panel.
13
    Do you want to wait till we hear other people on this
14
    topic and then do questions, or would you like to do
15
    questions as we go? Well, why don't we just ask you
16
    to wait, and then we'll hear from the other people who
17
    have testimony to offer us on issues of the Joint
18
    Committee on Administrative Rules, but just stay --
19
    stay close by.
20
        And then the next person would be Vicki Thomas,
21
    who is the executive director of the Joint Committee
22
    on Administrative Rules. And, Vicki, if you would
2 3
    raise your right hand.
24
                  (Ms. Thomas was duly sworn.)
```

```
1
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Thank you very much.
        And could you introduce the woman who is with you.
   If she's going to give testimony, we'd like her to
3
    swear to that as well.
4
5
             MS. THOMAS: This is Clare Eberle, she's my
6
   deputy director, and Ed Stasiewicz on our staff, who
7
    specializes in human services. They're here to
    support me if you ask factual questions with which I
8
9
   need --
10
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: So do we anticipate that
   they will be answering questions themselves?
11
12
             MS. THOMAS: Probably not directly.
13
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Pardon me?
14
             MS. THOMAS: Probably not directly unless you
15
    request it.
16
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Okay. All right. Well,
17
   if they do, remind me to swear them in so -- and then
18
   if you would just give your name, Vicki, and spelling
19
   and the exact title to the court reporter.
             MS. THOMAS: My name is Vicki Thomas,
20
   V-i-c-k-i T-h-o-m-a-s. I'm the executive director of
21
2 2
   the Joint Committee on Administrative Rules. I've
2 3
   held that position since 1991. Prior to that, I spent
24
   18 years on state Senate staff. So I've basically
```

```
1
   been involved in state government and the legislative
2
    process now for 35 years.
             What I've heard so far from the people from
3
   U of I has been right on target. Unfortunately, I'm
4
   going to be a little repetitive of that because I
5
6
   wasn't sure where they were going this morning.
7
   going to start out by -- where they've described to
   you the sausage that is the administrative rule
8
9
    process, I will take you a little bit more into the
10
    sausage factory, into what we do on a daily basis
11
   where we get our job done.
12
             I'll start out by really explaining the game
13
    rules, the foundation on which we work, which is the
14
    Illinois Administrative Procedures Act. I hope it's
15
   not too dry for you. Some of you in this room are as
16
   knowledgeable about these elements as I am.
                                                  Some of
17
   you don't deal with it. So I think if we have that
18
    foundation, it will help when we have just dialogue
19
   together a little bit later. Okay?
20
             All right. JCAR is part of Illinois' checks
21
   and balances system. The General Assembly created
2 2
    JCAR in 1977 and delegated to it the responsibility of
2 3
   the legislative branch to ensure that the statutory
24
   laws it enacts are properly implemented through
```

```
administrative law.
1
2
        The important point there is that we are simply a
3
    part of the General Assembly. Any power, any
    authority that JCAR exercises is the authority of the
5
    General Assembly. There's nothing that we can do that
6
    the General Assembly cannot override. So, ultimately,
7
    the responsibility is all of yours.
8
        Okay. The committee is comprised of 12
9
    legislators, three from each caucus. It's currently
10
    served by a staff of 16 that includes six professional
    rules analysts.
11
12
        When the General Assembly enacts statutory law, it
13
    frequently leaves to administrative agencies the
    responsibility of filling in the details required to
14
15
    fully implement those statutes. The agency does this
16
    through administrative laws called rules or
17
    regulations.
        It is therefore incumbent on the legislature to
18
   monitor the agencies' handlings of the
19
20
    responsibilities delegated to it. Ultimately, the
21
    legislative branch is the law making branch. It
2 2
    can't, without oversight, pass that authority on to
2 3
    anyone else.
        In Illinois, that function of the General Assembly
24
```

is exercised through JCAR's administrative rules The statute governing JCAR's conduct and the conduct of state agencies in adopting amendments, 3 adopting and amending their rules is the Illinois 5 Administrative Procedure Act or the IAPA. It is and 6 always has been one of the strongest administrative 7 review laws in the country. 8 In the 1980s, the procedure was further 9 strengthened by two supreme court decisions: 10 Park Nursing Center versus Miller, who was then the 11 director of the Department of Public Aid, and Kaufman 12 Grain Company versus the Illinois Department of 13 Agriculture. In short, those decisions validated the 14 IAPA provision that state agency policy that affects 15 anyone outside of the state agency can only be 16 expressed through rules adopted under the IAPA. Even 17 one agency cannot tell another agency what to do without doing it through rules. 18 19 Just as an example, when the new fingerprint 20 system was put into place that is now just throughout 21 all kinds of governmental programs, the Department of 2 2 State Police couldn't just send a memo to other 2 3 agencies saying you now have to use our fingerprint 24 system. They had to develop a rule telling other

```
agencies that that's what they had to do. It's the
   only way they can officially order anyone outside of
   their agency to do something.
3
        Prior to enactment of the IAPA, a state agency was
    allowed to file its rules with the Secretary of State
5
   for public access, if it chose to do so. For that
7
    reason, we have some rules on the books whose
    initiation dates back to at least the 1930s.
8
9
    are ones that I've just particularly noticed.
10
        Nothing, however, required an agency to officially
11
    file its rules. Those rules could simply be a pile of
12
   policy statements housed in an agency director's desk
13
   drawer.
            They could be amended on a whim with no
14
    required public notice. Yet the public affected by
15
   those rules and regulations could be held in
16
   compliance with them.
17
             The basic tenets of the IAPA are that no
18
   agency policy can be enforced without first being
19
   adopted as a rule, with some clearly stated
20
   exceptions. The agency's intent to adopt, amend, or
21
    repeal a rule must be publicly announced, with anyone
2 2
   being entitled to offer comment to the agency on its
   proposal. The agency's proposal is then -- again,
2 3
24
   with some exceptions that are stated in the IAPA --
```

```
reviewed by JCAR, with a further opportunity for the
    public to comment to JCAR before it takes up its
    official deliberations on the rule.
             And, finally, upon adoption of those rules,
    they become part of the compilation of all of the
5
6
    rules of the state which is called the Illinois
7
    Administrative Code. The code is officially on file
8
    in the index department at the Secretary of State's
9
    office, and an unofficial version maintained and,
10
    sometimes to my chagrin, updated weekly by JCAR is on
    the General Assembly's website.
11
12
        In essence, the IAPA brought daylight to the
13
    process of creating administrative law in Illinois.
14
    It's something that I don't think we want to lose.
15
             Just as a little follow-up to one of the
    comments the professors made when they said that
16
17
    people of the State of Illinois rarely know that JCAR
18
    exists. I was in a court in northern Illinois a few
19
    years ago on an issue where the judge from the bench
20
    made an unofficial comment. He said, "I didn't know
21
    JCAR existed, but I'll tell you I'll sleep better now,
    now that I know they're there." If more people really
2 2
2 3
    followed our process, I think they'd probably share
    that sentiment.
24
```

The JCAR membership meets at least once each month 1 to consider an agenda that has recently ranged from 30 3 to 60 state agency rulemakings. Prior to this administration, many of our agendas would house up to 5 a hundred rulemakings, and I will tell you a little 6 bit later why the hundred rulemakings a month was 7 preferable to the 30 to 60. 8 JCAR can expect to review in a year's time about 9 20,000 pages of information. And, remember, I'm doing 10 this with six staff analysts. I'll get in my little 11 plug while I'm here. 12 The IAPA dictates that the committee's analysis of 13 rulemakings be based on such concerns as statutory 14 authority and legislative intent, necessity for the 15 regulation, economic impact on state government and 16 the affected public, completeness and appropriateness 17 of the standards to be relied upon when an agency 18 exercises discretion, effect on local government and 19 small business, adherence to the statutory rulemaking 20 requirements, and others. 21 In rules -- this rules review responsibilities inherently create an adversarial relationship between 2 2 JCAR and the state agencies, and by adversarial I 2 3 24 don't necessarily mean argumentative. You know, we

```
deal with these people daily, and a lot of the
    relationships are very professional and cordial.
    simply mean they have a position they have to espouse,
3
    and we have laws we have to protect. Those can
    sometimes be adversarial positions. On a daily basis,
5
6
   the relationship can be a lot less adversarial than
7
   one might expect.
8
        JCAR's ultimate goal is that Illinois government
9
    produce the most legally-grounded, least onerous,
10
   least costly, and most efficient and effective body of
11
    administrative law possible. Most state agencies
12
    share that goal. The types of criticism JCAR might
13
   offer on a rulemaking range from simply pointing out
14
    that a sentence is missing a verb -- hence makes no
15
    sense -- to claiming that the agency is blatantly
16
   violating statute. We run the gamut. We look at
17
   everything. We look at indentation. We look at
18
    consistency in the style of the administrative code,
19
   and we look at is what they're doing legal, funded,
20
    constitutional. So we're looking at it all.
21
             JCAR offers what we call the cold read.
2 2
   We're not the specialists that are dealing with these
2 3
   programs, we're the generalists. So we can step back,
24
    and we can look at the broad picture where frequently
```

```
the agency program people can't. We look at it the
1
    way -- what we try to do is look at it the way that
    the filling station owner, the plumber, the doctor,
3
    whoever has to live under that rule would look at it.
    If they can't -- if we can't read it and understand
5
6
    it, then most of those people don't have a prayer.
7
    we're the funnel through which it all flows, and we
    work on a lot of angles to try to make it at least
8
9
    decipherable.
10
        Looking at the rulemakings JCAR has considered
11
    over the past four years illustrates the point I was
12
    making about how most rules are really not bad rules.
13
    Of roughly 1800 rulemakings we've looked at over the
14
    last four years, 90 percent met with no negative JCAR
15
             90 percent of them.
    action.
16
               That means that the people out there
17
    administering the programs were doing exactly what
    they were supposed to do; or that, after JCAR reviewed
18
19
    it and in negotiation with JCAR, they got to the point
20
    where they were doing exactly what they were supposed
21
    to be doing.
                  I'm not saying they came in perfect.
    I'm saying, by the time they got to a JCAR meeting,
2 2
2 3
    they were something that we felt could be lived with.
    You can't always achieve perfection, but you're always
24
```

trying to achieve as close to perfection in a rule as you can get. So on 90 percent of the issues, we've gotten to what we consider to be a comfort level. We 3 could get behind that agency and pretty much say we can share their responsibility for that rule, we don't 5 6 have any doubts about it. The other 10 percent can be 7 very controversial. But when I say that we take action, we can take 8 9 action anywhere from a simple recommendation all the 10 way through a filing prohibition. So we have -- even 11 amongst those 10 percent, not all of those were 12 particularly egregious issues. 13 When JCAR considers a rulemaking, it has a variety 14 of options available under the IAPA. If it finds that 15 a rulemaking is within its statute authority and that 16 no other major problems exist, it issues a certificate 17 of no objection. With that certificate, the agency 18 can proceed to adopt its rule. 19 When JCAR has outstanding issues with a rulemaking 20 but doesn't categorize those deficiencies as serious, 21 it issues a recommendation. It may be a situation of 2 2 JCAR saying we understand how you have to interpret the statute the way you're interpreting it, but we 2 3 believe the statute could be clearer; so we recommend 24

```
that you go back to the legislature next session and
    try to get the legislature to clarify it even more for
    you.
3
        It might -- we might say, well, we understand you
    have to do what you have to do right now, but we want
5
6
    you to take a little more long-range view. We'd like
7
    you to look at this particular element for six months,
    and then come back and tell us where you stand on it
8
9
    in that period of time.
10
        We can recommend that they add a comma.
    any variety of things. Again, they don't always have
11
12
    to be earth-shakingly serious. If it believes the
13
    issues are serious, it votes an objection.
14
    either a recommendation or an objection, the agency
15
    can respond to the JCAR action by further modifying
    the rulemaking to abate JCAR's concerns.
16
17
        It can then abandon the rulemaking, or it can
18
    adopt the rulemaking with no changes. They don't have
19
    to respond by making any modifications. At that point
20
    the issue is totally in the hands of the agency; it's
21
    their decision. Up to this point in the process, JCAR
2 2
    has done nothing to tell an agency absolutely no.
             In instances in which the committee finds the
2 3
24
    problems with the rulemaking to be most egregious, it
```

```
can prohibit filing of a proposed rule or, with
    respect to an emergency or preemptory rule, which are
    already adopted prior to JCAR review, the committee
3
    can suspend the filed rule. Those terms are basically
    the same. One just applies to a proposal that's not
5
6
    yet been adopted. The other applies to an emergency
7
    rule that has been adopted.
8
             JCAR has habitually used the strongest of its
9
    actions when it believes the agency's action is in
10
    serious violation of statutory law or legislative
11
             Frequently, by the way, that legislative
12
    intent is determined by what you did with the budget.
13
    Sometimes things are not always spelled out in
14
    statutory language. Sometimes we have to go back and
15
    look at the money flow to determine what the
16
    legislator's intent is.
17
        But, as an aside to that, by the way, what JCAR
    does on a rule as it goes through is one of the
18
19
    easiest things for a court to look at when it's
20
    determining legislative intent. Courts have found
21
    that the words of a sponsor in a record are simply the
2 2
    statements of a single legislator. Because of its
    delegated authority, when JCAR takes an action, that's
2 3
    about the strongest indication of legislative intent
24
```

```
1
    that a court can look at.
             For an 180-day period after JCAR issues a
2
3
    filing prohibition or a suspension, further
    discussions and negotiation with the agency can result
    in JCAR withdrawing its action and allowing the
6
    rulemaking to proceed, usually with modifications.
7
    Sometimes it's simply because they come in with better
8
    information than they gave us the first time.
9
        Also during that time period the General Assembly
10
    as a whole can override the JCAR action through
    passage of a joint resolution. If neither of these
11
12
    actions occurs within the 180 days, a suspended rule
13
    by action of law by the IAPA is automatically
14
    repealed. A prohibited rulemaking is prohib --
15
    permanently barred from being filed.
        In its entire 31-year history, JCAR has issued a
16
17
    filing prohibition or suspension only 69 times.
    Thirty-three of the 69 instances, almost half, have
18
19
    occurred during the six years of the current
20
    administration. The filing prohibition/suspension
21
    process has worked effectively as a mechanism for
22
    encouraging further negotiation and conflict
    resolution. In only nine instances of the 69 has an
2 3
    issue remained unresolved after the 180-day
24
```

negotiation period. All but two of those unresolved situations have occurred under the current administration. 3 4 I'd like to finish this little presentation on 5 Rulemaking 101 with one further comment. There's a 6 general tendency by the public and sometimes by the 7 legislature to regard rules and rulemaking as a bad 8 How often have you ever heard someone -- one thing. 9 of your constituents, probably -- say it wasn't the 10 statute that hurt me, it was the rules that came 11 later. 12 In my tenure at JCAR, I've come to a little bit 13 different conclusion on that. Yes, rules place 14 restrictions on how people conduct their lives and 15 their business, but so do statutes. 16 More importantly, rules place restrictions on the 17 bureaucracy. No one would be more in favor of having 18 fewer rules than the people who administer state 19 Rules create parameters within which government. 20 agencies must exercise their authority and their 21 discretion. They help quarantee that all citizens 2 2 have equal access to state programs and services. 2 3 At JCAR we have to guard as much against an

agency's failure to adopt necessary rules as we

24

```
monitor the rules they do adopt. The rules are
    sometimes the public's best protection against a
    bureaucracy that has its own agenda.
3
        As you can tell from my description of JCAR
    functions, we're a legislative agency that works very
5
6
    closely with the executive branch of government.
7
    what we do every single working day. I personally
    have served in this position under the past three
8
9
                For that reason, I believe I'm in a
    governors.
10
    position to offer to this committee some observations
    on the operations of the current administration.
11
12
             when I came to JCAR in 1991, I had to
13
    seriously interact with state government bureaucracy
14
    for the first time. As a Senate member, I called
15
    them, I got my answers. They didn't buck me. Excuse
16
    me. As a Senate staff member. Let me clarify.
17
    I had to deal with them a lot more, I have to admit I
                    I did not realize it was like that for
18
    was surprised.
19
    most people but -- yeah.
20
        I found, when I got to JCAR and had to deal with
21
    them seriously, that often their priorities weren't
2 2
    the same as those I had observed in the legislative
           While most state employees understand that
2 3
    branch.
24
    ultimately their job exists in some way to serve the
```

```
citizens of Illinois, I encountered some who seemed to
    put a lot of energy into avoiding the public and its
            For some, responsibility for state function
3
    appeared to be viewed as a personal power or
5
    authority.
6
        One of the first lessons I learned was that the
7
    Governor's office can be a great ally in dealing with
8
    the problems caused by bureaucratic attitudes.
9
    Governors, like legislators, are generally sensitive
10
    to and responsive to the needs of the public because
11
    they have to account for their actions every time they
12
    go to an election.
13
        Not so for the mid-level bureaucrat.
                                               Numerous
14
    times during the prior two administrations I contacted
15
    staff in the Governor's office and a problem of agency
16
    intransigence would quickly be resolved. We could be
17
    partners in making state government better.
             Based on that experience, I contacted the
18
19
    Governor's office multiple times early in this
20
    administration and suggested that it assign someone as
21
    liaison to JCAR. I am still waiting for a response to
2 2
    those requests.
2 3
        Instead, a policy was reportedly established --
24
    and I'm saying reportedly because I don't have access
```

to dictums that flow between the Governor's office and his agencies. We're simply going with conversation that we have then with the agency employees as they do their jobs.

So a policy was reportedly established that

So a policy was reportedly established that virtually all agency rulemaking proposals had to be reviewed by the Governor's office of management and budget. This has virtually put a stranglehold on rulemaking activity.

2 2

2 3

JCAR has issued many procedural objections and recommendations over the past few years based on agencies missing statutorily-mandated deadlines for program implementation, or for tardy rulemaking, which put the agency in a position of enforcing policy not in rule which is in blatant violation of the IAPA and its supporting court decisions.

The only reason agency personnel could offer for their tardiness was that their rulemaking proposals had gotten held up in GOMB. State employees have occasionally made statements to us in an attempt -- that, in an attempt to comply with state and federal law, they felt they were putting their jobs on the line by proceeding with rulemaking without waiting for GOMB approval.

```
While slowing down on rulemakings might sound
1
    like a good thing, in many cases state activity
    doesn't --
3
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: I wonder if you could
4
    really talk more about the particular issue having to
5
6
    do with the Governor's decision to go around JCAR.
7
    mean, what you're telling us may be useful
    information, but I'm not sure it's relevant to this
8
9
    hearing.
10
        You know, if you think the Governor should do
11
    rulemaking more quickly, well, I'm not sure that's
12
    something that is part of this particular inquiry.
13
             MS. THOMAS: Okay. My point there was not
14
    doing timely rulemaking results in policy not in rules
15
    which is blatantly illegal. So that was my point.
16
        I also was led to believe that you were interested
17
    in how -- my experiences under this administration
    opposed to prior administrations I'd worked under.
18
19
    What would you like me to skip directly to?
20
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Well, again, the fact
21
    that he didn't appoint a legislative liaison, I don't
2 2
    think that's something that's particularly relevant to
2 3
    this inquiry. And whether they are slower or faster
24
    than other administrations in promulgating rules, I'm
```

```
not sure that's directly relevant to our inquiry
    either.
             MS. THOMAS: I understand your point.
3
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: If there's anything that
    you haven't already said that you feel you would want
5
6
    to tell us, that would be good.
7
             MS. THOMAS: My next paragraph gets into
8
    what --
9
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE:
                                  Pardon me?
10
             MS. THOMAS: My next paragraph gets into what
    is tied to that thought, which is flow of information.
11
12
    Okay. Another point of comparison between the current
13
    administration and the others with which I have worked
    involves the flow of information.
14
15
        The state agencies house the experts that make
    state programs function. JCAR has a staff of eight
16
17
    generalists, including myself, who must evaluate the
18
    implementation of statutory law. We rely on agency
19
    staff to explain their policies, their procedures, and
20
    their rulemakings to us and to back up their points
21
    with documentation when necessary.
        while rules are viewed as inherently an
2 2
2 3
    adversarial process, it has classically had game
24
    rules.
            If my staff asks the right questions, then
```

state employees in the other branch of government were expected to answer truthfully and to provide the materials we needed. Both sides could understand the 3 other side's position and understand it might not be 5 the same as theirs, but they could not withhold 6 factual information. That has never been part of the 7 scenario. 8 while still observed by many agencies, these game 9 rules seem to have been set aside by others. 10 agencies, even the simplest request for purely factual information that JCAR needs with respect to 11 12 noncontroversial rulemakings must be cleared by an 13 agency's chief legal counsel. Rules liaisons are 14 virtually not allowed to respond to JCAR without 15 permission when interaction with JCAR is at the heart 16 of their job. 17 For example, it can take weeks to get information from the Department of Public Health even when JCAR's 18 19 facing a meeting deadline. It's because everything 20 there has to go through the chief legal counsel. 21 situation is new with the administration -- with this 2 2 administration. In the past, if a chief legal counsel got involved 2 3 24 in a JCAR issue, it was because the substantive issues

```
there were prime, they were important to the front
    office of that agency, or there was some serious
    conflict and the legal counsel was there to help
3
    resolve it.
        Under this administration, the Governor's office
5
6
    has exercised more direct control over legal counsels;
7
    so you'll find that in the average state agency more
    flows through the chief legal counsel than it ever
8
9
    has.
10
        A prime example of restricted information flow is
11
    the Department of Healthcare and Family Services,
12
    where, again, factual answers can be held up for weeks
13
    or sometimes permanently.
14
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Are you coming to a
15
    close?
16
             MS. THOMAS: I was coming to Department of
17
    Healthcare and Family Services. I'd be glad to skip
    that part, if you'd like.
18
19
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Well, I guess -- I
20
    thought we were going to get more pointed testimony,
21
    and I think one of the points really wasn't -- some of
2 2
    the stuff about legislative liaisons or control over
2 3
    agencies, but let me just -- some of your members are
24
    here.
           Representative Lang.
```

```
1
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Madam Chairman, the
   testimony by Ms. Thomas as to the Department of
   Healthcare and Family Services I believe will be
3
   critical to --
5
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: And that was -- I thought
6
   that I was suggesting that she get to that when we
7
   last had an interchange. So why don't you carry on
   with that, please.
8
9
             MS. THOMAS: I would be happy.
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: And we first would like
10
   written copies of your testimony.
11
12
             MS. THOMAS: I -- like I say, I was asked to
13
   put this in a framework of past experience to lead
14
   into Department of Healthcare and Family Services. I
15
   was also asked to look more broadly than Healthcare
16
   and Family Services. I do have a paragraph on other
17
   agencies if your interested. Otherwise, I can go
18
    right to HFS.
19
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: I would go right to that.
20
             MS. THOMAS: Okay. FamilyCare is the program
21
   that provides medical assistance to responsible adult
2 2
    relatives of children in the KidCare program whose
2 3
   family incomes are above 133 percent FPL.
                                                Under 133
24
   percent they are entitled to straight medical
```

assistance so that's why that's the base level. 2 KidCare is the program created under the federal State Children's Health Insurance Program or SCHIP and 3 state statute. States whose programs are approved by the federal government get a 65/35 federal match on 5 6 their expenditures. 7 While designed to provide medical care to 8 children, in 2002 state statute and a federal Medicaid 9 waiver allowed adults responsible for participating 10 children whose family incomes exceeded the Medicaid 11 cap of 133 percent but were under 185 percent to also 12 receive healthcare coverage under KidCare. HFS has 13 now endowed that adult coverage with the name 14 FamilyCare. 15 The problem began in late 2007 when the five-year 16 federal waiver expired. The state statutory 17 authorization was tied to the federal waiver so it 18 also expired. HFS had a reported 15 to 20,000 19 FamilyCare participants who would lose state 20 healthcare coverage unless the state decided to pick 21 up that cost. HFS decided to do so, but additionally 2 2 opted to increase the 185 percent FPL cap that existed under the federal waiver to 400 percent. The state 2 3 would not only assume the cost of the former SCHIP 24

adults but a major portion of the cost for thousands of additional adults as well. HFS voiced this policy in an emergency rule that 3 was considered at JCAR's November 2007 meeting. while JCAR had some questions for the agency about the 5 6 rulemaking statute authority and its costs, it 7 addressed its actions to the department's use of 8 emergency rulemaking. 9 It is normal for JCAR to do that. The emergency 10 rulemaking process allows something to go into place 11 immediately with no JCAR review, no public review. 12 It's an agency saying as of today this is our new 13 policy. For that reason, JCAR watches emergency 14 rulemaking very carefully and makes sure that it's only used in a true emergency. 15 16 While the pickup of SCHIP adults were about 17 to -- who were about to lose their existing coverage 18 could reasonably be characterized as an emergency 19 situation, the department was not able to successfully 20 justify the expansion of FamilyCare to those with up 21 to 400 percent FPL as being emergency. JCAR voted an 2 2 objection and suspension based on the use of emergency rulemaking and further recommended that HFS split the 2 3 24 two policies and adopt another emergency rule

```
affecting just the SCHIP pickup.
        HFS chose not to split the two issues and, by it's
    own admission, proceeded to sign up over 3,000
3
    FamilyCare participants under the new 400 percent cap.
    It did so without first adopting a rule, in violation
5
    of the IAPA and the Supreme Court findings in Senn
    Park and Kaufman Grain. This blatant lake of
7
    adherence to law is virtually unheard of in my
8
9
    experience.
10
             In February 2008 the proposed -- the
11
    permanent version of the same rulemaking proposal came
12
    before JCAR. With the question of the use of
13
    emergency rulemaking off the table, the committee now
14
    focused more substantively on the rulemaking.
15
    extensively questioned the department on its statutory
16
    authority for and the cost of the expansion.
17
        The department's response, offered repetitively,
    was simply that it had -- it believed it had both the
18
19
    authority and the money. It continued to claim that
20
    the funds were available, in spite of recent
21
    statements from the Comptroller about current medical
22
    assistance backlogs.
        Instead of explaining what cost savings -- or
2 3
24
    other services it planned to cut -- were going to free
```

up the money to pay for the expansion, department personnel refused to say more than the department believed it had both the authority and the money. 3 JCAR issued an objection and filing prohibition to 5 the proposed rule to the extent that it expanded 6 medical assistance to persons other than those affect 7 by the lapsed SCHIP waiver. You'll notice JCAR 8 bifurcated its action. It agreed that doing something 9 for those families that the state had already accepted 10 responsibility for was a legitimate issue. It was the 11 expansion that JCAR could not agree with. 12 The committee found that the budgetary impact on 13 the state was likely to be significant. It believed that an expansion of this magnitude should not be 14 15 initiated without a specific legislative determination 16 that adequate financial resources are and will 17 continue to be available. The General Assembly did 18 not include expanded FamilyCare during its formulation 19 of the FYO8 budget. Further, the General Assembly did 20 not pass any substantive statutory authority for such 21 an expansion. 2 2 HFS again refused to separate the issue of the SCHIP pickup and the FamilyCare expansion. 2 3 response to the JCAR action and again in violation of

24

```
the IAPA, HFS continued to take new applicants into
    the expedited Fam -- or the expanded FamilyCare.
        Following the emergency rule, a citizen by the
3
    name of Richard Caro, joined by Ronald Gidwitz and
    Gregory Baise, filed suit against the FamilyCare
5
6
    expansion.
                The circuit court issued a temporary
7
    restraining order against HFS' implementation of the
8
    expansion. HFS filed a preemptory rule to tie the
9
    FamilyCare to some requirements of the TANF law
10
    because the court had criticized it for not having
11
    done so.
12
        Preemptory rule is another type of rulemaking that
13
    goes into effect immediately without prior JCAR review
    and without public scrutiny. For that reason JCAR
14
15
    watches preemptory rulemaking very carefully.
16
    Preemptory rulemaking can be used to implement a court
17
    order in which the agency has no discretion in the
18
    language of the rule. The court has dictated the
19
    language; the agency has no option.
20
        In this case, that didn't occur. Judge Epstein's
21
    order did nothing to dictate that the agency adopt
    rules or that it -- and it did not direct what
2 2
2 3
    language the agency should adopt. For that reason,
    JCAR found -- filed an objection and a suspension
24
```

```
1
    against that preemptory rule. The appellate court
    then upheld the circuit court.
        Again, HFS filed a preemptory rule maintaining it
3
    was implementing a court order. The court ordered
    nothing about them doing further rulemaking.
5
6
    simply, in its background information, mentioned the
7
    TANF deficiency; so they tried to come through with
8
    another preemptory rule which JCAR again objected to
9
    and suspended because it was not a legally-constituted
    preemptory rule.
10
        In the discussions on that, one of my members put
11
   the question to HFS staff, "Do you people not read the
12
13
    IAPA?" And the response was, "Oh, yes, I read it."
14
    Which would imply they've read it and it had
15
    absolutely no impact on them.
16
        The Supreme Court, based largely on HFS' claim
17
    that the TRO could be interpreted to threaten Medicaid
    payments to half a million people, stayed the TRO
18
19
    pending its consideration of the appeal of the
    administration.
20
21
        Okay. This concludes my remarks on some of JCAR's
22
    experiences with the current administration.
    what I've done is lay background for any dialogue you
2 3
24
    chose to have later. I assume we'll get into more
```

```
specifics through that.
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Thank you very much,
    Director. And, again, if you could give us a copy of
3
    your written testimony, we'd appreciate it.
             MS. THOMAS: Certainly.
5
6
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: We're going to hear from
    the other witnesses before we do -- but you will stay
7
    available to us for questions, I hope.
8
9
        The next witness is Claudette Miller from the law
    firm of Ungaretti and Harris.
10
             MR. HECHT: Madam Chairman, my name is Tom
11
12
    Hecht.
13
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Hi, Tom.
14
             MR. HECHT: It seemed to us to make the most
15
    sense for us collectively to appear before you.
    Ms. Miller and I are counsel to Mr. Gidwitz and
16
17
    Mr. Baise.
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Yeah, if you -- Tom, if
18
19
    you could speak into the mic. In fact, you know what?
20
    We're just going to go swear you in, and then you're
21
    going to say what you just said but it will be on the
2 2
          So if each of you could stand and hold up your
    mic.
2 3
    right hand.
24
                  (Mr. Hecht, Mr. Gidwitz, Ms. Miller
```

```
1
                  and Mr. Baise were duly sworn.)
2
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Thank you very much.
   then if you please each tell your name and tell your
3
    job title for the -- and spell your name, if you
   would, for the court reporter.
5
6
             MS. MILLER: Madam Chairman and members of
   the committee, my name is Claudette Miller. Claudette
7
8
   is C-l-a-u-d-e-t-t-e. Last name is Miller.
                                                  I'm an
9
   attorney at Ungaretti and Harris, and one of the
10
   counsel working on a lawsuit called Caro versus
11
    Blagojevich, which you've heard mentioned here
12
   previously today.
13
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Great. And, Tom.
14
             MR. HECHT: My name is Thomas Hecht. Along
15
   with Ms. Miller, I'm counsel to Mr. Gidwitz and
16
   Mr. Baise in the lawsuit which has been mentioned a
17
    number of times here this morning already.
             MR. BAISE: Greg Baise, president of the
18
19
   Illinois Manufacturers Association and a party to the
20
   lawsuit as a taxpayer of Illinois.
21
             MR. GIDWITZ: Madam Chairman, I'm Ron
   Gidwitz. I am chairman of the Illinois Jobs Coalition
22
2 3
   as well a party to the litigation that we'll talk
24
   about this morning.
```

```
1
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Thank you very much.
        Mr. Hecht.
             MR. HECHT: I think what our sort of
3
    preferred way of proceeding, subject to your approval,
4
    Madam Chairman, is that Mr. Gidwitz will make a brief
5
    statement, and in the interest of moving things along
7
    a bit, neither Ms. Miller nor I will give any
    statement to you, but we're certainly prepared to
8
9
    answer any questions relating to the lawsuit,
10
    including its current status or any of the particulars
11
    that interest any of the members.
12
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Thank you very much.
13
    think that would fine. Let me just mention that we
14
    have a large amount of material that you have supplied
15
    to us in written form and that will certainly be part
    of the record. Now, Director Thomas did describe to
16
17
    some extent what happened in court; so I appreciate
18
    the brevity of the remarks that will follow.
19
        Mr. Gidwitz.
20
             MR. GIDWITZ: Madam Chairman, I'll try and be
21
    as brief as possible, but I think it's appropriate to
2 2
    at least put some of the conversation in context if I
2 3
    might.
24
        Let me just say on all of our behalf it's a
```

```
1
    pleasure to be here, although the circumstances very
    clearly are regretable.
        About a year ago, as was said a moment ago, Mr.
3
    Richard Caro agreed to let Greg Baise and me join as
    taxpayers in the lawsuit challenging the legal
5
6
    authority of Mr. Blagojevich and his administration to
7
    initiate a healthcare program without legislative
8
    authority.
9
        We did not and do not question the authority of
10
    the General Assembly to enact a law for such a
11
              That's clearly a policy matter within the
12
    legislative competence. In fact, that is the
13
    fundamental point of our lawsuit -- that only the
14
    General Assembly may appropriate taxpayers' dollars,
15
    only the General Assembly may authorize purposes for
16
    expenditure, only the General Assembly may authorize
17
    the raising of revenue.
        Each of these things is spelled out in the
18
19
    Illinois Constitution in Articles XIII and IX, the
    finance and revenue articles of our Constitution.
20
21
    Mr. Blagojevich, however, has chosen to ignore the
2 2
    Constitution and initiate this program, in his words,
    unilaterally because of legislative opposition.
2 3
24
        Most of you, particularly those of you who serve
```

```
on JCAR, know that a little over a year ago in
   November of 19 -- of 2007, DHFS filed with JCAR an
3
    emergency rule, along with an identical permanent
    rule, that purported to create a brand new taxpayer-
    funded healthcare program for adults to be grafted on
5
6
   to Medicaid. This was done despite the fact that the
7
   General Assembly had not passed a law to authorize the
8
   new program and, in fact, had rejected unanimously the
9
   Governor's gross receipts tax which was to supply the
10
   funding for this new program. The General Assembly
11
   had never approved a law authorizing the collection of
12
   premiums under Medicaid and the General Assembly had
13
    not appropriated for the new program. The Governor
14
    simply announced that, since the General Assembly had
15
    refused to approve his program, he would create a new
16
   one unilaterally; hence the emergency rule.
17
        On November 13, 2007, JCAR voted, as you heard,
18
    nine to two to reject the emergency rule and made a
19
   finding that it was a threat to the public interest.
20
   As a result, by operation of the law, the emergency
21
    rule and the program it sought to authorize was
2 2
    suspended and invalidated. The Governor and DHFS
   decided that they would simply ignore JCAR at that
2 3
24
    point.
            DHFS started enrolling people in the new
```

1 program anyway. 2 Now, bear in mind that the Governor himself had signed the public act pertaining to JCAR's powers with 3 respect to prohibitions and suspensions of the rules. Yet he ignored the law. 5 6 Even at this time, as the Auditor General and the 7 Comptroller would issue audits and reports finding 8 DHFS was in a state of total disarray, lacking even 9 the most basic accounting controls, and the state 10 could not afford to pay its existing Medicaid bills, hospitals, pharmacists, providers, and vendors of all 11 12 types were suffering. 13 In December, on behalf of the Illinois taxpayers, Mr. Baise and I became plaintiffs in a lawsuit seeking 14 15 the injunction to stop this unlawful and 16 unconstitutional program and it's unlawful waste of 17 taxpayer funds. That was the beginning of a long hard 18 fought court battle. A battle where the Governor's 19 first tactic was to deny that Illinois taxpayers had 20 the authority to challenge the waste of taxpayers' 21 Imagine. money. In February of 2008, while the case was pending, 2 2 2 3 JCAR found that the permanent rule was contrary to the 24 public interest. This again, by operation of law, the

```
1
    program was prohibited by law. Yet DHFS continued to
    enroll participants.
        On April 15, 2008, after a full hearing on an
3
    extensive stipulated record, Judge James Epstein
5
    granted our motion for a preliminary injunction and
    enjoined the program. DHFS and the Governor appealed
7
    both the circuit court and the -- the appellate court
8
    rejected their motions to stay the injunction.
9
        Incredibly, they claimed that Judge Epstein's
10
    injunction applied only to the program as operated
11
    under the emergency rule. They continued to operate
12
    the program and enroll participants. They also
13
    continued to refuse to furnish even the most basic
14
    information about the program like how many people
15
    were enrolled and what was being done with the
16
    premiums. Apparently, they refused to answer the
17
    Associated Press FOIAs about the program as well.
18
    we filed a motion asking the circuit court to enter a
19
    second injunction.
20
        On September 26, 2008, the appellate court
21
    affirmed the circuit court's first April 15 injunction
2 2
    and made it clear that the program had been enjoined
    regardless of how it had been operated.
2 3
        On October 15, the circuit court entered a second
24
```

preliminary injunction enjoining the program again. These court orders got a lot of attention in the Editorials highly critical of the Governor ran 3 in the Chicago Tribune and other papers. As I am sure you are all aware, there's been a lot of discussion in 5 6 the papers this week about those editorials and their 7 effects. 8 The Governor and DHFS appealed the second 9 injunction too. Again, they sought and were denied 10 stays by the circuit court and the appellate court. 11 They succeeded, however, in obtaining a stay from the 12 Illinois State Supreme Court, pending the disposition 13 of their petition for leave to appeal the circuit 14 court's April 15 order. 15 This situation should sicken anyone who believes 16 in a representative democracy. The Governor and his 17 agencies believe and have stated in pleadings that 18 they have the inherent power to make law and raise 19 Apparently, they believe they are free revenue. 20 simply to disregard the General Assembly and JCAR and 21 the courts. The most fundamental elements of American 2 2 2 3 government, the rule of law and the separation of 24 powers, are belittled by the Governor's conduct.

```
While claiming he wanted to get more people
    healthcare, the Governor instead has jeopardized not
3
    just the healthcare benefits of existing lawful
    Medicaid recipients in this state but the financial
    viability of the healthcare providers themselves.
5
6
        This committee should act to reclaim the rule of
7
    law in Illinois. Only then weigh the confidence of
8
    Illinois working -- only then will the confidence of
9
    Illinois working people and businesses in their
10
    government be restored. Only then will Mr.
    Blagojevich's crimes against the Constitution be
11
12
    punished as required by the Constitution.
13
        Madam Chairman, members, it's my sincere hope that
14
    should you move to impeach the Governor that never
15
    again -- never again will an Illinois Governor permit
16
    his lawyer to file a document in court claiming that
17
    an agency reporting to him, quote, has the inherent
18
    authority to charge premiums, close quote, or, for
19
    that matter, fees, taxes, or other charges. Only you,
20
    the elected General Assembly, have the constitutional
    authority to raise revenue. Asserting executive
21
2 2
    branch inherent authority over a matter so sacred as
    the very concept of free government is, in my view, an
2 3
24
    ultimate constitutional crime.
```

1 Thank you, Madam Chairman. 2 CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Thank you very much for your testimony. I see you do have voluminous records 3 that you're bringing to us to make part of our record, but perhaps you could give us a copy of your short 5 6 remarks for the record as well. 7 Ms. Miller 8 MS. MILLER: Madam Chair and members of the 9 committee, I think you received this morning a bound 10 What I did there was -- there's a lot of events here and there's been a lot of lawsuits; so 11 12 it's a chronology of events and there's a number of 13 attachments. I believe everything in this chronology 14 is either a stipulated fact or a matter of public 15 So it's a chronology of all the various record. 16 events, and attached to it are the actual published 17 versions of the JCAR actions you've heard described 18 here today; the three court orders in question, the 19 two circuit court orders enjoining the program and the 20 appellate court order; and the last thing attached, 21 which is the fattest exhibit, is, I believe, the most current brief on file. 2 2 2 3 We filed an opposition to the defendant's petition 24 for leave to appeal with the Supreme Court, and that

```
has a number of exhibits attached to it, which include
   the stipulations of fact and the stipulations as to
3
    the admissability of exhibits that the parties jointly
   entered into and filed in the courts. So that's a
    little shorter stack of paper.
5
6
        This was just, if the committee wants it, it can
7
    put in your record. I have given you a copy of
8
   everybody's pleadings -- my pleadings, Mr. Blust's,
    and the other attorneys for the Governor's pleadings.
10
   There's a set of pleadings back from the circuit court
11
   action. There's a set for the first appeal.
12
   a set for the second appeal, and there's a third -- or
13
   one volume so far for the supreme court matter.
    that's in two of these boxes.
14
15
        The other box contains materials that I believe
16
   were actually prepared and put together by the
17
   Governor's attorneys. It's all the exhibits that were
    attached to the stipulations, and some of those are
18
19
    relevant or -- that's for you to discern or have but
20
   you have -- it's only one set because I had sort of
21
    killed rain forests already making this; so you have
2 2
           If you would like to look up any actual
2 3
   documents that are mentioned anywhere, you should have
24
   a complete set.
```

```
1
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Thank you very much.
                                                        Wе
2
    appreciate that, and if you could be available for
    questions.
3
        We have one more panel to present on this topic,
    and that would be the director of the Department of
5
6
    Healthcare and Family Services. Barry Maram is joined
7
    by Tammy Hoffman and I think Larry Blust. So if you
    would come forward.
8
9
        So if the three of you would kindly stand and
10
    raise your right hand.
11
                  (Mr. Maram, Ms. Hoffman, and
12
                  Mr. Blust were duly sworn.)
13
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Thank you very much.
14
    then if could you just give your names and your titles
15
    and if you would spell any complicated names for
16
    purposes of the court reporter
17
             MR. MARAM: My name is Barry Maram.
18
    director of the Illinois Department of Healthcare and
19
    Family Services. My name is a palindrome. M-a-r-a-m
    backwards and forwards.
20
21
             MS. HOFFMAN: My name is Tamara Tanzillo
    Hoffman.
             T-a-n-z-i-l-l-o. I'm chief of staff of the
2 2
2 3
    Department of Healthcare and Family Services.
24
             MR. BLUST: My name is Larry Blust. I'm the
```

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counsel for the department in regard to this matter.
        I just want to make it clear to the committee and
2
3
    the chairman that I am not appearing here testifying.
    Our firm does not believe that it would be ethical to
    testify without subpoena when we're representing a
5
6
    client in a case. I am here for Mr. Maram to ask
7
    questions of or tell him that there's attorney-client
8
    privilege or whatever else may evolve, but I'm not
9
    here testifying.
        Thank you.
10
11
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Director, do you have a
12
    statement you'd like to share with us?
13
             MR. MARAM: Yes. Thank you for the
14
    opportunity -- working now.
15
        As you probably know, only -- I think we got
    formal notice yesterday. I think there was a phone
16
17
    call to Tammy. This is very short notice, but we're
    here voluntarily because we're pleased to be here
18
19
    because we would like to share with you what are
20
    simply facts that we feel very comfortable with
21
    throughout.
2 2
        My name is Barry Maram. I am director of the
2 3
    Illinois Department of Healthcare and Family Services.
24
    I'm happy to respond to a letter received from the
```

House Majority Leader requesting my appearance and have voluntarily appeared to testify in regard to the FamilyCare program expansions. 3 The matter is the subject of litigation in circuit court of Cook County and Illinois Supreme Court under 5 6 the caption of Richard Caro, et al. versus Honorable 7 Rod Blagojevich, et al. I'm represented here by Larry 8 Blust, one of the special assistant attorney generals 9 appointed to represent the department in Caro. 10 In light of the pending litigation, I think you 11 all understand the department is not waiving its 12 attorney-client privilege in regard to the matter. 13 Thus -- and I cannot respond to any questions 14 regarding privileged communications with the various 15 attorneys representing the department in this matter 16 and may consult the department's attorneys before 17 responding to any questions asked here. Much of the information -- and, truly, much of the 18 19 information regarding this expansion is available to 20 the committee as public documents filed in the Caro 21 litigation. For a fuller explanation of the expansion 2 2 and the issues in regard thereto and the documents establishing what happened, I certainly would 2 3

encourage and invite you to examine the record in the

24

1 Caro case. 2 But I would like to give you a brief background 3 regarding the FamilyCare program. Illinois has participated in a federal government State Children's 5 Health Insurance Program commonly called SCHIP, as you 6 know, since its enactment in 1997. 7 In 2001 in a federal government -- the federal 8 government encouraged states to submit waivers to 9 obtain federal funds for healthcare coverage for parents and caretakers of children enrolled in the 10 11 SCHIP program. 12 In 2002 the General Assembly added Section 40(c) 13 to the state statute authorizing the state to 14 participate in the waiver program, and HFS submitted a 15 waiver to provide for the coverage for the eligible 16 Section 4(c) (sic) originally directed HFS to adults. 17 set the income eligibility level at no more than 65 percent of the federal poverty level. 18 19 In 2003 the legislature amended 40(c) both to 20 allow HFS to establish the maximum eligibility level 21 and to require a minimum level of 90 percent of the 2 2 federal poverty level; thus removing the 65 percent 2 3 cap. 24 At the time the waiver program was instituted, the

general medical assistance statute under the Illinois Department of Public Aid Code authorized the department to disregard federal income eligibility 3 levels for cash assistance grants and attach -establish such levels for medical assistance by 5 6 regulation. At the time adults with incomes up to 35 7 to 38 percent of the federal poverty level, depending 8 on family size, were covered under the medical 9 assistance, and the state claimed federal matching dollars for them under Medicaid. 10 11 Because the state received a larger reimbursement 12 under the SCHIP waiver program, which I know many of 13 you know is 65 percent, than Medicaid, which is only 14 50 percent for the match, the department elected to 15 claim those adults with income above the existing medical assistance standard under the SCHIP program 16 17 rather than Medicaid. The SCHIP program, as you know, has been called 18 19 FamilyCare by the department. HFS initially set the 20 FamilyCare maximum level income at 49 percent of the 21 federal poverty level by regulation. To comply with 2 2 the minimum eligibility level set by the legislature 2 3 in 2003, the department amended this to 90 percent of

24

the federal poverty level.

1 Thereafter, HFS has increased income eligibility levels by regulation as funds became available by 3 raising the income level to 133 of FPL in 2004 and to 185 of FPL in 2006. None of these increases or HFS -none of these increases or HFS authority to set the 5 6 income standard were ever challenged. These weren't 7 programs that were specifically funded in budgets on 8 specific lines. To the best of my knowledge, these 9 were dollars that all of us knew that as the years 10 went on we were able to take this program and help 11 needy adults, parents who were working but not able to 12 obtain health insurance, to get cost effective 13 insurance. There was no objections to this. This was 14 part and parcel of the program. 15 In the fall of 2007 the scope of SCHIP and the 16 waiver became uncertain as Congress and President Bush 17 disagreed on the breadth of funding and thus the 18 breadth of coverage under state waivers. 19 the corresponding waiver for adults were set to expire 20 in September of 2007. SCHIP was subsequently extended 21 to December 31, 2007. 2 2 In August and November of 2007, Congress passed two separate bills to reauthorize SCHIP and expand its 2 3 24 funding which would enable states to set higher income

```
eligibility levels for the waiver. Congress decided
   to expand funding to permit coverage of families of
    four earning almost 80,000, 400 percent of the FPL.
    President Bush vetoed these bills and the vetoes were
5
    not overwritten.
6
        The outcome of the SCHIP reauthorization fight was
    crucial to Illinois because it would lose the extra 15
7
8
    percent of federal match from SCHIP versus Medicaid if
9
   the waiver was not reauthorized. Thus HFS waited to
10
   see whether an expansion of the waiver would occur.
11
   When the battle between the President and Congress was
12
   lost and HFS could not wait any longer, it
13
   promulgated, on November 7, 2007, the emergency rule
14
   at issue in the Caro case.
15
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Director, if I could just
16
   interrupt a minute. Representative Fritchey wants to
17
   make a clarification.
18
             REPRESENTATIVE FRITCHEY: Thank you.
19
        Director -- and I apologize for interrupting you,
20
   but I want to interject at this one point. You're
21
   talking about the SCHIP and the actions of the federal
22
   government and the fact that the federal government
2 3
   actions were -- had the impact of leaving a number of
24
    Illinoisans without coverage who previously had
```

```
1
    coverage; correct?
2
             MR. MARAM:
                         Correct.
             REPRESENTATIVE FRITCHEY: My memory doesn't
3
    serve me whether you were at -- in JCAR that day.
5
    Ms. Hoffman, you were.
6
        There was a specific dialogue brought by a number
    of us -- well, let me get to the point. You could
7
    have brought rules just to bring coverage for the
8
9
    people kicked off the SCHIP federal program before
           And, in fact, not only could you have brought
10
11
    those rules, you were urged, almost implored by JCAR
12
    to say modify what you're doing. Instead of trying to
13
    bootstrap the Governor's healthcare plan onto the
14
    backs of these people that are going to lose
    insurance, let's focus just on the SCHIP people.
15
    a decision was made not to do that; is that correct?
16
17
             MR. MARAM: I think we want to address that
18
    and we're prepared to address that. In fact, I can
19
    turn it to Tammy right now, but we had very -- we
20
    believe very sound reason for presenting it as it is,
21
    and perhaps -- would you like to -- can we respond to
2 2
    that?
2 3
             REPRESENTATIVE FRITCHEY: Well, if I could
24
    just get -- Director, you and I have known each other
```

```
a long time and there's -- neither one of us want to
    make this adversarial.
             MR. MARAM: I understand that you --
3
             REPRESENTATIVE FRITCHEY: The people that
    were basically kicked off the insurance rolls by the
5
6
    federal government could have been put back on by
7
    themselves without trying to use this as an
    opportunity to also enact the Governor's entire
8
9
    program; correct?
10
             MR. MARAM: I would like to be able to
11
    respond to that.
12
             REPRESENTATIVE FRITCHEY: Please. Go ahead.
13
             MR. MARAM: Tammy. Who was with you at JCAR.
14
             MS. HOFFMAN:
                           At that time, Representative,
15
    it was still uncertain how the federal government was
16
    going to act, and we determined -- and I said on the
17
    record at JCAR -- that we were not going to wait until
    federal action because we considered this an
18
19
    emergency. Part of that -- there were other states
20
    that had submitted waivers that were up to 400
21
    percent. We were hopeful that the federal government
2 2
    would be going in that direction, and we wanted to
2 3
    best protect the people of Illinois by going to that
    level.
24
```

```
1
             REPRESENTATIVE FRITCHEY: Fine and dandy.
    Not the point. The people that were kicked off by the
    federal government could have been reinstated through
3
    Illinois coverage on just that category; correct?
5
             MS. HOFFMAN: There would have been a variety
6
    of ways to do it.
7
             REPRESENTATIVE FRITCHEY: But one of the ways
    to do it would have been to simply reinstate the
8
9
    people that were kicked off by the federal actions.
10
             MS. HOFFMAN: That could have been one of the
11
    ways, Representative, yes.
12
             REPRESENTATIVE FRITCHEY: Yeah, that was one
13
    of the ways. Not could have been, it was one of the
14
    ways. You acknowledged that at the time.
15
             MS. HOFFMAN:
                           Yes.
16
             REPRESENTATIVE FRITCHEY: There was a
17
    decision made by the department, however, to say we
18
    want all or nothing; we want to implement this full
19
    program or nothing, even if it meant jeopardizing the
20
    people that had gotten kicked off.
21
             MR. MARAM: In no way would we ever attempt
2 2
    to jeopardize people --
2 3
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: I think his point is you
    did.
24
```

```
1
             MR. MARAM: -- being kicked off because we
2
    really believed there was a sound approach here.
             REPRESENTATIVE FRITCHEY: I know your sincere
3
   intention -- I believe them to be sincere intentions.
4
5
   The SCHIP issue -- was there -- here, let me put it to
6
   you this way: Was there ever a discussion that the
7
    SCHIP window provided a wind -- that the SCHIP issue
   provided a window for you to come in with rules to
8
9
   implement the entire program by the Governor?
10
   there ever discussion with anybody in the
    administration about that?
11
12
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: I think it's a yes or no
13
    answer.
14
             MS. HOFFMAN: I don't -- I don't recall right
15
          We just got notice of this hearing yesterday,
   and we've really been trying to go over documents to
16
17
   give you the best information possible. I just don't
18
    recall, Representative.
19
             REPRESENTATIVE FRITCHEY: Let me see if I can
20
   come at this another way. Who made the determination
21
    rather than go for just the SCHIP reinstatement to
22
   package it with the Governor's -- the Governor's full
2 3
    FamilyCare -- or full attempt to expand coverage? You
24
   follow the question?
```

```
1
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Was it you, the director,
2
   or was it somebody in the Governor's office?
             MS. HOFFMAN: We worked with counsel --
3
   outside counsel, counsel in the Governor's office, our
   own counsel -- and determined that that was the best
5
6
   way to --
7
             REPRESENTATIVE FRITCHEY: Do you have any
    recollection of who initiated the idea that the
8
   Governor's program would be piggybacked onto the SCHIP
10
   issue?
11
             MS. HOFFMAN: I do not, Representative.
12
             REPRESENTATIVE FRITCHEY: Who -- you say you
13
   worked with the Governor's counsel. Who was that?
             MR. BLUST: I don't believe that we're
14
15
   prepared to testify as to conversations between --
16
             REPRESENTATIVE FRITCHEY: I didn't ask for --
   I didn't ask for the substance of the conversation,
17
18
   Counsel. What I asked was -- there was just a comment
19
   made to this committee that there were conversations
20
   with counsel for the Governor. Obviously, the
21
   identity of that counsel wouldn't be privileged in any
22
   event.
2 3
             MS. HOFFMAN: Representative, I really
24
   don't -- I'm a lawyer. I don't -- I don't know the
```

```
rules about privilege and what is and what isn't. My
    parents worked most of their lives two -- you know,
    two jobs for me to have my law license, and I don't
3
    know the parameters of what the code presents.
    being said, I want to help you. Can I look into my
5
6
    notes and provide you with that information?
                                                   Because
7
    I really don't remember specifically, sir.
8
             REPRESENTATIVE FRITCHEY:
                                        Okay. Here's --
9
    and that's -- I am not trying to walk you down a
10
    road here.
11
             MS. HOFFMAN:
                           I know.
12
             REPRESENTATIVE FRITCHEY: As you sit here
13
    today, do you recall who in the Governor's office you
14
    had conversations with regarding how to proceed?
15
             MS. HOFFMAN: With regard to one specific
    issue or another specific issue?
16
17
             REPRESENTATIVE FRITCHEY: With regard to the
    issue of implementing rules for FamilyCare and with
18
19
    regard to the issue of not just implementing rules
20
    with respect to SCHIP, but the overall -- you obvious
21
              There were conversations between the
    -- here.
2 2
    department and the administration; correct?
2 3
             MS. HOFFMAN: Yes, sir.
24
             REPRESENTATIVE FRITCHEY: Do you recall any
```

```
of the individuals in the administration with whom you
    had those conversations?
             MS. HOFFMAN: With a variety of issues, not
3
    this one specifically?
4
5
             REPRESENTATIVE FRITCHEY: With the issue of
6
    FamilyCare expansion and the SCHIP --
7
             MS. HOFFMAN: Generally? With regard to that
    specific issue, Representative, I truly at this time
8
9
    do not recall. That doesn't mean that I won't go look
10
    at my notes and be able to give you that information,
11
    and if I can do that, I am certainly more than willing
12
    to do that. I just -- there were a lot of
13
    conversations on a lot of issues, and I really do not
14
    recall specific --
15
             REPRESENTATIVE FRITCHEY:
                                        was there a
    primary -- was there a primary person from the
16
17
    administration that you interfaced with with
    discussion to the Governor's healthcare policy?
18
19
             MS. HOFFMAN: With legal counsel, and they
20
    were dealing with outside legal counsel. I -- some of
21
    the people that I dealt with and I -- I'm not saying
2 2
    with respect to this issue specifically --
2 3
             REPRESENTATIVE FRITCHEY: With -- here.
2 4
             MS. HOFFMAN: -- but with generally.
```

```
1
             REPRESENTATIVE FRITCHEY: I'm trying to make
    this easier for you, not harder. With respect to the
    issue of SCHIP and with respect to the issue -- let me
    finish before you tell me you don't know.
5
             MS. HOFFMAN:
                           Okay.
6
             REPRESENTATIVE HOFFMAN: With respect to the
7
    issue of SCHIP and with respect to the issue of
8
    FamilyCare expansion, you dealt both with counsel for
    the Governor as well as policy people for the
10
    Governor? Did you deal with anybody outside the
11
    Governor's legal counsel?
12
             MS. HOFFMAN: On a regular basis but I do
13
    not --
14
             REPRESENTATIVE FRITCHEY: On this issue, to
15
    the best of your recollection.
16
             MS. HOFFMAN: I would love to go look at my
17
    notes, and I would be happy to respond to you.
18
             REPRESENTATIVE FRITCHEY: Okay.
19
             MS. HOFFMAN: I don't want to misspeak,
20
    Representative.
21
             REPRESENTATIVE FRITCHEY: And I appreciate
22
    that, and, as I said, I don't want you to be on record
2 3
    saying something that's inaccurate.
24
        Mr. Director, as the director, who is it that --
```

```
who was your counterpart that you would deal with from
    the administration in formulating and helping
    implement the policies of the administration?
             MR. MARAM: I think it varies from time to
    time, and I could say that while I may not have
5
6
    initiated this process in terms of what the -- the
7
    pursuant of the rule, which I believe is sound and a
    fair rule -- by the way, I think courts are made for
8
9
    deciding people of goodwill who may take differing
10
    opinions and that's -- and this is in court, and it's
11
    actually in a stay in the Supreme Court, which isn't
12
    necessarily an easy thing to happen; there usually is
13
    some merit. So I think people of goodwill may differ,
14
    and that's what litigation is sometimes about.
15
             With this said, that -- I believe that it --
    while it wasn't initiated with me, eventually was sat
16
17
    down -- I think I sat down with legal counsel, outside
    counsel, and that's where I believe the privilege
18
19
    issue would require us not to go into detail about
20
    what -- any discussion.
21
             REPRESENTATIVE FRITCHEY:
                                        But again -- and I
2 2
    respect that, and I don't want to go beyond the
2 3
    parameters that the chairman gave me, but I also say
24
    that I'm not asking for the content right now.
                                                     I'm
```

```
asking for who you spoke with. I think your counsel
    here would agree that under no construction is that
    disclosure going to be privileged.
             MR. MARAM: I honestly don't remember exactly
   who was the initial conversation --
5
6
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Both of you will check
7
    your notes and get back to us?
8
             MR. MARAM: Certainly.
9
             REPRESENTATIVE FRITCHEY: I won't belabor it.
10
             MR. MARAM: Certainly.
11
             REPRESENTATIVE FRITCHEY: Thank you,
12
    Chairman.
13
                                 Representative Bost.
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE:
             MS. HOFFMAN: No problem at all.
14
15
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Representative Bost.
16
             REPRESENTATIVE BOST:
                                   Thank you.
                                                And I'd
17
    just like to expand on that, and I want to make it
18
    real simple.
19
        Do you feel in your mind that someone from the
20
    administration said go ahead and let's move forward
21
    with this, period? Yes. No. Do you feel like that
2 2
    we -- that you -- you received information that you
    should move forward --
2 3
24
             MR. MARAM: Clearly --
```

```
1
             REPRESENTATIVE BOST: -- with implementing
    this plan?
3
             MR. MARAM: Clearly --
             REPRESENTATIVE BOST: Somebody -- somebody
5
    had to make a --
6
             MR. MARAM: Clearly --
7
             REPRESENTATIVE BOST: -- decision to say hey,
    let's override the legislature and move on.
8
9
             MR. MARAM: From time to time people sit
10
    down, make decisions. In fact, when we got the
11
    hospital assessment last week bringing $3.7 billion to
12
    Illinois for the last five years --
13
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: And we are thrilled about
14
    that.
15
             REPRESENTATIVE BOST: -- that was something
    -- that was something that --
16
17
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: That's not relevant.
18
             MR. MARAM: -- people sat down and worked
19
    through.
20
             REPRESENTATIVE BOST: That's not -- that's
    not what I'm asking.
21
2 2
             MR. MARAM: But I'm -- as in this one, when
2 3
    probably -- I didn't initiate with anyone who sat
2 4
    down -- I believe there was a legal counsel. I don't
```

```
remember who was there. People sat down and looked at
    the foundations and went -- decided to go forward.
3
    think even there's a statute that requires the
    Governor to agree to it. I think that it's part of
    the statute.
5
6
             MS. HOFFMAN: And that's on the record in the
7
    Caro case, by the way.
8
             REPRESENTATIVE BOST: I just -- someone
9
    somewhere had to say let's go ahead and let's decide
10
    that JCAR rules really don't matter, that let's move
11
    ahead and let's just go ahead and implement what we
12
    want and bypass the legislature, and that's -- that's
13
    the problem here.
14
             MR. MARAM: Well, you know, I'm here
15
    voluntarily to talk to the facts. I certainly don't
16
    listen to around -- any discussion where somebody says
17
    let's bypass this for the sake of bypassing. I think
18
    the decision was being made that this is a valid
19
    approach.
20
        I'd like to continue with my statement, as other
21
    people have had the opportunity to make statements
2 2
    because I think it can reflect on some of this.
2 3
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: You may.
24
             MR. MARAM: Thank you.
```

```
1
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: As long as it's brief.
2
             MR. MARAM: Well -- the outcome of the SCHIP
    reauthorization fight was crucial to Illinois because
3
    we'd lose the extra 15 percent of the federal match
    from SCHIP versus Medicaid if the waiver wasn't
5
6
    reauthorized.
7
        When the battle between the President and Congress
    was lost, HFS could wait no longer. It promulgated on
8
9
    November 7th the emergency rule at issue.
                                                SCHIP was
10
    ultimately reauthorized without any authority for
11
    funding the waiver program.
12
        The FamilyCare rules did two things: First, they
13
    moved the adults in the expiring SCHIP --
14
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE:
                                  I think we're familiar
    with what the rules did. I think the question was
15
16
    whether some portion of your rule exceeded your
17
    authority.
             MR. MARAM: Well, we believed we had the
18
19
    authority and we had the funding, and as I want to
20
    state -- I want to state that there are -- the middle
21
    class -- and I think given the opportunity to be here,
2 2
    what was going on here -- the middle class, those
    people making often over 40,000, over 20 percent of
2 3
24
    people today do not get healthcare coverage from their
```

```
1
    employer.
2
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Director -- Director
    Maram, we know that, and the issue before us is not is
3
    it a good thing to make healthcare available to more
5
    Illinoisans or not. That's not the question at all.
6
    The question is the Governor's authority to enact a
    rule that substantially expands upon the authority he
7
8
    was given by the legislature. So I don't think you
9
    need to convince people on this panel that it's a good
10
    thing --
11
             MR. MARAM: Can I finish my state -- can I
12
    finish my statement?
13
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: If you're on our topic,
14
   you may.
15
             MR. MARAM: Well, I believe this is on topic
    because I think it would help -- I'm not here to argue
16
17
    with you. I'm here to give you facts.
18
        People of goodwill can --
19
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: But the facts --
20
             MR. MARAM: People of goodwill can disagree.
21
    Obviously, there are court -- a supreme court stay,
22
    and no one has even gotten to the point of whether
2 3
    JCAR -- so we're talking about a case --
24
        Do you want to say something?
```

```
1
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: I thought, Director, you
2
    wanted to finish your statement, and you may do that
    as long as you're talking about the topic. Okay.
3
                                                        A11
    right then. Are you finishing your statement?
             MR. MARAM: Yes. As you know, the FamilyCare
5
6
    did two things: First, they moved the adults in the
7
    expiring SCHIP program. Approximately 150,000 adults
    between 35 and 185 to general medical assistance.
8
9
        Second, the department, pursuant to regulatory
    authority, incrementally expanded the income
10
11
    eligibility for the FamilyCare program, similar to
12
    what we did in 2003, '04, and '06, from 185 to 400
13
    percent. The expansion of the program to 400 percent
14
    FPL, which we had done previous expansions, matched
    the level approved by Congress and recommended by
15
    Illinois' bipartisan Illinois healthcare task force.
16
17
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: But it was rejected by
    JCAR, and I think that's the issue before us.
18
19
    you'd like to address yourself to that.
20
             MR. MARAM: Both regulatory changes were
21
    promulgated pursuant to the statutory authority and
2 2
    delegating to the department the setting of maximum
    levels for medical assistance, subject to the general
2 3
24
    standard limiting such assistance who do not have
```

sufficient income and resources to meet the costs of
medical care. Statute requires that the Governor
approve the expansion eligibility, which he did.
The department, exercising its statutory delegat

2 2

2 3

The department, exercising its statutory delegated authority to set the maximum income level for medical assistance consistent with need, not only relied on the level approved by Congress and recommended by the task force but put safeguards on the regulations requiring that individuals in the expansion must generally have -- be without health insurance for 12 months and must pay substantial fees to participate so that participants would not select state assistance if affordable private coverage were available.

The expansion was described in the media and referred to the plaintiffs in the Caro case as a huge expansion. In fact, in the five months before enrollment, over 133 percent was suspended by the department in response to litigation. Less than 5,000 participants over 185 have enrolled in the program. This is not surprising since the prior expansion in 2006 from 133 to 185 had only added approximately 20,000. The incurred costs of the expansion from 185 to 400 percent from November 7th through November 8th has not exceeded 6.3 million. These costs have been

```
partially offset by premiums collected from
1
2
    participants.
3
        To the department's surprise, JCAR objected to
    expansion from 185 to 400 as not authorized by the
5
    legislature, although it stated it did not have a
6
    problem with the movements from the participants from
7
    the SCHIP program to general medical assistance.
8
        Mr. Caro, Mr. Gidwitz, Mr Baise sued the
9
    department and the Governor, alleging defects in
10
    regulations promulgated by the department, including
11
    that the department lacked statutory authority to
    promulgate the regulations, the regulations were
12
13
    authorized, the statute so authorizing them was
14
    unconstitutional, and the regulations were invalid.
15
    These were some of the grounds.
16
        The court has never held that the department
17
    lacked authority to set the maximum income level for
18
    the program consistent with the general need of the
19
              Instead, the trial court has held in rulings
    statute.
20
    on preliminary injunction requests that the general
21
    medical assistance statute requires that all
2 2
    eligibility standards for cash welfare grants must be
2 3
    imposed on those by the statute. This ruling was
24
    affirmed by appellate court.
```

Despite the plaintiffs' statement that they're 1 only challenging less than 5,000 participants in the 2 3 expansion population, this statute interpretation, if ultimately held to be correct, would mean the department would cover participants at any income 5 6 level meeting the needs standards, including 400 7 percent, only if they met the cash welfare grant 8 standards as to employment, job seeking, et cetera. 9 Thus this requirement, if ultimately sustained, would 10 potentially affect all the approximately 400 -- could 11 affect all the approximately 400,000 adults receiving 12 medical assistance except the approximately 11,200 13 adults receiving cash grants. 14 If the department imposed these requirements, 15 ironically and tragically, the participants least 16 likely to meet them would be those with the least --17 lowest income. The department has never imposed these 18 requirements for medical assistance because the 19 20 federal welfare program legislation passed in the Clinton administration forbids such rules from 21 2 2 Medicaid plan participants. Eligibility for TANF and 2 3 Medicaid must be delinked, as Congress intended for 24 the TANF program to shrink over time while Medicaid

1 was continued to support working families.

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

2 2

2 3

24

Moreover, as evidenced by the change in the state 2 AFDC program to TANF, temporary assistance for needy 3 families, at the time of the Clinton administration 5 welfare reform and JCAR's failure to object to the 6 transfer to the -- of the FamilyCare recipients above 7 35 to 38 percent through 133 to the general medical 8 assistance category, the General Assembly has never 9 interpreted -- never interpreted these requirements as 10 applicable to medical assistance participants not 11 receiving cash grants either.

This is why the department asked for and received a stay of the trial court's orders from the Illinois Supreme Court. In addition, approval by the federal government of the department's pending Medicaid state plan amendment filed in 2007 to cover FamilyCare's participants effective October 1, 2007, which will permit the state to claim the 50 percent match from the FamilyCare participants, has been held up pending resolution.

The two orders entered by the trial court have been obeyed by the department from the day they were entered until the Supreme Court stay was granted. The first order on April 15 provides merely the department

```
and myself as director -- and I quote -- preliminarily
    enjoined from enforcing the emergency rule or
    expending any public funds related to the FamilyCare
3
    program created by the emergency rule.
        Since that order was entered, the department has
5
6
    not knowingly presented the Comptroller for payment
7
    invoices for services provided during the period of
    the emergency rule, which was replaced by the
8
9
    permanent rule on March 10, 2008.
10
        Some schedules with a few claims subject to the
11
    order had already been processed, delivered to the
12
    Comptroller's office, but not paid at the time the
13
    order was issued. In order to pay these schedules,
14
    which overwhelmingly contained claims not subject to
15
    the order, the department posted adjustments in the
16
    amount of FamilyCare claims to be immediately recouped
17
    from future payments.
18
        In addition to not processing payments to
19
    providers who provided care under the emergency rule
20
    as required by the order, the department, on April 15,
21
    2008, ceased enrolling participants with incomes
2 2
    greater than 133 in the FamilyCare program, even
2 3
    though not required to do so by order, to attempt to
```

prevent stranded providers and disruption to eligible

24

participants.

2 2

2 3

I'm about to wrap up, and I'm glad to answerquestions.

on October 15, 2008, the trial court entered an order providing the department and myself as director are preliminarily enjoined from expending any public funds for the purpose of providing medical assistance pursuant to statute to any individuals who fail to meet all the eligibility requirements under Article IV of the Illinois Public Aid Code. The department followed this order until the Supreme Court entered a stay.

It is my belief that the department had the authority to authorize the expansion of the FamilyCare program. Whether the department or the plaintiffs are correct in this regard is a matter yet to be decided in the courts. There's actually been a stay in the Supreme Court. Despite the department's belief that the trial court and appellate court were incorrect in imposing all cash welfare grant requirements on the general medical assistance program, something I think there's clear indication is inconsistent in a number of ways, the department has, to my knowledge, complied with all unstayed court orders in the Caro case.

```
This department -- myself and my colleagues I work
1
    with -- have spent years providing healthcare
3
    effectively, legally, in partnership with you.
    last week we passed a bill where this department
    worked hand in hand with the House providing
5
6
    healthcare to safety-net hospitals. We work
7
    aggressively hand in hand with you. This matter may
8
    have a matter of dispute to some degree as to certain
    items which are in the court, but I will stand here
10
    and point out that over five-and-a-half years we have
    been extremely ethical, efficient, and partners with
11
12
    you in getting -- making Illinois one of the great
13
    states in Illinois -- in nation's healthcare.
14
        Thank you.
15
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE:
                                 Thank you, Director.
        And I think what we'll do is we'll start with
16
17
    these people because they're right now on the hot
18
    seat, and I've had people ask to raise questions.
19
        First would be Representative Lang. The others, I
20
    think, we'll just go through the rest -- we'll start
21
    with this panel and then we'll see if there are
    questions for the other panels. Representative Lang
2 2
2 3
    is up.
24
                                    Thank you, Madam
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG:
```

```
Chairman. Did I understand you to just say that
    you're going to take questions for this panel and then
    move on --
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Yes.
5
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: -- backwards to the
6
    others?
7
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Yes.
8
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: So you want me to limit
9
    this question to this panel at this time.
10
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Yes.
                                        Please.
11
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Thank you. Good
12
    morning. I listened very intently to the comments of
13
    both Ms. Hoffman and Director Maram, and I'm troubled
14
    by much of it.
15
        As you both well know, I sit on JCAR, and I've
    intimately been involved in this -- the rulemaking on
16
17
    this issue, the lawsuits on this issue, the resolution
18
    of this issue. And so I have a number of questions I
19
    need to ask you, and I warn you in advance I'm not
20
    going to take answers that don't answer my question.
21
    I'll just interrupt you and we'll start over.
2 2
    clear?
2 3
             MR. MARAM: It's clear, and I will do the
2 4
    best I can.
```

```
1
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: So let me just start
2
   with this simple question: How many people were added
   to this program when it was expanded?
3
             MS. HOFFMAN: At one point there were about
4
    5,000 and I believe now it's under 4,000.
5
6
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Well, let me ask the
7
   question again. How many people were added to this
8
    program when it was expanded when you went around JCAR
9
    and implemented the program without JCAR's authority?
10
             MR. MARAM: I think you answered.
                           I answered the question about
11
             MS. HOFFMAN:
12
   the program, Representative, not necessarily based on
13
   your characterization, and I believe that part of that
14
   is part of the litigation, but I believe I answered
15
   the question in a very straightforward manner.
16
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: All right.
                                                So I will
   ask this question a hundred times in a row if I need
17
18
   to, and I don't think anyone behind me will stop me.
19
        You came to JCAR with a rule. JCAR prohibited the
20
    rule. You went ahead and expanded the program anyway.
21
   This is true; correct?
2 2
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Should I answer for you,
   or do you want to take a stab at it?
2 3
24
             MS. HOFFMAN: No, I -- I'm really just trying
```

```
to be cautious so that I don't misspeak. I don't want
2
    to get --
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: In your own testimony
3
    from both of you, you ignored JCAR's prohibition and
5
    implemented your program, and now you say it's the
6
    subject of litigation. I understand that. But you
7
    implemented a program after JCAR prohibited the rule.
8
        So let me ask the question again. After JCAR
9
    prohibited the rule, how many people did you add to
10
    the program?
11
             MR. MARAM: I don't know if we could split
12
    how many were exactly, but I think at some point there
13
    was approximately 4,000 from the 185 to 400 percent
14
    level. Was the --
15
             MS. HOFFMAN: No. I just want to say,
16
    Representative --
17
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Are you just going to
18
    continue --
19
                                Representative.
             MS. HOFFMAN:
                           No.
20
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: -- to grab the
21
    microphone away from the director while he's answering
2 2
    my question?
             MS. HOFFMAN: No, sir. I have the answer to
2 3
24
    the question, I believe.
```

```
1
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: All right. So if you
   have the answer to the question, then kindly tell the
   director because he doesn't seem to have it.
             MR. MARAM: Well, I do have -- I've just
5
   given you an answer. We've given you an answer a
6
   number of times. I could -- we could banter, and I
7
    respect you, but we're telling you that at some point
8
   after -- through the process there was approximately
   4,800.
9
10
             MS. HOFFMAN: Correct, but we do not have
11
   that number --
12
             MR. MARAM: We don't have --
13
             MS. HOFFMAN: -- the date and time of that
14
   prohibition, and we can find out that.
15
                         Right. And then it's probably
             MR. MARAM:
16
   gone down to about 3900, but we can get you the
17
   number.
18
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: So that was the number
19
   that was on the program at the time the rule
20
   was prohibited.
21
             MR. MARAM: No, that's not correct. We'd
22
   have to see time and place what -- when -- when that
2 3
   number was exactly there.
24
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: All right. So by the
```

```
end of the day today you will provide this committee
    with all of the details about who -- the numbers of
    people that were on --
3
             MR. MARAM: We can tell you right now.
                                                       Right
5
    now there's 3900 people.
6
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: I'm going to finish my
7
    sentence no matter how long it takes, Mr. Director.
8
    Is it my turn now?
9
             MR. MARAM: It's certainly your turn --
10
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG:
                                    Thank you.
                                                By the end
11
    of the day today you will provide this committee with
12
    the number of people who are on the program the day
13
    the rule was prohibited and all the way up on a
14
    monthly basis through today's date.
15
             MS. HOFFMAN:
                           Yes.
16
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Won't you do that for
17
    us, sir?
                           Yes, sir.
18
             MS. HOFFMAN:
19
             MR. MARAM: We will do it.
20
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Thank you. You will
    also provide to us by the end of the day today the
21
2 2
    additional cost of this program during that period of
2 3
    time and the exact cost for anyone you added to the
24
    program after the rule was prohibited. Will you not
```

```
do that for us, sir?
2
                         Correct. And I do want to say I
             MR. MARAM:
   think we put forth that cost, but we'll put it in
3
   writing to you.
5
             MS. HOFFMAN: Yes, sir.
6
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: That was a better
7
            The "yes, sir" was a much better answer than
8
   what you just said. Just yes would be good. You'll
9
   provide it.
10
             MR. MARAM: Yes. And we have also stated it
   to you today, but we're glad to put it in writing.
11
12
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: My understanding is
13
   there's been an ongoing FOIA request for all this
14
   information for a good deal of time and it has not
15
   been responded to. Can you tell us why? One or the
16
   other of you, not both.
17
             MS. HOFFMAN: I would be happy to answer.
18
        I know that there was a FOIA request with regard
19
   to the ongoing litigation. There has been a response.
20
   I was not personally involved in that. I was given
21
   advice by our legal counsel's office on how to
2 2
    respond. I reviewed the letter. I recommended for
2 3
   the director to sign it. I can again find more --
24
   other than the letter -- and we can give you a copy of
```

```
the letter.
1
2
             I am more than happy to learn more about that
    issue and discuss the basis at length. I just do not
3
    have the ability to do that right now. I can give you
    the letter that was respon -- it was responded to.
5
6
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: So, in other words,
7
    neither of you can tell me why the FOIA request was
8
    ignored.
9
             MS. HOFFMAN: It's my understanding that the
10
    information that was requested was requested in
11
    context of the litigation. That is my current
12
    understanding. I would like to have the opportunity
13
    to go back and have conversations with the actual
14
    attorney that reviewed it to make sure that that's
15
    accurate and I'm not misspeaking.
16
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Is not public record
17
    public record whether there's a lawsuit filed or not?
18
             MS. HOFFMAN: I have a letter here for you if
19
    you'd like it.
20
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: All right. So you did
21
    not respond to the FOIA request. Is that a fair
2 2
    statement?
2 3
             MS. HOFFMAN: We did respond to the FOIA
2 4
    request, but in the FOIA request we denied the
```

```
information that was requested so -- at least in this
    context of the letter that I reviewed, and it's the
    only one that I know of. You're not specifically
    identifying a FOIA request. I'm guessing which one
    you're talking about and I just -- I'm guessing which
5
6
    one you're talking about. I would like --
7
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG:
                                   Let me move on.
8
             Maram, you indicated that your department
9
    complied with each and every order of every court.
    But wasn't the essence of your argument before Judge
10
11
    Epstein that you couldn't comply with the order of the
12
    circuit court because you couldn't differentiate
13
    between the different participants in the program?
             MR. MARAM: Well, first, I would have to --
14
15
    this would be dealt with by attorneys.
16
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG:
                                   Mr. Maram --
17
             MR. MARAM:
                         And --
18
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG:
                                   Mr. Maram.
19
             MR. MARAM: -- privileged. Yes.
20
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG:
                                   Mr. Maram.
21
             MR. MARAM: Yes.
2 2
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: This is not privileged.
2 3
    I asked you if this is what your department said to
24
    Judge Epstein.
```

```
1
             MS. HOFFMAN: Representative, in this
   instance -- and I was told this. I was not present
   when the judge reviewed the information, but it's my
3
   understanding that the basis of those comments were
   that they -- that the court required the information
5
6
   presented to them in a very specific manner and that
7
   we did not have the ability to present it in that
8
   manner at that time. Subsequently, we were able to
9
   distinguish in the format that the court requested and
10
   were able to do so.
11
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Is it your view,
12
   Mr. Maram, that every -- every program the state
13
   undertakes you have an appropriation to pay for it?
14
             MR. MARAM: I believe there should be
15
    responsible funding of programs as --
16
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: I think it's a yes or no.
17
             MR. MARAM: Yes, that they -- there should be
   funding.
18
19
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: How were you going to
20
   fund this program?
21
             MR. MARAM: We were more than prepared to
2 2
   fund this program. As you know --
2 3
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Mr. Maram.
                                                Mr. Maram.
24
             MR. MARAM: Yes.
```

```
1
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: How were you going to
2
    fund this program?
             MR. MARAM: With available funds that had
3
4
    been --
5
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Mr. Maram.
6
             MR. MARAM: Yes. Available funds.
7
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: How were you going to
    fund this program?
8
9
             MR. MARAM: With available funds from our
10
    budget.
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: What available funds
11
12
    from what line item, sir?
13
             MR. MARAM: Our budget is done by services,
14
    not programs, and within medical and related programs,
15
    through efficiencies, we were able to fund what turned
16
    out to be approximately a $6.8 million program.
17
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: So when you took that
18
    approximately $6.8 million out of that services line
19
    item, that big pot of money, who wasn't getting
20
    service?
21
             MR. MARAM: There were no services not being
2 2
    given.
2 3
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: So are you --
2 4
             MR. MARAM: We budget well as we've come to
```

```
you each year completely -- almost yearly on budget in
2
   our department.
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: And you're therefore
3
4
    suggesting that had you not done this program you
   would have a $6.8 million surplus at the end of the
5
6
   fiscal year?
7
             MR. MARAM: What -- I can't -- I can't
8
   indicate that. What I can say to you is that we had
   this budgeted through efficiencies. It did not cost
10
   any other program.
11
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Returning back to the
12
   FOIA question, did anyone from the Governor's office
13
   or anyone representing the Governor talk to you about
14
   the FOIA request?
15
             MS. HOFFMAN: I have no personal knowledge of
16
   that. I can again talk to the attorney and find out.
17
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: It seems that you guys
18
   don't have a lot of information about who tells you to
   do what. I assume that your department takes
19
20
   direction from the Office of the Governor; is that
21
   correct?
2 2
             MR. MARAM: I think, Representative, if you
2 3
   don't -- you know, I'll just say it myself. I think
24
   most of you in this room know that we've made very
```

```
strong solid decisions through the years. We make
    responsible decisions.
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Mr. Maram.
3
                                                Mr. Maram.
             MR. MARAM: They're not always -- the
5
    Governor's office may be in contact with us at times,
6
    but this department makes a lot of decisions within
    the department that effectuate healthcare.
7
8
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Is it your position
9
    that you fly on your own without the Governor creating
10
    policy in the State of Illinois?
             MR. MARAM: No, there might be times, but I
11
12
    think I look around the room and, respectfully, a
13
    number of you have come to me around -- about your
14
    constituents that I've worked effectively for
15
    throughout -- and I look around the room, and it's out
    of respect. But it's out of respect that I don't --
16
17
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Let me -- let me move
18
                    I think the people behind me
    on, Mr. Maram.
19
    understand your answer.
20
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Yeah, could we have a
    little order here.
21
2 2
             MR. MARAM: But it's out of respect.
2 3
    do things unilaterally through the department, and we
24
    get things done.
```

```
1
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Was the FamilyCare
2
    program your idea, sir?
             MR. MARAM: It -- it -- well, the FamilyCare
3
4
    program in general --
5
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Let me rephrase the
6
    question. Was the expansion of the FamilyCare program
7
    that was denied by JCAR your idea?
8
             MR. MARAM: It wasn't initiated by me, but as
9
    I looked into it and saw what it was doing, I had
10
    comfort levels.
11
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Who initiated the
12
    program?
13
             MR. MARAM: I do not have the exact knowledge
14
    of that. I think parties, including probably legal
15
    counsel and --
16
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Legal counsel initiated
17
    a healthcare program for the State of Illinois?
18
                         No, no. What I'm saying is that
             MR. MARAM:
19
    parties came together probably with counsel, and
20
    therefore it would be privileged, but I was not at the
21
    initiation --
2 2
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG:
                                   wait.
                                           Wait.
                                                  Time-out.
2 3
    Time-out. A discussion with legal counsel regarding
24
    the healthcare needs of Illinois is privileged, sir?
```

```
1
             MR. MARAM:
                         No.
                              No. I'm not saying that.
   What I'm saying is that eventually when I sat down --
   and I don't remember exact parties, but it was talked
3
            It was talked about that it was legal.
   talked about. So it wasn't necessarily initiated by
5
6
   any of those parties.
7
             MS. HOFFMAN: May I, Representative?
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Of course.
8
9
             MS. HOFFMAN: The conver -- I was involved in
10
   conversations regarding the expansion, and one of the
11
   things that we were called upon was to make
12
    recommendations on what were lawful and appropriate
13
   ways to go forward with this initiative. I don't
14
   think that it's any surprise that healthcare is and
15
   has been at the forefront of the Governor's mission,
16
   and so clearly, to the greatest extent possible, that
17
   was always a part of the package. I don't know who
18
   specifically made that decision.
19
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Well, let me read
20
    something to you. A November 19, 2007 article by Ryan
21
    Keith in The Associated Press.
2 2
        "Governor Blagojevich is moving ahead with a
2 3
   multimillion-dollar healthcare program even after
24
   lawmakers refused to approve the money and the rules
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for its operation. Blagojevich said Monday he's going
    ahead with plans to add about 147,000 parents and
3
    caretakers to the FamilyCare insurance program despite
   lawmakers' objections. 'I'm going to continue to do
5
   what I think is right, and that's one of the good
6
   things about being governor,' Blagojevich said at a
7
    news conference where he announced another special
8
   legislative session for next week on mass transit
9
   issues." And then, "You can do things like this."
10
        So is it your testimony that you don't know
11
    anything about the Governor's comments or the
12
   Governor's feelings about FamilyCare? You had no
13
   meetings with him at all? Neither of you remember any
14
   meeting with anybody regarding FamilyCare? This all
15
   came out of your office?
16
             MS. HOFFMAN: Representative, I can tell you
17
    right now that I was involved in meetings, and one of
18
   the things that I did in those meetings --
19
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG:
                                   Who was at those
20
   meetings?
21
             MR. HOFFMAN: Lawyers and staff from the
22
   Governor's office, and I also have been at meetings
2 3
   that the Governor has been at.
24
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Wait. Let me -- I'll
```

```
get to that in second.
        Do you have notes from those meetings regarding
    FamilyCare?
3
             MS. HOFFMAN: I don't recall. I will look.
5
    If I have them, I will be happy to turn them over.
6
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: By the end of the day?
7
             MS. HOFFMAN: I have an office in Chicago as
   well. I will have people look.
8
9
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Fax machines, e-mail.
             MS. HOFFMAN: I will -- no. I don't know
10
11
    where they are.
12
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: This is the electronic
13
    age. By the end of the day you'll provide them to us.
14
        Tell me about your meetings with the Governor's
    office.
15
16
             MS. HOFFMAN: Representative, you should see
17
    my desk. I promise I will do my best.
18
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Tell me -- tell me
19
    about -- why? You didn't think these notes are right
20
    on your desk?
21
             MS. HOFFMAN: No. But, I mean, or -- I don't
2 2
    know where they are. I will do my best.
2 3
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Tell me about your
24
   meetings in the Governor's office, Ms. Hoffman.
```

```
MS. HOFFMAN: Just that -- I can't -- I can't
1
2
    quote specifically. I just have general recollection
    that FamilyCare was very important.
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: To who? To who?
                                                      Who
    was in the room?
5
6
             MS. HOFFMAN: To the State of Illinois, to
7
    the --
8
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG:
                                                   Stop.
                                    No.
                                         No.
                                              No.
9
             MS. HOFFMAN: I don't recall specifically.
10
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Stop. Stop.
                                                  Stop.
                                                         Мy
11
    colleagues behind me, who normally get very nervous
12
    when I keep talking, seem not to be too nervous now.
13
    They're going to let me get these answers from you.
14
             MS. HOFFMAN: Yes, sir.
15
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: So you might as well
16
    prepare to answer them.
17
             MS. HOFFMAN: Yes, sir.
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: You said -- you may not
18
19
    have wanted to say it --
20
             MS. HOFFMAN: No, I just --
21
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: -- but you said you
22
    were in meetings in the Governor's office regarding
2 3
    FamilyCare.
24
             MS. HOFFMAN: Yes, sir.
```

```
REPRESENTATIVE LANG: When were those
2
    meetings?
             MS. HOFFMAN: Two summers ago.
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Who was in the room?
5
             MS. HOFFMAN: There were several meetings on
6
    several occasions. I can't say off the top of my
7
    head. I can tell you some of the folks that were
8
    there.
9
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Good. Tell me those
10
    names.
11
             MS. HOFFMAN: Attorneys from the Governor's
12
    office, myself.
13
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: You said you could give
14
    me names.
15
             MS. HOFFMAN: Bill Quinlan, Bob Greenlee,
    myself, Christa Donahue, Mike McGrath, Director
16
17
    McGrath, Sheila Nix. At some of those meetings I
18
    recall in that --
19
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Was Sheila Nix Deputy
20
    Governor at the time?
21
             MS. HOFFMAN: Yes, sir, I believe -- I
22
    believe so.
2 3
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Who else?
2 4
             MS. HOFFMAN: Off the top of my head, that
```

```
truly is all that I can recall. There were a variety
   of meetings, and the Governor was not at all of the
   meetings and --
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Oh, wait. See -- you
5
   see, you left that name out. Now you said the
6
   Governor was not all of those meetings. Was the
7
   Governor at some of those meetings?
8
             MS. HOFFMAN: Yes, sir. Clearly.
9
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: So, you see, you left
10
   that name out. So the Governor was in the meetings --
11
             MS. HOFFMAN: Not intending to.
12
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: The Governor was in the
13
   meetings with you when you talked about FamilyCare?
14
             MS. HOFFMAN: Yes, sir.
15
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: And what did the
16
   Governor say about the FamilyCare program?
17
             MS. HOFFMAN: The Governor was looking for
18
   ways to appropriately expand the FamilyCare program.
19
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: And was the rule that
20
   JCAR rejected ever discussed with the Governor?
21
             MS. HOFFMAN: Not specifically and not
   after -- rulemaking generally was. I was only present
2 2
2 3
   at conversations where rulemaking generally.
24
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: And what was the
```

```
1
    Governor's charge to you regarding the expansion of
2
    FamilyCare?
             MS. HOFFMAN: Well, my -- the only -- if
3
4
    you're speaking about these meetings specifically, and
    I am trying to make sure that I don't state something
5
6
    incorrect by mistake. I was asked what are -- what
7
    precedent we had in going forward with rules, and I
8
    was able to, over a period of time, put together
9
    information which I have here which under similar
10
    authority the Public Aid Code, which is passed by the
    legislature, we engaged in expansions, and I also put
11
12
    together this list with the names of the --
13
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Can I interrupt you?
             MS. HOFFMAN: -- your fellow legislators that
14
15
    were present.
16
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Can I interrupt you?
17
    Can I interrupt you?
18
             MS. HOFFMAN: Yes, sir.
19
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: I asked you what
20
    conversations you had with the Governor regarding the
21
    expansion of FamilyCare.
2 2
             MS. HOFFMAN: My -- the only conversation
2 3
    directed to me personally and -- was that what are our
24
    options regarding rulemaking.
```

```
1
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: You had a discussion
   with the Governor regarding rulemaking and FamilyCare?
2
             MS. HOFFMAN: Prior to the filing of any
3
    rules, he was -- I believe he was trying to explore
   any and all ways to lawfully go forward.
5
6
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: So would it be your
7
   testimony that the Governor knows and knew about the
    rule that JCAR prohibited?
8
9
             MS. HOFFMAN: I don't know that, sir.
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Well, you said -- let's
10
11
   go back. You said -- I can have the court reporter
12
    read it back if you need it. You said that whenever
13
   there was a rule that was going to go forth regarding
14
   any issue the Governor would talk to you about that.
15
             MS. HOFFMAN: That's incorrect. That is not
16
   what I said, sir.
17
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: So why don't you
18
    restate it.
19
             MS. HOFFMAN: What I said is in a
20
   conversation -- you asked specifically about the
21
   expansion of FamilyCare and the conversations of two
22
    summers ago. I recall very specifically that the
2 3
   Governor was in a room at a meeting, along with a
2 4
   variety of other people. I can't remember exactly
```

```
who, when, or the issues. But I was asked about
   rulemaking with regard to expansion specifically, and
   I was able to put together information that
3
   demonstrated based on precedent we did this. As to
   the specifics, I never had any other conversations.
5
6
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: And so when you finally
7
    came up with the rule you wanted to propose, who did
8
   you report it to?
9
             MS. HOFFMAN: It's probably on my e-mail
   where I forwarded it to the Governor's office at some
10
11
   point, and I can find that. I'd be happy --
12
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Who in the
13
   Governor's -- I'm sorry. I interrupted.
14
             MS. HOFFMAN: I don't recall, Representative,
15
   but I'll go -- I'll find it this afternoon if you want
16
   me to send it to you.
17
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Did vou ever interface
18
   directly with the Governor on rulemaking?
19
             MS. HOFFMAN: Not on -- not on specific
20
    rulemaking, no.
21
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Would you have
   interfaced with Sheila Nix?
22
2 3
             MS. HOFFMAN: Not on specific rulemaking.
24
        After -- and I just want to add because I'm not
```

```
trying to be evasive and I want to be clear. I was
    involved in conversations with legal counsel after
    litigation had been filed, and I do believe that
    that's privileged.
5
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Yes, it is. So let me
6
    go on.
7
        Can you tell me if John Harris was in on any of
8
    those meetings?
9
             MS. HOFFMAN: Prior to or after the
10
    litigation, I really don't recall.
11
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: So you don't recall if
12
    you had any conversation with John Harris regarding
13
    rulemaking?
14
             MS. HOFFMAN: No, sir.
15
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: So let me move on to
    actually the issue regarding JCAR.
16
17
        You heard Vicki Thomas talk about your use of
18
    emergency rules. Do you have any comments regarding
19
    her view that the administration has abused their
20
    emergency rulemaking power?
21
             MS. HOFFMAN: I don't -- I don't believe so,
22
    but I don't know to what extent that is part of the
2 3
    litigation. I just don't know.
24
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: I'm asking you in
```

```
general. I'm not asking about the litigation.
1
2
             MR. BLUST: With all due respect, it's not
   the function of the department to do those kind of
3
   things.
             okay? so --
5
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: I don't understand what
6
   you mean, sir.
7
             MS. HOFFMAN: I disagree. I do believe that
   it is the responsibility of the department to
8
   determine when an emergency situation exists, and I do
10
   believe in this instance we had determined that an
11
    emergency situation existed. I had testified --
12
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Well, let me go back.
13
   I didn't get to FamilyCare yet.
                                     I will.
14
        I asked you about the characterization by Vicki
15
   Thomas. She didn't use the word "abuse," and I don't
16
   want to put that into her mouth, but the
17
   characterization by Vicki Thomas that the department
18
   has cavalierly dealt with the emergency rulemaking
19
   power.
20
             MS. HOFFMAN: I disagree, respectfully.
21
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: I didn't ask you if you
2 2
   disagreed. I asked you to respond to her comments.
2 3
             MS. HOFFMAN: I believe that the department
2 4
   has always acted appropriately with regard to its
```

```
emergency rulemaking authority, which actually in the
    past has been different than some other agencies have
    been granted.
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Ms. Hoffman, it's true
    that you're the chief of staff to this department;
5
6
    correct?
7
             MS. HOFFMAN: Yes, sir.
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: And it's also true that
8
9
    you have a significant amount of authority relative to
10
    this department given to you by the director and,
    therefore, given to you by the Governor of the State
11
12
    of Illinois; is that correct?
13
             MS. HOFFMAN: That would be the chain of
14
    command.
15
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: I beg your pardon?
16
             MS. HOFFMAN: That is -- that is -- I mean, I
17
    have authority to --
18
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Given to you by your
19
    director.
20
             MS. HOFFMAN: Yes. Correct.
21
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Who was appointed by
    the Governor of the State of Illinois; correct?
2 2
2 3
             MS. HOFFMAN:
                           Correct.
2 4
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: This is one of his
```

```
1
    state agencies; correct?
2
             MS. HOFFMAN:
                           Correct.
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: All right. So do you
3
    recall the debate you and I had at JCAR one day where
4
5
    you suggested to me that JCAR was merely advisory?
6
    That was the word you used. That the administration
7
    believes that JCAR is merely advisory and that we
8
    really have no power to do anything at all within the
9
    rulemaking authority. Didn't you say that to me?
10
             MS. HOFFMAN: I recall the conversation.
11
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Did you -- so you
12
    recall saying that to me; correct?
13
             MS. HOFFMAN: Yes.
14
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Do you still believe
           Do you still believe JCAR is advisory?
15
    that?
16
             MS. HOFFMAN: I don't think that it's
17
    important what I believe. I think what is important
18
    with regard to that statement right now, though, is
19
    that is subject to the litigation.
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: That's fine. I asked
20
21
    you --
2 2
             MS. HOFFMAN: I would not testify any
2 3
    differently.
24
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: So you believe that
```

```
JCAR is advisory. So let me ask you a question.
                                                       let
   me ask this question to the director, if I might.
        Mr. Director, if your department, on behalf of the
3
   Governor of the State of Illinois, believes that JCAR
   is simply advisory, why come to us at all ever?
5
6
             MR. MARAM: I think we've been very
7
    cooperative with JCAR putting forth --
8
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Mr. Director.
9
             MR. MARAM: And I think this specific issue
10
   is subject to litigation in that regard.
11
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Mr. Director, that was
12
   not the question I asked you. I'm not delving into
13
   the litigation. I asked you a question. The answer
14
   to the question will tell me what I need to know.
15
        The question -- I'll repeat it for you -- is, if
   you believe your department and, therefore, the
16
17
   Governor of the State of Illinois believes that JCAR
18
   is advisory, then why come to us at all? Why clutter
19
   our rooms with rules and paper and meetings? Why not
20
    -- why come at all? Why does Department of Veterans
21
   Affairs come? Why does the Department of Children and
2 2
   Family Services come? Why does anybody come to JCAR
2 3
   if we can be ignored anytime you feel like it?
24
             MR. MARAM: We appreciate the interaction.
```

```
We appreciate putting forth what's going on.
2
    appreciate your responses.
3
        Tammy.
             MS. HOFFMAN: I've also, as part of that same
5
    testimony, Representative, which is on the record and
6
    has been in the newspaper and everything else. One of
7
    the things I said is it's an open forum. We're able
    to respond and discuss comments and concerns. All of
8
9
    the general public were able to work with other groups
10
    and with legislators and we welcome that process.
11
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Will one of you tell me
12
    what the lower court said regarding the issues
13
    regarding whether JCAR is advisory?
14
             MS. HOFFMAN: That's clearly privileged.
15
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Well, that's not
    privileged. I asked you what the lower court said.
16
                                                          Ι
17
    don't want to hear from the attorney. What did the
18
    lower court say regarding whether JCAR is advisory?
19
                         I don't have that in front of me.
             MR. MARAM:
20
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: You don't know?
                                                     Whv
21
    are you in litigation then? Why are you in the
2 2
    Illinois Supreme Court?
2 3
             MR. MARAM: Representative Lang, be fair.
2 4
    said to you I didn't have it in front of me.
```

```
1
   both attorneys. I don't have any court pleadings in
    front of me.
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Then speak informally.
3
   Did the lower court hold -- did the lower court hold
4
   that JCAR is advisory? Or did the lower court hold
5
6
   that JCAR had a point, and that we had a right to
7
    prohibit the rule? Which of those did they rule?
8
             MS. HOFFMAN: Representative, I do not know
9
   the language specifically and how you're
10
   characterizing or if you're quoting. I would be happy
11
    to take a look at it and get it to you this afternoon.
12
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: All right. Let me ask
13
   this question then: Why did the lower court rule
14
   against you? Why are you in the Supreme Court today?
15
             MR. MARAM: I think that I'm not going to go
   into great detail on the law with the lawyers here. A
16
17
   lot of it was also based on this Public Aid Code,
   which may be inconsistent with a number of things that
18
19
   are going on. It would apply a Public Aid Code that
20
   we believe is not applicable based on federal and
21
    state's application.
2 2
        However, obviously, this is -- I don't think there
2 3
   was ever a ruling, to the best of my knowledge, on the
24
   merits of JCAR. Obviously, the Supreme Court has set
```

```
a stay in this. We're only looking to be appropriate
   here. We'll be glad to go by whatever the law ends up
   to be.
3
4
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: There's one other area
   I want to delve into with you, and I'll try to do it
5
6
   quickly. The area of this emergency rule. And so you
    recall the debate we had. You may have both been
7
   there that day. You recall the debate where you came
8
9
    forth with this emergency rule, and there's a lot of
10
    record --
11
        And to the members of the committee, in the packet
12
   you received today, there is -- the minutes of the
13
    JCAR meeting that day will reflect this particular
   debate that we had, this particular conversation.
14
15
        And I asked more than once what made this an
   emergency, and you talked in general terms about
16
17
   there's hundreds of thousands of people in Illinois
   without healthcare, and we all agree with that and
18
19
   we'd all like to take care of that problem, but I
20
    asked what made it an emergency today. And you said,
21
   well, because the federal government bounced the SCHIP
2 2
   program. And I said on behalf of the committee, and
   they all agreed with me, well, then that's the
2 3
24
    emergency. We'd be happy to help you with the SCHIP
```

```
1
   program, but you insisted on piggybacking them
   together and not separating them out.
        I'll ask you a question today you would not answer
3
    for me then. Why would you not separate them out?
5
                           Because we believed that it was
             MS. HOFFMAN:
6
   an emergency and that there was at least a chance that
7
   the federal government would include up to 400
8
    percent. Other states had submitted waivers up to 400
9
    percent, and we did not want to limit the State of
10
   Illinois.
11
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: But that issue -- that
12
   issue had been going on for years. These people
13
   without health insurance had been going on for years.
14
   what made it an emergency that day, that week, that
15
   month that wasn't emergent a week ago? A month ago?
16
   A year ago? Five years ago? What made it an
17
   emergency that you couldn't wait for regular
18
    rulemaking and tried to piggyback the SCHIP program
19
   onto the FamilyCare expansion?
20
             MS. HOFFMAN: Representative Lang, I don't
21
    recall my testimony, specifically. I've had lots of
22
   conversations about this subsequently, and I don't
2 3
    recall the reason precisely that we used in the rule
2 4
   where we actually justified the emergency. I would be
```

```
happy to get you that information today.
2
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Does JCAR think you
   were justified?
3
             MS. HOFFMAN: No.
5
             MR. MARAM: Apparently not.
6
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: JCAR prohibited the
7
    rule nine to two, did they not?
8
             MR. MARAM: They did. I think there was
9
    significant -- some discussion both ways.
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: JCAR prohibited the
10
    rule nine to two, did they not?
11
12
             MS. HOFFMAN: Yes.
13
             MR. MARAM: Apparently, yes.
14
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: And the very next day
   you implemented the program, did you not?
15
16
             MS. HOFFMAN: The program was in place. The
17
   program was in place.
18
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: The program was in
19
   place. And the very next day you proceeded with the
20
   program. In fact, the very next day you added people
21
   to the program, didn't you? Simple question.
2 2
             MS. HOFFMAN: I don't know the answer to the
2 3
   question.
24
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: All right. The very
```

```
next week? The very next month? You added people to
    the program after the rule was prohibited by JCAR; is
    that correct? Yes or no? Yes or no.
             MS. HOFFMAN: I don't know when we stopped.
5
    I -- well, yeah, we would have.
6
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Of course, you did. Of
7
    course, you did.
8
             MR. MARAM: And with due respect, obviously,
9
    it was the subject of litigation of people having
    to -- we weren't the ones getting sued --
10
11
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Has there been any
12
    court yet -- has any court or any competent authority
13
    said JCAR doesn't know what they're talking about;
14
    JCAR was wrong under the law; the arm of the
15
    legislature that approves rulemaking was wrong?
    anybody said that?
16
17
             MS. HOFFMAN: May I, please?
18
             MR. MARAM: Yes.
19
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Yes or no is the only
20
    answer I'll take.
21
             MS. HOFFMAN:
                           No.
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: No one has said that.
2 2
2 3
   And so all this talk --
24
             MS. HOFFMAN: It is part of the litigation.
```

```
1
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: So it is true then that
    all this talk about litigation is you trying now to do
    what you couldn't do in the lower court and at JCAR --
3
    get a program approved that wasn't approved.
5
        One more question. The Governor had a program to
6
    do all this by statute. It was called Senate Bill 5.
    Senate Bill 5 failed, did it not?
7
8
             MR. MARAM: It wasn't passed.
9
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Senate Bill 5 failed,
    did it not?
10
11
             MS. HOFFMAN:
                           Yes.
12
             MR. MARAM: Yes.
13
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: And the Governor had a
14
    plan to fund Senate Bill 5 with the gross receipts
15
    tax, did he not?
16
             MR. MARAM: At one point.
17
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: And the gross receipts
18
    tax failed 107 to nothing; is that correct?
19
    correct?
20
             MR. MARAM:
                         I believe so.
21
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: All right.
2 2
    gross receipts tax which was supposed to fund
2 3
    FamilyCare failed. The FamilyCare program that you
24
    tried to do legislatively failed. You went to JCAR at
```

```
the Governor's request and insistence, and the plan
   failed. And the next day the Governor says, well,
   we're forging ahead because as Tammy Hoffman says that
    JCAR is just simply advisory. Isn't that all correct?
5
             MR. MARAM: I'd like to respond --
6
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Can you please speak into
7
   the microphone.
8
             MR. MARAM: I'd like to respond.
                                               I've
9
   certainly been listening and appreciate -- obviously,
   this is a matter on the expansion 185 and above and
10
11
    perhaps other issues that's in litigation. We believe
12
   there's thousands of people out there -- tens of
13
   thousands probably -- who aren't getting healthcare in
    Illinois, and this was a vehicle we believe is
14
15
   appropriate to help the middle class.
16
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: It's a smoke screen,
17
                we're all for healthcare. All God's
18
    children are for healthcare. We would like you to
19
   follow the law. And the truth is that this committee
20
   will have to determine whether the Governor's office
21
   failure to follow the law on this issue is an issue we
2 2
   want to bring forward. The Governor's office did not
2 3
   follow the law. You are now trying to get the law
   overturned, but the law as it existed at the time the
24
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```
rule was prohibited by JCAR was the law. You did not
    follow the law.
3
             Thank you, Madam Chairman.
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE:
                                 Thank you,
5
    Representative.
6
             MS. HOFFMAN: May I please -- may I please
7
    make a comment?
8
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: I don't think that
9
    required a response.
10
        Representative Bellock was next.
11
             REPRESENTATIVE BELLOCK:
                                       Thank vou.
12
        My point was regarding the same. Nobody is
13
    questioning the laudability of the healthcare programs
14
    in the State of Illinois. The question is what
15
    Representative Lang just said is whether it followed
16
    the law.
17
        In that same press conference that was on November
    19th in 2007, one of the other statements that was
18
19
    made was the administration wants to expand the
20
    program income eligibility from 38,000 to almost
21
    83,000 for a family of four. Blagojevich responded by
    saying, "JCAR doesn't have the constitutional
22
    authority to block the rule so it's moving ahead with
2 3
24
    signing of families and at an expected cost of 43
```

```
million this year."
        So the Governor was at the press conference saying
    he did not feel that JCAR was constitutional and that
3
    he was moving ahead. So that's the bottom line is the
    Governor felt that he had the authority to move ahead,
5
6
    and that's what we're discussing here is the
7
    constitution and the three branches of government and
8
    who is doing what. Is this something that the
    legislature has to approve, or can we just go around
10
    the legislature, go around a JCAR ruling, and just do
11
    what we want to do just because we think it's a good
12
    thing to do, but it isn't following the law of the
13
    constitution of Illinois.
14
             MS. HOFFMAN: May I, Representative?
15
             REPRESENTATIVE BELLOCK:
                                       Sure.
16
             MS. HOFFMAN: I understand what you're
17
    saying, and while the courts currently have not ruled
    substantively on JCAR, I believe that that is still
18
19
    part of the lawsuit. They ruled on some smaller
    technical areas.
20
21
        When we went forward -- and I never heard the
2 2
    Governor say the next day we'll just keep going
2 3
    forward. I trust what you're saying.
             REPRESENTATIVE BELLOCK: This is out of a
24
```

```
1
    press conference.
             MS. HOFFMAN: I don't know what day it was,
    but I have no personal knowledge of that. I just
3
    wanted to comment on that.
        And, again, when I prepared and told staff and
5
6
    attorneys that we could, the Public Aid Code clearly
7
    gives the agency the authority to do that and that is
    what we used as authority, as we had in separate
8
    instances that were certified by JCAR without
    exception, and I have that information here available
10
11
    too.
12
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE:
                                 Thank you. Are you
13
    finished, Representative?
14
        Representative Rose.
15
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE:
                                    Thank you.
16
        First on that point, whatever you were just
17
    referencing, would you submit that for the record?
18
             MS. HOFFMAN: Yes, sir.
19
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: Okay. Thank you.
20
        Mr. Maram, I heard you say you're an attorney; is
21
    that correct?
        Okay. All right. I want to just review to make
2 2
    sure I understand this. So for the record I'm
2 3
2 4
    referencing the timeline that was put together in the
```

```
document handed to us by Ungaretti and Harris earlier
    today called Before the Special Investigative
    Committee, Materials in Response to Request to Appear.
3
    Let me know where you dispute this timeline. Okay?
5
             MR. ADAM: Excuse me, Representative. Can we
6
    have a page number so we know what you're referencing,
    sir?
7
8
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: The very -- there's no
9
           It's literal page two, although there's not a
10
    number on it.
11
             MR. ADAM:
                        Thank you.
12
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: Sure. April 15, 2008,
13
    circuit court enters first preliminary injunction
14
    enjoining the program. Did they enjoin your
    program -- the circuit clerk -- the circuit court?
15
16
             MR. MARAM: I think there was an injunction
17
    as to certain factors.
18
             MS. HOFFMAN: Not the program with regard to
19
    paying.
20
             MR. MARAM: On the emergency room (sic) and
    I -- we'd have to go to the court documents. I would
21
2 2
    have -- one would have to go to the court documents to
2 3
    see what the --
24
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE:
                                   Was it -- was a first
```

```
preliminary injunction in it?
2
             MR. MARAM: There was a preliminary
    injunction, I think, on the emergency room -- on the
3
    emergency rule.
5
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE:
                                    Okay.
6
             MR. MARAM: From expending funds.
7
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: The director, in fact,
    quoted that order in his prepared statement.
8
9
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Yeah, could you use the
    microphone? Could you speak into the microphone?
10
11
    Thank you.
12
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: The director quoted
13
    that order in his prepared statement.
14
             MR. MARAM:
                         okay.
15
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE:
16
             MR. MARAM: That's fine. And you have the
17
    order?
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: I don't -- to be honest
18
19
    with you, I just got this. So I don't know if I've
20
    got it or not. I'm going off of a timeline here.
21
        April 23, '08, circuit court denies defendants'
2 2
    request to stay first injunction.
        May 1, 2008, plaintiffs file second motion for
2 3
2 4
    preliminary injunction.
```

```
May 14th, appellate court denies defendants'
1
    motion to stay first injunction.
        September 26, '08, appellate court affirms first
3
    preliminary injunction.
4
5
        October 15, '08, circuit court enters second
6
    preliminary injunction order.
7
        On -- that was then denied, request to stay by the
    appellate court.
8
9
        And then, apparently, for the first time in all
10
    this, on November 12, 2008, the Supreme Court entered
11
    an order staying the October 15, 2008 order.
12
        And I want to be clear. That's what you were
13
    talking about earlier when you said it was stayed?
14
             MR. MARAM: I believe so.
15
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: Okay. Now, you tell me
    if you dispute this, because what it says here is that
16
17
    was stayed purely for the purpose of pending
    disposition of the defendants' petition for leave to
18
19
    appeal. Wasn't stayed on the subject matter. It was
20
    stayed on the procedural matter of your pending
21
    petition for leave to appeal. Now, I -- and I'm
2 2
    asking you a question. If that's not correct, tell me
2 3
    now.
24
             MR. MARAM: I don't think I'm prepared to go
```

```
into detail on what the stay was based on here.
                                                      Ι
    don't think the attorneys on the stay are here.
                                                      Ι
    believe that there are questions that are subject that
    haven't been resolved.
5
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: So you don't dispute
6
    what was said there?
7
             MR. MARAM: I don't dispute. I believe the
    timeline you described with the emergency rule was, I
8
9
    think, describing what's part of the stay right now.
    I would defer to attorneys and the attorney-client
10
11
    privilege for handling the matter.
12
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: You throw up a point
13
    because you've been saying all morning long that you
14
    won a stay. And the way I --
15
             MR. MARAM: There is a stay and the --
16
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: And the way I read
17
    this is a stay for procedural issue, not subject.
18
             MR. MARAM: I think they're a stay for a
19
    number of issues still to be resolved.
20
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: Mr. Maram, and I think
    this gets back to the issue, and Ms. Thomas in her
21
2 2
    previous testimony mentioned something about a
    preemptory rulemaking authority. And I have not heard
2 3
24
    you address that, and I'm concerned, because from what
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she said in her testimony that the preemptory
    rulemaking authority is only valid to essentially
    enforce a valid order of an Illinois court.
    said in her testimony, as I understand it, was the
    rules that you filed were outside the scope of the
5
    court's order.
7
             MR. MARAM: I think Tammy, who has worked
8
   with the rules, wants to --
9
             MS. HOFFMAN: It's my understanding that
   that's their position, and I understand that, but I
10
11
   believe that it is something that is in dispute and
12
   could go to the litigation. I don't know,
13
    Representative.
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: Were the rules denied?
14
15
             MS. HOFFMAN: Yes.
16
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: And then did you
17
   continue on after the rules were denied?
18
             MS. HOFFMAN: To the extent as required by --
19
   we complied with the outstanding orders.
20
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: But you're talking
   about the orders of the court. I'm talking about the
21
2 2
   orders of JCAR. I mean, that's what we're here today
2 3
   on, and I respect everything that everyone said before
24
   to this point in time, but we're here today to find
```

```
out whether or not the department deliberately evaded
   the wishes of JCAR as a service agency of the Illinois
   legislature.
4
             MR. MARAM: The department believes it has
   acted legally and throughout this -- and appropriately
5
6
   throughout this process. There's obviously
7
   litigation. We will abide by the law as we always
   will.
8
9
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: Let me ask you
10
    something because I would assume -- and I'm just a
11
    country lawyer from Champaign County. But I would
12
   assume that if JCAR told me not to do something, I
13
   might want to think twice before I did it.
14
        So after JCAR told you the first time not to do
15
    it, who made the decision to go ahead and do it
16
   anyway? And we asked a lot of these questions.
                                                      Wе
17
   heard references about some people in a room, but who
   made the ultimate decision to go ahead and do it?
18
19
             MS. HOFFMAN: As I responded before in regard
20
   to a similar question, I don't recall specifically.
21
   I'm more -- I put stuff in e-mail. I'll be happy to
2 2
           I will be happy to forward it to this
   look.
2 3
   committee.
24
                                    Mr. Maram, your chief
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE:
```

```
of staff is your chief of staff. You're the director
   of the department.
             MR. MARAM: I wasn't -- I did not initiate
3
   this. I do believe it's founded in authority.
5
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: Who did initiate it?
6
             MR. MARAM: I don't know who initiated it.
                                                          Ι
7
   know when -- I -- it was -- I -- it was discussed.
8
   And might I say, as a matter of public record, that
9
   people of goodwill could disagree. There are a number
   of jurisdictions where -- if I may respond.
10
11
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: I'm not talking about
12
13
             MR. MARAM: There's a number of
14
   jurisdictions --
15
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: -- the civil
16
   litigation. I'm talking about who made the decision.
17
             MR. MARAM: There's a number of jurisdictions
   where similar committees of JCAR have certain
18
19
   authority and don't. This is one people are just
20
   trying to work through, and there are many
21
   jurisdictions where it's found they didn't have that
   authority. We want to be cooperative. We just
2 2
2 3
   want --
24
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: Mr. Maram, the only
```

```
jurisdiction that applies is Illinois. I don't care
    your citing case law in some other state. That's
    completely and utterly immaterial so --
4
             MR. MARAM: And we've worked with JCAR
    numerous times and continue to. We continue to and we
5
6
    continue to be in front of you.
7
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: In this specific
    instance, I'm asking whose decision was it to go ahead
8
9
    and do it anyway?
10
             MR. MARAM: Well, first of all, I think I've
    answered you a number of times. I didn't -- I was not
11
12
    present --
13
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: Do your recall --
14
             MR. MARA: -- during all the meetings, but
15
    when it was brought up and looked at, I believe there
16
    was solid authority and funding to do it. So I do not
17
    know who --
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: Well, we'll come to the
18
19
    funding in a minute.
20
             MR. MARAM: I do not -- to answer your
    question, I do not know who initiated the initial
21
2 2
    initiation.
2 3
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: You don't know who
    initiated the initial initiation.
24
```

```
MR. MARAM: But I do know when it was
1
    discussed with me -- when it was discussed with me --
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: You're the director of
3
    the department and this just suddenly materialized in
    you're department?
5
6
                         No. You know, if we can answer.
             MR. MARAM:
7
    This is no surprise. For four years, we, as partners,
    have lead the nation in providing cost effective
8
9
    healthcare to all kids. If I may answer.
10
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: Madam Chairman,
    pursuant to Rule 9 I'm going to ask you to direct the
11
12
    witness to answer the question.
13
             MR. MARAM: So the fact that this comes up as
14
    a discussion is not a surprise.
15
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: But I think he did have a
    specific question, and if you can answer specifically,
16
17
    that would be helpful.
             MR. MARAM: I think I did, Representative.
18
19
    believe -- I don't know who initiated, but it was not
20
    a surprise that a policy like this to look to expand
21
    healthcare was being thought about.
2 2
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE:
                                    No.
                                         No.
                                              No.
2 3
    asking who decided to go ahead after JCAR said no.
24
             MR. MARAM:
                         I think it was discussed, and we,
```

```
as a department, and working with parties and
    outside counsel --
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: What parties?
3
             MR. MARAM: We had been in discussions, as
    we've said, with people -- whether it be from the
5
6
    Governor's office, Governor's legal counsel, outside
7
    counsel, and we wouldn't go into details --
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: From the Governor's
8
9
    office.
             Thank you.
10
             MR. MARAM: -- privilege.
11
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: Now, on the issue --
12
             MR. BLUST: I'm going to object to all of
13
    this because all decisions made during the litigation,
14
    I'm sure, were with counsel.
15
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: I'm not talking about
    the litigation. I'm talking about the very basic idea
16
17
    that JCAR said no and you did it anyway. That's not
18
    subject to litigation.
                            Now --
19
             MR. BLUST: In fact, it is the subject of
20
    litigation.
21
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: So, Mr. Blust, by your
    theory, then, you could sue to prevent and obfuscate
22
2 3
    the will of the General Assembly on any issue and just
2 4
    hide behind litigation?
```

```
MR. BLUST: All of the department's positions
1
   in regard to JCAR are in the public record. You can
    read them. All I was saying to you is this whole line
3
   of questioning gets into attorney-client privilege
    simply because decisions made in litigation -- and the
5
6
   litigation was already pending during most of the
7
    things that you're talking about. Decisions made in
8
   litigation are made with the litigation counsel that's
9
   conducting the litigation.
10
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: Mr. Blust, we'll
11
   continue here because, obviously, we're not going to
12
   get an answer no matter what happens. I think it's
13
    clear from my questioning and the last questions --
14
   Mr. -- Representative Lang's question.
15
        Mr. Maram, I want to understand something.
16
    said that this was going to be paid for by
17
   efficiencies. What efficiencies?
18
             MR. MARAM: The department has a number of
19
   efficiencies, cost-saving measures: how we utilize
20
   our healthcare system using disease management, using
21
   primary care case management, working with savings on
2 2
   pharmaceutical drugs. Every year that we've come in
   front of you I believe we've been right on target with
2 3
24
   our budget because we apply those skills and work
```

```
effectively.
1
        So through the years we've been able to work with
    our budgets. We manage by priorities. The programs
3
    are -- it is not --
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: By "priorities," does
5
6
    that mean that -- and I want to go back to something
7
    you said earlier which I thought was very interesting
    how you phrased it. You said that no services were
8
9
    not -- did not go unfulfilled.
10
             MR. MARAM: No, sir. As we didn't take from
    another -- not that no service --
11
12
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: But does that mean --
13
             MR. MARAM: We did not take from any program
14
    or service because of this.
15
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: But does that mean that
    that provider didn't get paid for their services in a
16
17
    timely fashion?
18
             MR. MARAM:
                         We --
19
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: Does that mean that
20
    that added to our state's unpaid backlog of bills?
21
             MR. MARAM: There are many competing
22
    interests, whether it be hospitals, nursing homes,
2 3
    pharmacy, revenues, and how many revenues -- our
24
    own -- the budget that we received was short on
```

```
1
    revenues.
2
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: Mr. Maram, I understand
    what you said about the services and the priorities.
3
    But, basically, if I hear what you're saying, is
    you're saying that that was just another thing that
5
6
    got added to the list of priorities, which means at
7
    some point in time that bill's got to be paid which
    is -- which --
8
9
             MR. MARAM: We were appropriately paying
10
    bills, and I think, if you look at that, even when --
11
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: Appropriately paying
12
    those.
13
             MR. MARAM: -- even when we had less revenues
14
    given to us than expenses at times, we managed --
15
    we've tried hard to manage that budget, and we've done
16
    it effectively. We've stood in front of you year
17
    after year while bringing in hospital assessment of
18
    $3.8 billion last week, of holding down costs.
19
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: Mr. Maram, I'm --
20
             MR. MARAM: But, I mean, that's how we do it.
    We work with a number of variables.
21
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: We're here on this.
2 2
2 3
   We're here on this.
24
             MR. MARAM: Okay. But you did ask me how --
```

```
1
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: And, as a general
2
    proposition, if you add new services, the bill has to
    be paid.
3
             MR. MARAM: We -- the bills were paid
4
5
    appropriately, not taking from other programs, through
6
    efficiencies in the department.
7
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: Not taking from other
    programs. But, again, that's my point. It also means
8
9
    that it adds to the delayed payment cycle of the
10
    state.
11
             MR. MARAM: No, you would find that the
12
    payment cycle was pretty much on target, and we were
13
    paying pretty much on target on what budgeted us.
14
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: That's verv
15
    inconsistent from what I hear from my constituents who
16
    are providers, Mr. Maram.
17
        I'm finished. Thank you.
18
             MR. MARAM: Through that period of time.
19
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Thank you very much,
20
    Representative.
21
        Let me just say we've got at least four more
22
    people who've already indicated they wanted to
2 3
    question this panel. We have a variety of other
2 4
    panels that we're going to invite back. I would
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encourage my colleagues that brevity is a good idea
    and that repetition is really not a good idea.
3
             So could we now go to Representative Franks.
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: I'll be brief.
   There's none of us in this room that don't want to see
5
6
   healthcare for all. You know, we talked about what's
7
    happening in this country. I think that's one of the
8
    reasons why Barack Obama was named president -- was
9
   elected president because he wants to give healthcare
10
   to the 47 million people that don't have healthcare in
11
   this country. But that's not the subject of what we
12
   want to talk about.
13
        What we want to talk about is process and what we
14
   heard -- and I was wanting to follow up on what
15
   Mr. Lang was saying. And, Ms. Hoffman, you had
16
   indicated that you were in meetings with the Governor
17
   approximately two years ago. And at that time you
18
   talked about the expansion of healthcare. Would that
19
   be a fair statement?
20
             MS. HOFFMAN: Yes, sir.
21
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: Okay. Besides the
22
   Governor, do you recall who else was driving that
2 3
   policy to expand healthcare in the State of Illinois?
24
   which we all agree is a laudable goal, but I'm trying
```

```
to figure out who were the decision makers at that
   time.
             MS. HOFFMAN: Understood. And I was never
3
   present at a meeting where there were less than ten
5
   people. So I could not necessarily discern who was
6
   make -- who was driving that. I have no personal
7
   knowledge.
8
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: Okay. But the
9
   Governor -- certainly was one of his priorities
   because he kept us here for multiple special sessions
10
11
   to deal with that issue. Do you recall?
12
             MS. HOFFMAN: Yes, sir.
13
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: Okay. So you also
14
   said Mr. Harris attended some of these meetings.
15
             MS. HOFFMAN: I don't -- I said I didn't know
16
   that for sure on these issues. I truly don't.
17
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: Okay. But Sheila Nix
   in the Governor's office, a Deputy Governor, was
18
19
   involved as well.
20
             MS. HOFFMAN: At times.
21
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: Mr. Quinlan, the
22
   Governor's attorney, was also involved at times;
2 3
   correct?
24
             MS. HOFFMAN: Yes, sir. Along with all of
```

```
our staff.
2
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: I think we already have
    some of those answers, Representative --
3
4
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS:
5
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: -- in response to
6
    questions from Mr. Lang.
7
             MS. HOFFMAN: Lots of our staff were also
    involved and outside counsel.
8
9
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: All right. Well,
10
    here's what I'm trying to get at. A couple years ago
11
    we understand that was the biggest issue that the
12
    Governor had. He wanted to expand healthcare.
13
    Mr. Lang had talked about by instituting a gross
14
    receipts tax and that failed. At one time he also
15
    wanted to expand healthcare by selling or leasing the
    lottery. Do you recall that?
16
17
             MS. HOFFMAN: I recall hearing about it, sir.
18
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: Yes. I believe --
19
    actually, someone from -- might have testified on that
20
    when we were dealing with that issue in the General
21
    Assembly.
2 2
        My point is Mr. Lang had talked about Senate Bill
2 3
    No. 5, and at that point that was what the Governor
24
    tried to do was to expand healthcare through Senate
```

```
Bill 5 and that failed. And then Mr. Lang and others
   who are on JCAR -- and I'm not -- I'm told that this
   failed in JCAR.
3
        So I'm wondering, if this is the Governor's big
   issue, do you consider yourself rogue employees, or
5
6
   were you taking direction directly from the Governor's
7
   office? And that's what we need to get at. Were you
   taking direction from the Governor's office to expand
8
9
   this?
10
             MS. HOFFMAN: Clearly, the conversations that
   I was involved in -- specifically, the ones when the
11
12
   Governor was there -- he always looking for
13
    appropriate ways to do this through available
14
   channels. I did provide some information --
15
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: What did he say?
                                                        Did
16
   he say find a way to get it done?
17
             MS. HOFFMAN: No. I never heard him say
18
    those words.
19
             MR. MARAM: And I'd like to add that through
20
   the years (inaudible) wanted to expand healthcare
21
   effectively and cost effectively. AllKids.
2 2
   always been a --
2 3
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS:
                                     Mr. Maram.
                                                  Mr.
24
            That's not the question. The question is the
   Maram.
```

```
fact that he thought it was important enough to get
    this passed, and he brought a bill that failed.
    thought it was important enough that he brought it to
    JCAR and asked them to implement rules, and he was
5
    turned down.
6
        Then I want to know who made the decision to do it
7
    anyway after it was turned down by the legislature and
8
    also turned down by JCAR? Who made that decision and
9
    when was it made?
10
             MR. MARAM: The parties probably thought
11
    about it together.
12
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: Who made the decision
13
    and when it was made?
14
             MS. HOFFMAN:
                           May I?
15
             MR. MARAM: Yes.
16
             MS. HOFFMAN: I don't want to speculate.
17
    have given this committee assurances that I will go
18
    and look at whatever records that I have, and I will
19
    be happy to share them with this committee.
20
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: No further questions.
21
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Thank you,
    Representative.
2 2
2 3
        Representative Fritchey.
24
             REPRESENTATIVE FRITCHEY:
                                        Thank you,
```

```
Chairman. Thank you. I'll be brief.
1
2
        Director, pursuant to the FamilyCare programs
    implemented by the Governor, there's essentially a
3
    sliding scale for premiums for participants in the
5
    program based upon their income, et cetera; is that
6
    correct?
7
             MS. HOFFMAN: Yes.
8
             MR. MARAM: Yes.
9
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Yeah, speak into the
10
   microphone.
11
             REPRESENTATIVE FRITCHEY: Do you know the
12
    amount of premiums that have been collected pursuant
13
    to the program?
14
             MS. HOFFMAN: We can get you that today.
15
             MR. MARAM: We can get that to you very
16
    quickly. We can get that to you very quickly. I'm
17
    trying to think exactly the amount. We can get that
18
    to you very quickly.
19
             REPRESENTATIVE FRITCHEY: Well, I would
20
    imagine that's something that could be readily
21
    provided.
2 2
             MR. MARAM: Certainly. Check our records.
2 3
                           Absolutely.
             MS. HOFFMAN:
2 4
             MR. MARAM: Yes. Yes, sir.
```

```
1
             REPRESENTATIVE FRITCHEY:
                                        Okay. And do you
    know, as we sit here today, whether those premiums are
    continuing to be collected today?
             MS. HOFFMAN: I don't have that information
    off the top of my head.
5
6
             REPRESENTATIVE FRITCHEY: Well, then --
7
             MR. MARAM: In following court orders and
    various -- and doing it appropriately, we'll check to
8
9
    see what -- what amounts, if any, are being collected.
10
             MS. HOFFMAN: We'll get you that information.
11
             REPRESENTATIVE FRITCHEY: So they are -- hold
12
         I can take one answer at a time.
                                            But do we know
    on.
13
    are they still being collected today?
             MR. MARAM: We will check to see what, if
14
15
    any, amounts are being collected based on the court
16
    orders and the stay.
17
             REPRESENTATIVE FRITCHEY: The premiums that
18
    had been collected and may be still being collected,
    where are those being deposited at?
19
20
             MR. MARAM: I think general revenue funds.
    General revenue funds.
21
2 2
             REPRESENTATIVE FRITCHEY: Can you,
2 3
    Ms. Hoffman or Director, just confirm that for me at
24
    some point?
```

```
1
             MR. MARAM: That is correct.
             MS. HOFFMAN: That's correct.
             REPRESENTATIVE FRITCHEY: No.
3
                                             But, I mean,
4
    but you -- that is correct?
5
             MS. HOFFMAN: Yes, it is correct, and we will
6
    get you the amounts and when and if we are still
7
    collecting. We'll get you all that information.
8
             REPRESENTATIVE FRITCHEY:
                                        Okay. Thank you.
9
    I won't belabor this anymore. Mr. Genson?
                                                 If I can
10
    digress for a second.
11
             MR. GENSON: I have my microphone on and I'm
12
    ready.
13
             REPRESENTATIVE FRITCHEY: Whether your
14
    microphone's on or not, I knew you'd be ready.
15
        My question for you -- my question for you is
16
    this: At the beginning of the proceedings today you
17
    made a statement which got my attention and I think
18
    that of a number of my colleagues. And that was --
19
    well, here, let me preface this.
20
        As you've seen, we are given wide latitude in the
    nature of these proceedings, et cetera.
21
                                              That
2 2
    notwithstanding, we obviously want to make sure that
2 3
    we proceed in as appropriate a manner as possible.
    You had cited 18 USC Section 2515. This is why I tend
24
```

```
1
    to keep my laptop handy.
2
             MR. GENSON: Yes. Yes.
             REPRESENTATIVE FRITCHEY: Which says -- and
3
    I'll -- it's short. I'll repeat it again. "Whenever
    a wire or oral communication has been intercepted, no
5
6
    part of the contents of such communication and no
7
    evidence derived therefrom may be received in evidence
    in a trial, hearing, other proceeding, entered before
8
    any court, grand jury, department, officer, agency,
    regulatory body, legislative committee, or other
10
11
    authority of the United States, a state, political
12
    subdivision thereof if the disclosure of that
13
    information will be in violation of this chapter."
14
    Correct?
15
             MR. GENSON: Yes, Your Honor. Your Honor.
16
    see.
17
             REPRESENTATIVE FRITCHEY: I've been called
18
            I've been called worse, I assure you. Let me
19
    focus on the last part of that because what I'm trying
20
    to make sure is that we are not doing something
21
    unwittingly improperly.
        The last provision of Section 2515 states that
2 2
    "...if the disclosure of that information will be in
2 3
2 4
    violation of this chapter." I went through the rest
```

```
of the chapter. And I won't belabor the committee
   with this, but to cut to the chase, it essentially
    says that it's inadmissible if the intercept was
3
    illegally obtained.
5
             MR. GENSON: That's correct, Your Honor.
6
             REPRESENTATIVE FRITCHEY: Is it your position
7
   then that these intercepts were illegally obtained?
8
             MR. GENSON: That is my position. I've
9
    seen -- I've seen -- I've seen Title IIIs -- related
10
   Title IIIs in other matters. We believe that there
11
    are very, very real difficulties with those Title
12
   IIIS. We believe that there are very really -- real
13
   difficulties in this Title III. It says here that --
   it says "a violation of this chapter." There has to
14
15
   be a series of requirements that must be complied with
16
   before wiretap evidence can be admitted.
17
        We have no proof or indication that this wiretap
    complied with Title III. Wiretap evidence should not
18
19
   be received without receiving copies of the Title III
20
    application. Wiretap evidence should not be received
21
   without being able to contest that application.
   Wiretap evidence should not be received without
2 2
2 3
   listening to the tapes to see if there's proper
   minimization.
24
```

```
I know that Representative Lang talked to the
    issue of probable cause, but that was only probable
    cause to get the wiretap. That doesn't mean -- and
3
    that someone ruled it. That doesn't relate to what
    was taken from the wiretap.
5
6
        And so I'm suggesting to you that without our --
7
    without giving us an opportunity to contest it, that
    an admission of any of these things are violation of
8
9
    the chapter.
10
        And so it's my position and I argued it, I did a
11
    pretrial -- I did a pretrial -- or pretrial --
12
    prehearing submission. I'm not -- I don't think -- I
13
    don't think it's appropriate to belabor it. The Chair
14
            I think that the use here is illegal, and I'm
15
    going to maintain it's illegal, and if I have to go to
16
    court -- not that you can go to court on any of these
17
             I'm not sure one way or another, because no
18
    one knows what you can do, but I think you're using
19
    evidence that was illegally obtained.
20
             REPRESENTATIVE FRITCHEY: Ultimately, the
21
    propriety -- the propriety of the intercept,
2 2
    obviously, will be something you'll take up in the
2 3
    pending criminal matter.
24
             MR. GENSON: And that's true, but the fact is
```

```
until I'm allowed to take that up -- I mean, I have
   cases here that I won't belabor you with where people
   have tried to talk about these things in front of
3
   grand juries, and they said they couldn't do it.
        Until we get a chance to contest it, until we get
5
6
   the underlying documents, the use of this is illegal
7
    and I'm -- and the use of the excerpts that were in
8
   the complaint that was read by Mr. Ellis to this
9
   committee should not have been read to this committee
10
   and cannot be considered by this committee, it is our
11
   position. I don't want to ask anybody to re -- to
12
    resteer it.
13
             REPRESENTATIVE FRITCHEY: We don't need to
14
   litigate this issue now. Let me -- let me just, I
15
    guess, make a statement and then clarify something.
16
        The intercepts were authorized on, I believe,
17
   October 21st was the date that's specified in the
18
    criminal complaint. Here. Judge Holderman authorized
19
   on October 21st the intercept for a 30-day period in
20
   two rooms in the principal Blagojevich office, and
21
   then there was a subsequent authorization for
2 2
   intercepts for a second 30-day period. It's my
   opinion -- I'm not going to speak on behalf of the
2 3
24
    committee. It's my opinion that the authorization was
```

```
1
    proper.
2
             MR. GENSON: Your opinion is wrong, with all
    due respect, though, Representative.
3
             REPRESENTATIVE FRITCHEY: Again, you've been
4
    doing this much longer than I have. Should the
5
6
    intercepts be found to be proper, that would change
    your opinion, no?
7
8
             MR. GENSON: Of course.
9
             REPRESENTATIVE FRITCHEY: Okay. Thank you.
10
    I appreciate it. I was just trying to get
11
    clarification for this body. Thank you.
12
             MR. GENSON: Thank you.
13
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: I'm sorry.
14
        Representative Black.
15
             REPRESENTATIVE BLACK: Thank you very much,
    Madam Chair. I can't recall what question I was going
16
17
    to ask. Let me consult my notes. My desk is such a
    mess here. I can't -- oh, here, it is. Okay.
18
19
        By the way, Director, I visited my pharmacist
20
    yesterday and he wants to congratulate you on the
21
    efficiencies of the Medicaid system before he files
22
    bankruptcy next month.
             MR. MARAM: We're working with -- we're
2 3
2 4
    working with a budget that we were shorted $600
```

```
million and trying still to do what we do.
2
             REPRESENTATIVE BLACK: I understand. And all
    of the efficiencies that we've created are -- we're
3
    certainly paying bills on time, but that's another
5
    point.
6
        Let me follow up on what Representative Fritchey
7
    was asking about premiums. I find this whole issue of
    collecting premiums very interesting, and I won't get
8
    into points of law on that, but who collected these
    premiums?
10
11
             MR. MARAM: The agency.
12
             MS. HOFFMAN: Our agency representative.
13
             REPRESENTATIVE BLACK: You did?
14
             MS. HOFFMAN: Yes, sir.
15
             REPRESENTATIVE BLACK: You collected the
    premiums?
16
17
             MS. HOFFMAN: Not me personally.
18
             MR. MARAM: The agency.
19
             MS. HOFFMAN: The agency.
20
             REPRESENTATIVE BLACK: The agency.
21
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Could you speak right
    into the microphone.
22
2 3
             MS. HOFFMAN: Excuse me. To the best of my
2 4
    knowledge, I -- I -- they were put into general
```

```
revenue, I know, but I don't know the mechanism.
1
2
             REPRESENTATIVE BLACK: Well, I'll get to
           But the agency collected the premiums.
             MS. HOFFMAN: I don't know the mechanism
5
    specifically. I can find out the mechanism for you,
6
    sir.
7
             REPRESENTATIVE BLACK: I would appreciate
8
    that. Obviously, then, somebody had to design and
9
    approve a form -- a billing form and send it out;
10
    correct?
11
             MR. MARAM: Correct. There has to be
12
    process.
13
             REPRESENTATIVE BLACK: Okay.
14
             MR. MARAM: We'll get back to you on the
15
    process.
16
             REPRESENTATIVE BLACK: Okay. I would
17
    appreciate that. Maybe a copy of one of the actual
18
    forms that you sent out.
19
        Can you give me the specific account in which that
20
    premium income was deposited -- the account number?
21
             MS. HOFFMAN: General revenue.
2 2
             MR. MARAM: It was general revenue funds.
             REPRESENTATIVE BLACK: Can you give me the
2 3
24
    actual account number, though, so we could perhaps
```

```
track it?
             MR. MARAM: We can come back to you and --
             MS. HOFFMAN: If it's available.
3
             REPRESENTATIVE BLACK: That's fine.
             MR. MARAM: -- give you whatever's available.
5
6
             REPRESENTATIVE BLACK: That's fine.
7
    appreciate that. Do you also have a paper trail of
8
   disbursements made from that account? What I'm at --
9
   I'm trying to track premium, income, and how the
   premium dollars were spent.
10
             MR. MARAM: If we can, it went through
11
12
   general revenue funds, and, with due respect, we just
13
   heard about this. We're here voluntarily. We didn't
14
   come with that type of information.
15
             REPRESENTATIVE BLACK: Okay. No, that's
   fine. You can get back to me on that.
16
17
        And then the only other question I'd like -- or
   the other issue I'd like for you to provide is can you
18
19
   give us a specific amount of premium dollars collected
20
   as of today?
21
             MR. MARAM: We can do that almost
22
   immediately. In fact, I had the number at my
2 3
   fingertips, and I think it's --
             MS. HOFFMAN: 1.7.
24
```

```
1
             MR. MARAM: I think it's 1.7.
             REPRESENTATIVE BLACK: All right. Thank you
    very much.
3
        And at the appropriate time, Madam Chair, I would
    like to approach the Chair with a point.
5
                                               I'll wait
6
    until -- are we going to break for lunch, by the way?
7
    Not that I'm hungry.
8
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: I hadn't planned to.
9
             REPRESENTATIVE BLACK:
                                     Oh.
10
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Representative -- are you
    finished then, Representative Black?
11
12
             REPRESENTATIVE BLACK:
                                     Yes.
13
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Representative Mautino.
14
             REPRESENTATIVE MAUTINO:
                                       Thank you.
15
        Director, I have a few questions going to the next
    step or a little bit further down the line because
16
17
    of -- because of the actions which will be decided,
    and I consider everything that's being brought in more
18
19
    information than evidence. I'm not an attorney.
                                                        But
20
    I'll make a decision on how things are running
21
    throughout the state based on everything that I'll
2 2
    sift through and decide what's correct and what isn't.
2 3
        And so in that -- if we go to the next level, once
24
    the program was initiated, providers began receiving
```

```
bills, receiving -- treating patients. After the
    order stopping, did you send a letter or a notice to
    the providers regarding their payment?
             MR. MARAM: I am not sure what, if any,
4
5
    documentation was sent. We will -- can get back to
6
    you quickly on that.
7
             REPRESENTATIVE MAUTINO: And the answer is
8
   yes?
9
             MS. HOFFMAN: Some -- I know that some
10
    document went out. I don't know to what providers or
11
    all providers or because we had sent payment and -- I
12
    can find out what it was.
13
             REPRESENTATIVE MAUTINO: Reclaiming
14
    payments --
15
             MS. HOFFMAN: Yeah, and I'm not sure what --
16
             REPRESENTATIVE MAUTINO: -- that could not be
17
    made?
18
             MS. HOFFMAN: -- that was exactly. I recall
19
    something about it.
20
             REPRESENTATIVE MAUTINO: Okay. I need a copy
    of that letter because the providers received those.
21
    I need to know how you determined who was going to
22
2 3
    receive those letters providerwise because,
2 4
    essentially, the copies of the letters that were
```

```
called in from some of my providers who take care of
    the people who are on FamilyCare, KidCare, and those
    programs stated that they -- there were going to be
3
    some items they would not be paid for as a direct
    result of this action.
5
6
        So I'd like to know, one, how you determined which
7
    providers were going to be receiving those letters, or
8
    did they go out as a blanket? Has there been a
9
    secondary response telling them the status of their
10
    payment? And first and foremost, are we going to pay
    them?
11
12
        So let's go -- Director, are we going to pay those
13
    providers that the letter that said they may not be
14
    eligible, what happens to them? Who pays this bill?
15
                         At this point, pending
             MR. MARAM:
16
    litigation, I cannot give an answer to that.
17
             MS. HOFFMAN: We're hopeful that they'll be
18
    paid.
19
             REPRESENTATIVE MAUTINO: And so are they.
20
             MR. MARAM: And we've worked closely with
21
    providers for years, and so, you know, there's pending
2 2
    litigation. We can't give an answer -- a direct
2 3
    answer to that. It's unresolved right now.
                                                  we're
    not --
24
```

```
1
             REPRESENTATIVE MAUTINO: What's the dollar
2
    amounts? Can we give that?
3
             MR. MARAM: Yes.
             MS. HOFFMAN: We can get you that number as
   well.
5
6
             REPRESENTATIVE MAUTINO: Okay.
                                              Because
    that's the real effect, also, of many of the things
7
8
    that we're looking at in the course of these hearings,
9
    so --
             You know that I serve on the CHIP board.
10
    Been there forever. Been there 17 years. Whenever we
11
12
    make change to the CHIP program -- which I'm very
13
    proud of. It's one of the best in the country.
14
    Whenever we make a change to it, we all receive a form
15
    change, and we go through and we sign off on that, and
    it's auditable. So there should be an audit document.
16
17
    When you make a change to the FamilyCare form, do you
18
    have the same process?
19
             MR. MARAM: I'd have to go into detail with
20
    people processing reimbursement as opposed to forms.
21
             REPRESENTATIVE MAUTINO:
                                       But someone has a
2 2
    final sign off on that, whether it be you.
2 3
    case, it would be the director of the CHIP board.
24
             MR. MARAM: Well, when there's a change in
```

```
notice, it goes through myself, through the medical
1
2
    programs, and we go through the regular process when
    we make changes.
3
4
             REPRESENTATIVE MAUTINO: When we then approve
    the form, we then take an official action to authorize
5
6
    our people who enroll to begin accepting enrollments.
7
             MR. MARAM: Obviously, it's a different
8
    program, but we do everything as we do by taking
9
    actions. We go through our internal processes, and I
10
    can get back to you.
11
             REPRESENTATIVE MAUTINO: So these are
12
    auditable?
13
             MR. MARAM: These are internal processes --
14
             REPRESENTATIVE MAUTINO:
                                       Correct.
15
             MR. MARAM: -- that we work through our
16
    programs, our medical programs, to make changes, to
17
    notice people. Yes, we do.
18
             REPRESENTATIVE MAUTINO: And so when the
19
    Auditor General comes in and says I'd like to see the
20
    documentation of the FamilyCare expansion and all
    sign-off sheets involved, you would have those?
21
2 2
             MR. MARAM: Each pro -- each department, each
2 3
    agency will be different, but we have our processes,
24
    and we went through regular process in doing this.
```

```
1
             REPRESENTATIVE MAUTINO: Can I have the
2
    sign-off sheets?
             MR. MARAM: I don't know that they would be
3
4
    sign-off sheets as much as they'd be notices.
                                                    I could
5
    work with our medical programs to see what process we
6
    went through, but we certainly went through a very
7
    official process within the department to do that.
8
             REPRESENTATIVE MAUTINO: I mean, I generally
9
    know who's signing off on all of ours on a program I'm
10
    involved in. My assumption is you would know that as
    well.
11
           So --
12
             MR. MARAM: Obviously, you know, I made a
13
    decision as a department that we're going to keep
14
    going forward and going forward with this. The
    program people worked within that.
15
16
             REPRESENTATIVE MAUTINO: And so the memos and
17
    everything going forward would be under your
18
    signature.
19
             MR. MARAM: Not necessarily. There's
20
    delegation of authority, but what we're doing is we
21
    work efficiently in our programs to have internal
2 2
    checks with each other. We work very hard with that,
2 3
    and we'll give you -- we'll go --
24
             REPRESENTATIVE MAUTINO: The internal checks,
```

```
I guess, for today's purposes.
2
             MR. MARAM: We'll go -- I'll give you that
    process.
             REPRESENTATIVE MAUTINO: Thank you.
5
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Are you done,
6
    Representative?
7
             REPRESENTATIVE MAUTINO: Yeah.
8
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Representative Hamos.
9
             REPRESENTATIVE HAMOS: Thank you.
        I wanted to just -- have one line of questioning
10
    here. Mr. Blust is appointed Special Assistant
11
12
    Attorney General for this case or for other matters as
13
   well?
             MR. MARAM: I know for this case.
14
15
             MR. BLUST: For this case.
16
             REPRESENTATIVE HAMOS: For this case? And
17
    that's since the lawsuit has been filed since last
    November -- the Caro lawsuit?
18
19
             MR. BLUST: Correct. We were appointed at
20
    the time --
21
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Could you use the
22
   microphone, please.
2 3
             MR. BLUST: We were appointed by the Attorney
   General at the time the lawsuit was filed. There's a
24
```

```
procedure that the agencies have to go through in
    regard to that.
             REPRESENTATIVE HAMOS: And what is your
3
    hourly fee?
5
             MR. BLUST: Our hourly free in regard to this
6
    is $200. That's what the Attorney General requires.
7
             REPRESENTATIVE HAMOS: And so you -- when you
    submit your fees, does the department have to sign off
8
9
    before it's submitted over to the Attorney General?
10
             MR. BLUST: It's, first of all, not submitted
    to the Attorney General because the Attorney General
11
12
    also happens to be on the other side of this case.
13
             REPRESENTATIVE HAMOS:
                                    okay.
14
             MR. BLUST: So the letter authorizing this
15
    expressly provides that our fee statements will not be
16
    submitted to the Attorney General. I don't know how
17
    the process goes for approval of our fees.
18
             REPRESENTATIVE HAMOS: Okay. And how much --
19
             MR. BLUST: Other than slow.
20
             REPRESENTATIVE HAMOS: How much has been
21
    submitted as fees -- fee invoices to date?
2 2
             MR. BLUST: I don't know.
2 3
             REPRESENTATIVE HAMOS: Can you get that for
24
    us, please?
```

```
1
             MR. BLUST: Probably. I'd have to talk to
2
    the -- you know, the people involved, but I should be
    able to get a total for you.
             REPRESENTATIVE HAMOS: Well, the department
4
          Tammy -- Tammy was shaking her head she could.
5
    can.
6
             MR. BLUST:
                         Yeah.
                                 Yeah.
                                        Sure.
7
             REPRESENTATIVE HAMOS: Do you know how much
8
    has been spent to date? I mean, there's a lot of
9
    litigation in the last year.
10
             MS. HOFFMAN:
                           Sure.
11
             REPRESENTATIVE HAMOS: We saw box loads
12
    previously.
13
                                   Representative, I don't
             MS. HOFFMAN: Sure.
14
    know the amount that has been spent or what was
15
    submitted. What I can tell you that I do know is
16
    there are intergovernmental agreements in place that
17
    specifically deal with legal services, and those have
18
    amounts obligated, and I work with those and we
19
    require detailed invoices before payment, and I will
20
    get you any information that I have.
21
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Have that by the end of
2 2
    the day?
2 3
             REPRESENTATIVE HAMOS: As to the total spent;
24
    correct?
```

```
1
             MS. HOFFMAN: I'm trying by the end of the
2
    day to get whatever I can.
3
             REPRESENTATIVE HAMOS: Thank you.
                                  Representative Flowers.
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE:
5
             REPRESENTATIVE FLOWERS:
                                       Thank you, Madam
6
    Chairman.
7
        Tammy, my question to you, you had mentioned and
    you held up a sheet of paper in regards to Public Aid.
8
    So were these people that were signed up -- were they
    eligible for Public Aid? You said something about the
10
11
    Public Aid Code is what gave you --
12
             MS. HOFFMAN: The authority, correct.
13
             REPRESENTATIVE FLOWERS: -- the authority to
14
    do what you did.
15
             MS. HOFFMAN:
                           Correct.
16
             REPRESENTATIVE FLOWERS: So my question to
17
    you is did the people that signed up for this new
18
    extended program -- were they eligible for Public Aid?
19
    Is that the reason why you followed the code?
20
             MS. HOFFMAN: That is what gives us the
    authority to make expansion changes.
21
2 2
             REPRESENTATIVE FLOWERS: Were they eligible?
2 3
             MS. HOFFMAN: I don't know that specifically,
24
    Representative.
```

```
1
             REPRESENTATIVE FLOWERS: So, therefore,
    there's a possibility, if they were not eligible for
    Public Aid, those were the people that should have
3
    qualified for this particular program, but yet that
    was the code that you used to justify signing these
5
6
    people up.
7
             MS. HOFFMAN: As we have done in the past,
    and I have examples of when we have.
8
9
             REPRESENTATIVE FLOWERS: That's not the
    question that I asked. I'm asking you, Tammy --
10
11
             MS. HOFFMAN: Uh-huh.
                                    Uh-huh.
12
             REPRESENTATIVE FLOWERS: -- were these people
13
    that you signed up -- were they eligible? Because I'm
14
    going to assume -- I'm going to assume that the other
15
    people and the other programs that you're relating to,
16
    those people were qualified to do so by the rules and
17
    the law that was set forth by the State of Illinois as
18
    well as Congress that would allow them to get the
19
    matching funds.
20
             MS. HOFFMAN: Well, and that's the
21
    distinction, Representative, is there are people that
    are eligible under our programs that are --
2 2
2 3
             REPRESENTATIVE FLOWERS: And that's the
    distinction --
24
```

```
1
             MS. HOFFMAN: -- eligible under Medicaid.
             REPRESENTATIVE FLOWERS: And that is the --
             MS. HOFFMAN: But the Public Aid Code is --
3
    we have other individuals, I believe, that are
              I can't speak lawfully, specifically.
5
    covered.
                                                      I can
6
    check.
7
             REPRESENTATIVE FLOWERS: Well, because, see,
    I'm kind of confused here, because there's lots of
8
    people out there who would not have been able to fit
    into this middle class, would be qualified for Public
10
11
    Aid, but yet there's other people out there who would
12
    not have had as much money, and they would not have
13
    qualified for Public Aid, but nor would they have
14
    qualified to be on this program as well.
15
        And so I'm talking about the Public Aid Code in
16
    which you, Tammy, enunciated and you said that that
17
    was the prerequisite that you use to sign people up.
             MS. HOFFMAN: Well, that is part of our
18
19
    authority that we cite in changing the rule.
20
             REPRESENTATIVE FLOWERS: Were they qualified
    for Public Aid?
21
             MR. MARAM: I think it would be consistent
2 2
    and it was consistent with the Public Aid Code.
2 3
24
    think one of the issues is the court applied what
```

```
really is delinking the Public Aid Code imposing
    certain employments, wages, on things that were
    delinked years ago. We don't believe that really does
    apply, and we think it would affect, unfortunately
    ironically, the people who most need to get the
5
6
    coverage not to get it.
7
        But I think there was some, if I might say,
    different -- differencing of opinion on what was
8
9
    applied in the court opinion on regarding the Public
10
    Aid Code.
11
             REPRESENTATIVE FLOWERS:
                                       I quess my
12
    question -- and I want an answer. I want to know if
13
    middle class people qualified for Public Aid
14
    assistance and poor people who made a dollar more than
15
    would be eligible did not qualify for healthcare
16
    because they're not eligible because of their Public
17
    Aid status. They made too much that particular month.
18
                         Many of the people that we've
             MR. MARAM:
19
    been giving healthcare to through FamilyCare for years
20
    probably haven't been on Temporary Assistance to Needy
21
    Family, but they still qualified for Medicaid and
2 2
    that's still the case.
2 3
             REPRESENTATIVE FLOWERS: I doubt that
2 4
    seriously, but we'll discuss that one later.
```

```
1
             In regards to the injunction that was put in
    place, after the injunction was put in place, did you
    continue to sign people up after the injunction?
             MR. MARAM: I don't believe we did.
4
             MS. HOFFMAN: We did not and we all -- we --
5
6
    and the -- we also believe that the order didn't
7
    specifically ask us to do that, but we did not.
             REPRESENTATIVE FLOWERS: You did not continue
8
9
    to sign people up --
10
             MR. MARAM: Within those expansion --
11
             REPRESENTATIVE FLOWERS: -- after the court
12
    stayed the injunction and nor did --
13
              MS. HOFFMAN: With regard to the expansion,
14
    to the best of my knowledge. To the -- to the best of
15
    my knowledge to what's in question here.
16
             REPRESENTATIVE FLOWERS:
                                       I'm sorry. Did you
17
    continue to sign people up after the court injunction?
18
    Yes or no?
19
             MS. HOFFMAN: People who were eligible.
20
    Generally.
21
             REPRESENTATIVE FLOWERS: After the --
             MS. HOFFMAN: Yeah, we didn't shut down the
2 2
2 3
    program.
24
             REPRESENTATIVE FLOWERS: The expanded -- the
```

```
expanded program. I know about the people that was
    eligible. I'm talking about the expanded program that
    the court ruled --
4
             MS. HOFFMAN: We did not.
5
             REPRESENTATIVE FLOWERS: And nor did you
6
    collect premiums.
7
             MS. HOFFMAN: I have to verify that, as I
    said to Representative Fritchey. I just don't know
8
9
    the answer to the question.
10
             REPRESENTATIVE FLOWERS: So you do not know
    the answer to the question if you continued to sign
11
12
    ineligible people up and collect ineligible --
13
             MR. MARAM:
                         No.
                              No.
14
             MS. HOFFMAN: I know we're not -- I know that
15
    we are not signing up people currently pursuant -- or
16
    since --
17
             REPRESENTATIVE FLOWERS: Not currently.
                                                       I'm
18
    talking about --
19
             MS. HOFFMAN: Since the court order --
20
             REPRESENTATIVE FLOWERS: -- immediately after
21
    the injunction.
2 2
             MS. HOFFMAN: Since the court order?
2 3
    Correct.
24
             REPRESENTATIVE FLOWERS: Correct on what?
```

```
1
             MS. HOFFMAN: That we are not signing people
    up pursuant to the expansion that's in question in
    here.
3
             REPRESENTATIVE FLOWERS: And you're not --
5
    and you were not collecting premiums.
6
             MR. MARAM: To new people.
7
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: You said you didn't know
8
    and that you were going to get back to us with that
9
    information.
10
             MS. HOFFMAN: Thank you.
11
             REPRESENTATIVE FLOWERS: And one other
12
              In regards to the people that are eligible
    question.
13
    versus the ones that were ineligible, were there two
14
    separate funds that you were putting those monies in?
15
    Does all the FamilyCare or KidCare or AllKids do --
    does all those funds go into the general revenue fund?
16
17
             MS. HOFFMAN: I don't know how that's
18
    allocated. We can get that information to you today.
19
             REPRESENTATIVE FLOWERS: Well, I want to know
20
    because if we expanded --
21
             MS. HOFFMAN: Absolutely.
2 2
             REPRESENTATIVE FLOWERS: -- the program to
    include these other families, I'm wondering why is it
2 3
24
    that all the dollars are not going to the same fund.
```

```
1
             MS. HOFFMAN: And they may, and I will get
2
    vou that information.
3
             REPRESENTATIVE FLOWERS: Thank you.
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Thank you,
5
    Representative.
6
        Ms. Hoffman, you have said that you'll get a lot
7
    of information back to us before the end of the day.
8
             MS. HOFFMAN: I am going to --
9
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: And I'm hopeful, first of
    all, that you were taking careful notes, because I'm
10
11
    sure that the people who asked for information will
12
    have made notes themselves, and we appreciate your
13
    patience, and maybe we should send you off real
14
    quickly so that you can get that work done before the
15
    committee finishes this afternoon.
16
             MR. ADAM: Excuse me, Madam Chair. May we
17
    have a question or two for the good people here?
18
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Yeah. Okay. Go ahead.
19
             MR. ADAM: Thank you. Again --
20
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: If it's within our
21
    purview.
2 2
             MR. ADAM: It will be very brief, if I may,
    Madam Chair.
2 3
24
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE:
                                 Good.
```

```
1
             MR. ADAM: Again, my name is attorney Sam
2
    Adam, Jr.
3
        I wanted to first tell the Chair and the committee
    thank you for allowing us the opportunity to be here
    on behalf of Governor Blagojevich.
5
6
        I just have one question, if I may. Director
7
    Maram, the committee here has asked you a number of
8
    questions regarding what took place after JCAR came
9
    down with these prohibitions -- what has gone on, what
10
    happened, how many people were signed up, and things
    of that nature.
11
12
        My sole question to you is, as a direct result of
13
    Governor Blagojevich and any policies that came down
14
    after JCAR, how many brother and sister Illinois
15
    citizens' lives were saved as a result from that
16
    moment on? How many lives were saved because of his
17
    policy to go forward and give healthcare? That's the
18
    only question that we have for you.
19
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Madam Chairman.
20
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Yeah, this is not part of
21
    our --
2 2
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: I have to object to
2 3
    this question.
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: We had earlier we're
24
```

```
not -- healthcare is good. A lot of us are totally in
   favor, but that's not the subject of this inquiry.
   Thank you very much. And --
             MR. ADAM: With all due respect, Madam Chair,
5
   if I just may say, one of the direct quotes that came
   from one of the chair -- or chairpeople or committee
7
   members here said we need to know what a direct result
8
   was of the policy. And I think it is certainly --
9
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: No, we do not.
10
           We do not.
   sorry.
11
             MR. ADAM: -- it is certainly important to
12
   know if lives were saved as a direct result.
13
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: The question -- the
14
   question before this committee are were proper
15
   procedures followed. That's the question, not is it a
16
   good thing or a bad thing. Did they go through the
17
    rules and regulations; did they do what they were
18
    supposed to do.
19
        And, if I might, Ms. Hoffman, we would hope that
20
   you would make that information available to the
21
   committee, not just to the individual who asked a
2 2
   particular question.
2 3
             MS. HOFFMAN: Absolutely, Madam Chair.
24
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Okay. The committee --
```

```
but thank you all very much for being here, and we're
    looking forward to the information.
        Now, we had other panels, and I know some members
3
    of the committee were interested in asking questions
    of the other panels. It is, I would point out, past
5
6
    one o'clock, but we're ready just to be here as long
7
    as it takes.
        The first panel were our Professors Morriss and
8
9
           Does anybody have a question for them?
    Rich.
        Representative Lang and Representative Howard.
10
11
        So do you want to come forward? I know one of you
12
    has a class to teach this afternoon, so we'll try to
13
    move you quickly.
14
        Representative Lang, Howard, and Rose.
15
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Thank you, Madam
    Chairman.
16
17
        Gentlemen, thank you for returning to the table
18
    and for staying here.
19
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: And Representative Turner
20
    in the chair.
21
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: You heard a lot of
    testimony from the department about JCAR, the use of
22
2 3
    administrative -- emergency rules, et cetera. Do you
24
    have an opinion, first, regarding the inherent
```

```
authority of state agencies to make rules?
2
             MR. MORRISS: State agencies have no inherent
    authority to make rules. Their authority is delegated
3
    from the legislature through the organic statute that
    provides them with the authority to operate.
5
6
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: And here in Illinois we
7
    have something called the IAPA which controls all of
    that: is that correct?
8
9
             MR. MORRISS: It controls the process of
    making rules. It does not give them additional
10
11
    authority.
12
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: All right. And do you
13
    have an opinion as to how the doctrine of the
14
    separation of powers fits into this process?
15
             MR. MORRISS: Yes, sir.
16
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Please proceed and tell
17
    us.
18
             MR. MORRISS: Separation of power is one of
19
    the most fundamental principles of American
20
    government, and the provision of checks on executive
21
    authority by the legislature is vital to that.
2 2
        I have to say that, having listened to the
2 3
    description today, I am -- you know, Bismarck's quote
24
    is you shouldn't watch sausages get made or laws, and
```

```
when we were told we were going to hear about sausage
    making, why, I've lost my appetite.
        If the Governor was not the person who made the
3
    decision to viol -- to attempt to overturn a
5
    long-standing statutory provision in JCAR, if he was
6
    not, he should be impeached for dereliction of duty.
7
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG:
                                   well. All right.
                                                       So I
    didn't ask you for that.
8
9
             MR. MORRISS: I'm sorry.
                                        I --
10
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: But that's okay.
    it would be your position that if he did order it --
11
12
             MR. MORRISS: If he did order it --
13
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: -- he'd be violating
14
    the law?
15
             MR. MORRISS: Exactly.
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: And if he didn't order
16
17
    it, he should have known about it.
18
                           Exactly.
             MR. MORRISS:
19
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: All right.
                                                The only
20
    other question I have for either of you is you've
21
    heard extensive conversation between Ms. Hoffman and I
2 2
    and a little bit with Director Maram regarding the
2 3
    viewpoint of the department, an agency of the state
24
    government, that JCAR is advisory only, and they can
```

```
listen to us or not listen to us, and they basically
   came by to just check with JCAR about these ideas,
   whether it be FamilyCare or others, but they don't
   have any responsibility to do what we say or listen to
   what we do. Do you have an opinion as to whether JCAR
5
6
   is advisory?
7
             MR. RICH: Absolutely not. The statutes are
8
   clear here. JCAR is not advisory. It's a -- it's
9
   authority specified by the General Assembly, it's an
10
   arm of the General Assembly, and it's absolutely not
11
   advisory.
12
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: And --
13
             MR. MORRISS: I agree completely.
14
   absolutely not advisory.
15
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: And while it is clear
16
   that the department is now trying to get into the
17
   Supreme Court to declare JCAR basically advisory,
18
   there is no court anywhere in Illinois that has ever
19
   said that JCAR is advisory.
20
             MR. RICH:
                        Correct.
21
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: And there is no court
22
   anywhere that has ruled that JCAR's decisions are
   invalid.
2 3
24
             MR. RICH:
                        Correct.
```

```
1
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: And it would be the
   opinion of both of you, I presume, then, that if the
   Governor's office actually felt that JCAR was
3
   advisory, they should have done this before all of
   this and just declared JCAR null and void. But once
5
6
   going to JCAR and submitting themself to the
7
    jurisdiction of JCAR, since you would view them --
    JCAR as not advisory, you would view that what they're
8
   doing now is not really relevant to the issue of
   whether they followed the law in the first place.
10
11
             MR. RICH: Yes, that's correct. I mean, I --
12
   and I think the FamilyCare example is an Exhibit A, so
13
   to speak, of the fact that a procedure went to JCAR,
14
    JCAR voted.
                 It was up to the Governor's office to
15
   obey the ruling of JCAR.
16
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: One last ques -- go
17
   ahead.
            I'm sorry.
18
                          Exactly. Until a court had
             MR. MORRISS:
19
    ruled JCAR not to be a valid process, there was excuse
20
    for not complying with the process as it exists.
21
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Do either of you have a
2 2
    characterization that you would make about this state
2 3
   agency that went forward and implemented this program
24
   after JCAR prohibited the rule?
```

```
MR. RICH: Characterization? Not in
1
   compliance with the law as the -- as the statutes
   provide.
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Agreed?
5
             MR. MORRISS: Agreed.
6
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Thank you, Madam
7
   Chairman.
8
             CHAIRMAN TURNER: Representative Turner in
9
   the chair.
10
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Sorry,
11
   Representative Turner.
12
             CHAIRMAN TURNER: That's fine.
13
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Now I will never get
14
   recognized again, I know, while you're in that chair.
15
   I had forgotten that Representative Currie had left
16
         Please excuse me, sir.
   us.
17
             CHAIRMAN TURNER: That's fine.
18
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG:
                                   Okay.
19
             CHAIRMAN TURNER: Mr. Genson. Mr. Genson,
   let's --
20
21
             MR. GENSON: Yes. I will -- I'll be brief.
2 2
             CHAIRMAN TURNER: Let the other committee
2 3
   members ask their questions.
24
             MR. GENSON: Oh, there are others.
```

```
1
    sorry. I just --
2
             CHAIRMAN TURNER: Yes, there are two more.
        Representative Howard.
3
             REPRESENTATIVE HOWARD: Yes. Thank you very
5
    much, Mr. Chairman.
6
        Thank you so much, Dr. Rich and the other
7
    gentleman, for providing this information regarding
    the illegality of not following JCAR.
8
9
        I am very interested in the questions, Dr. Rich,
    that you raised regarding how such failure will impact
10
11
    our state. Has there been any additional work or
12
    inquiry done as to some of the answers to these
13
    questions? Supposing, in fact, they have not done
14
    what they -- that they should have done. How would --
15
    would this be considered welfare fraud? Do you know,
16
    if a worker, in fact, recruited and signed up a person
17
    for the program, is that person acting illegally, or
    are they following directions of their boss?
18
19
             MR. RICH:
                        Representative Howard, I have no
20
    knowledge of anything that's been done in this area.
21
    I raised those questions because I think they -- it is
2 2
    theoretically possible that a worker could be charged
2 3
    with that, but I have no knowledge that they have.
24
             REPRESENTATIVE HOWARD: And if such thing
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```
happened, who would be responsible for the legal
   defense of that worker?
             MR. RICH: I would assume the department
3
   would be responsible for it.
4
5
             REPRESENTATIVE HOWARD: So that's an expense.
6
   And so each of these other questions that you raise,
7
   if a doctor treated that person and then we failed to
   pay, then would that be considered to be welfare
8
   fraud? Are you asking if the doctor would be subject
   to welfare fraud?
10
11
             MR. RICH: I'm saying that the doctor could
12
   be, yes.
13
             REPRESENTATIVE HOWARD:
                                     okay.
14
             MR. RICH: Again, it's theoretically
15
   possible.
16
             REPRESENTATIVE HOWARD: Do you have any idea
17
   how much money -- well, let me say this: It sounds --
18
   it sounded to me as if we were being told that yes,
19
   the money was available, and they therefore made a
20
   decision to proceed despite the possibility that they
21
   were wrong. They decided to proceed because they felt
2 2
   it was the best thing to do. If we don't cover these
2 3
   bills, do you have any idea how much or what the level
24
   of negative impact could be? Could we be, you know,
```

```
hundreds of thousands or maybe millions of dollars in
    the red?
             MR. RICH: I think we could be millions of
3
    dollars in the red, but I can't give an exact figure.
    I don't have an exact figure for you.
5
6
             REPRESENTATIVE HOWARD: So what do you --
7
    what do you think -- what do you think we -- are we
    doing the right thing here by bringing this to the --
8
9
    into the light of the public?
10
             MR. RICH: I think absolutely, yes.
11
             REPRESENTATIVE HOWARD: Was there anything
12
    else we could have done other than this?
13
             MR. RICH: I don't think so.
14
             REPRESENTATIVE HOWARD: I appreciate.
                                                     Thank
15
    you.
16
                                Representative Rose.
             CHAIRMAN TURNER:
17
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: Mr. Rich, Bob, how many
18
    years have you been around Illinois politics?
19
                        I was born and raised in Illinois,
             MR. RICH:
20
    so all but -- all but 12 years of my life; so about 48
21
    years.
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: And how long have you
2 2
2 3
    been at the U of I as a professor?
24
             MR. RICH:
                        Since 1986.
```

```
1
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: And how long have you
    been director of the institute?
2
             MR. RICH: Fifteen years.
3
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: Fifteen years.
5
    wanted to lay that groundwork and foundation for your
6
    concluding statement here that the -- and I want you
    to walk into this a little bit with me. "The way in
7
    which" -- you say here in your statement "The way in
8
    which" -- it's missing a "he," but I presume it would
    be the Governor.
10
11
             MR. RICH:
                        Yes.
12
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: -- "exercised
13
    rulemaking far exceeding his authority," and that's
14
    the gist of what you just said here, that the Governor
    exceeded his authority.
15
        Can you talk a little bit about the background of
16
17
    this JCAR, how it got here, the IAPA, if you would,
18
    and I know that this is sort of your -- maybe
19
    healthcare is more your topic area, but, you know,
20
    talk a little bit about the area, and I like what
21
    Mr. Morriss said a minute ago about it being the
2 2
    foundation of separation of powers and democracy.
    But, Bob, tell me a little bit about how you came to
2 3
    that conclusion.
2 4
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```
1
             MR. RICH:
                        I came to the conclusion because I
    think the law here, the statutes, are very clear as to
    what the General Assembly's role, what the role of
3
    implementation is, and what the Governor's role is.
    And the Governor's role is, in this case, was not to
5
6
    disregard the ruling of JCAR, which was an absolutely
7
    clear ruling. And it was because of the -- I came to
    the conclusion I came to in my testimony because of
8
    the -- of the fact that the Governor chose to bypass
    the ruling of JCAR and proceed with the -- instructing
10
11
    the Department of Health and Family Services to
12
    continue to enroll people in a -- in -- at the 400
13
    percent poverty level.
14
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: And in that -- and,
15
    Mr. Morriss, this is to you. You said a minute ago
16
    that that is where the conversation should have ended
17
    at that point. I don't want to put words in your
18
    mouth, but I think that's you what said, essentially.
19
    A fair characterization?
20
             MR. MORRISS: Yes, sir.
21
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE:
                                   Okay.
                          Just a little louder, maybe.
2 2
             MR. GENSON:
2 3
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE:
                                    Sure.
                                           No problem, Mr.
24
    Genson.
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```
So, Mr. Morriss, you essentially said that that's
   where it should have ended at that point in time. I
   find it interesting that presumably the department
   could have gone to court proactively, if they believed
   this rule to be issued ineffectively or not
5
6
   accurately. I don't know how you would phrase it.
7
   But they could go to court to try to do what they did
   if they thought that somehow they were being not
8
   treated fairly by JCAR. I mean, in other words,
10
    rather than go ahead and do this and get sued, they
    could have gone and sought clarification on the front
11
12
   end, couldn't they have?
13
             MR. MORRISS: Yes, sir.
14
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: So rather than get that
15
   clarification, they went ahead and did this anyway.
16
   And that's a statement on my part, I quess, rather
17
   than a question. So I'll -- I'm done.
18
        Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
19
             CHAIRMAN TURNER: And now, Mr. Genson.
20
             MR. GENSON: Yes. You both, I assume or it
21
   appears to me, are constitutional scholars, are you?
2 2
             MR. MORRISS: I'm an administrative law
2 3
   scholar.
             MR. RICH: I'm a health law scholar.
24
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```
1
             MR. GENSON: Oh, I see. So but you certainly
2
    do know constitutional law, I would guess.
             REPRESENTATIVE DURKIN: Objection.
3
4
    Counsel, it's clarification. That's your -- the
    limited --
5
6
             MR. GENSON: I'm not allowed to object. Why
7
    are you objecting?
8
                  (Speaking all at once.)
9
             REPRESENTATIVE DURKIN: You know, we've
10
    asked -- you're going astray.
11
             MR. GENSON: I've only asked two questions,
12
    and I didn't object to a single thing you asked.
13
             REPRESENTATIVE DURKIN: Clarification is the
    standard -- clarification is the standard. This is
14
    not clarification.
15
16
             MR. GENSON: Okay. I'll learn that now when
17
    you guys ask questions.
18
        But the point of the matter is you are a law
19
    school professor, are you?
20
             MR. MORRISS: Yes, sir.
             MR. GENSON: And you did speak -- you spoke
21
2 2
    about separation of powers, did you?
2 3
             MR. MORRISS: Yes, sir.
2 4
             MR. GENSON: When you spoke about separation
```

```
1
    of powers, you weren't saying that the executive of
2
    the primary -- is the primary of the three, did you?
             MR. MORRISS: No, sir.
3
             MR. GENSON: You certainly weren't saying the
    legislature is the primary of the three, were you?
5
6
             MR. MORRISS: No, sir.
7
             MR. GENSON: And what you were saying was
    that there are three separate branches. We have the
8
9
    legislative, judicial, and the executive; is that
10
    right?
11
             MR. MORRISS: Yes, sir.
12
             MR. GENSON: And what we're talking about is
13
    some organization called -- and I'm sure it's a very
14
    fine organization -- called JCAR; is that right?
15
    agency or whatever; am I right?
16
             MR. MORRISS: Yes.
17
             MR. GENSON: And this agency has certain
18
    obligations and has certain powers; isn't that right,
19
    sir?
20
             MR. MORRISS: Yes, sir.
             MR. GENSON: And there's a question -- at
21
2 2
    least a question that you spoke to as to whether, in
    fact, the executive in this particular case overrode
2 3
24
    their responsibility and ignored JCAR; is that right?
```

```
1
             MR. MORRISS: Yes, sir.
             MR. GENSON: You even suggested that if
    someone did that they ought to be impeached.
   that --
5
             REPRESENTATIVE DURKIN: I'm going to object
6
   again. Counsel, we're getting into cross-examination.
             MR. GENSON: That's what his --
7
             REPRESENTATIVE DURKIN: This is not
8
   clarification that the rules state. It's
   clarification of testimony. This is cross-examination
10
   which is not contemplated by these rules.
11
12
             MR. GENSON: I don't know why you're so
13
   protective.
14
             REPRESENTATIVE DURKIN: I would ask that the
   Chairman of the committee --
15
16
             MR. GENSON: I've been listening --
17
             REPRESENTATIVE DURKIN: -- admonish
18
    counsel --
19
             MR. GENSON: I've been listening for hours.
20
   I want to ask some questions.
21
             REPRESENTATIVE DURKIN: -- that the point of
22
   questioning IS clarification, not cross-examination.
2 3
             MR. GENSON: All right. Well, then, I'll
24
   clarify, Representative Durkin, and then, hopefully,
```

```
I'll clarify some of yours too -- your questions too.
        But the point I am making is in this particular
    case, as you understand it, somebody went to court; is
3
                They went to court to stop the process
    that right?
    that the executive was following; isn't that right?
5
6
    There was court hearing; is that right?
7
             MR. MORRISS: There are court hearings
8
    involved in this process, yes.
9
             MR. GENSON: There was a court hearing in
10
    this case where, in fact, there was -- the -- the --
11
             CHAIRMAN TURNER: Mr. Genson.
12
             MR. GENSON: I'm sorry?
13
             CHAIRMAN TURNER: Mr. Genson, that question
14
    should probably be best asked of the plaintiffs'
15
    attorney.
16
             MR. GENSON: The point of the matter is, is
17
    real simple. As far as you can determine -- as far as
18
    you can determine, the case went to the Supreme Court
19
    eventually; is that right?
             MR. MORRISS: Yes.
20
21
             MR. GENSON: And it was stayed. All the
2 2
    proceedings were stayed; is that right?
2 3
             MR. MORRISS: Yes.
2 4
             MR. GENSON: And, in fact, the Supreme
```

```
Court -- it is now pending before the Supreme Court;
2
    is that right?
             MR. MORRISS: Yes.
3
             MR. GENSON: As far as you know, no court in
    this particular case imposed any sanctions on the
5
6
    executive for what they did here.
7
             CHAIRMAN TURNER: Mr. Genson.
8
             MR. GENSON: Is that right?
9
             CHAIRMAN TURNER: Mr. Genson, that question
10
    is out of order, and it would be best answered by the
    plaintiffs' attorney, and they'll be the next group
11
12
    coming up.
13
             MR. GENSON: What I'm trying to get at, most
14
    respectfully, Chair -- to the Chair, he went out and
15
    volunteered and said he should be impeached because he
16
    said he -- he should be impeached because he ignored
17
          The fact of the matter is there are court
18
    proceedings that stayed it, and I think -- I think
19
    that his statement should be clarified in the light of
20
    what we understand the facts are.
21
             CHAIRMAN TURNER: Mr. Genson, that was his
22
    opinion, and that does not deal with the lawsuit and,
2 3
    that was strictly his opinion. He's entitled to give
24
    that opinion.
```

```
1
             MR. GENSON: And I'm suggesting --
2
             CHAIRMAN TURNER: Perhaps we would address
   that question for the plaintiffs -- to the attorneys
3
   of the plaintiffs. They are the next group up.
5
             MR. GENSON: Do you believe that going to
6
   court to contest something impinges someone on --
7
    impinges the separation of powers, sir?
8
             REPRESENTATIVE DURKIN: Objection.
                                                  This is
9
    -- we're asking an opinion. This is not
   clarification, and I would ask --- gentlemen, you
10
11
   don't have to respond to that question. And I would
12
   ask counsel make -- take it to the next panel.
13
             MR. GENSON: No, I can take it with this
14
   panel because I have other questions. May I ask other
15
   questions --
16
             REPRESENTATIVE DURKIN:
                                     No. You're asking
17
   for an opinion, counsel. You're asking for an
18
             This is -- it's well beyond what we had
19
    intended and the process which we afforded you.
20
             MR. GENSON: I've been sitting here for
21
   over an -- for hours listening to that, and I ask six
2 2
   questions, and I had four objected to. The fact is --
2 3
        Gentleman, I forget your name, sir. Gentleman --
24
   your name, sir.
```

```
1
             MR. RICH: Rich.
                          Rich. You responded to a
             MR. GENSON:
   question of Representative Howard regarding welfare
3
            Do you have any idea of what the welfare fraud
   was in this state? Or is that what you do? Is that
5
6
   what do you, sir? You're not an expert in welfare
7
    fraud.
8
             CHAIRMAN TURNER: Mr. Genson, that was not
9
   the subject of discussion.
10
             MR. GENSON: He asked the question. I'm
   not -- he first -- he said in response to the
11
12
   Honorable Representative Howard that he thought that
13
   this might be welfare fraud. I'd like to know
14
   what's -- how this is welfare fraud. I mean, he asked
15
   a ques -- she asked a question. He gave the answer,
   and I'm not allowed to ask a clarification as to what
16
17
   he's talking about?
18
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: His letter is
19
    referencing a question that should be asked, Mr.
20
   Chairman. Not making a conclusion as to what the
21
   outcome of that question is.
2 2
             MR. GENSON: He asked -- was asked a question
2 3
   that it was welfare fraud. I'm just going to ask him
24
   what statute is he talking about, or if he doesn't --
```

```
if he knows. If he doesn't and if you don't want me
    to ask the question, I have most -- a lot of respect
    for you.
3
             CHAIRMAN TURNER: If you want to ask him to
5
    clarify his statement on welfare fraud.
6
             MR. GENSON:
                          I want to understand what
7
    statute you're talking about, if you know.
8
                        I was talking about -- I was
             MR. RICH:
9
    saying that, if you look at the Governor's actions
10
    here and the going beyond the JCAR regulations at the
11
    point of implementation of this, that the welfare
12
    fraud could be trying to pay for a service beyond the
13
    statutory level.
             MR. GENSON: Tell me what statute you're
14
15
    talking about, if you know.
16
             MR. RICH: I don't have a specific statute in
17
    mind.
18
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: Mr. Chair, this is
19
    irrelevant because the --
20
             MR. GENSON: I don't -- I have no -- that's
21
    all I want to know.
2 2
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: The witness phrased it
2 3
    in his written testimony --
24
             MR. GENSON: Well, see, I don't get -- I
```

```
don't get his --
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: -- to proceed.
             MR. GENSON: I don't get his written
3
4
   testimony. I only got it about two seconds -- about
5
   two minutes before he testified. As a matter of fact,
   two minutes before he testified --
7
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: At any rate, Mr.
   Chairman, Mr. Genson said he was finished with this
8
9
   witness, so let's move on.
10
             MR. GENSON: Can't I answer a question that's
   asked? Golly, you ask these questions and then you
11
12
   make fun of me when I answer.
13
             CHAIRMAN TURNER: No further questions of
14
   this panel.
15
        would the middle panel please come forward and
   we'll be able to address questions of the middle
16
17
   panel. Are there any --
        Representative Currie back in chair.
18
19
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: If you want to come
20
   forward, we'll have the time-out while you're --
21
             THE REPORTER:
                            I need a break.
22
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Okay. Ten minutes.
2 3
   Ten-minute break but literally ten, not a minute
24
   longer. So just after 1:30 we're back at work. And
```

```
we'll have the business lawsuit people will be at the
            I know at least Representative Lang has a
    question for them. I don't know who else will.
4
                  (Short recess.)
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: I think we're ready to go
5
6
    back to work if members would take their chairs.
7
        And just let me announce that Representative
8
    Mendoza will be sitting in the rest of the day for
9
    Representative Fritchey.
10
        So had we our -- Mr. Gidwitz, Mr. Baise,
    Ms. Miller, and Mr. Hecht, you're up, and I know that
11
12
    Representative Lang had a question for you. I don't
13
    think anybody else does.
14
        And Mr. Adam is nearby? We don't want to start
15
    without him if he's -- we can start without him?
16
    Okay. Great. But we need Mr. Lang because he had
17
    questions.
18
        Anybody else on the committee have questions for
19
    this panel? I know Mr. Lang raised his hand so --
20
             MR. GENSON: I might have one or two, Your
21
    Honor.
2 2
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Mr. Hecht.
2 3
             MR. HECHT: I didn't want to interrupt Mr.
24
    Genson.
```

```
1
             MR. GENSON: No. I might have one or two
2
   questions. I'm sorry. I didn't know you heard.
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Okay.
3
             MR. HECHT: I just wanted to clarify, if I
   could, our role because I think it's useful to --
5
6
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Could you speak right
7
   into the microphone. I'm sorry.
             MR. HECHT: It's my fault. Sorry. You know,
8
9
   at the request of the committee we have appeared,
   Ms. Miller and myself in particular, to be a resource
10
11
   and to respond to questions about the status of the
12
           It's not our intention to argue the case with
   case.
13
    anyone here or not here.
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: We appreciate that.
14
15
             MR. HECHT: It's just to really give you a
16
    sense of, from our view, where the case is and to try
17
   and be as clinical about all of that as we can.
18
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Good. We appreciate
19
   that.
20
        Representative Lang, I know you had some questions
   of this panel.
21
2 2
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Thank you very much,
2 3
   and I appreciate your returning and staying. I just
2 4
   have actually a couple of questions.
```

```
1
        First, you have been involved intimately in the --
   let's called it JCAR lawsuit. And you heard me ask
   the last panel, and since you're the lawyers involved
3
   here, I just want to ask you this question to make
    sure it's on the record clearly. Throughout this
5
6
   process, as far as you know, the Governor's office did
7
   not ever object to the work of JCAR publicly before
   this case went to court; is that correct?
8
9
             MR. HECHT: I don't have any knowledge about
10
   that one way or the other, Representative.
11
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: All right. Then let me
12
   ask this question a different way. Has any court, to
13
   your knowledge, ruled that the authority of JCAR is
    invalid?
14
15
             MR. HECHT: Not to my knowledge.
16
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: All right.
                                                In fact, in
17
   this case and series of cases relative to the JCAR
18
    ruling on FamilyCare, the fact is that the only court
19
   that has ruled has ruled that JCAR's decision is
20
   valid; is that correct?
21
             MR. HECHT: I think that that's -- that's
22
   correct, but I think it would be an overstatement to
    say that that would be a holding of the case.
2 3
   the cases in the circuit court -- both of the
24
```

```
injunctions in the circuit court as well as the
    decision in the appellate court were relatively
    narrowly drafted. The appellate court certainly
3
    suggested that the JCAR proceedings were appropriate.
    It referenced them, but the specific holding of the
5
6
    case really didn't go to JCAR.
7
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: But it is true, is it
    not, if the -- if the circuit court had believed that
8
9
    JCAR's ruling was invalid, they could have said so at
10
    that time and the matter would have ended there; is
11
    that correct?
12
             MR. HECHT: Well, I don't know if the matter
13
    would have ended there, and the court was certainly --
14
    could have certainly made whatever comments or rulings
15
    it wished, but Judge Epstein was very clear that he
16
    didn't want -- he wanted to avoid, if at all possible,
17
    constitutional adjudications and draw his decision on
    as narrow grounds as he could, and he believed that
18
19
    that was his responsibility as a circuit court judge.
20
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: So one additional area.
21
    Mr. Gidwitz and -- your comments and anyone can
    answer. You indicated that the administration said
2 2
    somewhere in these lawsuits that they had used the
2 3
    words "inherent authority" to charge premiums and to
24
```

```
1
    pursue this FamilyCare expansion. Is there any
    specific language in any of their briefs that --
2
             MR. GENSON: Excuse me. I was not allowed to
3
    talk to a nonlawyer about what the lawyers were doing.
    I was specifically precluded from doing it by the
5
6
    prior Chair. Mr. Gidwitz is not a lawyer on the case.
7
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: I don't understand.
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: But he's a plaintiff, and
8
9
    I think he -- I will go with his judgment about the
    appropriateness in answering.
10
11
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: My question is
12
    referring to Mr. Gidwitz' comments, and anyone can
13
    answer, regardless of what Mr. Genson said.
14
        The question is, is there anywhere in one of the
15
    briefs filed by the administration that says
    specifically we have the inherent authority to do
16
17
    ABC?
18
             MR. HECHT: I believe that there is, and we
19
    can get that citation for you. I don't have it off
20
    the top of my head. I believe it arose specifically
21
    with regard to the question of premiums.
2 2
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: And it's, of course,
2 3
    your view that they do not have the inherent
24
    authority; correct?
```

```
1
             MR. HECHT: That's correct.
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: How would they get that
    authority?
3
             MR. HECHT: How would they get --
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Or how -- let me --
5
6
    that was a clumsy way to ask the question.
        How would -- if the administration doesn't have
7
    the inherent authority to do it, how would it happen?
8
    It could happen by legislation, I presume?
10
             MR. HECHT: Yes. It would have to come from
11
    the General Assembly.
12
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: It would come from the
13
    General Assembly. Could it --
14
             MR. HECHT: Illinois law is really quite --
15
    quite strong in that regard, and I think that that's
16
    the source of that kind -- certainly of that kind of
17
    law as well as --
18
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: All right. And if you
19
    would give us that citation as well, I would be
20
    grateful.
21
             MR. HECHT: Yes, of course.
2 2
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Thank you very much.
2 3
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Mr. Genson or Mr. Adam,
24
    you had questions?
```

```
MR. GENSON: The ruling of Judge Epstein did
1
    not rule to the invalid -- did not rule to the
2
    validity or invalidity of JCAR.
4
             MR. HECHT: That's correct.
5
             MR. GENSON: And the appellate court
6
    basically sustained his ruling; is that correct?
7
             MR. HECHT:
                         That is correct.
             MR. GENSON: Again, on point, it did not rule
8
9
    as to the validity or invalidity of JCAR; is that
    correct?
10
                         That's correct. It did discuss
11
             MR. HECHT:
12
    JCAR, but that is not the bases of the holding.
13
             MR. GENSON: And with regard to the Supreme
14
    Court stay, there is a stay in the Supreme Court; is
    that correct?
15
16
             MR. HECHT: That is correct. There is a stay
17
    pending the adjudication of the petition for leave to
18
    appeal.
19
             MR. GENSON: And the Supreme Court does not
20
    always issue a stay pending adjudication; isn't that
21
    correct?
2 2
             MR. HECHT: That's correct.
             MR. GENSON: It was within their discretion
2 3
2 4
    to issue the stay or not.
```

```
1
             MR. HECHT: Yes, that's correct.
             MR. GENSON: I have no further questions.
   Thank you.
3
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Thank you.
        Any other questions from members of the panel?
5
6
        Thank you very much for your insight and your
7
    help.
8
             MR. HECHT: Thank you very much, Madam Chair.
9
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: We appreciate it.
10
        Does anybody have any questions for the JCAR
11
    director, Vicki Thomas?
12
        Okay. So do you want to come forward, please?
13
        And let me, for the record, say that
14
    Representative Gordon is substituting for
    Representative Acevedo.
15
16
        So tell me -- raise your hands again those who --
17
    Bassi, Bost, Eddy. Okay. Lang.
                                       okay.
18
        Representative Bassi, you're up.
19
             REPRESENTATIVE BASSI: Thank you, Madam
20
    Chairman.
21
        Vicki, I just wanted a couple clarifications.
2 2
    had made the comment, I think, that you can determine
2 3
    legislative intent by looking at the budget?
             MS. THOMAS: We sometimes have to do that.
24
```

```
1
   It just happens in the General Assembly that sometimes
   what you do is fund something.
3
             REPRESENTATIVE BASSI: Uh-huh.
             MS. THOMAS: You might say, for instance,
   you're putting in extra money for a special rate
5
6
   increase for some entity the state pays. Sometimes
   you go into the substantive statute, but sometimes the
7
    substantive statute doesn't really discuss rates.
8
   the only place where you ever make a change is in the
10
   amount of the appropriation. Now, if there's clear
11
    statutory language, we absolutely go to that first.
12
    Sometimes we fall back on the appropriations.
13
             REPRESENTATIVE BASSI: But sometimes you fall
14
   back. That's interesting. Okay.
15
        The other question I had I was just -- I missed
16
   what you were saying. You were giving the number of
   problems that had occurred with JCAR, and half of
17
    those had occurred with this administration.
18
19
   you run that by me one more time, please.
20
             MS. THOMAS: Okay. The strongest action JCAR
    can take is a filing prohibition or a suspension.
21
2 2
             REPRESENTATIVE BASSI: I'm sorry. One more
2 3
    -- that --
             MS. THOMAS: Filing prohibition or
24
```

```
1
    suspension.
             REPRESENTATIVE BASSI:
                                     okay.
             MS. THOMAS: That's the strongest action we
3
    can take. In the course of JCAR's history since 1977,
    it's happened 69 times. Under this single
5
6
    administration, the six years of this administration,
7
    it's happened 33 times, which is almost half of all of
    them that have ever been issued.
8
9
             REPRESENTATIVE BASSI: Okay. You called it
    filing prohibition or --
10
11
             MS. THOMAS: Suspension.
12
             REPRESENTATIVE BASSI: Suspension.
13
             MS. THOMAS: If it's a permanent rule,
14
    then -- that's being proposed, then we prohibit them
15
    from filing. If it's an emergency that's already been
16
    adopted, then we suspend what has been adopted.
17
             REPRESENTATIVE BASSI:
                                     Okay.
             MS. THOMAS: Same action; different vehicle.
18
19
             REPRESENTATIVE BASSI: Okay. And with this
20
    administration you've had to have 33 filings of
21
    prohibition or suspension.
2 2
        Thank you very much.
2 3
             MS. THOMAS: Okay.
2 4
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Thank you.
```

```
1
        Representative Bost.
2
             REPRESENTATIVE BOST: Vicki, I have a couple
3
    questions just quickly, and then we talk about -- one
    thing you did mention was with this administration the
    slowing down of the process per se, and that's not
5
6
    anything that we can actually -- other than the fact
7
    that, okay, you can be frustrated with it but it's not
8
    any --
9
             MS. THOMAS: No, that's -- the frustration's
    not the point. It's the fact that, because they're
10
11
    not getting rules in place in a timely manner but
12
    they're going ahead and doing what they think they
13
    have to do to administer their program, it's putting
14
    them in the area of administering policy without
15
    rules, which, according to the Supreme Court
16
    decisions, is not legal. So that's -- that's the
17
    bottom line.
        Now, does it ever really count for anything?
18
19
    would if they got sued because they would be found to
20
    be running a program without having adopted rules.
21
    But, you know, it takes somebody to care enough to
2 2
    file suit.
2 3
             REPRESENTATIVE BOST: All right.
                                                The other
24
    question that I have and then I'll turn it over to
```

```
1
    somebody else.
2
        During the time of the -- the time that the new
    healthcare program was basically voted down through
3
    JCAR, at any time did someone from the administration
    or from Department of Human Services basically tell
5
6
    you we're going around this?
                          I would say that kind of
7
             MS. THOMAS:
    off-the-record comments there were never really any.
8
    There were statements, like, sorry about this, we're
10
    doing what we have to do. Little statements like
11
           On the record is where, as my members attempted
12
    to tie them down as to what they would do, they got --
13
    they gave exactly the same answers they gave you
14
    today. We will take it under consideration. We don't
15
    know what we'll do. Repetitively, we got those kind
    of answers over and over again.
16
17
        So they never -- they were asked will you respect
18
    this action of JCAR. There was a bunch of mumbling, a
19
    bunch of the little comments you were hearing today.
20
    Never any statement one way or the other that I
21
    recall, and I just reread the minutes.
2 2
             REPRESENTATIVE BOST: Okay. At that time are
2 3
    we talking about Department of Human Services, or are
24
    we talking about representatives from the actual
```

```
Governor's office at that time?
1
2
             MS. THOMAS: No. The only people who ever
    testified on this issue were HFS staff, including
3
    Director Maram.
5
             REPRESENTATIVE BOST: Okay. That's what I
6
    need to know. Thank you.
7
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE:
                                  Representative Eddy.
8
             REPRESENTATIVE EDDY: Thank you, Madam Chair.
9
        I just have a couple questions quickly on a
    follow-up on Representative Bost's question to which
10
11
    you responded off-the-record statements indicated
12
    certain, I guess, directions or feelings that they
13
          Did those off-the-record statements indicate
14
    that even those folks felt that perhaps the Governor
15
    or the administration was pushing beyond what they
    knew to be the scope of their authority?
16
17
             MS. THOMAS: I feel very uncomfortable here
18
    because I cannot give you any direct quotes. This is
19
    not the kind of thing I rush back to my desk and write
20
    down notes on.
21
        What happens at a JCAR meeting is just like your
2 2
    meetings. As people leave the room, they talk to each
2 3
    other. These are people we work with every month.
24
    know them.
```

```
1
        Early on in the process, I can tell you that one
    of the spokespeople for HFS said to me, "Oh, I want
    you to know that I know better, but, you know, we were
3
    told we have to do what we have to do." You know, and
5
    her point was I hope you understand I know the rules,
6
    I'm just ignoring them. I can't attribute that -- I
7
    have nothing to prove it other than a casual
8
    statement.
9
             REPRESENTATIVE EDDY: Can I ask you to
10
    indicate who the HFS person was that made that
11
    statement?
12
             MS. THOMAS: Tammy Hoffman. In fact, she
13
    made statements, I think you could say, fairly -- she
14
    made statements similar to that early in these
15
    discussions before the committee. Later on she took a
16
    different track in her conversation and the things she
17
    was saying, and she would repetitively say, "I am
18
    taking responsibility. I am taking responsibility."
19
    That's not the way that she presented it the first few
20
    conversations we had.
21
             REPRESENTATIVE EDDY: I guess, then, just in
2 2
    your -- how many years have you done this?
2 3
                          I've been at JCAR since '91.
             MS. THOMAS:
24
             REPRESENTATIVE EDDY: Since '91.
                                                And I
```

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appreciated the statistics earlier because I think
    those tell us a story also. But in your capacity as
    executive director through all those administrations
3
    and dealing with issues and the process with this
    administration, based on your experience, do you feel
5
6
    that Governor Blagojevich or this administration has
7
    abused their power regarding this process?
             MS. THOMAS: I can honestly say I have never
8
9
    seen any agency in this process go so far as to
10
    blatantly ignore a JCAR action. Never has filing
    prohibition or a suspension not worked the way it was
11
12
    supposed to until this incident.
13
             REPRESENTATIVE EDDY: Do you consider that --
14
    I'm taking that as a yes, that --
15
             MS. THOMAS: Absolutely, yes.
16
             REPRESENTATIVE EDDY: -- you see this as an
17
    abuse.
18
             MS. THOMAS: I've had -- I've had some of my
    own members say to me, "Have you ever seen an
19
    administration function like this?" And I tell them
20
        And then I tell them, "And it worries me."
21
    no.
2 2
             REPRESENTATIVE EDDY: Did you feel like --
2 3
             MS. THOMAS: A lot.
24
             REPRESENTATIVE EDDY: -- on those -- in the
```

```
conversations either on or off the record that the
    direction for this circumventing of JCAR was coming
    directly from the Governor's office?
4
             MS. THOMAS:
                          That was never stated.
                                                   One
5
    thing you'll notice, when you hear testimony on this,
6
    is you will hear people say we talked to legal
7
    counsel, and, as you all know, when legal counsels in
    the agencies are assigned and managed has changed
8
9
               So to -- to a lot of administrative
    somewhat.
10
    employees, when they speak to their own legal counsel
11
    these days, they sometimes believe they're talking to
12
    the Governor's office more than they're talking to
13
    their director. It's -- so, I mean, those are soft --
14
    soft perceptions, but sometimes you'll hear legal
15
    counsel used when that means more than the term would
16
    normally mean to.
17
             REPRESENTATIVE EDDY:
                                    Okay. Thank you.
18
                                  Representative Lang.
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE:
19
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG:
                                    Thank you, Madam
    Chairman.
20
21
        Thank you for staying with us for so long.
2 2
             MS. THOMAS:
                          Sure.
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Aside from the
2 3
24
    discussion of FamilyCare today and the specific
```

```
ignoring of this -- of the JCAR prohibition, can you
   characterize for us the administration's activity
    relative to JCAR, the level of cooperation out of
3
    state agencies? We've been privy to this many
   times -- this has come up many times in our meetings
5
6
   at JCAR. We'd like to hear you tell the committee
7
    about whether they're forthright in bringing
   documents, answering questions, keeping deadlines, et
8
9
   cetera.
10
             MS. THOMAS: The conversation you had with
   Ms. Hoffman today about presenting materials to you by
11
12
   the end of the day? We've had those same
13
   conversations with her numerous times. We've -- on
   two of our meeting minutes from, I believe, spring and
14
15
   fall, she specifically said things will get better.
16
   We will work with your staff. We will get them the
17
   documentation they need.
        Couple months later it was pointed out to her that
18
19
    she had said this but nothing had changed. Fine, she
20
    said, everything would change. It would be better.
21
        At our meeting last week, she said that we would
2 2
   have material by the end of the day. Four o'clock in
2 3
   the afternoon we're on the phone saying, "Tammy, where
24
   is it?"
             She made it by 4:30, but nip and tuck.
```

```
So good luck is all --
1
2
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: I'm not sure how helpful
    it is to go into specific individuals. I think you've
3
    made generally the point that you have found this
    administration a good deal less responsive than
5
6
    previous administrations, and you have had problems
7
    with their responsiveness to your rulings a good deal
    more frequently than you found with any other
8
9
    administration. So I think --
10
             MS. THOMAS: Absolutely. I can mention a
11
    couple of other agencies --
12
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: I think she's basically
13
    answered your question, Representative.
14
             MS. THOMAS: -- if you're looking for
15
    something broader, so --
16
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Well, let me just ask
17
    this -- I think Representative Currie is correct, but
    let me just ask this: Do you find this to be
18
19
    pervasive in most state agencies today?
20
             MS. THOMAS: I'm sorry. I missed --
21
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Do you find this
22
    pervasive in most state agencies today where you're
2 3
    not getting all the information you need when you need
24
    it?
```

```
1
             MS. THOMAS: It varies. I would say what
    comes to mind is two agencies right now that we're
3
    having this problem with. There are others where
    there will be delays because they have to send
    everything through their legal counsels, but the
5
6
    predominant problems have been with Public Health and
7
    Public Aid. Or, excuse me, HFS.
8
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: One more question, and
9
    I thank you, Madam Chairman.
10
        As the person who's responsible for JCAR and has
11
    been for 17 years, what is your view of how this
12
    process would work -- how the rulemaking process would
13
    work if we just turned JCAR into a voluntary activity,
14
    an advisory panel? What would happen to the
15
    rulemaking process in Illinois?
                          It would fall apart.
16
             MS. THOMAS:
17
    opinion, what would have to happen is the General
18
    Assembly would have to change the way it works.
19
    would no longer be able to say here's the broad
20
    program outline, department, please go ahead and fill
21
    in the blanks. The General Assembly would have to
2 2
    write statutory law that would fill in every major
    principle that they want followed with that rule.
2 3
24
    They would have to tighten up their appropriation
```

```
process. They wouldn't be able to afford to say to
1
    HFS here's $6 billion for all of our medical an
    assistance programs, spend it wisely. They would have
3
    to say you can have $2 for this program and you can
    have $3 for this program, and they would put -- have
5
6
    to put the administration in a headlock. I mean, that
7
    would be the substitution for the process that we go
8
    to now.
9
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Would it be fair to say
10
    that if JCAR was considered advisory and the General
11
    Assembly did not do that, leaving everything to a
12
    governor and a governor's administration to decide,
13
    that that would lead to really abuse of power as
14
    they -- as the administration just made every decision
15
    about every dollar they spent in state government.
16
             MS. THOMAS: Abuse of power and serious
17
    problems with separation of powers because then you
18
    would have the administration making law.
19
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG:
                                   Thank you very much.
20
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE:
                                 Thank you.
21
        Representative Rose.
2 2
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: Just briefly.
                                                   I'm not
2 3
    on JCAR so I want to make sure I understand the
24
    preemptory rule.
```

```
1
             MS. THOMAS: Uh-huh.
2
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: And to clarify.
    understood correctly, that is to -- in response to a
3
    court order?
5
             MS. THOMAS: We've limited our discussions
6
    today, everyone, to that aspect of it, but it's not
7
    just a court order.
8
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: Okay. What else can
9
    it --
10
             MS. THOMAS: It's -- okay. It's federal
    regulations that the state has -- like, regulations or
11
12
    federal statute that the state has to follow and has
13
    no choice in.
14
        It's court orders where, again, the court has
15
    ordered it and the agency has no discretion.
16
        Collective bargaining agreements that have been
17
    entered into and the agency has no discretion, they
    have to live under that collective bargaining.
18
19
        Those three? Those are the three instances when
20
    you can use preemptory rulemaking.
21
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: And your -- if I
22
    understood correctly, your position was that the
2 3
    court -- the preemptory rule that was file -- your
    position is that the court order that was filed was --
24
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```
by the administration was not actually what was
   ordered by the court?
             MS. THOMAS: I have to first of all state I'm
3
    not an attorney so I -- this is my view on it.
   the judge did in the circuit court decision when he
5
   did his TRO was he went through several pages of
7
   discussion of what he had heard, what he thought.
   That's where the idea of this all being attached to
8
   TANF first was created. He made a lot of statements.
10
   When he got to issuing an order, his order was very
11
    simple. There was a preliminary stay against them
12
    running the program. I ran through every attorney I
13
   could get ahold of. Tell me, is the order what he --
14
   what the judge has depicted as the order, or is the
15
   order --
16
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: Any beyond --
17
             MS. THOMAS: -- the rhetoric?
18
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: Well, go ahead.
19
             MS. THOMAS: Okay. I was told the order is
20
    just the order, and the order was only the stay.
                                                       So
21
   based on that, what they did is they got into
2 2
   conversational information the judge offered, and they
2 3
   tried to depict that as being a court order.
24
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE:
                                   okay.
```

```
1
             MS. THOMAS: Now, in addition to it being a
2
   court order --
             MR. GENSON: Most respectfully, we had the
3
4
   lawyers there to testify.
5
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Yeah, we did. We did.
6
   And I think the director has already said she's not a
7
   lawyer. So I think this line of questioning probably
8
    should come to a close.
9
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE:
                                   Okay.
10
             MS. THOMAS: Just one point there, though, is
   there's two elements. One is it has to be a court
11
12
   order, and the other is there has to be no discretion
13
   on the agency's part. Nothing in the rhetoric
14
   dictated the language to them either. So it was on
15
   two strikes that they had a problem.
16
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: Okay. And it was then
17
   overruled.
18
             MS. THOMAS: And there was actually a third
19
   strike on it in that it can only be done within a
20
    30-day period after the action, and they did not do it
21
   within 30 days after the judge's decision. So they --
2 2
   there are many faults.
2 3
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: Okay. Thank you.
24
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Representative Tracy for
```

```
a quick question.
2
             REPRESENTATIVE TRACY: Yes. Ms. Thomas, did
   you -- after the expansion of the healthcare program
3
    and the non-following of the JCAR rules, did you have
   a conversation with anybody in the Governor's office?
5
6
             MS. THOMAS:
                          No.
7
             REPRESENTATIVE TRACY: Or anybody from DHS
   or Public Health?
8
9
             MS. THOMAS: We had many conversations with
10
   DHS personnel -- or HFS personnel, but no one directly
    from the Governor's office.
11
12
             REPRESENTATIVE TRACY: Okay. And what was
13
   the conversation summarization of the -- with DHS?
14
             MS. THOMAS: There were many. I mean, we
15
   continued to do a staff investigation of the proposed
16
    rule which was identical to the emergency. For one
17
   thing, we sat down with them on a staff level.
18
   personally participated in conversations on current
19
   medical assistance backlog. We just wanted to clear
20
   up that point. They were very unclear in our meeting
21
   as to how much of a backlog. They kept saying, well,
   it's not as bad as the Comptroller says, but they
2 2
2 3
   couldn't tell us how bad it was. They thought it was
   a few million dollars less than the Comptroller
24
```

```
1
    thought.
        So we scheduled the meeting and we sat down.
    the time they came into the meeting, they had met with
3
    their accountants, and they decided there was no
    backlog. No backlog. So that -- I mean, was one of
5
6
    the instance, but, I mean, we did our normal
7
    investigation of a rulemaking like we always do.
    of questions. Sometimes answers; usually not.
8
9
             REPRESENTATIVE TRACY: Did you have any
10
    conversation with who was the driving force behind
    their decisions?
11
12
             MS. THOMAS: We did not.
13
             REPRESENTATIVE TRACY: And one clarification.
    Who do you report to? Are you, like, one of those
14
    quasi administrative bodies or --
15
16
             MS. THOMAS: I report to the Speaker of the
17
    House, the Minority Leader, the President of the
18
    Senate, and the Minority Leader.
19
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: She's our agency.
20
             MS. THOMAS: Yeah.
21
             REPRESENTATIVE TRACY: Thank you.
2 2
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: And we're very happy to
2 3
    have her. Thank you very much.
24
             MS. THOMAS: Thank you.
```

```
1
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Thank you very much.
2
    appreciate your being here today, and now we're ready
   to move to another totally different subject.
                        Could we ask --
             MR. ADAM:
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Oh, I'm sorry. Mr. Adam,
5
6
   you wish to ask questions?
7
                        If we could, Your Honor, that
             MR. ADAM:
   would be -- I mean, Madam Chair, if we could.
8
9
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Please.
                                           Please.
10
             MR. ADAM: Thank you, Madam Chair.
        I just have one question for your, Ms. Thomas, or
11
12
    should I say issue. To clarify, you have told us that
13
    in your entire experience looking at these matters --
14
   and I believe you told us in your opening remarks that
15
   you look at just about everything you can. In your
16
   entire time you've been there, you have not seen an
17
   administration this blatant. And, in fact, on 33
    separate and individual occasions this administration
18
19
   was either cited or violated the rules; is that right?
             MS. THOMAS: Statute, usually.
20
21
             MR. ADAM: Statute. Correct. So is it fair
   to say, then, that in everything that you have looked
2 2
2 3
   at and as -- in all over the country, when Blagojevich
24
    administration had to choose between bureaucracy or
```

```
fighting for sick children, he chose sick children
1
    every time? Every time he choose sick kids. Is that
    what you're telling us?
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: This is -- Mr. Adam.
           This is -- this is -- yeah, we are not -- we're
5
6
    not that kind of jury, I'm sorry to have to tell you.
7
    So -- no, you don't need to. Okay. Okay.
        So I think that you're dismissed. Thank you very
8
9
    much for participating.
        We now move to a totally different topic and that
10
    will be some reports from your Auditor General William
11
12
    Holland.
13
        Mr. Genson.
             MR. GENSON: And I have to read it, but on
14
15
    the agenda that I was given for 12-18, number G was
16
    Ann Lucine, Professor, John Marshall School of Law,
17
    written testimony only.
18
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Yes, she --
19
             REPRESENTATIVE TRACY: That will be admitted
    into evidence?
20
21
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Yes, it is. And I
22
    appreciate your reminding me to say that we are taking
    into consideration or we're adding to the record the
2 3
24
    testimony from Ann Lucine, who is a professor at the
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John Marshall Law School.
             MR. GENSON: There would be no reason for me
    to read it. If I'm going to have a few moments to sum
3
    up, at least our position later on, I'm going to
    include it in the summation, if I get that.
5
6
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Certainly. Certainly.
7
             MR. GENSON: I don't need to read it now.
8
   Thank you.
9
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Certainly.
10
        And before we begin with Mr. Holland, I want just
11
    to enter into the record Exhibit 6, which is the
12
    Auditor General group exhibit, letter to Mr. Holland,
13
    Mr. Holland's response, and the three audits he plans
14
    to discuss.
15
        Exhibit 7 will be the testimony of Mr. Ali Ata
    during the case United States versus Antoin Rezko.
16
17
        And Exhibit 8 will be the testimony of Joseph Cari
18
    during the case the United States versus Antonio
19
    Rezko.
20
             MR. GENSON: And I don't have copies of
    either of them, but do they include the
21
2 2
    cross-examination, or do they just include the direct,
2 3
    if you know?
24
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: They do. Apparently,
```

```
they do, but we'll make you get them as well.
        Now, anybody who plans to speak --
             MR. GENSON: Excuse me.
3
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: -- at that table should
5
    stand up so I can swear you in.
6
             MR. GENSON: Representative -- Madam.
7
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE:
                                 Yes.
8
             MR. GENSON: I just want to make certain that
9
    what's admitted. I know -- I'll get them, I know
10
    that, but what it's my understanding that both the
    direct and cross as to both of them are admitted.
11
12
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Is that right? That is
13
    right?
            Heather? Is it both the direct and the
14
    cross-examination.
15
             MR. GENSON: As to both.
16
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Yes.
17
             MR. GENSON: Okay.
                                 Thank you very much.
18
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Anything that either of
19
    these gentlemen said in court will be included in this
20
    transcript.
21
             MR. GENSON: Okay.
                                 Thank you very much.
2 2
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE:
                                 Thank you.
2 3
                  (Mr. Holland, Mr. Maziarz, and
24
                  Ms. Patton were duly sworn.)
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1
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Thank you very much, and
   if you would be kind enough to say your names, and if
   they're difficult to spell, would you do that so that
3
   the court reporter knows who you are.
5
             MR. HOLLAND: Madam Chair, my name is Bill
6
              I'm the Auditor General for the State of
7
    Illinois. On my right is Mike Maziarz, M-a-z-i-a-r-z.
8
              He's the senior audit manager in my office.
   Maziarz.
9
   And on my left is Rebecca Patton. She is my chief
10
   legal counsel. Patton, P-a-t-t-o-n.
11
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Thank you very much, and
12
   would you proceed. I don't know which order you want
13
   to take your audits, but we're happy with whatever
14
   order you choose.
15
             MR. HOLLAND: Members of the committee, Madam
16
   Chairman, Representative Durkin. The gravity of the
17
   committee's purpose is not lost on me. What is
18
    required for your consideration is a sober recital of
19
   the facts regarding the audits you have asked to
20
   discuss. With that in mind, I will begin.
21
        Let me first begin by making a brief comment about
2 2
   the audit which I will not discuss, and that is the
   audit of the Loop Lab School. The Loop Lab School is
2 3
24
   an audit that was passed by the General Assembly
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earlier this year. It called on me to conduct a
2
    management audit to look at how and when funds were
3
    promised to the Pilgrim Baptist Church; how and when
    funds were promised to the Loop Lab School; what
    person or persons were involved in these transactions;
5
6
    what internal controls were present in the grant award
    process; what actions, if any, have been taken to
7
8
    recover the misdirected funds; and, finally, whether a
9
    grant to the church is currently being developed.
10
        I would have hoped that this particular audit --
11
    this management audit on a grant program of a million
12
    dollars would have been done sooner than it is, but I
13
    can tell you that we're struggling, and I'm sure you
    might appreciate this after listening to the testimony
14
15
    of the Department of Healthcare and Family Services.
16
    We're having trouble finding out who actually was
17
    responsible for some of the activities with regard to
    that particular transaction.
18
19
        So we have not concluded our audit in this area,
20
    and when we do, we'll make it available to the members
21
    of the General Assembly.
2 2
        So the reports I am prepared to talk about are the
    summary report on efficiency initiative payments
2 3
    released in June of 2005 and the management audit of
24
```

the flu vaccine procurement and the I-SaveRx program released in 2006. 2 3 First, in the spring of 2005, my office released a regularly scheduled compliance examination of the Department of Central Management Services that 5 6 outlined significant problems at the very agency in 7 which the Governor had centralized many of the state's 8 key operations. One of the findings -- in fact, the 9 first finding in the audit -- dealt with the 10 newly-created efficiency initiative program. 11 Now, by way the background, effective June of 2003, Public Act 9325 made CMS responsible for 12 13 recommending efficiency initiatives to the Governor for reorganizing, restructuring, reengineering the 14 15 business processes of the state. 16 Now, under the efficiency initiatives programs, 17 CMS billed the various state agencies for savings they experienced through the efficiency initiatives. 18 19 the state agencies, in turn, were to pay CMS' bills 20 from the line item appropriations where the cost 21 savings were anticipated to occur. These payments 2 2 were to be deposited into a newly-created efficiency initiatives revolving fund, and then CMS paid its 2 3 24 expenses for administering the program from that fund.

As we audited the various state agencies 1 throughout 2005, we noted several problems with the 3 efficiency initiatives program. We summarized those issues in a report released in June of 2005, and the 5 summary found that all of the audited agencies made 6 payments for efficiency initiatives billings from 7 improper line item appropriations. 8 State agencies generally made payments not from 9 line items experiencing savings due to the efficiency 10 initiatives, but rather from appropriations that 11 simply had available funds to make payments from. 12 Thus circumventing the legislature's appropriation 13 process. 14 Agencies did not receive guidance or documentation 15 from CMS detailing from which line item appropriation 16 savings were anticipated to occur. While the State 17 Finance Act directed CMS to develop the amounts to be 18 billed to the state agencies, CMS officials noted that 19 the Governor's office of management and budget simply established the amounts that were to be billed to all 20 21 state agencies in September of 2003, and CMS 2 2 accounting staff printed the amounts received from OMB onto CMS invoices. 2 3 These invoices were then returned to OMB which

24

```
then decided which invoices would or would not be sent
    to the agencies for payment. And in what may be the
3
    greatest irony, agencies reported that they had not
    experienced savings even though they were billed by
5
    CMS.
        In fiscal year '04, agencies were billed $137
6
7
    million and paid nearly $130 million to CMS for
8
    initiatives related to procurement, information
9
    technology, fleet management, facilities management,
10
    internal audit consolidation, and legal research
11
    consolidation. CMS documentation showed a majority of
12
    the state agencies were overbilled. That is to say,
13
    agencies were billed more for the savings initiatives
    than the agencies had actually realized in savings.
14
15
        As a part of the efficiency initiatives program,
16
    CMS entered into contracts with outside vendors worth
    $69 million in fiscal year '04. These vendors
17
18
    included McKinsey and Company, Accenture, BearingPoint
19
    EKI, and IPAM. In each of these contracts, a
20
    representative of the Governor's office either
21
    assisted in developing the RFP or sat on the proposal
2 2
    evaluation committee. We found the IPAM contract for
    facility management services to be particularly
2 3
24
    troubling -- in part, because the company did not
```

exist prior to winning the contract award.

2 3

Additionally, our audit identified thousands of dollars in questionable expenses. Although the Governor initially defended the company, within nine days of the release of our audit, the IPAM contract was canceled. This matter is still in litigation, to the best of my knowledge.

In some cases the efficiency contracts were awarded based on the vendor's ability to show that they could meet savings goals stated in the RFP, the submitted proposal, or the contract. However, we found that CMS lacked the process to track and document savings achieved through these contracts.

In response to our audit, CMS entered into a million-dollar contract with a firm to provide assistance in calculating savings related to these initiative -- efficiency initiatives. And in October 2005 CMS issued a report which purported to estimate the efficiency savings. We did not verify CMS' report as a part of our audit process.

However, in a casual review, we noted that the savings estimate was a gross number and failed to recognize documented costs in excess of \$72 million incurred by CMS in conjunction with their initiatives.

```
CMS discontinued billing for efficiency initiatives
    after fiscal year 2005.
        Turning now to the management audit of the flu
3
4
    vaccine.
5
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Wait.
                                         wait.
                                                Sorry.
6
    Auditor General. I think some people wanted to ask
7
    questions as we went along, so if you could just stop
8
            If there are any questions about this audit.
    there.
9
        Representative Franks.
10
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: Thank you, Madam
    Chair.
11
12
        Thank you for being here, Auditor General, and I
13
    chaired those hearings a few years ago, and I
14
    appreciate the hard work that you did. And I wanted
    to follow up on the overview that you had given.
15
16
        Would it be fair to characterize the evidence that
17
    you put forward is that the audit findings raised
18
    serious questions about the integrity of state
19
    contracts, the Illinois procurement process, and the
20
    state budget process?
21
             MR. HOLLAND: Yes.
2 2
                                      Did your findings
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS:
2 3
    indicate that CMS and Governor Blagojevich violated
24
    the state procurement code?
```

```
MR. HOLLAND: Our findings indicated that the
1
    Department of Central Management Services violated the
    procurement code.
3
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: Did your findings
5
    also show that this administration violated the State
6
    Ethics Act?
7
             MR. HOLLAND: We didn't address the State
    Ethics Act in the audit.
8
9
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: What about the time
    sheets?
10
11
             MR. HOLLAND: I stand corrected.
                                                The time
12
    sheets issue has been an issue with regard to many
13
    state agencies across state government.
14
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: Correct.
                                                But we had
15
    a new ethics law?
16
             MR. HOLLAND: Yeah, that was passed in 2003.
17
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS:
                                     Right. And we found
18
    this administration was not requiring its employees
19
    under their state agencies to comply with that law
20
    that we passed. Would that be a fair
21
    characterization?
2 2
             MR. HOLLAND: That is true.
2 3
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: Okay. Would your
    findings also indicate that this administration
2 4
```

```
violated the State Finance Act?
1
2
             MR. HOLLAND: Yes.
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: Would it also show
3
    that this administration violated the reporting
4
    responsibilities to the General Assembly?
5
6
             MR. HOLLAND: Yes.
7
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: Did your findings
    also show that this administration violated the
8
9
    dispensing of surplus state materials provisions?
10
             MR. HOLLAND: Yes, there has been problems.
11
    Yes.
12
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: Wasn't that with the
13
    computers that were not cleaned and they had a lot of
14
    sensitive information left on those hard drives, and
15
    then they were then sold?
16
             MR. HOLLAND: That -- that particular issue
17
    was contained in that same audit, yes.
18
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: Okay. It was my
19
    concern that Governor Blagojevich was usurping the
20
    legislative authority related to the budget process,
    and I wanted to talk to you about those.
21
2 2
        When we look at these initiatives, I had
    characterized it when I first saw it as an elaborate
2 3
24
    money laundering scheme where the Governor would take
```

```
state money from agencies, claim efficiencies that
   couldn't be proven, not using line items so the money
   was untraceable, and then transfer those funds to a
   line item that the Governor controlled.
                                              Would that be
   a fair characterization? That there was no
5
6
   traceability, there was no proven efficiencies and no
7
   savings, and the Governor would then move those moneys
   to a line item he controlled?
8
9
             MR. HOLLAND: I would -- I -- the only
   statement that I would not concur with is no
10
11
   traceability because that's what we are. We're the
12
   auditors. Took us a long time to find it, but we did
13
   find it.
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: But did he ever show
14
15
   from which line item that he was -- excuse me,
16
   Heather. Did he ever show from which line item which
17
   he was claiming the efficiencies emanated from?
18
             MR. HOLLAND: We never -- the efficiencies
19
   were a moving target.
20
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS:
                                     okay. Okay.
                                                    Now,
21
   when we look at these contracts, we looked at about
2 2
   nine contracts, as I recall?
2 3
             MR. HOLLAND: Yes.
2 4
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: Now, in many of
```

```
these, didn't we find that the entities that wrote the
    requests for -- RFP. Request for?
3
             MR. HOLLAND: Proposal.
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: For proposal.
    They're the ones who also wrote the standards;
5
6
    correct?
7
             MR. HOLLAND: That was one of the findings
    that we had is that many of the people who did some of
8
9
    the work on development of the RFPs were also then
10
    involved in the -- in the process of not only awarding
11
    but winning contracts.
12
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: Now, wasn't CMS
13
    legislatively mandated for the oversight of these
14
    efficiencies, but didn't they instead delegate the
15
    efficiency incentives to the Governor's own Office of
16
    Management and Budget despite a state law directing
17
    CMS to carry out that program?
18
             MR. HOLLAND: It would seem as such.
19
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: Okay. Which would
20
    make it much more -- would make -- effectively allow
21
    the Governor to rewrite the budget without legislative
2 2
    oversight.
2 3
             MR. HOLLAND: That's your characterization.
24
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS:
                                     Okay. Now, I want to
```

```
talk to you about the IPAM contract as well, but
   before we get there, I want to talk about how some of
   these came about. Did you find it in your audit odd
   that members of CMS would meet with the individuals
   who would write the RFPs, have dinner with these
6
   folks, then they would write the proposals, and then,
7
    ultimately, get the award in many cases?
8
             MR. HOLLAND:
                           Yes.
9
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: When we looked at
   these contracts as well, didn't CMS initially ask for
10
11
   the reimbursement on these contracts as professional
12
   and artistic? Didn't they even file affidavits that
13
   these were professional and artistic contract?
14
   I'll tell you where I'm going with that. I'll wait
   till your counsel is done.
15
16
             MR. HOLLAND: Some were classified as
17
   professional and artistic; some were not classified as
18
   professional and artistic. But the point that I think
19
   you're getting at is that CMS objected to that
    classification.
20
21
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS:
                                     Because as
22
   professional or artistic contract, it requires the
   disclosure of the subcontractor?
2 3
24
             MR. HOLLAND: Yes. There you go.
```

```
1
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: Correct?
2
             MR. HOLLAND: Yes. I understand what you're
   asking now.
3
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: That's where I was
5
   going. But a contract done through an RFP process
6
   does not require those disclosure; isn't that correct?
             MR. HOLLAND: Well, if it's a -- eventually
7
   all the subcontractor need to be disclosed.
8
9
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: But not initially.
10
             MR. HOLLAND: Correct.
11
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: Okay. So CMS, even
12
   though they were asked to be reimbursed through a
13
   professional and artistic contract, indicated these
14
    contracts were rather REP?
15
             MR. HOLLAND: Correct.
16
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: Okay. Did we have --
17
   in your opinion, were sufficient written records
18
   explaining how these contracts were awarded?
19
             MR. HOLLAND: Representative Franks, the
20
   issues here you're discussing are the first seven
21
   findings in that particular audit report, and the
2 2
   problem that we had --
2 3
             MR. GENSON: Excuse me. Can we clarify which
2 4
   particular audit is that? I'm getting confused.
```

```
CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: I believe we're talking
1
2
    only about the audit that has been described.
3
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: On the efficiency
4
    initiative.
5
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Not about the other two
6
    audits. Representative Franks was particular. He
7
    wanted to talk one audit at a time.
8
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: I want to do one at a
9
    time.
10
             MR. GENSON: Are they two audits at two
    different times or --
11
12
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: There are two others
13
    coming, yes.
14
             MR. GENSON: Thank you.
15
             MR. HOLLAND: If I may, in order to make sure
    it's clear for Mr. Genson, what we're -- what the
16
17
    audit findings we're referring to are in specific
18
    response to the Department of Central Management
19
    Services compliance examination for the two years
20
    ended June 30th of 2004, which was then followed up
21
    with a summary report in June of 2005.
2 2
             MR. GENSON: Thank you.
             MR. HOLLAND: You're welcome. I think that's
2 3
2 4
    the question you were looking for.
```

```
MR. GENSON: Probably said it before and I
1
2
    didn't hear.
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: Did you find it
3
    unusual that on 44 percent of the contracts they were
    not awarded to the lowest bidder, and they did not
5
6
    reveal that fact in the procurement bulletin as
    required by law?
7
8
             MR. HOLLAND: As I began to say, you're
9
    asking all of the questions that are in those first
10
    seven or eight findings and all of those items which
11
    were included in those findings. You know, the --
12
    the -- the not disclosing, the changing of
13
    specifications, the negotiating on the best and final
14
    after there's a best and final. I mean, there was a
15
    lot of activities that surrounded the procurements of
16
    these major contracts, which were at the very -- at
17
    the time we were very troubled by because it indicated
18
    just a lack of understanding of what -- what the
19
    procurement process was all about.
20
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: Well, it could have
    been more than a lack of understanding. That's what
21
2 2
    concerned me. I saw one, I think it was Team
2 3
    Services, and I saw that they were a large contributor
24
    to the Governor, and then they got a $5 million no-bid
```

```
state contract awarded by CMS; is that correct?
             MR. HOLLAND: To the first half of that
2
    question, I don't know. That's not our issue. To the
3
    second half of that question, I do know and that is
5
    correct.
6
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: Okay. Well, we'll
    put that into evidence at a later time. I'm sure we
7
8
    can get a list of those individuals or entities that
9
    had donated to Friends of Blagojevich.
10
        Can we talk briefly -- and I think the one that
11
    really stood out and probably got the most press
12
    contract was the IPAM contract.
13
             MR. HOLLAND: Yes.
14
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: Which you briefly
15
    alluded to. May I ask you an open-ended question and
16
    just ask you to give us a little bit more background
17
    on that?
             MR. HOLLAND: Well, as I indicated in my --
18
19
    in my opening comment, the high level overview of this
20
    particular audit, the IPAM contract was troubling from
21
    the standpoint that a contract was awarded to a
2 2
    company that did not exist.
2 3
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS:
                                      Riaht.
24
             MR. HOLLAND: That's good work if you can get
```

```
1
    it.
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: That and no-show
    jobs. Got those both here.
3
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Can you -- excuse me.
5
    I don't mean to interrupt. Can you say that again?
6
    Want to make sure I heard that.
7
             MR. HOLLAND: It's good work if you can get
8
    it.
9
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG:
                                              Before that.
                                    No.
                                         No.
10
    Did you say it was awarded to a company that did not
    exist?
11
12
             MR. HOLLAND: That did not exist.
13
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Can you give us the
14
    details of that before you proceed?
15
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: And before you --
    Auditor, we had a question. Wasn't this a 32 -- no,
16
17
    it was actually higher. It was a $30 million
18
    contract, but didn't they go back and then add another
19
    $5 million into -- back at the other end? After they
20
    were -- after they were given the contract, then they
21
    went back and add another 5 or $6 million into it?
2 2
    Since we were being generous?
2 3
             MR. HOLLAND: They attempted to, but they did
    not get it.
2 4
```

```
1
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS:
                                      Okay. Thank you.
    And I'm sorry to cut you off. Just $30 million,
    Representative Eddy.
3
             MR. HOLLAND: So the award for the contract
4
    that was -- and the award notice presented by the --
5
6
    or filed by the -- this would be the purchasing
    agency, which would be the Central Management
7
8
    Services. The award for that contract was awarded on
9
    December the 29th, 2003. The date they filed with the
10
    Secretary of State their notice that they were a
11
    limited liability company was January the 15th of
12
    2004.
          They did not exist at the time of the award.
13
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS:
                                      It's interesting.
14
    when you look at when they made their best and final
15
    proposal, and it was evaluated on CMS, IPAM, I
16
    noticed, changed its joint venture composition, and I
17
    would have thought that that would have impacted its
18
    background and staffing qualifications.
                                              But there was
19
    no indication at all that there was any change in the
20
    points awarded even after they had changed the joint
21
    venture composition. Would that be fair?
2 2
             MR. HOLLAND: That is fair, yes.
                                                That's
2 3
             They dropped some people off of the
    subcontractor list and --
24
```

```
1
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: And then they also
   included performance quarantees in both its original
   and best and final proposals, but none of those
   performance guarantees were ultimately included in the
   IPAM contract; isn't that correct?
5
6
             MR. HOLLAND: That's also correct.
7
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: Okay. And it also
    shows that IPAM did not save the $14 million it was
8
9
    supposed to save in fiscal year '04. Would that be
10
    correct as well?
11
             MR. HOLLAND: That's correct also.
12
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: Okay. I remember
13
   when this came out -- this initial audit.
14
             MR. HOLLAND: Yeah.
                                  So do I.
15
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: Do you remember what
16
   the administration's response was? Because I remember
17
   a very memorable quote. He said --
18
             MR. HOLLAND: Want to remind me?
19
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: Yeah. And maybe I'm
20
   paraphrasing, but I think the Governor said this is a
21
   prize fight amongst accountants -- a lot of noise but
2 2
   not a lot of muscle.
2 3
             MR. HOLLAND: That sounds pretty familiar.
   That sounds like it was.
2 4
```

```
1
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: And didn't he also
2
    say that he -- didn't he defend IPAM?
             MR. HOLLAND: Yes.
3
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: And didn't they
    attack your ability to do these audits? And wasn't --
5
6
    and I want to know what your response was.
7
             MR. HOLLAND: Well, as many of the members of
    this committee know, I am not an individual who is
8
9
    known for having, number one, press conferences or,
    number two, press releases. I've done one press
10
    release in my 17 years and one press conference in 17
11
12
    years. And the one press conference I did was in
13
    response to the audits -- to the agency's response
14
    to this particular audit, because at that time they
15
    were -- they were taking issue with virtually
16
    everything that we found, which I might add at this
17
    point, which is very significant, that as time wore
18
    on, the agency came to agree with virtually every one
19
    of the findings and withdrew all of their objections.
20
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS:
                                      Right.
             MR. HOLLAND: So, initially, I think it was a
21
2 2
    bit of an effort on the part of the -- on the part of
    the administration to exert some influence over the
2 3
24
    Office of the Auditor General, which I'm happy to say
```

```
was unsuccessful.
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS:
                                     We are too.
        And then in some instances didn't we see that
3
    the -- those that got contracts -- my memory may fail
         I think it was McKinsey. I think they were doing
5
6
    work, and it took like 234 days before they ever
7
    submitted a contract?
8
             MR. HOLLAND: Well, we -- again, we had many
9
    problems with work being done and no contract on file,
10
    which is really a risky proposition, you know.
11
    you're going to have your roof built on your house,
12
    you want to have a contract in place so you know what
13
    your costs are going to be. But when you don't have
14
    your contract in place, it becomes problematic.
15
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS:
                                     Well, I know that
    your audits will go into evidence, but I just think
16
17
    for the edification of those members of the committee
    I think they need to know, for instance, when you
18
19
    examined $708,000 worth of expenses, I think your
20
    findings were that 77 percent of them were
21
    questionable?
2 2
             MR. HOLLAND: It was -- the expenses that
2 3
    were incurred by the IPAM group were excessive, and
    when we disclosed it and went after some of those
24
```

```
expenses, it became abundantly clear even to CMS
2
   that --
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: Weren't we paying for
3
   Bulls tickets and private limos and fancy dinners?
4
5
             MR. HOLLAND: I think the most troublesome
6
   one was the victory dinner that they had in -- where
7
   they invited everybody who was a part of winning the
8
   contract and that we paid for.
9
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: I could go on for
10
   hours, as we did, and I don't want to do that.
11
    appreciate you -- and I want to let other people ask
12
   some questions. I'd like to reserve my right to ask
13
   you some more, and I want to ask you more certainly on
   the other ones. But I'd like to have other members of
14
15
   the committee go forward. But I very much appreciate
16
   you being here and helping explain this.
17
             MR. HOLLAND: I wish I could say I
18
   appreciated being here.
19
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: How much -- how much
20
   was -- how much did dinner cost? 495,000. Okay.
21
             MR. HOLLAND:
                           $495.
2 2
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Okay. All right.
2 3
   you.
24
        Representative Davis is next up.
```

```
1
             REPRESENTATIVE DAVIS: Thank you, Madam
2
   Chairman.
        Mr. Holland, you've been a government auditor for
3
   quite a long time. Your reputation is certainly
    impeccable. In your professional opinion, how would
5
6
   you generally characterize the overall quality of our
7
    current or Blagojevich administration's management of
8
   our state? You're highly qualified. Your reputation
   is impeccable. You have been going over many of these
10
    records that some of us only see a piece of, depending
11
   on the committee we sit in, and I would just like your
12
   professional opinion.
13
             MR. HOLLAND: I thought I might get a
14
   question like that. And I will tell you what I
15
   have -- what I have shared with Governor Blagojevich,
16
   with his office and with ever single agency director
17
   and every single finance officer and every single
    internal auditor in the State of Illinois is that
18
19
    recently I have been troubled by the way they've
20
   operated.
21
        And I do this wide open. Once a year I put out an
2 2
    audit advisory, and the audit advisory goes, frankly,
2 3
   not to you because my view is share it with the people
   that I'm auditing; hopefully, they'll get the message;
24
```

```
we'll do the work; we'll solve the problems; we'll
    move on.
        And over the last couple of years, it has been a
3
    challenge to do the audit work that you've asked me to
         And this year I said to agencies I'm going to
5
    tell you right up front where the problems are because
7
    I want you to deal with them because I'm not going to
    deal with them anymore.
8
9
        I mean, one of the problems -- and I'll -- I
    should have brought more copies, and I'll make this
10
11
    available to you. But one of the problems we have
12
    when we request information, something that
13
    auditors -- auditors are routine, and I always like to
14
    remind people that it is in our nature to try and be
15
    as cooperative and as agreeable as possible because we
16
    come in every year. Every year we come in.
17
        You know, the action that's taking place here
18
    today is unique, and when somebody else -- and,
19
    hopefully -- you know, not hopefully. This is a
20
    one-time action, but me, I'm every year. We've got to
21
    deal with agencies every year. We have to be at work
2 2
    in a cooperative venture.
2 3
        But when I go in every year and routine audit
24
    requests -- can we have a copy of a contract? Can you
```

```
give us your travel vouchers? Here are the policies
    and procedures we need copies of. Every year those
   are questions that we're going to ask. It's routine
3
   audit things.
        But when we ask for information and it is now
5
6
    routinely being submitted to legal staff, that is not
7
   making the audit process any easier. It is making it
   more complex. And I told agencies that.
8
9
        I sent this audit advisory. Once a year I send it
10
   out, and this year I said these are the things I'm not
11
   going to deal with anymore. I'm not going to deal
12
   with having to -- delaying the audit process. You can
13
   give -- you can clear all of your -- my audit requests
14
   with whomever you want in your agency from the janitor
   to the director, but don't let it delay the process.
15
   The process is significantly delayed.
16
17
             REPRESENTATIVE DAVIS: In comparison, Mr.
18
   Holland, to other states or other governors --
19
             MR. HOLLAND: I can't speak to other states,
20
   and I can't speak to other governors. Oh, other
21
   governors in the State of Illinois.
2 2
             REPRESENTATIVE DAVIS: Well, other governors
2 3
   in the State of Illinois or in other states. I mean,
24
   you go to -- I'm sure you go to conferences, and I'm
```

```
sure that you have obtained information from other
    states on how their audits go or are completed, and
    how would you compare the State of Illinois?
                           Well, I would -- I would --
             MR. HOLLAND:
    each state is unique. I would hate to have them
5
6
    compare me to them and for me to compare myself to
7
    other states.
        But I will tell you that we've seen an erosion of
8
9
    cooperation in the audit process over the last couple
    of years. There's no question about that.
10
11
             REPRESENTATIVE DAVIS: Would you say that the
12
    State of Illinois, from a financial and a management
13
    point of view, is in better or worse shape than it was
14
    before Rod Blagojevich became our governor?
15
             MR. HOLLAND: Well, that answer can easily be
    found in the comprehensive annual financial report
16
17
    that is prepared by the Comptroller and audited by my
18
    office, and it would show that there is, again, a
19
    significant erosion in the financial stability for the
    State of Illinois.
20
21
             REPRESENTATIVE DAVIS:
                                    Thank you, Mr.
22
    Holland, and we do appreciate the dedication that
2 3
    you've always shown towards your work in the state.
24
    Thank you, sir .
```

```
1
             MR. HOLLAND: Thank you.
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE:
                                  Representative Lang.
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Thank you, Madam
3
4
    Chairman. You indicated at least once, maybe twice,
    in your comments of times that the Governor's office
5
6
    was involved in this or that. Can you tell me, when
7
    you say the Governor's office, who you mean?
8
             MR. HOLLAND: Well, to give you a specific
9
    example, going back to that audit that we're talking
10
    about, the one -- the Central Management Services
11
    audit for 2004, 2000 -- for the two years ended 2004.
12
    In the procurement of many of those contracts -- in
13
    seven of nine of those contracts -- seven of nine of
14
    those contracts, there were people from the Governor's
15
    office sitting on the selection committee and being a
    part of the selection process.
16
17
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Can you tell me who
18
    those people are, sir?
19
             MR. HOLLAND: The answer is I believe we can.
20
    The answer is yes, but do I have them right here at my
21
    fingertips?
                 I might.
2 2
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: We would like the names
    if you have them, but, certainly, if you don't have
2 3
24
    them with you, we would like the names today.
```

```
1
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: I can give you one,
    Lou, if that would help. From the audit. Oh, you've
    got them all right there?
3
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Could you read them
5
    into the record, please, sir?
6
             MR. HOLLAND: As -- I just want to make sure
7
    I'm --
             MR. GENSON: I'm sorry. I didn't hear the
8
9
    question. Representative Franks, you said I could
    give you one, and then you said something.
10
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: I said if that would
11
12
    help, but, apparently, the auditor --
13
             MR. GENSON: Okay. I'm very sorry. I
14
    thought you named them.
15
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: No. I apologize.
16
             MR. HOLLAND: The answer is I do have the
17
    answer to your question. May I read it first?
18
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Please.
19
             MR. HOLLAND: So we actually have two
20
    categories of people. We have people who actually sat
21
    on the evaluation committee, and then we have people
2 2
    who participated in RFP specifications.
2 3
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: And this is for, what
24
    did you say, seven of the nine contracts?
```

```
1
             MR. HOLLAND: Seven of the nine contracts.
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Please give us those
3
    names.
             MR. HOLLAND: So in the case of the asset
5
    management IPAM contract, there were people --
6
    participation in the RFP specification was reported by
7
    Prentice -- OMB provided savings figures. They were
    the people who actually provided. I do not have an
8
9
    exact name for that person -- for that one. For the
10
    first one. Let me go down the list.
11
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: OMB presented that
12
    information?
13
             MR. HOLLAND: OMB.
                                 OMB.
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: On behalf of the
14
15
    bidder?
16
             MR. HOLLAND: Figures for the RFP, and they
17
    gave whatever specification -- whatever savings
18
    figures that they had determined was going to be, I
19
    believe, addressed. What they wanted -- what their
20
    goal was was given to the Central Management Services.
21
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: All right.
             MR. HOLLAND: Now, so the IT rationalization
2 2
2 3
    program, which was eventually awarded to BearingPoint
24
    and Accenture, a gentleman by the name of Scott
```

```
Kennedy sat on the evaluation committee.
1
2
        For the procurement assessment program, McKinsey
    and Company, the individual who assisted in the
3
    specifications or participated in the RFP and the
    specifications development was John Filan, and he
5
6
    developed the original idea, and he reported that to
7
    Paul Campbell, who at the time was not the director of
    CMS, but I think he was high up. He might have been
8
9
    the assistant director.
10
        The telecom rationalization program which was
    finally awarded to EKI, Scott Kennedy was the
11
12
    Governor's office staff on the evaluation committee.
13
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Excuse me.
                                                Just so
14
    we're clear, what was Scott Kennedy's title, do you
15
    know?
16
             MR. HOLLAND: Don't know.
17
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: We'll find out.
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Is this information part
18
19
    of the audit?
             MR. HOLLAND: No, it's not. It just happens
20
21
    to be the work papers that my ever-efficient staff was
2 2
    prepared to --
2 3
                                  Okay. Thank you.
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE:
2 4
             MR. HOLLAND: If you would like --
```

```
1
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Proceed.
             MR. HOLLAND: -- we can just give you a copy
    of this.
3
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Yes, but I'd like the
    rest of the names publicly.
5
6
             MR. HOLLAND: In the case of the risk
    assessment program, Deloitte and Touche was the
7
8
    eventual vendor that was selected, and the individual
    who was on the evaluation committee was an individual
10
    by the name of Abasse Tall, which would be
    A-b-a-s-s-e. Abasse Tall from OMB.
11
12
        On the strategic marketing program, which was
13
    awarded to Team Services, the individual from the
    Governor's office on the evaluation committee was Seth
14
15
    Webb, who was the director of special projects. And
    the idea of the Governor -- I mean, the RFP
16
    specifications were actually developed out of the
17
    Governor's office and reported by Seth Web.
18
        The fleet management vendor was Maximus, and the
19
20
    individual who sat on the selection committee -- the
21
    evaluation committee was Brian Daly.
2 2
        Then the other two contracts, which would be seven
2 3
    of nine I've talked about, the server consolidation
24
    and software review, which were won by BearingPoint,
```

```
there was nobody from either the Governor's office on
    the evaluation committee or preparing the RFP
    specifications.
3
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: So you've been Auditor
4
    General through three -- you've been Auditor General
5
6
    through three different governors; is that correct?
7
                                  Edgar -- yes.
             MR. HOLLAND: Yes.
8
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Parts of three
9
    different governors.
10
             MR. HOLLAND: Yes.
11
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Is it unusual to have
12
    someone from the Governor's staff on a selection
13
    committee?
14
             MR. HOLLAND: Yes. We thought that -- we
15
    thought it was very unusual.
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: How often have you seen
16
17
    this with the other two governors that you've served
    under?
18
19
             MR. HOLLAND: I can't say that we've seen it,
20
    but I don't know that it hasn't occurred, but I -- but
21
    we did -- it would -- this was pretty dramatic here.
2 2
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Do you know of any way
2 3
    to determine whether the Governor's person that might
    have been on these selection committees had any
24
```

```
particular influence over the process? Would there
   have been anyone that would have given you information
   about the interplay between the Governor's person on
   the selection committees and the ultimate decision?
5
             MR. HOLLAND:
                           No.
6
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: All right.
7
             MR. HOLLAND: But I would -- if I can add
8
    something here. I mean, I think what you need to do
   is put it into perspective as to when the audit was
10
    released and where we are today.
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Well, expound on that
11
12
   for us.
13
             MR. HOLLAND: The audit was released in 2005,
14
   and at the time I would tell you that I -- we knew
15
   that there were problems, but we thought some of the
   problems might have been just simply inexperience with
16
17
   the procurement process. And I think, in light of
18
    some of the disclosures that we see recently, that,
19
   you know, maybe in retrospect this audit is a lot more
   valuable and lot more relevant than what we
20
21
   anticipated.
2 2
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Can you tell me what
2 3
   the administration's response was when it was pointed
24
   out to them that they wanted to give a $30 million
```

```
contract to a nonexistent company?
2
             MR. HOLLAND: You know, they were -- they
    were -- I don't think they had a care in the world.
3
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: So they didn't really
5
    respond at all?
6
             MR. HOLLAND:
                           No.
7
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: They gave you no answer
8
    as to --
9
             MR. HOLLAND:
                           No.
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: -- how this could
10
11
    happen?
12
             MR. GENSON: Do we know who "they" is?
13
    like to know. I'm sure you would too.
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Yes, I'm going to ask.
14
15
             MR. GENSON: Thank you.
16
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: So if you could tell us
17
    who the "they" is. Who you interfaced with.
             MR. HOLLAND: Well, we interfaced on a
18
19
    regular basis with all of the people at the Department
20
    of Central Management Services, and that would be
21
    everybody from the director on down. In that case it
2 2
    was Michael Rumman, and the assistant director was
2 3
    Paul Campbell, and the legal counsel was Ed Winn, and
24
    Ed Winn had access to the entire legal counsel that
```

```
existed for the State of Illinois.
1
2
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: So do you know who you
   might have talked to about this particular contract?
3
4
             MR. HOLLAND: Yes. We talked to the
5
    individual who was head of the procurement bureau at
6
   the time, a gentleman by the name of Bruce Washington.
7
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: All right.
                                                So let me
   ask you this: You --
8
9
             MR. HOLLAND: I'm sorry. I gave you the
10
   wrong name. Facility management. You're right.
11
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: So you have gone
12
   through a litany -- and my guess is there are more --
13
   of failures in this audit by the administration.
14
   of the things this committee must face is whether this
15
   is just simply incompetence or whether it goes beyond
16
   incompetence to some pattern of behavior that would
17
    relate to a conclusion or not as to whether the
   Governor was involved in an abuse of power with the
18
19
   distribution of contracts -- the awarding of contracts
20
   at CMS. While you are not here for the purpose of
21
   proving or disproving this, do you have an opinion on
2 2
   the subject?
             MR. HOLLAND: The -- what I've testified to
2 3
2 4
   about certainly are audit problems. Do they go beyond
```

```
audit problems? They may go beyond audit problems,
   but that's not for me to determine. That's for a
    prosecutor, and I'm not a prosecutor.
3
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: All right. One other
5
   thing, Mr. Holland, and I thank you for your answers.
6
        You indicated that there were many cases where you
7
    asked for information and couldn't get it. Is it your
   view that it was purposeful or just simple slipshod
8
9
   work by staff?
             MR. HOLLAND: Well, you know what? That's a
10
   great question, and I'm going to take a little liberty
11
12
   here and say I think it's on occasion purposeful, on
13
   occasion it's slipshod staff, on occasion it's people
14
   who are overworked and don't have the capacity to
15
   fulfill all our requests. So, I mean, it's a real
16
    problem.
17
        And I was in the other room here listening to the
18
   discussion of Healthcare and Family Services, and that
19
   is an agency with which we struggle on a daily basis
20
   to get information out of them. I was chuckling.
21
   hope -- I hope you will appreciate some of the
2 2
   problems I have on occasion in dealing with agencies.
2 3
   You do it once a year. I got to do it every year with
24
   this agency, and it is a real struggle to get routine
```

```
information.
1
        In some cases, it is -- there's no question in my
   mind that it is people who have -- who are stalling,
3
   not wanting to respond, and I think in some cases
   because they're not getting guidance.
5
6
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Do you have any
7
    specific situations where you would say the failure to
    provide the information was purposeful that you can
8
9
   point to us and tell us who might have been
10
    responsible, in your opinion, for not providing that
    information?
11
12
             MR. HOLLAND: You know, I don't think -- I
13
   don't think I can give you an absolute purposeful. I
14
   can tell you that was my sense. Okay? And I have to
15
   go back and think about it. I would. I would have to
16
   go back and think if I've got purposeful occasions.
17
   There may be some. Off the top of my head -- and I
18
   apologize, Representative Lang.
19
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: That's all right.
20
   weren't called here for that purpose. If you do have
21
   notes or any of your staff people have notes relative
2 2
   to this issue, the committee would be very interested
2 3
   in getting the information when it's available to you.
24
             MR. HOLLAND: You know, I'm going to -- I'll
```

```
give this: And I'm going to tell you this is an
    indication of our broad-based struggle -- broad-based
    struggle in dealing with these agencies.
3
    problem, and whether it's purposeful or whether it's
    lack of resources, whether it's people don't know
5
6
    doesn't make any difference to me.
7
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: How does this differ
    from your interplay with the Ryan or Edgar
8
9
    administrations?
10
             MR. HOLLAND: We got substantially more
    cooperation out of both the Ryan and the Edgar
11
12
    administration, and nobody -- let me preface this.
13
    Nobody likes the auditor despite the fact that --
14
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: We kind of like you.
15
             MR. HOLLAND: Yeah. Well, nobody likes the
    auditor.
16
17
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: All right.
                                                One
18
    additional question.
19
        So would it be fair to assume that there were some
20
    people that worked in the Ryan and/or Edgar
21
    administrations that are still in state government who
22
    are not giving you information today that at one time
2 3
    were always giving you the information you asked for?
24
             MR. HOLLAND: Oh, I have to think about that.
```

```
1
    I'd have to go back. I don't --
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: You don't have to
    answer now. If you have some thoughts at any time,
3
    just let us know.
5
        Thank you, Mr. Holland. I appreciate it.
6
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Representative Eddy.
7
             REPRESENTATIVE EDDY:
                                   Thank you.
        The scope of work in the $30 million contract that
8
9
    at the time had no -- the company that was awarded
10
    that didn't exist. What -- what was the scope of that
    work?
11
12
             MR. HOLLAND: Well, essentially, they were
13
    going to be responsible for the cataloging, if you
14
    will, and renegotiating all the leases and determining
15
    what the -- what all of our assets were, I mean, in
16
    the State of Illinois. Property assets. And assets
17
    not just that we own but assets that we -- that we
    leased.
18
19
             REPRESENTATIVE EDDY:
                                   Okay. The other
20
    question I have has to do with during the process and
21
    during the time you made certain findings related to,
2 2
    for example, the Team Services contract that was
2 3
    awarded and the connection between that and a campaign
24
    contribution or any of the other obvious egregious
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```
1
   findings, were any laws broken?
             MR. HOLLAND: Well, we didn't look at any
2
    campaign contributions. That's not within the purview
3
   of the office. We would not do that.
5
             REPRESENTATIVE EDDY: Well, okay. Just in
6
   the RFP process. Laws that govern the RFP process.
7
             MR. HOLLAND: Well, you know, the procurement
   code was violated on a routine basis. There were all
8
9
    kinds of problems with the procurements and that was
   the essence of our findings.
10
11
             REPRESENTATIVE EDDY: And were charges filed
12
   against individuals related to those?
13
             MR. HOLLAND: Well, in the case of expenses,
14
   there was an attempt to recoup expenses, and I think
15
   they did recoup some money. With regard to other
16
   aspects of the IPAM contract, I believe it's still, as
   I indicated, under some litigation.
17
18
             REPRESENTATIVE EDDY: So I guess my question
19
   is if a $30 million contract is awarded to a company
20
   that does not exist, that doesn't violate a law that
21
   might require some type of prosecution?
2 2
             MR. HOLLAND: That is -- as I indicated, this
2 3
   is still subject to some litigation. All aspects may
24
   be.
```

```
1
             REPRESENTATIVE EDDY: Thank you.
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Representative Tracy.
             REPRESENTATIVE TRACY: Mr. Holland, you
3
   mentioned the Comptroller's annual report, and,
   obviously, we've all received those. But would you be
5
6
   able to make a copy of that available to us as well as
7
   part of our record?
8
             MR. HOLLAND: Absolutely. And I'll make also
9
   for you a short summary that we prepare -- a digest
10
   that we prepared that compares --
11
             REPRESENTATIVE TRACY: That's -- exactly.
12
   That's -- both would be great.
13
             MR. HOLLAND: Yeah.
14
             REPRESENTATIVE TRACY: Okay. Also, I was
15
   wondering, do you know who the owner of IPAM was?
16
             MR. HOLLAND: The primary owner was Mesirow
17
   Stein Development.
18
             REPRESENTATIVE TRACY: Okay. I mean, do
19
   you --
20
             MR. HOLLAND: Mesirow Stein. It's a big firm
21
   in Chicago.
2 2
             REPRESENTATIVE TRACY: Okay. What type of
2 3
   vendor were they attempting to be -- what services?
24
             MR. HOLLAND: Can you -- can you help me a
```

```
little bit with that question? I'm not trying to --
2
             REPRESENTATIVE TRACY: No. I just wondered
   what -- you know, some of this goes to
3
   telecommunications and the different -- I just
   wondered what their services were.
5
6
             MR. HOLLAND: Okay. I'm sorry. Okay.
7
   was to Representative Eddy's question. One of the
   things that the -- that actually it was the subject of
8
   an audit that we had released some time before, saying
10
   the State of Illinois does not have a grasp on its
   assets, on its property and its leases, and we
11
12
   suggested that they should get ahold of it. This was
13
   the tail end of the Ryan administration, the beginning
14
   of the Blagojevich administration. And these -- and
15
   IPAM was going to be put in place to -- to get a
16
   handle on our property assets.
17
             REPRESENTATIVE TRACY: Lease management.
18
             MR. HOLLAND: Yes.
19
             REPRESENTATIVE TRACY: Of our properties?
20
             MR. HOLLAND: Yes.
21
             REPRESENTATIVE TRACY: Thank you.
2 2
             MR. HOLLAND: I'm sorry. I didn't mean to
2 3
   be --
24
                                 Representative Franks.
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE:
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```
1
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: Thank you. I just
2
    had a few follow-ups on Representative Lang's
    questions.
3
        We were talking about who the individuals were,
    and I think one -- I'm not sure you had mentioned him,
5
6
    and I apologize if you did -- was deputy director for
7
    property management Bruce Washington involved in the
    procurement at the initial meetings?
8
9
             MR. HOLLAND: Yes.
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: And wasn't he the
10
    same individual who would have dinner with these
11
12
    proposed contractors before these -- before these
13
    contracts were let?
14
             MR. HOLLAND: Yes.
15
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS:
                                      That was one I saw.
    And also I think another one that we had left out --
16
17
    at one time during -- when we had these hearings,
18
    wasn't the CMS chief operating officer Brian Chapman?
19
             MR. HOLLAND: Yes, he was.
20
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: And wasn't his former
21
    position as an employee of the McKinsey and Company?
2 2
             MR. HOLLAND: The answer to that is yes.
2 3
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: Okay. And I believe
24
    that McKinsey was one of those entities that was
```

```
awarded a $14.7 million contract to review the state's
1
2
    procurement process.
3
             MR. HOLLAND: Yes.
4
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: And at the time --
5
    and maybe you don't know this. But in 2005, the time
6
    they received this contract, and Mr. Chapman being a
7
    former employee, McKenzie had also donated $52,000 to
    Friends of Rod Blagojevich.
8
9
             MR. HOLLAND: I don't know.
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: If you know that.
10
11
          Now, when I was also looking at this audit --
12
    and I don't think this came up. We were talking about
13
    these initiatives. When we did an analysis of each of
14
    the agencies which we were supposedly saving money on,
15
    wasn't your final tally that the audit showed that CMS
16
    ripped off state agencies and that 35 were losers and
17
    only four came out ahead?
             MR. HOLLAND: We've never used the term
18
19
    "ripped off."
20
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: All right.
                                                  I know
21
          That's a term -- that's a legal term that you
2 2
    wouldn't use in accounting.
2 3
             MR. HOLLAND: I think I've got that answer
24
    right here.
```

```
1
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: Thank you.
             MR. HOLLAND: Yeah, there you go. There
    were -- there were four winners in the agencies and 35
3
    losers.
5
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: That was my
6
    recollection of it.
7
             MR. HOLLAND: Yeah.
8
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: I went through my
9
    notes last night. So I'm not sure how they can claim
    there's any efficiencies when the state agencies, who
10
11
    the legislature had appropriated funds to, were
12
    actually -- they were losing those funds, and in some
13
    cases, there was no showing that any work had actually
14
    been performed by CMS. Would that be a fair
15
    assessment?
16
             MR. HOLLAND: We had troubles --
17
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS:
                                     Okay.
             MR. HOLLAND: -- getting our hands around
18
19
    this concept of efficiencies.
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: Well, one that really
20
    got me -- and this will be my last question -- is when
21
2 2
    CMS paid a bill for $54,000 and it only said expenses
2 3
    incurred.
24
             MR. HOLLAND: That's -- that's a red flag to
```

```
auditors.
1
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: Okay. Had you ever
2
    seen anything like that before?
3
4
             MR. HOLLAND: Well, we do see that on
5
    occasion, and we go back and say you got to have a
6
    little bit more documentation, that ain't going to
7
    work.
8
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS:
                                     Okay. Thank you.
9
             MR. HOLLAND: Yeah.
10
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Representative Howard.
        And then we have two more audits after this last
11
12
    question.
13
             REPRESENTATIVE HOWARD: Yes. Very quickly.
14
    As I understand, General Holland, you said that there
15
    were agencies -- I'm over here. This way.
             MR. HOLLAND: I'm lost. I'm sorry.
16
17
    apologize.
             REPRESENTATIVE HOWARD: You said there were
18
19
    agencies that had to -- that were required to be
20
    billed despite the fact that they did not have
21
    savings. Would your audits have shown how that might
22
    have negatively impacted the programs that they were
2 3
    supposed to be ben -- the programs they were supposed
24
    to be funding?
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```
MR. HOLLAND: No, it would not have shown
1
    that.
3
             REPRESENTATIVE HOWARD: Okay. So --
             MR. HOLLAND: It would just have shown that
5
    the money was paid out.
6
             REPRESENTATIVE HOWARD: The money was paid
7
    out?
8
             MR. HOLLAND: We would not have done an audit
9
    of how that impacted the programs of those individual
10
    agencies.
11
             REPRESENTATIVE HOWARD: Okay. Is there
12
    anything we can do to ever find out whether or not
13
    some programs, because they did not have all of the
14
    money that they needed and that they had been
15
    allocated, therefore were negatively impacted?
16
             MR. HOLLAND: Unfortunately, that particular
17
    initiative is now three, four years old and has been
18
    discontinued, and it would be very hard to do at this
19
    point.
20
             REPRESENTATIVE HOWARD: I appreciate it.
21
    Thank you.
2 2
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Thank you.
2 3
        So, General Holland, do you want to go on then to
    the next audit?
2 4
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```
1
             MR. GENSON: Excuse me.
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Mr. Genson.
             MR. GENSON: I just have a few questions in
3
    this area. You want me to wait?
5
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: No. We're doing it one
6
    audit at a time, so now is your opportunity.
7
             MR. GENSON: Fine. Thank you. I just have a
8
    few questions.
9
        Now, Mesirow Stein. You're familiar with that
10
    company, are you?
11
             MR. HOLLAND: I recognize the name.
12
             MR. GENSON: A substantial company, are they?
13
   They deal in financial services?
14
             MR. HOLLAND: Yes.
15
             MR. GENSON: And, evidently, the -- were they
    the sole owners of IPAM?
16
17
             MR. HOLLAND: I don't believe so.
18
             REPRESENTATIVE HOWARD: Do you know who the
19
    other ones are?
20
             MR. HOLLAND: The point of confusion that I
    had -- and I apologize -- was that initially Mesirow
21
2 2
    Stein was joined with a company by the name of New
2 3
    Frontier, and New Frontier dropped out.
24
             MR. GENSON: I see. So Mesirow Stein put
```

```
together another company which they were the owners
    of, and they took the contract over?
             MR. HOLLAND: They were the owners of and
3
    they won a contract.
5
             REPRESENTATIVE HOWARD: They were the -- but
6
    Mesirow Stein was the principal of IPAM; is that
7
    correct?
8
             MR. HOLLAND: Yes.
9
             MR. GENSON: And they were the ones that
10
    ultimately got the contract; is that correct?
             MR. HOLLAND: IPAM ultimately got the
11
12
    contract.
13
             MR. GENSON: And this is not a -- Mesirow
14
    Stein didn't come into effect just at or about the
    time this contract was awarded, did it?
15
16
             MR. HOLLAND: I have no idea when Mesirow
17
    Stein came into effect.
             MR. GENSON: Well, it would be before this
18
19
    contract, certainly?
20
             MR. HOLLAND: Yes.
21
             MR. GENSON: Okay. Now, one other question,
22
            You were asked a question about the state's
    financial condition having significantly eroded in the
2 3
2 4
    last few years; is that correct?
```

```
1
             MR. HOLLAND: Yes.
             MR. GENSON: You'd agree that almost every
    state in the United States, except maybe Alaska, has a
3
    significant erosion in their financial condition in
5
   the last few years; is that right?
6
             MR. HOLLAND: Most states have seen some
7
   erosion.
8
             MR. GENSON: Thank you, sir. I have no
9
   further questions.
10
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE:
                                 Thank you.
11
        Then would you go ahead and proceed -- you don't
12
   want to go to the next audit? Mr. Mautino?
13
             REPRESENTATIVE MAUTINO: I can do them at any
14
   time, if you want to go to the other one.
15
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Okay. Why don't we go
16
   ahead and let him proceed. Yes, you, General Holland.
17
             MR. HOLLAND: Thank you. Thank you,
18
   Representative Currie.
19
        Turning now to the management audit of the flu
20
   vaccine procurement and the I-SaveRx program.
21
   this audit was conducted pursuant to House Resolution
2 2
    394. Among the key findings contained in the report
2 3
   are the following: In the fall of 2004, the U.S. Food
24
   and Drug Administration determined that flu vaccine
```

manufactured by a United Kingdom-based manufacturer was unsafe for use. Approximately half of the United States' flu vaccine supply had been provided by this 3 manufacturer. 5 As a result, in mid October of 2004, state 6 officials, primarily from the Office of the Governor and the Office of the Special Advocate for 7 8 Prescription Drugs, began taking steps to find 9 additional flu vaccine for Illinois residents. Within 10 days the Governor's office agreed to purchase the flu 11 vaccine from Ecosse Hospital Products, Limited, even 12 though the administration knew that the importation of 13 flu vaccine was not legal because they did not have 14 approval for importation from the Food and Drug 15 Administration. 16 The administration proceeded with the procurement 17 even after documentation showed that the Center for Disease Control had located sufficient flu vaccine to 18 19 cover Illinois' priority population. In spite of 20 this, the state increased the number of doses it 21 sought to acquire by 74,000 doses to a total of 254,000. 2 2 Not until almost three weeks after the Governor's 2 3 2 4 office agreed to purchase flu vaccine did the special

```
advocate, who was negotiating the purchase, become
    aware that a contract was needed in order to purchase
   the vaccine. On October 10, 2004 the special advocate
    indicated in an e-mail to an official at the
   Department of Public Aid, quote, I've been talking to
   the budget office, the department, the Governor, and
7
    nobody has said word one about a contract. We've been
   told several times the payment would be processed COD.
   If someone needs a contract, then you or someone else
10
    needs to get it done without delay, unquote.
11
        Now, as an aside, I know of no other product,
12
    service, or contract ever paid COD -- cash on
13
   delivery -- for any service in the State of
14
    Illinois -- certainly not for something that was in
15
    excess of $2 million.
16
        Further, the contract entered into between the
17
    state and the vendor was not timely. The contract was
18
    signed on January 13, 2005 -- January 13, 2005 -- by
19
   the deputy chief of staff. This was two days after --
20
   two days after the vendor submitted a bill for $2.6
21
   million for the vaccine.
2 2
        Illinois officials negotiated with the vendor to
   identify flu vaccine for five additional governments.
2 3
   The total amount of vaccine billed by the vendor to
24
```

the governments was over \$8.2 million for approximately 773,000 doses of vaccine. However, Illinois officials failed to develop agreements with 3 the other governments, leaving the state potentially liable for \$8.2 million. 5 6 The vaccine was never allowed in the country, and 16 months after these events the administration 7 8 donated the vaccine to Pakistan. Reportedly, 9 Pakistani officials destroyed the vaccine because it 10 had expired. 11 One of the more troubling conclusions we reached 12 IN our report is that high-ranking Illinois officials 13 appeared to be aware that the vaccine would never be 14 delivered, even prior to being billed by the vendor 15 and executing a contract in January 2005. 16 In December -- in a December 21, 2004 e-mail to 17 the Governor's office, the special advocate stated, 18 quote, We probably will never take delivery of these 19 doses; so we will need to find a way to pay for the 20 service they performed. 21 Ultimately, payment to the vendor was stopped by the Comptroller's office because of a lack of federal 2 2 2 3 approval for the importation of the vaccine purchased 24 under the contract. The Comptroller also objected to

```
the Governor's office attempting to obligate
    appropriations made to the Department of Public Aid in
    order to make payments under a signed -- in order to
    make payments under a contract signed by the Deputy
    Governor's office.
5
6
        As a result, the vendor was not paid, and it filed
7
    suit in March of 2005 in the Court of Claims, seeking
    $2.6 million from the state.
8
9
        Similar to the attempted purchase of flu vaccine,
    the I-SaveRx program also involves the importation of
10
11
    prescription drugs into the United States in violation
12
    of federal law. Under the I-SaveRx program, consumers
13
    in Illinois and other participating states purchased
14
    prescription refills --
15
             REPRESENTATIVE TURNER:
                                      Mr. Holland.
16
                           I'm pretty close.
             MR. HOLLAND:
17
             UNIDENTIFIED: Mr. Holland.
18
             UNIDENTIFIED: Wait one second.
19
             UNIDENTIFIED: I don't think that's part of
20
    the -- I don't think that's part of this.
21
             MR. HOLLAND:
                           Am I to --
2 2
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: I'm just saying
2 3
    I-SaveRx is not on our -- not on our sheet. It's not
24
    part of our curricula.
```

```
1
             MR. HOLLAND: It's all part of the flu --
2
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS:
                                      Unless you have a
    different one than we do. Okay.
3
4
             REPRESENTATIVE TURNER: Continue.
                                                 Continue,
    Mr. Holland.
5
6
             MR. HOLLAND: Okay. Similar to the attempt
7
    to purchase the flu vaccine, the I-SaveRx program also
8
    involves the importation of prescription drugs into
9
    the United States in violation of federal law.
10
    the I-SaveRx program, consumers in Illinois and other
11
    participating states purchased prescription refills
12
    from pharmacies in Canada, the United Kingdom,
13
    Australia and New Zealand. Outreach activities for
14
    the I-SaveRx program were primarily coordinated
15
    through the Governor's office. Employees from 28
16
    agencies participated in the marketing of the I-SaveRx
17
    program.
        At the time our audit was released, the I-SaveRx
18
19
    program had not been approved by the federal Food and
20
    Drug Administration and violated federal laws
21
    governing the importation of drugs. Nevertheless, the
2 2
    very same day the audit was released the Governor
    notified the Food and Drug Administration that he
2 3
24
    intended to continue the I-SaveRx program and even
```

```
expand it to state employees and their dependents.
1
2
        Overall, the state has spent considerable funds
    developing, maintaining, and marketing this program,
3
    despite the fact that it has not yet been approved by
    the federal government.
5
6
        This concludes my remarks, and I'll be happy to
7
    continue to answer any questions.
8
             CHAIRMAN TURNER: I did not identify myself.
9
    I'm Representative Turner in the chair.
10
        The first person with questions is Representative
11
    Franks.
12
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS:
                                     Thank you.
13
        Auditor General, thank you. This was a -- you did
14
    this audit pursuant to a House resolution that I had
15
    authored, asking you to look into this, and I
16
    appreciate you doing it, and I don't want to belabor
17
    your -- what you've said.
        I would direct the committee's attention to
18
19
    Exhibit 2.2 in the audit, which is the flu vaccine
20
    procurement timeline. I think if you'll look at that
21
    timeline, it really helps people understand what
2 2
    happened here. And just to summarize quickly, in
2 3
    October we thought there might have been a flu vaccine
24
    shortage and -- I guess I'm going to ask the Auditor
```

```
1
    General.
        In prior years the typical dosage that the -- that
    Illinois would purchase for its priority population
3
    was approximately 200,000 doses, wasn't it?
    the prior year was 208,000, if I recall correctly?
5
6
             MR. HOLLAND: Pretty close to correct.
7
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS:
                                      Okay. But in this
    year the Governor ordered over 500,000 doses, didn't
8
9
    he, just for Illinois, not including those other
10
    governments?
11
             MR. HOLLAND: The 500,000, I believe,
12
    included the other governments also.
13
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: And I want to look at
14
    that pie chart. We might want to look at that later
15
    because I think there was 800,000 altogether?
16
             MR. HOLLAND: There were 773,000 altogether
17
    for all the states.
18
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS:
19
             MR. HOLLAND: All the states.
20
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS:
                                      Okay.
             MR. HOLLAND: And the city of Cleveland.
21
2 2
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: But he ordered
2 3
    significantly more than prior years.
24
        Going back to the time -- I think it's important
```

```
that the committee understands the timing. In October
   we thought there might have been a problem. But then
   we found out from the CDC -- and I believe that was
3
    sometime in early December. The Centers for Disease
5
   Control out of Atlanta said that we did not have a
6
    shortage and that there was enough flu vaccine for the
7
    priority population of the State of Illinois; is that
8
   correct?
9
             MR. HOLLAND: They -- I was looking
10
   on the chart.
11
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: Okay. I'm sorry.
12
             MR. HOLLAND: I apologize.
13
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: No. My question is
14
           In December the Centers for Disease Control
15
   indicated that there was enough flu vaccine to cover
   the priority population for the State of Illinois and
16
17
   that there was no shortage?
18
             MR. HOLLAND: Correct.
19
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: Okay. So that was in
20
   December sometime. I think it was early December.
21
   You had uncovered a memo on December 21st from Scott
2 2
   McKibben, the Governor's special advocate for
2 3
   prescription drugs, and he put in that memo to the
24
   Governor's office that we will probably never take
```

```
delivery; so we need a way to find to pay for the
    service, in quotations, they performed. Correct?
             MR. HOLLAND: Correct.
3
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: So knowing -- and
    they found out from the FDA before then -- this was in
5
6
    the same month of December 2004. The FDA had stated
7
    that you will never bring these in because they're not
8
    approved.
9
             MR. HOLLAND: correct.
10
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: So we knew in
11
    December that, (a), we didn't need them; (b), that
12
    they would never be brought in; and that, (c),
13
    there -- first on the -- (b) would -- the FDA wouldn't
14
    approve; and the third is that we knew they would
15
    never get here.
16
        So what happened afterward was on January 13th the
17
    Governor signed a contract two days after they were
18
    billed by Ecosse. Would that be correct?
19
             MR. HOLLAND:
                           Yes.
20
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: All right. So three
21
    weeks after knowing we didn't need it and couldn't
2 2
    bring it here we were billed, and then we signed a
2 3
    contract?
24
             MR. HOLLAND:
                           Yes.
```

```
1
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: But then we never
2
    turned that contract in to the Comptroller; correct?
             MR. HOLLAND: Well, the --
3
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: Not within the
5
    ten-day mandatory -- isn't there a ten-day time frame
6
    you're supposed to turn the contract in?
7
             MR. HOLLAND: What happened was the contract
8
    was submitted to the Comptroller, but the Comptroller
9
    rejected it.
10
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS:
                                     Right. And then the
    Comptroller said he's not going to pay for this.
11
12
             MR. HOLLAND: Comptroller says he's not going
13
    to pay it. There were --
14
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: All right.
15
             MR. HOLLAND: -- as we outline, significant
    problems.
16
17
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: So then we had the
18
    hearing in our -- in state government administration,
19
    and at that time the state had not paid for the
20
    billing of the $2.6 million. Subsequent to that
21
    hearing, did we learn then that the state, knowing
2 2
    that we were in litigation already, determining
2 3
    whether we were going to have to pay for this --
24
    because there was a way -- I remember we talked about
```

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this in committee. Hey, the contract should be void
    admonitio, meaning it should never have been entered
    into because it was an illegal contract; so we could
    get out of it that way, and we thought we might have
    some chance to defend that in the Court of Claims.
5
6
        But didn't instead the Governor thereafter donate
7
    it to the government of Pakistan where it was then
8
    determined that these had been expired, and they were
9
    destroyed?
10
             MR. HOLLAND:
                           Yes.
11
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: So at that point we
12
    lost all of our legal defenses because we had actually
13
    taken control and given these flu vaccines to a
14
    sovereign nation.
15
             MR. HOLLAND: As to the legal defenses, I'm
16
    not qualified to --
17
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS:
                                      okay.
                                             I just -- I
18
    just wanted to hit those highlights and show that
19
    there was a lot more ordered, we knew we didn't need
20
    them, we knew we couldn't bring them in, and then,
21
    even after knowing all that, the Governor then
2 2
    obligated us again when we still had a chance to get
          I'll let other folks --
2 3
    out.
24
             MR. HOLLAND: But I just want to go back and
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```
clarify one point for you --
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS:
                                     Yes.
             MR. HOLLAND: -- Representative Franks, and
3
    that is the breakout of the 773,000 doses is --
    254,000 were for the State of Illinois. New York City
5
    was in for 200,000. New Mexico was in for 150,000.
7
    Tennessee was in for -- it appears to be 150,000.
    Kansas was in for 15,000, and Cleveland was in for
8
9
    4,000.
10
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS:
                                      Okay. But the
    254,000 would still be a 25 percent jump from what we
11
12
    had ever used in the past, knowing that we had no
13
    shortage.
             MR. HOLLAND: That's correct.
14
15
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: Okay. And then
    wasn't there -- didn't Public Aid submit an emergency
16
17
    purchase affidavit for this?
18
             MR. HOLLAND: Yeah. When did they do that?
19
   The answer to that is yes.
20
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS:
                                      How --
21
             MR. HOLLAND: The answer is yes.
2 2
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: And, now, was that
2 3
    what the Comptroller responded to and said we're not
24
    paying this?
```

```
1
             MR. HOLLAND: That was in January of '05.
2
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS:
                                     In January. Okay.
   So that's the time the Comptroller -- and I was
3
   looking at your audit, and in the answer that the
   Governor gave -- and I'm going to direct your
5
   attention to page 38 of the office (sic) where it
6
   looks at procurement planning. I marked this last
7
8
   night. Just want to take a look. Was the Governor's
    answer in response to your audit was that "After the
   FDA did not respond to our -- underlined -- repeated
10
11
    requests, the Governor utilized the supreme executive
12
   authority granted to him through the Constitution of
13
   the State of Illinois to protect the health and
   welfare of the citizens of Illinois and authorized the
14
15
   procurement of flu shots for Illinois' most vulnerable
16
   population." Was that the Governor's response to your
17
   audit findings?
18
             MR. HOLLAND: Yes.
19
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: Thank you. Nothing
    further.
20
21
             CHAIRMAN TURNER:
                               Representative Davis.
2 2
             REPRESENTATIVE DAVIS: Thank you, Mr.
2 3
   Chairman.
24
        Mr. Holland, we know that the mishandling of the
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purchase of the flu vaccine as arranged by this
    administration resulted in significant cost to the
    state. At the end of the day, in your judgment, who
3
   would be responsible for this error?
5
             MR. HOLLAND: I apologize. Can you restate
6
   that?
           I'm sorry.
7
             REPRESENTATIVE DAVIS: I said, you know, at
   the end of the day, who would be responsible for this
8
9
            It was very -- a large cost to the State of
   error?
10
   Illinois.
11
             MR. HOLLAND: It was the -- the -- the
12
   individuals or the entity that had taken virtual
13
   control over this particular initiative was the Office
14
   of the Governor and the Deputy Governor and the
15
    special advocate who was working very closely with the
16
   Deputy Governor.
17
             REPRESENTATIVE DAVIS: You would say the
18
   Governor was responsible for --
19
             MR. HOLLAND: This is pretty close, yes.
20
             REPRESENTATIVE DAVIS: Can we assume that the
21
   Governor's office was fully aware that the purchase of
22
   the flu vaccine from a foreign source was unlikely to
2 3
   be approved by the FDA?
24
             MR. HOLLAND: Yes.
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```
1
             REPRESENTATIVE DAVIS: You're saying they --
    they knew that was unlikely for it to be approved?
             MR. HOLLAND: Either they knew or they should
3
4
    have known, and if didn't, either case is not exactly
5
    flattering.
6
             REPRESENTATIVE DAVIS: Is there any
7
    indication, Mr. Holland, that the Governor's office
8
    knew the vaccines were not licensed for use in the
9
    United States and therefore impossible to import?
             MR. HOLLAND: Well, they -- it was not
10
11
    approved for importation by the FDA; so they -- I
12
    mean, it goes back to your first question.
13
             REPRESENTATIVE DAVIS: Did the purchase of
14
    these vaccines or this vaccine happen after it was
15
    clear that the Governor's office knew that they
16
    wouldn't be licensed for use? Did he continue to
    purchase this even though he knew this was not
17
18
    approved?
19
             MR. HOLLAND: I think the answer to that
    question is yes.
20
21
             REPRESENTATIVE DAVIS: Mr. Holland, with the
22
    additional vaccines made available by the Centers for
2 3
    Disease Control at the end of the year 2004, was the
24
    purchase or purchase of this magnitude even necessary
```

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in the State of Illinois?
1
2
             MR. HOLLAND: I think that in the end it
    turned out not to be.
3
4
             REPRESENTATIVE DAVIS: Do you think that some
    of our agencies or one of them might have known that
5
6
    it would not have been needed?
             MR. HOLLAND: I don't know that I can guess
7
8
    that.
           I don't know the answer to that, Representative
9
    Davis.
10
             REPRESENTATIVE DAVIS: You think it's fair to
    say that, by ordering more vaccines than the state
11
12
    needed, the Governor's office was attempting to take
13
    the lead on purchasing vaccines for multiple states?
14
             MR. HOLLAND: Oh, there's no question about
15
    that. Yes.
16
             REPRESENTATIVE DAVIS: Do you think he was
17
    hoping to get credit or give credit to Illinois when
18
    other states had a shortage?
19
             MR. HOLLAND: I think so, yes.
20
             REPRESENTATIVE DAVIS: What would be the
21
    purpose? Why?
             MR. HOLLAND: You know what, you'll have to
2 2
2 3
    ask the Governor that question.
24
             REPRESENTATIVE DAVIS: You've asked that too.
```

```
What do you think -- or do you think it's reasonable
    to speculate that the purchase of the vaccines may
    have had more to do with our Governor's political
3
    positioning for perhaps presidential ambitions rather
    than for the health of the citizens of the State of
5
6
    Illinois?
7
             MR. HOLLAND: I'm struggling to get routine
    audit material from these agencies.
8
9
             REPRESENTATIVE DAVIS: You'd prefer not to
10
    say.
         Okay.
11
             MR. HOLLAND: Yeah.
12
             REPRESENTATIVE DAVIS: Despite the actual
13
    losses, Mr. Holland, that the state realized, were
14
    there potentially more greater losses -- would there
15
    have been greater losses if the state had actually
    been able to purchase the full amount of the vaccines?
16
17
             MR. HOLLAND: Clearly. Yes.
18
             REPRESENTATIVE DAVIS: Yes. Okay. And in
19
    your audit you state that the lead negotiator had no
20
    idea that a contract was necessary to complete the
21
    purchase, and the contract was not drawn up until
2 2
    after the state made the order and received the bill
2 3
    for the vaccines. How could this possibly have
24
    occurred?
```

```
1
             MR. HOLLAND: A question we asked a thousand
    times, and it wasn't just the notion of we're not
    going to be able to purchase this product; now we want
3
    to change it. Because we can't purchase the product,
    we want to change it to a service, which is probably
5
6
    not subject to the importation prohibitions of the
7
    Food and Drug Administration. So that was
    problematic. It was a moving target what the State of
8
9
    Illinois' resources were going to be acquiring.
10
             REPRESENTATIVE DAVIS: Have you ever seen any
    other state purchase of this size in your long career
11
12
    that didn't have a contract?
13
             MR. HOLLAND: I can't address questions of
14
    other states.
15
             REPRESENTATIVE DAVIS: Do you think it's
    possible that the Governor's office knew they would
16
17
    not get federal approval and they didn't draw up the
18
    contract to avoid paying the vendor?
19
             MR. HOLLAND: I don't know what was going
20
    through their mind at the time.
21
             REPRESENTATIVE DAVIS: My final question,
2 2
    Mr. Chairman.
2 3
             MR. HOLLAND: Yes.
2 4
             REPRESENTATIVE DAVIS: Mr. Holland, would you
```

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classify the decision by the Governor's office to
    purchase a large amount of unneeded vaccines from a
    foreign supplier against federal regulations without
    the needed contract as willful deceit, gross
    mismanagement, and/or malfeasance? Would you classify
5
6
    that decision --
             MR. HOLLAND: It clearly is a waste of state
7
8
    resources.
9
             REPRESENTATIVE DAVIS: Does that constitute
    malfeasance?
10
             MR. HOLLAND: Well, I'm not an attorney, and
11
12
    I can't make that determination about malfeasance but
13
    it --
14
             REPRESENTATIVE DAVIS: Would it constitute
15
    gross misconduct, mismanagement?
16
             MR. HOLLAND: What was problematic was they
17
    knew they couldn't do it and every step they took they
18
    became more aware, and yet they continued to pursue.
19
    It was a problem.
20
             REPRESENTATIVE DAVIS: Were those practices
    deemed to be deceitful to the citizens of the State of
21
    Illinois?
2 2
2 3
             MR. HOLLAND: Deceitful.
2 4
             REPRESENTATIVE DAVIS: Yes?
```

```
1
             MR. HOLLAND: It certainly was -- I'm sorry.
    Representative Sacia, you're right in my way -- my
    line --
             REPRESENTATIVE DAVIS: I mean, the very fact
    that there's no contract?
5
6
             MR. HOLLAND: It was -- it was -- it was
7
    lousy government at its best.
8
             REPRESENTATIVE DAVIS: And very costly.
9
             MR. HOLLAND: And very costly. Very costly.
10
             REPRESENTATIVE DAVIS: And it was shipped to
    Pakistan; is that correct?
11
12
             MR. HOLLAND: Shipped to Pakistan, we
13
    believe.
14
             REPRESENTATIVE DAVIS: But, fortunately,
15
    their government realized it would have been deadly
    for them.
16
17
             MR. HOLLAND: They destroyed it.
                                                It is the
18
    best of our knowledge they destroyed the product.
19
             REPRESENTATIVE DAVIS: Mr. Holland, thank you
20
    much for your concise answers.
21
             CHAIRMAN TURNER: Representative Rose.
2 2
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE:
                                   Thank you.
2 3
        Just to clarify. A minute ago, General, you
2 4
    referenced a Deputy Governor. Which Deputy Governor
```

```
would that have been?
             MR. HOLLAND: That would have been Bradley
   Tusk.
3
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: Okay. Thank you.
                                                       Just
5
   want to get that on record.
6
        I wanted to be clear because I think
7
    Representative Franks in his comments had pointed out
8
    that there was a memo that showed that the
    administration was aware that this wasn't going to
10
    work out from sometime in December. Was that a memo
11
    that you have, or is that a memo that you have?
12
             MR. HOLLAND: It's a memo that we have, and
13
    it was an e-mail from -- and I referenced it in my
14
    comments.
15
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: From Scott McKibben.
16
    And is that in the documents we have here we got this
17
    morning? If not, can we get a copy of it?
             MR. HOLLAND: We'll make sure that that's
18
19
    available to the committee.
20
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: Thank you.
        Actually, this is just for my own information.
21
22
    Did -- who -- you think it was shipped to Pakistan.
2 3
    who shipped it? Did the taxpayers pay for that
2 4
    shipment?
```

```
1
             MR. HOLLAND: It was probably shipped from
    Ecosse, Limited in the United Kingdom because it never
    hit the borders of the United States.
4
             REPRESENTATIVE ROSE: Okay. All right.
5
    Thank you.
6
             MR. HOLLAND: To the best of our knowledge.
7
             CHAIRMAN TURNER:
                               Representative Lang.
        And Representative Currie back in the chair.
8
9
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Thank you very much.
        Before I ask you some questions about the flu
10
11
    vaccine, I want to talk about the Loop Lab School
12
    briefly. You indicated that your audit is not
13
    complete. Can you give us some indication as to why
14
    it's not complete?
15
             MR. HOLLAND: Well, as I indicated in my
    brief reference in the beginning is that we are --
16
17
    we're having some trouble with one of the resolved
18
    issues that the audit directs me to do, which is to
19
    find out what person or persons were involved in these
20
    transactions. And it's been a chore for us to try and
21
    find those people.
2 2
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: And so when you say
2 3
    "find those people," I assume that means you're trying
24
    to interface with the Governor's office to try and get
```

```
the information as to who approved the grant, who
    negotiated the grant, and those types of things, and
    they aren't forthcoming with the information; is that
3
    correct?
5
             MR. HOLLAND: We're working with a number of
6
    agencies to try and find out the source of the -- of
7
    the initial grant and --
8
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: What are they
9
    telling -- I'm sorry to interrupt. What are they
10
    telling you?
11
             MR. HOLLAND: And that's the step where I
12
    can't go into it because of the -- it's an ongoing
13
    audit issue.
14
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Can you tell us the
15
    names of people you have talked to that have refused
16
    to answer your questions?
17
             MR. HOLLAND: No, I didn't say that anybody
18
    had refused to answer the questions. I didn't say
19
           It's just that -- the answer to that question
20
    is no.
21
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: All right.
             MR. HOLLAND: I apologize, but it's -- it
2 2
2 3
    would be inappropriate.
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG:
24
                                         That's okay.
                                    No.
                                                       We
```

```
1
    don't want to step on your toes.
             MR. HOLLAND: It would be inappropriate.
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: We want to let you do
3
4
    your work.
5
        Relative to the flu vaccine, you indicated that
6
    there were high -- that the Governor's office took the
7
    lead on that issue and that there were high-ranking
    officials in the Governor's office that were involved
8
    in the process of making the decision, doing the
10
    negotiations, getting the contract prepared, et
11
           Can you give us the names of those high-
    cetera.
12
    ranking officials?
13
             MR. HOLLAND: Well, clearly, Deputy Governor
14
    Tusk was involved, and the special advocate for
15
    prescription drugs was a guy by -- a gentleman by the
16
    name of -- I believe it's Scott McKibben; is that
17
    correct? Those were the two primary movers. Anybody
18
    else? And one other person who at the time was the --
19
    I believe the deputy chief of staff was Louanner
20
    Peters signed the actual contract.
21
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: All right. And was it
22
    your testimony that, because of a federal law, the
2 3
    State of Illinois broke federal law just by ordering
    the flu vaccine?
24
```

```
1
             MR. HOLLAND:
                           No. What was -- what is the --
    the federal law prohibited the importation. I guess
    you could order it, but if you didn't actually bring
3
    it in, you didn't break the law.
5
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: And so we -- the
6
    ordering of the vaccine was not the problem, but the
7
    federal law forbade the delivery of it into the United
    States: is that correct?
8
9
             MR. HOLLAND: Yeah. And then the obligation
10
    of state resources.
11
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: And is it also your
12
    testimony that the Governor's office at some point --
13
    certainly, when the audit came forth, the Governor's
14
    office knew that that was an illegal act and proceeded
15
    to interface with the Food and Drug Administration and
16
    others as to the fact that he was going to do it
17
    anyway?
             MR. HOLLAND: What -- well, first of all,
18
19
    he -- the -- the administration knew -- without a
20
    doubt in our mind, the administration knew that the
21
    importation of the flu vaccine was against federal
2 2
    law.
2 3
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: And at what time did
2 4
    they know that? Did they know it at the time they
```

```
ordered?
1
2
             MR. HOLLAND: If they didn't, they should
   have, and then the question is when did -- when did
3
   the administration notify -- wrong issue.
   floating between two drug issues.
5
6
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: All right. Let me move
7
        where was the money to come from in the state
   budget to pay for this? What line item?
8
9
             MR. HOLLAND: One of the trust funds within
10
   the Department of Public Aid.
11
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: And assuming all of the
12
   transactions were legal, would that have been
13
   appropriate?
14
             MR. HOLLAND: In the letter -- and if you'll
15
   hang on, I had it right here in front of me -- the
16
   letter from the Comptroller's office, they did not
17
   believe so. So the answer -- so the short answer is
        The short answer is would it have been
18
19
   appropriate to use that -- those funds? The
   Comptroller's office did not believe so.
20
21
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: But I believe you said
22
   the Comptroller's office thought it was inappropriate
2 3
   because the law -- because it was illegal to import
24
   those drugs. My question was whether the line item
```

```
chosen to pay for those drugs was the appropriate line
2
    item.
                           Right. And in a letter sent to
3
             MR. HOLLAND:
    Mr. Monk, the chief of staff of the Governor, dated
4
    January 31st of 2005, by Keith Taylor, who is the
5
6
    Deputy Comptroller -- one of the Deputy
7
    Comptrollers -- he says we do not believe the
8
    Governor's office can obligate -- can obligate another
9
    agency's appropriations to make payments for its own
10
    contract liabilities.
11
        So the issue was not so much could that fund have
12
    been used for it had the Department of Public Aid
13
    obligated. And then they then go on to say in a
14
    little bit of a -- in a hesitating language "Moreover,
15
    the use of the Public Aid Recoveries Trust Fund for
16
    the purposes of acquiring the vaccine at best
17
    represents an extremely broad interpretation of that
    fund's allowable utilization."
18
19
        They didn't say no as a result of that, but they
20
    did say we don't think that the -- that you, the
21
    Governor's office, can obligate the Public Aid trust
    fund.
2 2
2 3
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Should this have
2 4
    required legislative approval? Presuming that it was
```

```
a legal transaction in the first place, should it have
    required legislative approval? Would the Governor in
    some manner or form have the authority to do this
3
   without legislative approval?
5
             MR. HOLLAND: I think the answer to that
6
   question is it is -- they purchase vaccines all the
          Okay? So that's not a problem. Were it an
7
   time.
8
   emergency? You know, an emergency? They might have
9
   been able to, but they would have purchased from
10
   someplace within the country.
11
        So, you know, your question really doesn't get
12
   asked, because they've got problems right from the
13
   git-go in that they're trying to buy from outside the
   country. Does that make sense?
14
15
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Just a couple of more
   things. What's the status of the $2.6 million lawsuit
16
17
   against the state today?
             MR. HOLLAND: I do not know the answer to
18
19
   that question.
20
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: All right.
                                                Is it
    something your office follows?
21
2 2
             MR. HOLLAND: Not -- not particularly.
2 3
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: All right. We'll try
   to get the answer.
2 4
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```
1
        Last area relates to your audit report and your
   conclusions. And it appears that the Governor's
3
   office, through the Department of Healthcare and
    Family Services and perhaps others, spent a
    significant amount of money promoting this program
5
6
   even before there was a contract signed and even
7
   before there was any activity relative to the
    importation of the drugs. So I won't read all of it.
8
9
        But it appears that you have an estimate of
10
    $488,000 for estimated payroll costs, $111,000 in
11
   travel expenses, $220,000 in legal fees, $51,000 for
12
   marketing, and other miscellaneous items. Is it your
13
   opinion -- go ahead. You wanted to say something.
14
             MR. HOLLAND:
                           No. You're doing fine.
15
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG:
                                   Is it --
16
             MR. HOLLAND: With the exception of one
17
   thing.
           You're talking about the I-SaveRx program.
18
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Correct. Correct.
19
   Again, I'm now mixing two things. So in reference to
20
   that program, before the contract was signed, all of
21
   these expenditures were accomplished, and I know
   you're not an attorney but, in your opinion, was that
22
2 3
   an illegal thing to do?
             MR. HOLLAND: We didn't think it was a
24
```

```
prudent thing to do.
1
2
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Are there other
    instances in your terms as Auditor General where
3
    Governors have expended money to promote a program
    that is -- where the contract is not yet signed?
5
6
             MR. HOLLAND: Boy, I'd have to go back and
7
    look, but I can't think of any. Hang on.
                                                I may stand
    corrected. Other than the fact that, you know, it is
8
9
    not unusual -- and we have found in this particular --
10
    this administration it happens a lot -- there is not a
11
    timely execution of contracts, in which case things
12
    are being done for which there is no contract in
13
    place.
14
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: And do you have an
15
    opinion as to why that happens? Is it incompetence,
16
    or is it purposeful moving ahead with a program,
17
    forcing a program through that really hasn't
    legitimately seen the light of day yet?
18
19
             MR. HOLLAND: I think it's -- I think it's
20
    the latter. Is that there's these -- there's this
21
    mentality, this belief that we just got to move ahead
2 2
    without regard to what the laws and policies and the
    procedures and the rules and regulations, which are
2 3
24
    put into place to provide for accountable
```

```
1
    transparency. I mean, it's nice to know that you have
    a contract in place to do certain things, and the way
    the public knows or the way the General Assembly knows
    is they have the opportunity to see those contracts.
5
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Would you consider this
6
    a pattern of behavior that you have not seen in other
    administrations?
7
8
             MR. HOLLAND: We have seen this a lot in this
9
    administration. More so than other administrations.
10
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG:
                                   Thank you.
        Just for the record, members of the committee, the
11
12
    $2.6 million lawsuit is still pending and is not yet
13
    resolved.
14
        Thank you, Mr. Holland. Thank you, Madam
15
    Chairman.
16
                                  Representative Bellock.
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE:
17
             REPRESENTATIVE BELLOCK: Thank you very much,
    Madam Chairman.
18
19
        This is just kind of a follow-up on what
20
    Representative Lang was just talking about, but dating
21
    back to the announcement of this program in October 4,
2 2
    2004, just in general on the I-SaveRx program, when it
2 3
    was put up on the website, it said developed by the
24
    State of Illinois. As far as I can see, I don't think
```

1 that there was any statute or anything that developed this program. This was the Governor's program. And from the beginning, this program was deemed --3 the operation of this operation was deemed as a violation of federal law; isn't that correct? 5 6 MR. HOLLAND: Yes. 7 REPRESENTATIVE BELLOCK: So just along with what we've spent three or four hours on this morning 8 9 with FamilyCare, FamilyCare actually was a program 10 that was developed. This was a program, I feel, that 11 was developed going around, again, the legislative 12 branch just by the executive branch. 13 But it was a program that, yes, had a laudable 14 goal in providing drugs for seniors, but to the extent 15 of putting seniors at jeopardy by going through a 16 program that was in a viol -- the operation of 17 importation of drugs from Canada was in violation of federal law. 18 19 And, also, that at this point they couldn't assure 20 that where they were importing those drugs from. 21 think Canada had already been notified that even if 2 2 the drugs were FDA approved -- which a lot of those drugs were not because they couldn't assure that the 2 3 24 pharmaceutical companies that made them there were

```
assured -- that even if they were assured, they
    couldn't say that those drugs were the same exact as
    to what seniors or other people who were ordering the
3
    drugs thought they were from the beginning because
    there was no FDA approval of that.
5
6
        So, again, I think it's a problem of going forward
7
    with a program that, yes, had a laudable goal, but
8
    that was illegal, it was in violation of federal law
9
    from the beginning of the original program, and then
10
    moving forward to when they got involved with the flu
11
    vaccine, it even enlarged that issue.
12
        But during that time period, when several people
13
    objected to this, it was brought up at every single
14
    healthcare program that the state was talking about.
    They would -- even in the Medicare D forms that we had
15
16
    there would be mention of the I-SaveRx program and how
17
    to sign up for it and to go forward.
18
                          Excuse me. I understood this
             MR. GENSON:
19
    whole subject was not on the agenda.
20
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE:
                                  Pardon me?
                          I understood this subject was
21
             MR. GENSON:
2 2
    not on the agenda.
2 3
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: This is the subject of
24
    the audit. That she's inquiring the audit --
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```
MR. GENSON: But I had understood when the --
1
    when the gent -- when the Auditor General was asked to
    talk about it, it was said that this was not on our
3
    agenda, the I-Save program.
5
             MR. HOLLAND: It's on the letter that I
6
    was -- received from the --
7
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: The which program?
8
             MR. GENSON: All right. I'll -- like was
9
    talked about. I'll proceed to ask questions on it,
10
    but I was under -- it was understood, I thought, that
11
    that specific program was not on the agenda. It was
12
    not on the agenda that I've been furnished, but that's
13
    fine.
           If we're going into it --
14
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: This was part of the
15
    audit that I believe was part of the agenda.
16
        Representative Bellock, did you finish your
17
    questions?
18
             REPRESENTATIVE BELLOCK: Thank you very much.
19
    It was just part of the flu vaccine that they were
    discussing the I-SaveRx. I think it was the Lab
20
21
    School that was not -- that audit wasn't going to be
2 2
    discussed.
2 3
                                 Representative Mautino.
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE:
24
             REPRESENTATIVE MAUTINO: Thank you, Madam
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I will be brief. Most of the questions
   Chairman.
   that I had have been asked and answered. So I think
   I'm going to go just a little bit -- a little bit
   broader. I've heard all these audits and read them
   and actually am usually the one questioning them with
5
    the audit commission.
7
        General Holland, has our -- in respect to the
   auditors within the agencies, do they report to the
8
9
   directors of those agencies?
10
             MR. HOLLAND: Well, as you know,
11
   Representative Mautino, the internal auditors were
12
   moved from the individual agencies to the Office of
13
   Internal Audits under Executive Order No. 10 in 2003.
14
   So what has occurred now is that those auditors report
   to the chief internal auditor, and they do not have
15
16
   that direct contact -- that direct line contact,
17
   agency director to internal auditor, that they had
18
   before.
19
             REPRESENTATIVE MAUTINO: With that report --
20
    and that's basically under the auspices of CMS?
21
             MR. HOLLAND: That's under the auspices of
22
   CMS, and, you know, previously, the operation of the
2 3
   internal auditors was really the office that would
   discover the problems that existed before the external
2 4
```

```
1
    auditors, that is, before my people got in.
2
             REPRESENTATIVE MAUTINO: And that's to my
    point, and I've said this throughout the commission,
3
    as I said it with Ginger Austrow (sp) and with John
    Filan as we discussed the Wrigley Field and IFA audit
5
6
    in last week's meeting. Without the auditors within
7
    those agencies, there's no one who stands by the
8
    window, tells the director, you know what, you can't
9
    do that, or you're going to blow that deadline, which
    brings about the audit findings.
10
11
             MR. HOLLAND:
                           Problematic.
12
             REPRESENTATIVE MAUTINO: For the -- in many
13
    cases, can you just give the committee a track of the
14
    agencies and findings since the auditors no longer
15
    report to the directors anymore, and then the copy of
16
    the federal single audit which shows, for this reason
17
    and other reasons, many of our major agencies are
    extremely screwed up. I mean, a lot of findings that
18
19
    we wouldn't have found a decade ago when I started
20
    serving on it. So if you can give federal single
21
    audits to the committee and just that rack up, which I
2 2
    know we have --
2 3
             MR. HOLLAND: We have, and I will get you a
24
    summary of those findings.
```

```
1
             REPRESENTATIVE MAUTINO: -- to show how all
2
    agencies are doing?
3
                                 I can do that.
             MR. HOLLAND: Yes.
             REPRESENTATIVE MAUTINO:
                                       Thank you.
5
             MR. HOLLAND: Yes.
6
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Representative Flowers.
7
             REPRESENTATIVE FLOWERS:
                                      Thank you, Madam
8
               I too shall be brief because most of my
    Chairman.
9
    questions have been asked and answered, but just want
10
    to be clear.
11
        The I-SaveRx program. Is it illegal here in the
12
    State of Illinois?
13
             MR. HOLLAND: The importation of drugs from
14
    out of -- out of the country is.
15
             REPRESENTATIVE FLOWERS: It is.
16
             MR. HOLLAND: Yes.
17
             REPRESENTATIVE FLOWERS: And we're still
18
    doing it today?
19
             MR. HOLLAND: Well, we haven't imported any
20
    drugs. I don't think they've come in. Let me be
21
    clear on this because what has -- it is illegal to
2 2
    import those prescription drugs, but the FDA has
2 3
    chosen not to prosecute any individuals who have
24
    received drugs from a foreign country. Does that make
```

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sense? There's two different --
2
             REPRESENTATIVE FLOWERS: There's a
    difference?
3
             MR. HOLLAND: Yes.
5
             REPRESENTATIVE FLOWERS: The federal
6
    government chose not to go after the people that is
7
    receiving the drugs --
8
             MR. HOLLAND: Yes.
9
             REPRESENTATIVE FLOWERS: -- because of cost
10
    savings.
             MR. HOLLAND: That's true.
11
12
             REPRESENTATIVE FLOWERS: But the
13
    implementation of the importation of drugs into this
14
    country that may not be FDA approved.
15
             MR. HOLLAND: That's -- that still is the
16
    case, that it's --
17
             REPRESENTATIVE FLOWERS: And no one is -- is
18
    anyone monitoring the safety of the drugs that's being
19
    imported into this country for the safety of the
20
    people who are to receive those drugs that may cost
21
    them their lives?
2 2
             MR. HOLLAND: That was actually an issue that
2 3
    we brought up in the audit about the safety, to make
24
    sure that there was safety, and we were not
```

```
1
    comfortable, in fact, that there was that oversight.
2
             REPRESENTATIVE FLOWERS:
                                       So we're
    jeopardizing people's lives with this particular
3
              Is it possible that the Governor -- could
5
    the Governor have negotiated with the pharmaceutical
6
    companies in regards to cost savings as opposed to
7
    doing this illegal act in regards to what is a
    violation, obviously?
8
9
             MR. HOLLAND: I don't know the answer to that
10
    question, what the Governor could have done or would
    have done or should have done. I don't know.
11
12
                                       Thank you very much.
             REPRESENTATIVE FLOWERS:
13
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: And now would you like
14
    to -- do you have questions, Mr. Genson?
15
             MR. GENSON: As a matter of fact, there's a
16
    federal law prohibiting any -- any negotiations with
17
    the -- with the drug companies regarding the purchase
18
    by the states. Do you know that to be the case?
19
             REPRESENTATIVE FLOWERS: I think that's only
20
    applicable to Medicare Part D.
21
             MR. GENSON: Did I interrupt you?
2 2
             REPRESENTATIVE FLOWERS: I'm sorry.
2 3
             MR. GENSON: I'm sorry, Representative
24
    Flowers.
              I thought I was being pointed at because I
```

```
was asked to ask questions. I'm sorry.
2
             REPRESENTATIVE FLOWERS: I'm sorry. I was
    only commenting.
3
             MR. GENSON: Okay. Thank you.
5
             REPRESENTATIVE FLOWERS: Thank you.
6
             MR. GENSON: And is it my floor or yours?
7
    Whatever you like. No. And, as a matter of fact,
8
    doctors in the United States with people who suffer
    from rare conditions are entitled and do prescribe
10
    drugs that are shipped out of Canada because they're
11
    not FDA approved here. That's done with regularity,
12
    isn't it, if you know?
13
             MR. HOLLAND: Frankly, I was getting ready to
14
    get a drink of water and didn't hear you.
15
             MR. GENSON: All right. Well, finish your
16
    water, and then I'm ask again. As a matter of fact,
17
    I'll take a drink of water.
18
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Are you ready then to go
19
    on with your third audit?
20
             MR. HOLLAND: I'm sorry?
21
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Are you ready to go with
2 2
    your -- do you have another audit?
2 3
             MR. HOLLAND: No, I'm done.
24
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Think of that.
                                                  well,
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```
thank you very much for participating --
             MR. GENSON: Can I ask a few more questions?
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Representative Franks has
3
4
    just a -- huh?
             MR. GENSON: I thought I was asking --
5
6
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Oh, I'm sorry, Mr. --
7
             MR. GENSON: Every time I start asking, they
    interrupt me, and I'm beginning to feel real picked
8
9
    on.
        As a matter of fact, doctors in the United States,
10
    regarding people with rare conditions, sort of like
11
12
    people who can't walk real well, tend to prescribe
13
    drugs in Canada that are not FDA approved, and there's
14
    prohibition against them giving that to the
    individual; isn't that correct?
15
16
             MR. HOLLAND: That was not the subject of any
17
    audit that I did, so I --
18
             MR. GENSON: Okay. And with regard -- just
19
    going back to the flu vaccine -- oh, by the way, that
20
    I-Save program, the program where you -- where you --
21
    where the government was -- or the Governor or the
    Governor's staff was going to procure drugs through
2 2
2 3
            That's a program that's alive in lot of other
    Canada.
24
    states; isn't that right?
```

```
1
             MR. HOLLAND: I don't know. I can't -- I
2
   can't say what's going on in other states.
             MR. GENSON: Now, just a few questions about
3
   the flu vaccine. We're talking 2004, close to four
5
   years ago; is that right?
6
             MR. HOLLAND:
                           Yes.
7
             MR. GENSON: And you talked about the
   timeline and whatever, but there was, at or about that
8
   time, a panic that the -- there was going to be a flu
10
   epidemic and they were -- they just didn't have enough
11
    flu vaccine. Do you remember that?
12
             MR. HOLLAND: Yes.
13
             MR. GENSON: Turned out, you said, that they
14
   didn't have to panic, but at the time there was one;
15
   is that right?
16
             MR. HOLLAND: Yes.
17
             MR. GENSON: And the flu vac -- and the flu
18
   vaccine -- and I think you used the word "priority"?
19
   Priority patients?
20
             MR. HOLLAND: I didn't use that word.
21
             MR. GENSON:
                          I'm sorry. Do you know --
2 2
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: I used that word
2 3
             MR. GENSON: Who used it? Do you know what a
   priority patient is? Because I wanted to know.
24
```

```
1
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS:
                                     Seniors.
             MR. HOLLAND: Yeah, seniors and --
             MR. GENSON: People over 65 years old?
3
             MR. HOLLAND: You probably don't qualify, Mr.
5
    Genson.
6
             MR. GENSON: Well, I love you but I -- the
7
    point of the matter is, it was for seniors who
    couldn't afford flu vaccine; is that right?
8
9
             MR. HOLLAND: Yes. That's correct.
10
             MR. GENSON: I have no further questions.
11
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Thank you.
12
        Representative Franks wants to raise a slightly
13
    different issue that isn't relative to the Auditor
14
    General. So you are excused.
15
             MR. HOLLAND: Not a moment too soon.
16
                                 Representative Franks.
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE:
17
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS:
                                     Thank you. Mr.
    Genson, I was wondering, since you're here on behalf
18
19
    of the Governor, and one of our -- one of the audits
20
    was on the Chicago Loop Lab School, but as we heard
    from testimony from the Auditor General --
21
2 2
             MR. GENSON: Representative Franks, I am here
2 3
    on behalf of the Governor, but I never conferred with
2 4
    the Governor about this. I have absolutely no idea
```

```
what that's about.
2
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: That's what I was
    going to ask, because I had a series of questions that
3
    I was hoping you could bring back to the Governor that
    we could get answers on.
5
6
             MR. GENSON: The only thing I know about that
7
    is it had to do with Pilgrim Baptist Church which used
8
    to be the original K.A.M. and was built by Sullivan,
9
    Louis Sullivan. Other than that, I know nothing.
10
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: Well, we had a
11
    hearing in our state government administration
12
    committee on this, and we are the ones who would ask
13
    the Auditor General to go forward with the audit
14
    because what we found -- we were disturbed, and we had
15
    the hearing, and at that time Deputy Governor Peters
16
    came to our committee, and we asked her a series of
17
    questions, and I think on 69 occasions she said she
    did not know.
18
19
        And I was hoping we'd be able to get some answers,
20
    and maybe the Governor could respond to these if we
21
    provided them to you?
2 2
             MR. GENSON: It could be. I know that I was
2 3
    given an agenda yesterday, and I was told that there
24
    would be no questions about the Chicago Loop School
```

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last night. So I didn't see fit to inquire about it.
   I was told by the Chair that that portion of the
    Auditor General's report would not be given today.
4
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: Okay. Could I -- I'd
   like to just touch on a couple things, and maybe you
5
6
   could share --
7
             MR. GENSON: Would you like to do it here in
   front of everyone? Or would you like to give me a
8
9
   list, and I'll go and do my best and try to get the
10
   questions answered?
11
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: I will get you a
12
   typed list but I want -- I think, for the sake of the
13
    record, I'd just like to get a bit of a timeline in so
14
   we'll have it for the record, and then I'll submit my
   written questions.
15
16
             MR. GENSON: And I'm accept your written
17
   questions, with all due respect, but, again, this is
18
   just something I'm not used to -- people coming to
19
   people who are charged with things and making them
20
   answer before they tell you what it's about. It's a
21
   little bit of reversal in roles, but I guess a lot of
2 2
   those things are happening here, and I'm willing to
   accept them.
2 3
24
                                     Well, I guess, Mr.
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS:
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```
Genson, we've invited who would ever like to come and
1
    speak, the one with the most knowledge, and when we've
    asked the Governor to come to our committee, he chose
3
    to send a representative who frankly either did not
    know or did not -- or was not forthcoming with
5
6
    answers.
7
             MR. GENSON: I hope this isn't personal, but,
    again, I don't know very much about this.
8
9
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: That's okay.
                                                    I'm
10
    explaining why I'd like to ask these questions,
    because the Governor has been afforded multiple
11
12
    opportunities to respond to these questions, and he
13
    refuses to each time. We were hoping today that he
14
    would again have the opportunity to respond to this as
15
    well. And I don't want to put you on the spot to
16
    ask --
17
                          But, I mean, is a refusal of him
             MR. GENSON:
18
    to ask (sic) questions in this proceeding, if he, in
19
    fact, refuses, going to be used against him? Is that
20
    what you're saying?
21
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS:
                                      I would think so
2 2
    because I think it's an inference that he does not
2 3
    wish to answer the questions of the committee, and
24
    when we have --
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```
MR. GENSON: Does Madam -- does the
1
   Chairperson agree with Mr. Franks, that his failure to
    respond -- I'm sorry. I'll repeat it. I didn't mean
3
   to interrupt. Does the Chairperson agree with
   Mr. Franks that --
5
6
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: I'm sorry. I wasn't
7
   quite following the conversation.
8
             MR. HOLLAND: Yeah. Mr. Franks made the
9
   point that he was going to ask some questions, and
10
   that he would hold the refusal of the Governor to
11
    answer those questions against him in this
12
   proceedings. Is that Your Honor's ruling?
13
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: That is certainly not a
14
   decision the committee has come to. Mr. Franks may
15
   feel that way, but I think as there's been no notice
16
    to the Governor --
17
             MR. GENSON: Just wanted to check.
18
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: -- nor to the Governor's
19
   lawyer that these questions were even on the agenda,
20
   I'm not sure the committee would agree with his
21
   assessment.
2 2
             MR. GENSON: And they're not on the agenda,
2 3
   at least I was told they wouldn't be, and, again, if
    Representative Franks would like to write up a list of
24
```

```
questions or even tell them to me after the hearing,
    I'd be very pleased to see if we're in a position to
    answer.
3
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: I will -- I will give
    you a list of the written questions, but I think for
5
6
    the edification of the committee that did not have the
7
    opportunity to sit in on our hearings and did not
8
    have -- did not hear the response of Deputy Governor
9
    Peters, who I would have hoped would have been here as
    well -- I know her office was called and she's not
10
11
    here today as well.
12
        I think for the -- for the purpose of the record,
13
    I think we need to look at the timeline, and what
14
    happened here and, you're right, it was a tragedy.
15
    The Pilgrim Baptist Church succumbed to fire, and the
16
    Governor's intent, as he said, was to help rebuild
17
    that church.
        Instead, a million dollars went to a school that
18
19
    was unaffiliated with the church. It had no assets,
20
    it no faculty, it had no students, and the purpose of
    the grant was $1 million for a condominium to be
21
2 2
    purchased by a gentleman who apparently had a -- who
    was a mole in the Tony Rezko trial.
2 3
24
        So there was many questions that came up.
```

```
instance, the -- one of the individuals listed on the
    application was a lady by the name of Chandra Gill.
   She used -- she was listed as a volunteer, and her
3
   cell phone number was given as the business number for
   this school. Ms. Gill had also made an application
5
   for a pardon to this Governor, and the pardon was, I
7
    think, applied for in August and given, I think, in
8
   around January after a hearing in October, and there
9
    are, I think, 1700 or so pending pardon applications
    in front of the Governor.
10
11
        And I'd like to know why this one was singled out,
12
   and then only after she received the pardon -- because
13
   on her pardon application she said she needed the
   pardon in order to receive the million dollars.
14
15
             MR. GENSON: Again, I have absolutely no idea
16
   what you're talking about.
17
             REPRESENTATIVE FRANKS: Okay. I'm hoping to
18
   educate you on this.
19
             MR. GENSON: I just know about Louis
    Sullivan.
20
21
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: All right. Thank you
22
                Shall we move on then to the final topic
   very much.
   which is Freedom of Information Act. I see that we
2 3
24
   have Don Craven with us. I'm not sure who else is
```

```
here to -- Jay Steward is apparently going to be
            Then we have Don Craven. Paul Orfanedes from
    Judicial Watch. So if you would raise your right
    hands.
5
                  (Mr. Stewart, Mr. Craven, and Mr.
6
                  Orfanedes were duly sworn.)
7
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: All right. And then if
    you would say your names and make sure that the court
8
9
    reporter has the appropriate spelling that would be
    very helpful. Tells your name and your affiliation.
10
11
             MR. STEWART: Jay Stewart, J-a-y
12
    S-t-e-w-a-r-t. Executive director of the Better
13
    Government Association.
14
             MR. CRAVEN: Don Craven, C-r-a-v-e-n.
15
             MR. ORFANEDES: Paul Orfanedes,
16
    O-r-f-a-n-e-d-e-s. I'm the director of litigation for
    Judicial Watch.
17
18
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Yeah, be sure that you
19
    speak into the microphone.
20
             Let me make just a couple of preliminary
    remarks, and that is that I think certainly there are
21
    reasons why government agents decide not to respond to
2 2
    or not to give information in response to a Freedom of
2 3
2 4
    Information Act request, and those requests can be
```

```
subjects of litigation, and if the court decides that
    the government entity was wrong, then the individual
    gets the information.
3
        I think that part of the reason for including this
    topic in today's testimony is that we're looking
5
6
    mostly to see if there's some kind of overarching
7
    pattern of -- not just issues where we might agree to
8
    disagree about whether the information should or
9
    should not have been withheld, but if there is a kind
10
    of pattern of withholding things that in the minds of
11
    ordinary folks or consistently upheld by the court
12
    that the agency should have responded to.
13
        So with that in mind, if you keep your remarks
14
    brief, and, again, we're looking, I think, primarily
15
    for either very egregious examples or a kind of
    overarching pattern.
16
17
             MR. STEWART: I'd like to thank the committee
18
    for the opportunity to testify today. I've submitted
19
    prepared testimony and some exhibits, and I will try
20
    to go through the testimony briefly and be willing to
21
    answer any questions at that time.
2 2
        It's my understanding that the committee is
    interested in issues regarding the BGA's litigation
2 3
24
    against Governor Blagojevich over his refusal to
```

```
produce federal grand jury subpoenas that we requested
    under the Freedom of Information Act.
        We're a nonprofit watchdog group. We use the
3
    tools of investigative journalism and cooperate with
    the media to expose waste, corruption, and
5
6
    inefficiency in state and local government.
7
        In the course of -- sure. Louder?
8
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Could we have guiet.
9
             MR. STEWART: Okay. The Better Government
    Association uses the Freedom of Information Act on a
10
11
    regular basis as part of our mission to expose waste,
12
    corruption, and inefficiency in state and local
13
    government.
        During the summer of 2006, the BGA, along with
14
15
    many others, read news reports that the Governor's
16
    office had been subpoenaed by federal investigators.
17
    And I'm just summarizing our testimony.
        Shortly after reading a news article about that,
18
19
    we sent in a Freedom of Information Act to the Office
20
    of the Governor that, in essence, asked for copies of
21
    the federal grand jury subpoenas in the first half of
2 2
    2006, any subpoenas they had received. We copied that
2 3
    request to the public access counselor in Attorney
    General Lisa Madigan's office.
24
```

```
On August 7, the counsel for the Governor
1
    responded with a denial. The letter stated, in part,
3
    that "As you know, this office cannot confirm or deny
    the existence of the documents requested." Never in
    my experience with a FOIA request have we ever gotten
5
    such a bizarre response. They just said we can't even
7
    tell you whether we have it or not.
8
        They went on to say if they -- even if they did
9
    have the office -- excuse me -- even if they did have
10
    the documents responsive to our request, they would be
    exempt from release under the Act under Section
11
12
    7(1)(a) of the Act which prohibits disclosure of a
13
    document if it's prohibited by some other federal or
14
    state law, rule, or regulation.
15
             August 31st of '06 we appealed the denial.
    We contested the denial is improper, claiming
16
17
    hypothetical grounds for denial are nowhere in the
    law, and to assert exemption 7(1)(a) you have to point
18
19
    to the federal law, which they didn't, that would
20
    prohibit disclosure. We copied that appeal to the
21
    public access counselor and General Madigan, among
2 2
    others.
2 3
             On September 15th, we got a denial to our
24
    appeal.
```

```
On October 26, the public access counselor copied
1
    the BGA on a letter written to the Governor's general
    counsel, William Quinlan. The public access
3
    counselor, aware of our dispute with the Governor's
    office, informed the general counsel that, under the
5
6
    Illinois Freedom of Information Act, requests for
7
    copies of federal grand jury subpoenas must be
8
    complied with. Despite this letter, the Governor's
9
    office did not produce the subpoenas.
10
        We then explored litigating this. We sent our
    appeal and were denied, so we could litigate if we
11
12
    chose.
13
        Before doing so, on November 7, 2006, we wrote the
    United States Attorney's office for the Northern
14
15
    District of Illinois and asked if such a litigation
16
    would be opposed by their office. We recognize that
17
    if the U.S. Attorney objected to the disclosure, the
18
    state court might find release of the subpoenas would
19
    interfere with the ongoing investigation into, quote,
20
    fraudulent hiring practices, unquote, being conducted
21
    by the U.S. Attorney.
2 2
        On November 13th, the U.S. Attorney responded to
2 3
    our letter and did not encourage or discourage such
24
    litigation, but they certainly did not assert our
```

```
action would interfere with the ongoing investigation.
    They more or less told us to do what you see fit.
        On January 4th, we filed suit in Sangamon County
3
    against the Governor under the Freedom of Information
    Act, seeking production of the subpoenas. Amongst the
5
    exhibits we included was the letter from the public
    access counselor. At this time of the filing we
7
8
    informed the U.S. Attorney that we had, in fact, filed
9
    the suit.
10
        On August 7th, we filed an amended complaint that
    added the Governor as a defendant. The Office of the
11
12
    Governor insisted the Governor be added as a
13
    defendant. So we did so, and, essentially, it was the
14
    same complaint.
15
             To date the U.S. Attorney has never asked the
    BGA to cease the litigation and has not filed any
16
17
    pleadings with the state court to indicate disclosure
    would interfere with ongoing investigation.
18
19
             We filed this suit for two reasons:
20
    believe that the public has a right to know what's
21
    going on with the government, whether things are going
2 2
                  Since the public pays for it, we believe
    well or not.
    the public should know about it.
2 3
24
        Second, the BGA believes the law applies to
```

```
everyone, including the Governor of Illinois. He has
    public records related to a very important issue,
    namely, whether his office has been served with
3
    federal grand jury subpoenas. Rather than ignore this
    unpleasant issue, it should be aired to the fullest
5
6
    extent possible. Being Governor does not mean public
7
    records laws don't apply to you.
8
        During the hearing in the trial court, Judge
9
    Kelley asked the Governor's lawyer, "I do have one
10
    question for you, Mr. Londrigan. Say a person
11
    receives a federal grand jury subpoena from the
12
    Northern District of Illinois. Could that person be
13
    subject to either contempt powers of the court or
14
    criminal prosecution if that person voluntarily
15
    discloses the subpoena to someone else?"
16
             Mr. Londrigan: "No, sir."
17
        The Governor acknowledged that the law and the
    rule which it relied on does not prohibit disclosure
18
19
    of the subpoenas. Yet he has not -- he's continued to
20
    deny access to the documents, continued to spend
21
    public dollars on private attorneys to fight our suit,
2 2
    and continued to defy the requirements of the Act.
        On January 9th, Judge Kelley ruled on the
2 3
2 4
    Governor's motion for summary judgment and our motion
```

```
for judgment on the pleadings. Judge Kelley ruled in
1
    favor, finding, in part, the Federal Rule of Criminal
    Procedure 6(e)(2) does not prohibit disclosure of
3
    federal grand jury subpoenas. That had been the
    Governor's argument. In essence, federal grand jury
5
6
    secrecy rules prohibit disclosure. Judge Kelley did
7
    not agree with that argument.
        In ruling in favor, Judge Kelley ruled -- relied,
8
9
    in part, upon the language of Freedom of Information
10
          Quote, People have the right to know decisions,
11
    policies, procedures, rules and standards, and other
12
    aspects of government activity that affect the conduct
13
    of government and the lives of any or all the people.
             On March 3rd, Judge Kelley denied the
14
15
    motion -- the Governor's motion to reconsider.
16
        Subsequently, the Governor appealed Judge Kelley's
17
    decision to the Fourth District Court of Appeals.
    After briefs and oral argument, the Fourth District
18
19
    issued its opinion on November 19th. The appellate
20
    court upheld Judge Kelley's opinion in ruling against
21
    the Governor's argument that federal grand jury
    secrecy rules prohibit disclosure of such federal
22
2 3
    grand jury subpoenas under the Freedom of Information
24
    Act.
```

```
The court wrote "Our legislature enacted the FOIA
1
    in recognition that, one, blanket government secrecy
3
    does not serve the public interest, and, two,
    transparency should be the norm except in rare
    specified circumstances. The legislature has
5
    concluded that the sunshine of public scrutiny is the
7
    best antidote to public corruption, and Illinois
    courts are duty bound to enforce that policy."
8
9
        We've asked the Fourth District to order the
10
    Governor to turn over the subpoenas. At this point in
    time, as far as I'm aware, the Governor has asked the
11
12
    Fourth District to refrain from doing so while they
13
    contemplate filing an appeal to Illinois Supreme
14
    Court.
15
        According to published reports, the Governor has
    spent more than $150,000 in legal fees on this matter
16
17
    and a similar matter in Cook County, despite the clear
18
    provisions of state law.
19
        That concludes my summary, and I'd be happy to
20
    answer questions.
21
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Thank you very much.
                                                        Mr.
22
    Craven, let's hear from you and then we'll hit all
    three of you.
2 3
24
             MR. CRAVEN: Paul, why don't you go ahead.
```

```
1
             MR. ORFANEDES:
                             okay.
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Okay. Go ahead.
             MR. ORFANEDES: Paul Orfanedes. I am the
3
4
    director of litigation for Judicial Watch.
                                                 We are a
5
    Washington D.C.-based educational foundation that
6
    seeks to promote transparency, integrity and
    accountability, and fidelity to the rule of law.
7
8
        We also filed a FOIA request in the fall of 1996
9
    for these same subpoenas, and I would second
10
    everything that Jay had to say.
11
             There's -- I litigate FOIA cases all around
12
    the country, and there's something that I want to add.
13
    What particularly struck me about the Governor's
14
    response to this FOIA request was his effort to
15
    control the litigation by excluding the Attorney
16
    General from any role in the process.
17
        The first thing that the Governor did in our
18
    litigation was to move to strike -- to move to have
19
    the Attorney General be declared conflicted under the
20
    Attorney General Act because of the FOIA counselor
21
    Terry Mutchler's letter. We litigated that issue for
2 2
    approximately seven months.
2 3
        It was just incredible to see seven lawyers come
24
    into court, including the Governor's main lawyer, I
```

```
guess, Mr. Quinlan, trying to exclude the Attorney
    General from performing her constitutional role in
3
    defending the Governor and the state in this
    litigation.
5
        I don't know how much was spent paying Bell, Boyd
6
    and Lloyd in there. I think there were -- I counted
7
    at least five lawyers whose names showed up on the
8
    pleadings in order to have the Governor get the
9
    attorney -- the legal advice he wanted to hear, rather
10
    than the legal advice that the Attorney General's
11
    office was providing. It was remarkable.
12
        For the past two years, also, Judicial Watch has
13
    been working with Americans for Prosperity's Illinois
14
    chapter. We filed maybe 40 or 50 different FOIA
15
    requests to different state agencies, and there are
    two that I think are particularly noteworthy.
16
17
        Earlier this year we filed a FOIA request with the
18
    Office of the Governor seeking access to documents
19
    about fiscal year 2008 legislative earmarks.
20
    Governor's office failed to respond. Because a
21
    failure to respond is deemed a denial, we filed an
2 2
    appeal. Again, there was no response.
2 3
        We ended up suing the Governor -- the Office of
24
    the Governor and the Governor. He currently -- he has
```

```
failed to respond to the lawsuit. Sangamon County
    sheriff served him upstairs. He has not yet appeared
    in any way. He was served on August 1st.
        In late August he did produce -- the Office of the
   Governor did produce a 51-page spreadsheet that
5
6
   contains approximately 1500 legislative earmarks,
7
    along with a letter saying this is what we've got, we
8
   would hope you appreciate -- we hope you would dismiss
9
   your lawsuit now as being moot.
10
        Something about the letter struck me as being odd,
    and I requested clarification. The clarification came
11
12
   back that that is not all that they have.
                                               Their
13
   letter to me was false. It certainly was misleading.
14
   I was on the verge of taking a voluntary dismissal,
15
   and then I reread the lawsuit -- the letter.
16
   decided I should clarify did they have any additional
17
   documents.
        It turns out that they do. They are withholding
18
19
   those records under claims of privilege, but they
20
   have not asserted those privileges. They have not
21
    sought -- asserted those withholdings, but have not
22
    sought to assert them in court. There apparently are
    some additional records that -- concerning
2 3
24
    communications about legislative earmarks with the
```

```
Senate President that they possess as well that we've
    sought. But that was for fiscal year 2008.
3
        We also have submitted a similar FOIA request for
   legislative earmarks for fiscal year 2009. Again, we
   got one other document. Probably a ten-page document
5
   with maybe 70 or 80 legislative earmarks, totaling, I
   think, about $8 million. They are withholding
7
8
   additional records under the claims of exemption.
9
   filed an administrative appeal. There has been no
10
    response.
        So these are two instances, very clear. One in
11
12
   which, I believe, there was perhaps some intentional
13
   effort to mislead about whether or not additional
14
    documents had been produced.
15
        With that, I'll take any questions you might have.
16
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Thank you very much.
                                                        Do
17
   you want to add anything, Don, or just answer
   questions?
18
19
             MR. CRAVEN: No, I have -- I'll be very
20
   brief, Madam Chairman.
21
             Let me first stress, if I could, that I am
22
   here today as a private citizen. I am not here on
   behalf of any of the clients in my law firm. I thank
2 3
   the Chair for the invitation, but I do need to stress
24
```

```
that I appear simply as a poor country lawyer.
             MR. GENSON: I'm the only one who's not a
2
    country lawyer.
3
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: So to your testimony.
             MR. CRAVEN: Thank you, Madam Chairman.
5
        Jay has -- Mr. Steward has described -- I did
6
7
    represent the BGA in the litigation that Jay has
8
    outlined, and I have represented many other citizens
9
    and organizations in FOIA litigation over my years in
10
    practice.
11
        The behavior of the Blagojevich administration in
12
    the BGA litigation and in the Judicial Watch
13
    litigation is symptomatic of the behavior -- of its
14
    behavior in response to FOIA requests generally.
15
    characterized it as bizarre, and I'm not going to
16
    quibble with his choice of adjectives.
17
        One need look no further than the FOIA requests
    submitted to this administration by members of the
18
19
    General Assembly. Let me first suggest that it is
20
    bizarre, at best, that members of the General Assembly
21
    have to resort to the Freedom of Information Act in
2 2
    order to gain information about rather routine matters
    that are pending in legislative committees.
2 3
24
        Members of the General Assembly have been required
```

```
to submit FOIA requests in order to gain information
    about the state budget. Specifically, a line item of
    more than $850 million. Those requests were first
3
    ignored for over a month, and then were denied.
5
        Members of the General Assembly, Senator Righter
6
    among them, were required for file a FOIA request to
7
    gain access to the Caremark contract, the contract
8
    between CMS and the company which filled prescriptions
    for state employees. The administration refused the
10
    request and litigation was necessary to force
    disclosure.
11
12
        when the contract was finally disclosed, it became
13
    apparent that the administration had delegated to
14
    Caremark, the private company providing the service --
15
    they had delegated to Caremark the authority to
16
    determine whether the contract would be made public, a
17
    clear violation of the provisions of the Freedom of
    Information Act.
18
19
        Members of the General Assembly were required to
20
    file a FOIA request to gain access to a list of job
21
    applicants for state positions. CMS rules are clear
2 2
    that those lists are public records. Yet the request
2 3
    was denied.
24
        The request was made in connection with an inquiry
```

```
by a House committee into the application of the
    statutory veterans preference by the Blagojevich
3
    administration. The committee cited a newspaper
    report that the husband of a successful job applicant
    had issued a $1500 check to the Governor's daughter at
    about the same time his wife got a state job.
7
    Governor issued contradictory statements about the
8
    purpose of the check. First it was a birthday
9
    present. Then it was a present to the other daughter.
10
        Similar requests were made by reporters for lists
11
    of applicants for state jobs, and, as in the BGA case,
12
    the Attorney General, the chief law officer of the
13
    State of Illinois, urged disclosure of the lists. One
    such list was disclosed in 2005, but all subsequent
14
    requests were denied.
15
16
        The administration assured the people that the
17
    denial of the request was in no way related to the
18
    fact that the request -- that the -- that the request
19
    related to jobs filled by the son -- by a son of a
20
    congressman and the son of a major donor.
21
    administration has yet to respond to the proposition
2 2
    that the list should be made public because CMS rules
2 3
    say so.
24
        Senator Jones -- John -- was required to file a
```

FOIA request for a study relating to prison staffing. The Governor claimed savings of more than \$400,000, but then refused to produce the report to substantiate 3 The Governor has asserted and never the claim. 5 substantiated similar claims of cost savings related 6 to moving the division of traffic safety to Harrisburg 7 and closing the prison in Pontiac, among others. 8 Other FOIA requests have suffered similar and yet 9 equally bizarre fates. A request for documents 10 relating to a hospital tax plan resulted in a denial 11 of a request with the assertion that the documents did 12 not exist. 13 Senator Trotter found that response rather 14 puzzling, given the state's response to an inquiry 15 from the federal government included the requested 16 documents. When questioned by Senator Trotter, the 17 director of Public Aid, as it was then known, 18 suggested that he was surprised the records were not 19 released and suggested that Senator Trotter contact 20 the agency PR, volunteering that his name begins with 21 С. 2 2 A request for records of phone numbers dialed by 2 3 state employees during work hours on taxpayer-financed

phones was likewise denied on some unexplained theory

24

- that release of the records would violate the state
- ² Constitution. Again, the Attorney General, the chief
- 3 law officer of the State of Illinois, weighed in in
- 4 favor of disclosure, but the administration has
- 5 refused to disclose those records.
- Records for correspondence to the Governor relating to references for appointments to boards and
- 8 commissions have been denied. The fact that the
- 9 Governor has selectively released such correspondence
- from some members of the General Assembly -- at least
- one member of the General Assembly -- yet has refused
- to release any other similar correspondence has also
- 13 yet to be explained.
- A request for access to files at the Prison Review
- Board, which traditionally have been made public, was
- denied, relying only on a North Carolina court
- 17 decision which has no relation to Illinois law.
- The Governor had been criticized in relation to
- two pardons, and the subsequent request for the files
- ∤o on the pardons was rejected. The Governor granted a
- pardon to one person talked about earlier shortly
- before her organization was given a \$1 million grant
- § for the Loop Lab School.
- In another case, he granted a pardon to a former

```
employee of his office for a conviction for stealing
    $17,000 thousand from the Chicago City treasurer's
    office.
3
        The Governor granted 69 pardons and, contrary to
    the Freedom of Information Act and past practice, has
5
6
    refused to release any details to support those
7
    discretionary decisions.
8
             This is -- one minute. This is far from a
9
    complete collection of the practices of this
10
    administration and its approach to disclosure of
11
    public records. As I have gone through these, I am
12
    sure others have been brought to mind. Make no
13
    mistake, I confess to being an advocate for the
14
    release of public records. Call me guilty.
15
    Inquisitive and informed voters and an inquisitive and
16
    informed legislative body are fundamental to a
17
    representative democracy.
             One need go no further than the preamble to
18
19
    the Freedom of Information Act which I commend to your
20
    reading if you're having trouble sleeping at night
21
    but -- and I make a joke, and it's not a joking matter
2 2
    because it is very -- the process of gathering
    information, as Mr. Holland said, is fundamental to
2 3
24
    this process.
```

```
In my personal view -- and, again, I stress it is
1
    my personal view -- the efforts of this administration
2
3
    are absolutely contrary to the precepts underlying the
    Freedom of Information Act. The actions of this
5
    administration are evidence of more than simple
6
    disregard for the law. The actions of this
7
    administration are evidence of contempt for the law
8
    and the underlying philosophy expressed by the General
9
    Assembly in the Freedom of Information Act.
10
             I'll take your questions.
11
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Thank you very much, and
12
    if you have written testimony, we would appreciate
13
    having it.
14
        Just housekeeping. Representative Reboletti is
15
    replacing Represented Black, and the Auditor General
16
    has give us a copy for the record and for each of us
17
    individually of the Illinois Audit Advisory and the
18
    Comptroller's report that he referenced in his
19
    testimony.
20
             Representative Hamos.
21
             REPRESENTATIVE HAMOS: Yes. I know it's
2 2
    getting late. Just a quick question.
2 3
        So what you're describing is your rather routine
    requests for documents which are denied, and then the
24
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case proceeds to litigation, and then the Governor
    comes in and asks to have the Attorney General recused
    from the case and to have Special Assistant Attorneys
    General appointed? Is that right?
5
             MR. CRAVEN:
                          I'm with you so far, yes.
6
             REPRESENTATIVE HAMOS: All three of you have
7
    had that experience?
8
             MR. CRAVEN:
                         Yes.
9
             MR. ORFANEDES: Yes.
10
             MR. STEWART: Yes.
             REPRESENTATIVE HAMOS: And do we know -- and
11
12
    its sounds like in the case of Bell, Boyd that there
13
    was a large number of attorneys were in on the case
14
    representing the Governor. And do we know what the
15
    cost is to the taxpayers of doing this?
16
             MR. CRAVEN: The latest -- the latest
17
    publication I saw, Bell, Boyd had been paid -- and
18
    this was early in the litigation -- had been paid
19
    $130,000.
20
             REPRESENTATIVE HAMOS: And Jay Stewart talked
21
    about 150.
                Is that the same thing that you're talking
2 2
    about?
2 3
                          No, that was combined. They --
             MR. CRAVEN:
24
             REPRESENTATIVE HAMOS: So is there some way
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that we could as a committee, if we wanted to see an
    accumulated sum of how much it costs for the Governor
    to defend himself with special assistant attorney
3
    generals against FOIA requests?
5
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: I think we could ask our
6
    staff to investigate that question. I don't think
7
    these three --
8
             MR. CRAVEN: I'm sure the Comptroller's
9
    office has those document.
10
             REPRESENTATIVE HAMOS: Okay. Thank you.
11
    could FOIA it, but I don't know. Could take a little
12
    while.
13
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: But I think our staff
14
    could probably figure that out.
15
             REPRESENTATIVE HAMOS: I would request that
    as part of the record. I think it might be
16
17
    instructive.
18
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: All right. Thank you.
19
        Representative Lang.
20
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Thank you, Madam
21
    chairman.
        Additionally, for the record, we've been furnished
2 2
2 3
    with a document that I requested from the attorneys in
2 4
    the Caro case relative to the pleading filed by the
```

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1
    state, indicating they had an inherent authority to
    charge premiums on the FamilyCare program.
        Just a couple of questions. Has anybody done a
3
    full study of all the FOIA requests over a given
    period of time to see if -- other than the anecdotal
5
6
    evidence, which is strong, to see if this
7
    administration significantly stonewalls FOIA requests
8
    differently than maybe other administrations have?
9
             MR. ORFANEDES: We have not.
10
             MR. CRAVEN: Representative Lang, that would
11
    be very difficult to do very simply because, as with
12
    some of the requests from the members of the General
13
    Assembly, they're simply denied, and people go on with
14
    their lives. The only way to track that would be
15
    under the Free -- under the Freedom of Information
16
    Act, every request made is subject to a request itself
17
    and as well as the response. But that would be a --
    that would be a process that, to my knowledge, has not
18
19
    been undertaken.
20
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG:
                                   To Mr. Orfanedes.
                                                       You
21
    indicated that in the response by the Governor's
2 2
    office there were false statements when they said this
2 3
    is everything but it wasn't everything.
24
             MR. ORFANEDES: That's right.
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```
1
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: Who made false
2
    statements?
             MR. ORFANEDES: It was the Governor's legal
3
    counsel. I believe her name is Erin Knowles.
4
5
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: All right. Did she
6
    indicate that she was sending this letter on behalf of
    the Governor personally?
7
8
             MR. ORFANEDES: I believe it was given under
9
    the title legal counsel on Office of the Governor
10
    letterhead. So I assumed it was on behalf of the
11
    Governor.
12
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: If you could provide
13
    that letter to the committee, we'd appreciate it.
14
             MR. ORFANEDES: Yes.
15
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: And, finally, to
    Mr. Stewart. I think, as we know, all FOIA requests
16
17
    are not valid. There are some that are not valid.
18
    Here and there people make requests that are not valid
19
    under the law.
20
        And so my question to you is that you refer to the
21
    Governor's general demeanor or the Governor's office's
2 2
    general demeanor in this matter as bizarre. And I
    just would like a response from you as to what makes
2 3
24
    it bizarre, other the fact that they have just simply
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denied it as would happen -- it's the same denial you
   would get if it was a valid denial.
3
             MR. STEWART: Denials are an unfortunate
4
    regular part of the FOIA process.
5
        What was bizarre was the assertion that -- I've
6
   been told lots of things. No, you can't have it. Sue
7
   me.
         Don't care. All sorts of things. We don't have
   the records, et cetera. What was different about that
8
   one, I'd never been told before they got to the denial
10
   that we can't even tell you if we have the thing you
   asked for. We can't -- we can't even confirm we have
11
12
   this thing.
13
        However, then they went into a hypothetical.
14
   However, if we had it, we deny you. So I've never
15
   gotten a hypothetical denial before. That was --
   I've been told -- you know, I've been told very rudely
16
17
   to buzz off and all sorts of things, but I never was
18
   told I can't even answer your question, but if we did
19
   have it, no.
20
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: So this is a first?
21
             MR. STEWART: That's a first.
2 2
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: For all of us, sir.
2 3
        Thank you very much, Madam Chairman.
24
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE:
                                 Thank you.
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1
        Now, it looks to me as if we've pretty much come
   to the end of today's hearing. I know we still want
    to hear from Mr. Genson if he has anything to add.
             MR. ADAM: Maybe just ask a couple of
   questions of the --
5
6
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: You may ask a couple of
7
   questions, and then we'll talk about the schedule.
8
             MR. ADAM: Thank you, Madam Chair.
9
        One of the questions that I had -- I would like to
   ask is you had made reference that the Governor in
10
11
    fighting these FOIA requests asked whatever magistrate
12
   it was before that there would be a -- that Lisa
13
   Madigan, the Attorney General, would not represent as
14
   a conflict.
15
        Can you tell us -- how did the judge rule in those
    cases? Was there a conflict? And was Lisa Madigan
16
17
   allowed to come in or was she kept out?
             MR. ORFANEDES: Well, in our case in Cook
18
19
   County, it was a judge. It was not a magistrate. The
20
   Attorney General's office had actually contacted us
21
   with some of the preliminaries to the litigation and
2 2
    requesting extensions of time. The Governor, through
2 3
   his in-house legal counsel, came in, requested a
24
   hearing, moved to strike the Governor's appearance --
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or I'm sorry -- the Attorney General's appearance.
        I think in our case, after about eight months, the
3
    Attorney General threw in the towel. We objected
    because we thought as the chief constitutional officer
    for the state it was her duty to continue to appear,
5
    but she agreed that she would withdraw and the Bell,
7
    Boyd and Lloyd folks would come in.
8
             MR. ADAM: So is it fair to say, then, that
9
    there's been no finding that this is an inappropriate
10
    action by -- on the office by the Governor's office;
11
    that Lisa Madigan actually ended up agreeing and
12
    withdrawing on this case.
13
             MR. ORFANEDES: Oh, no. I don't think she
14
    agreed at all and if I -- I think it was starting to
15
    delay the progress of the litigation such that we
16
    weren't going to get our requests at all. I mean, one
17
    point the Bell, Boyd and Lloyd lawyers are making
18
    arguments to the effect that the Office of the
19
    Governor doesn't even exist such that we named the
20
    wrong defendant, and we really intended to name the
21
    Governor but we didn't so we need to amend our
2 2
    complaint so that they can come in.
2 3
        It was just a bizarre set of circumstances that so
2 4
    frustrated the Attorney General and really frustrated
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our ability to get these documents that the Attorney
    General decided to step back.
             MR. ADAM: But as the committee sits here
3
    now, the Office of the Attorney General does not
5
    represent the Governor on any of these cases that you
6
    came in here to testify to today?
             MR. CRAVEN: In either of the cases relating
7
    to the subpoenas, that is correct.
8
9
             MR. ADAM: Last question.
10
             MR. ORFANEDES: In my other case against the
11
    Office of the Governor here in Sangamon County, the
12
    Governor hasn't appeared in any way.
13
             MR. ADAM: Last question. Oh, I'm sorry.
14
    Last question, good counsel, and that is -- and I
    believe this is for Mr. Stewart.
15
16
        Mr. Stewart, you have told us and actually cited
17
    in what you have presented here today that the Fourth
18
    District Appellate Court has upheld the previous
19
    ruling; is that correct?
20
             MR. STEWART: Yes.
21
             MR. ADAM: And that was on November 19 of
2 2
    2008?
2 3
             MR. STEWART: Yes.
             MR. STEWART: And which means that the
2 4
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Governor, should he be correct in his assertions --
    and the Office of the Governor -- still has a right to
    a PLA, which is a petition for leave to appeal, to the
3
    Supreme Court for the Supreme Court to make this
    determination; is that right?
5
6
             MR. STEWART: Any appellant can, yes.
7
             MR. ADAM: And so he has not actually
8
    violated any of the rights regarding the FOIA requests
9
    until the Supreme Court of Illinois, the highest court
    in the state, has said he must do something one or the
10
11
    other, and then he will be in violation; is that
12
    right? He is still within his rights to challenge a
13
    request.
14
             MR. STEWART: I don't know what the court's
15
    going to do. I don't believe they've agreed to hear
16
         So the last court decision on record is the
    it.
17
    Better Government Association is correct, the Governor
18
    is wrong, and he has asked the court to stay
19
    production pending -- we don't know. They haven't
20
    decided what they're going to do yet.
21
             MR. ADAM: He is still within his right.
2 2
             MR. STEWART: He has a right to -- he -- I
2 3
    don't know what he's going to do, so I can't tell you.
24
    He has the option to appeal -- to at least petition to
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appeal if he'd like to.
2
             MR. ADAM: That time period has not run.
             MR. STEWART:
3
                           No.
             MR. ADAM:
                        Thank you.
5
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Representative Lang for
6
   one final question.
7
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG:
                                   Thanks. Real quick,
   Mr. Orfanedes. You indicated that some requests have
8
   not been responded to at all. Is this something that
10
   happens to you in other states?
11
             MR. ORFANEDES: Yes. Unfortunately, it does.
12
   I have seen it more in Illinois than -- yes,
13
   unfortunately, that's the case. I've seen it more in
14
   Illinois and especially with requests to the Office of
15
   the Governor.
16
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: All right. Thank you.
17
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Okay. Then let's go to
18
   the schedule. We are not going to meet tomorrow.
19
   have done the things we intended to do this week.
20
   are still in -- so we still have the other business to
21
   deal with questions about whether we might hear from
2 2
   witnesses involved in the criminal complaint and so
   forth and so on.
2 3
24
        We will reconvene in this room on Monday, December
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22nd, at the hour of noon, and we'll be in touch.
                                                        Our
   lawyers will be in touch with you lawyers to talk
   about the agenda, and if we can have everybody's phone
3
    number, your cell phones and so forth.
4
5
             MR. GENSON: We would be in contact probably
6
   Friday so we could tell you what we plan to do and
7
   what -- that would be appropriate.
8
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE. Yes. Yeah. But it might
9
   be helpful for us for the staff to have everybody's
10
   home numbers and cell phone numbers just in case there
11
    are any changes.
12
             MR. GENSON: Thank you very much.
13
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: So look forward to a
14
   happy pre-Christmas weekend, and we look forward to
15
    seeing you all in this room on Monday at noon.
        Representative Durkin moves that the committee
16
17
    stand -- what?
                    Representative Eddy.
             REPRESENTATIVE EDDY: Madam Chair, I just --
18
19
   for those of us traveling, would we plan on more than
20
   one day coming Monday just as a precaution.
21
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: I would be prepared for
22
   two days. As you know, we're off Christmas Eve and
2 3
   Christmas Day.
24
             REPRESENTATIVE EDDY:
                                   Okay. Thank you.
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CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: And I just can't answer
1
    the -- I'd answer your question if I could, but I
    don't know the answer. So I'd say bring an extra set
    of clothes.
5
             REPRESENTATIVE LANG: For two days. Thank
6
    you very much.
7
             CHAIRWOMAN CURRIE: Representative Durkin
8
    moves the committee stand adjourned. All in favor say
          Opposed no. The ayes have it, and the Special
10
    Investigate Committee stands adjourned until Monday at
    the hour of noon.
11
12
                  (Hearing adjourned.)
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
2 2
2 3
24
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1
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    COUNTY OF SANGAMON )
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21
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2 2
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24
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