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> HEARING ON ALLEGATIONS OF MISCONDUCT AT THE GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION Wednesday, March 28, 2007, House of Representatives, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, Washington, D.C.

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Committee Hearings

of the

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES



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3 | HEARING ON ALLEGATIONS OF MISCONDUCT AT

4 THE GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

5 Wednesday, March 28, 2007,

6 House of Representatives,

7 Committee on Oversight and

8 Government Reform,

9 Washington, D.C.

The committee met, pursuant to call, at 10:00 a.m. in
room 2154, Rayburn House Office Building, the Honorable Henry
A. Waxman [chairman of the committee] presiding.

Present: Representatives Waxman, Cummings, Davis of
Illinois, Tierney, Clay, Watson, Lynch, Higgins, Braley,
Norton, McCollum, Van Hollen, Sarbanes, Welch, Davis of
Virginia, Burton, Shays, Mica, Platts, Duncan, Turner, Issa,
Foxx, and Bilbray.

Staff Present: Phil Schiliro, Chief of Staff; Phil
Barnett, Staff Director and Chief Counsel; Kristin Amerling,
General Counsel; Karen Lightfoot, Communications Director and

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Senior Policy Advisor; David Rapallo, Chief Investigative 21 Counsel; John Williams, Deputy Chief Investigative Counsel; 22 David Leviss, Senior Investigative Counsel; Susanne Sachsman, 23 Counsel; Molly Gulland, Assistant Communications Director; 24 Mark Stephenson, Professional Staff Member; Daniel Davis, 25 Professional Staff Member; Earley Green, Chief Clerk; Teresa 26 Coufal, Deputy Clerk; Caren Auchman, Press Assistant; 27 Zhongrui ``JR'' Deng, Chief Information Officer; Leneal 28 Scott, Information Systems Manager; Will Ragland, Staff 29 Assistant; Kerry Gutknecht, Staff Assistant; Sam Buffone; 30 Bret Schothorst; Lauren Belive; David Marin, Minority Staff 31 Director; Larry Halloran, Minority Deputy Staff Director; 32 Jennifer Safavian, Minority Chief Counsel for Oversight and 33 Investigations; Keith Ausbrook, Minority General Counsel; 34 Ellen Brown, Minority Legislative Director and Senior Policy 35 Counsel; John Brosnan, Minority Senior Procurement Counsel; 36 Steve Castor, Minority Counsel; Charles Phillips, Minority 37 Counsel; Edward Kidd, Minority Professional Staff Member; 38 Patrick Lyden, Minority Parliamentarian and Member Services 39 Coordinator; Brian McNicoll, Minority Communications 40 41 Director; and Benjamin Chance, Minority Clerk.

42 Chairman WAXMAN. The meeting of the Committee will43 please come to order.

Today's hearing has been called to investigate 44 allegations of misconduct at the General Services 45 46 Administration. There are probably plenty of Americans who have never heard of GSA, but it is the Government's premier 47 48 contracting agency. It focuses on the nuts and bolts of Government's logistics. GSA manages nearly \$500 billion in 49 Federal assets, including Federal buildings, courthouses, and 50 51 other facilities, and it handles the purchase of billions of 52 dollars worth of services on behalf of other Government 53 agencies.

The Administrator of GSA is Lurita A. Doan, and she is with us today. Also with us is Brian Miller, the Inspector General of GSA. And we are pleased to have, as well, Senator Charles Grassley, who has been following these issues closely, joining us, as well.

59 We welcome all three witnesses and look forward to their60 testimony.

One of Congress' most important oversight goals is to
ensure that our Government serves the interests of the
American taxpayer, not the interests of favored contractors,
a particular Federal agency, or a single political party.
The American people expect Government officials to uphold a
public trust. That is what the taxpayers are paying them

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67 for, and nothing else.

Over the past several months, however, multiple
allegations have surfaced about actions by top GSA officials
that do not serve the interests of the taxpayers. These are
the allegations we will investigate today.

The first issue we will examine is a political briefing that took place at GSA on January 26th of this year. This briefing was conducted by Scott Jennings, Karl Rove's deputy at the White House. Mr. Jennings has been in the news for his involvement of the firing of the U.S. Attorneys, and is one of the White House officials that both the House and Senate have asked to testify.

Also at this briefing were Administrator Doan and 40 other political appointees at GSA, some of whom participated by videoconference. The briefing was held at GSA facilities during the work day, but there were no career GSA officials allowed at the briefing.

We have obtained the PowerPoint presentation that Mr. Jennings gave to the GSA officials that day. This is the White House Office of Political Affairs.

87 It would be perfectly appropriate for a meeting at the
88 Republican National Committee or with campaign operatives,
89 but it is the last thing taxpayers would expect at a
90 Government Agency like GSA.

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Here is one of the slides. I think we have it on the

92 screen. This is from Mr. Jennings' presentation. In this 93 slide Mr. Jennings identified by name the 20 Democratic members in the House that the White House is targeting for 94 defeat in 2008. We have another slide. 95 This one identifies 96 by name 20 Republican members that the White House considers 97 most vulnerable in the upcoming election. The White House 98 briefing was partisan. It was strategic. And it had 99 absolutely no connection to GSA's Government mission. When 100 the White House presentation was over, Ms. Doan asked her 101 staff, ''How can we help our candidates in the next election?'' 102

Well, here are the facts as we know them: One, GSA's top political appointees were assembled to hear a confidential White House briefing on the Republican campaign strategic for 2008; two, they were asked to consider how GSA resources could be used to help Republican candidates; three, they did this in a Federal building during work hours at taxpayer expense.

This appears to be a textbook example of what should never happen at a Federal agency. Unfortunately, the January 26th briefing may not be the only example of politicization of the Government's premier procurement agency. Inspector General Miller will testify today that GSA's Administrator Doan and her top staff intervened in a contract with SUN Microsystems to reverse the judgment of three career contract

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117 officers. According to the Inspector General, the 118 Administrator's personal intervention resulted in a 119 sweetheart deal for SUN Microsystems that will cost taxpayers 120 tens of millions of dollars.

I want to read one sentence about the SUN contract from the Inspector General's testimony. 'As a direct consequence of her intervention and in breach of GSA's fiduciary duty to the U.S. taxpayers, the pricing concessions made to SUN means that the U.S. taxpayers will inevitably pay more than they should.''

127 That is a remarkable finding, but it appears to be 128 corroborated by evidence received by our Committee, including 129 the statements of contracting officers involved in the 130 negotiations.

131 Perhaps even more disturbing, the information we 132 received appears to directly contradict statements that Ms. 133 Doan made to Senate Grassley about her involvement in the SUN 134 contract. Ms. Doan wrote Senator Grassley that, ''I had no 135 knowledge of the negotiations or basis for decisions made 136 regarding this contract.'' But, as will become apparent 137 today, there is a written record documenting Ms. Doan's personal involvement in reversing the position of career 138 139 contracting officials.

140A third issue we will explore is the no-bid contract141that Ms. Doan gave to her former business associate and

142 friend, Edie Fraser. According to the Inspector General, 143 this is a serious violation. In his testimony he states, 144 'We are talking about the violation of a key contracting 145 principle: promoting open competition and avoiding any 146 appearance of personal favoritism in awarding Government 147 business, by the leader of Government's premier civilian 148 contracting agency.''

On this issue, too, there is a troubling question about Ms. Doan's candor. The Inspector General found, 'The record paints quite a different picture than what Administrator Doan told the OIG investigators.''

In our own investigation, we also found striking discrepancies between the assertions of Ms. Doan and the evidence we gathered.

156 Well, there are a number of documents that I would like to make part of this hearing record. These documents include 157 158 the White House PowerPoint presentation, the briefing memos prepared by the staff, the documents cited in the briefing 159 160 memos, the transcripts and depositions the Committee has received, the audit and investigative reports provided to the 161 Committee by the Inspector General, and the documents that 162 members will be referring to today in their questioning. 163 Without objection, they will be made part of the record. 164 165 [The documents follow:]

166 | ********* INSERT *********

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167 Chairman WAXMAN. There is a common thread that ties
168 together the allegations we will be exploring today. There
169 are basic rules that are supposed to apply to Federal
170 officials. You can't engage in partisan politics while you
171 are on Government time. You can't give no-bid contracts to
172 your friends and business partners. And you should put the
173 taxpayers first when negotiating contracts.

The question the Committee needs to examine is whether Ms. Doan and her team at GSA violated these bedrock principles. Americans want a Government that works. They don't want basic Government services politicized and they don't want their tax dollars squandered. Today we will have an opportunity to explore how well Ms. Doan is meeting these standards at GSA.

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[Prepared statement of Chairman Waxman follows:]

182 ********* INSERT *********

183 Chairman WAXMAN. I want to now recognize Mr. Davis for 184 his opening statement, and then we will proceed right to the 185 witnesses.

186 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 187 You know how much I respect you and how much I value our work together, but your description of this investigation 188 189 brings to mind what Mark Twain said about fraud science--one 190 gets such wholesome returns of conjecture out of such a trifling investment of fact--for that is what we are dealing 191 192 with today: accusatory conjecture based on the selective and 193 biased interpretation of very few facts.

194 The title of today's hearing pretty much says it all: 195 Allegations of Misconduct at the General Services Administration, not facts, not findings, not even credible 196 197 complaints, just allegations picked up from hostile media reports based on unvetted sources. We will see at the end of 198 the day these allegations will still be, as the dictionary 199 200 defines the term, assertions unsupported and by implication 201 regarded as insupportable.

Sadly, this hearing represents the fullest expression yet of the modus operandi adopted by the new majority. Citing yesterday's news clips, releasing accusatory conclusory inquiry letter, through amplification and repetition of mere allegations, seek a conviction in the court of public opinion, and call a hearing. First the

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208 verdict, then the trial.

209 This process renders hollow the promise of collegiality and consultation with the minority. Only after the facts are 210 we told witnesses have been threatened with subpoenas unless 211 they submit coercive, transcribed interviews, never 212 anticipated by Committee rules. In these non-deposition 213 214 depositions, the prior notice and other procedural protections otherwise due to witnesses in the minority can be 215 216 ignored. Future witnesses be advised: when the Committee expresses their hope to proceed without a subpoena, volunteer 217 218 for a deposition. That way we will all have time to prepare and we will all know how and when the transcript can be used 219 220 to support official Committee business.

221 In this case the Committee has expended significant resources searching for anything to support their a priori 222 conclusions, but they found virtually nothing. We received 223 224 and reviewed over 14,000 pages of documents from the General Services Administration. Without consultation with the 225 226 minority staff or the Ranking Member, the majority staff, largely through the threat of subpoena, conducted 14 227 228 transcribed interviews securing the voluntary attendance of current and former GSA officials from as far away as Boston 229 230 and Denver.

Two GSA officials flew from Boston to Washington, D.C., for interviews regarding the Hatch Act violations. The

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Boston officials were questioned for as little as 30 minutes 233 in one instance and 40 in another. No reason was supplied 234 why these interviews couldn't take place telephonically. 235 236 Agency counsel was not permitted to be present at these 237 interviews. Personal counsel was said to be permitted; 238 however, four witnesses stated for the record they were not 239 told they were permitted to retain personal counsel for these 240 transcribed interviews. Nevertheless, one interviewee did 241 bring personal counsel.

Not surprisingly, this flawed process has produced an equally flawed product. As discussions at length in the staff report we are releasing today, the accusations leveled against the GSA Administrator, Ms. Lurita Doan, are either flat-out wrong or based on a distorted and myopic view of the management responsibilities of the head of a major Federal Agency.

I would ask unanimous consent at this point that our Minority Report to our members be included in the record. Chairman WAXMAN. Without objection, we will put it in the record.

[The Minority Report follows:]

254 ********* COMMITTEE INSERT *********

255 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Lurita Doan is a talented, motivated professional. Born in New Orleans, she was one of 256 257 the first African American children to integrate the city's 258 private schools. She was only seven. That first day, she 259 was knocked down, kicked, and hit with a brick, but she 260 persisted. She earned her undergraduate degree from Vassar 261 and a master's degree in renaissance literature from the University of Tennessee Knoxville. A self-described 262 263 unabashed entrepreneur, she started a successful technology 264 business, which she sold before entering public service. She 265 and her husband of 22 years have two daughters.

266 Perhaps the saddest, most reprehensible aspect of this 267 defective oversight was the attempt to drag one of Ms. Doan's 268 daughters into the web of circumstances being spun to ensnare 269 her mother. That a business friend of Ms. Doan provided her 270 daughter a reference for an unpaid Capital Hill internship 271 application is offered as evidence to support alleged 272 misconduct in dealings between two professional woman years 273 later. It is as implausible as it is inappropriate. Even 274 the IG report refers to that. It is just sad, and it shows how low this has gone. 275

The breathlessly described no-bid contract hardly turned out to be the elaborate scheme to enrich an acquaintance, alleged by the majority. We found only that Administrator Doan wanted very much to acquire a study of GSA's use of

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small businesses, particularly those owned by minorities and women. It is a topic about which she knows much and cares deeply. She was understandably embarrassed and dismayed that the Agency she just took over had received an F from the Small Business Administration for small and minority business utilization.

286 She was determined to improve GSA's image and score. The evidence supports the conclusion her motives were clear, 287 if her methods a bid over-zealous. She wanted to engage the 288 services of a well-regarded diversity consulting firm, 289 290 Diversity Best Practices, to help fix the problem. The administrator erroneously believed that she had the authority 291 to acquire these services for \$20,000 on an expedited sole 292 source basis. When she learned otherwise, the arrangement 293 294 was called off. No work was ever performed. No money 295 changed hands.

296 She has expressed regret that it happened, but 297 continues, as is her way, to advocate forcefully to improve 298 GSA outreach to small minority and women-owned businesses.

With regard to the contract extension to SUN Microsystems, there is simply no evidence to support the allegation that Ms. Doan acted improperly. Ms. Doan never spoke to or pressured any of the contracting officers to exercise the SUN option. In the end, the contract extension terms were judged by the contracting officer to be fair and 305 reasonable.

306 Similarly, there is no evidence to support the 307 allegation that she intervened in the suspension and debarment process. She merely asked her chief of staff for a 308 309 briefing on a manner which could have resulted in a Government-wide prohibition against awarding any contracts to 310 most of the major national accounting firms. Can you imagine 311 debarring the big four accounting firms from doing business 312 with the Government without the Administrator even knowing 313 314 it? That is the alternative. Such an inquiry was ordinary 315 and appropriate. It would have been negligent not to be 316 apprised about the ramifications of so significant an action.

I sat up here several months ago when we were going over security clearances and the deputy of OMB said he wasn't informed about it and we gave him the devil for not being informed on what was going on underneath him. We expect people to at least know what is going on beneath them.

The Agency's suspension debarment official stated, 'At no time did I receive any direct or indirect instruction or comment from the Office of the Administrator.'' He said he processed and concluded the matter as directed by the factual record, in accordance with the prescribed process.

Then there is the alleged Hatch Act violations. It appears that on January 26, 2007--remember that date--at the conclusion of a staff luncheon--this is during

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330 lunch--attended by GSA political appointees called by the 331 Administration--this is not Ms. Doan's meeting, this was a meeting called by the Administration, something they 332 333 routinely do in Executive agencies. Ms. Doan didn't put out 334 the White House political affairs order. She just simply 335 attended the meeting. The Administrator made an off-hand 336 comment about helping our candidates. That comment has somehow been connected to other conversations about inviting 337 338 public officials to GSA building dedications, efforts to invite Speaker Pelosi to an event in her District, and to 339 include Senator Mel Martinez in a similar event in his home 340 341 State of Florida are anecdotally relayed, not that she said anything, relayed as evidence of prohibited partisan activity 342 343 on Federal property. Such comments may be impolitic, but several factual realities defeat the effort to make them 344 evidence of unlawful political activities. 345

What candidates? What election? In January of this year, neither Representative Pelosi nor Senator Martinez was a candidate for any public office. No other candidates are mentioned. Based on the evidence before us, the only politics at GSA appear to be intramural, and it is a tough sport.

Administrator Doan has had some disagreements with the GSA Inspector General. She thought him needlessly adversarial in assessing the inevitability of the subject of

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355 judgments of contract officers. That, it seems, is where her 356 problems began. The IG, a former Federal prosecutor, takes 357 issue, often publicly, with current GSA leadership on the reach and roll of his office. That is his right. But the 358 359 statement provided to the Committee by the IG for today's hearing is an extraordinary narrative. Apparently, hell hath 360 361 no fury like an IG scorned. Rather than audit results or investigative findings, he brings us anecdotes, conjecture, 362 innuendo, and invective to impugn the judgment and character 363 of the GSA Administrator. 364

365 His statement mischaracterizes information provided to 366 this Committee, and it appears his office provided 367 information to the majority and others that was not made 368 available to us. We will have more than a few questions for 369 the IG to day.

370 Finally, I want to bring the Committee's attention to an 371 e-mail that was sent last night by Ms. Shana Budd, the GSA contract officer who finalized the SUN Microsystems contract 372 373 extension. She takes issue with the majority's attacks on 374 her integrity and her work. It is important for members and 375 the public to understand the demoralizing professional and 376 personal toll of the investigative tactics being used by the majority in this instance. 377

378 This was an unsolicited e-mail. This wasn't under379 threat of subpoena from us. This is an unsolicited e-mail

380 that came in last night from a GS-13 career civil servant 381 doing her best for the Government. It is the kind of 382 professionals we want to serve in Government. Here's what it 383 says.

384 ''Pat, have you seen this? My words and sentiments have been twisted so badly that it is the point where they are 385 386 making false statements about what I said. The author of this memorandum''--meaning the majority's memorandum--''is 387 committing a crime by hand-picking small phrases and comments 388 389 out of the broader context of the interview, which obviously 390 destroys the reader's ability to comprehend the true meaning 391 of my statements. The author is dramatically twisting my 392 words for the purpose of meeting his ends.

393 I am dumbfounded. This is destroying I am astonished. 394 my well-deserved good name and reputation. It is also attacking my ethics, procurement integrity, and business 395 judgment, all of which are upstanding and highly regarded. 396 397 It seems to me I would be well served in consulting with a private attorney in order to protect the previously mentioned 398 399 assets which are priceless.

How very, very disturbing that something like this can happen in this country that I love and believe in. I am an honest citizen and hard-working, talented professional who has dedicated my life to civil service in dedication to the American people. I possess impeccable procurement integrity

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405 and excellent business judgment. I remain immensely proud of 406 the work I did on the SUN Microsystems contract, because I 407 know beyond a shadow of a doubt that every action I took was 408 in the best interest of the Government and the American 409 taxpayers, of which I am one.

410 To think that actual Congresspeople would level these 411 charges against me brings tears to my eyes and a squeeze to 412 my heart. It is shattering my image of the American 413 electorate as people who stand up for what is right, do the 414 right thing, and most certainly protect honest, conscientious 415 public servants. I lived in northern Virginia for many 416 years, and the U.S. Capital was always my favorite place to 417 take visitors. I love what I thought I stood for. Now I 418 don't know what I still think next time I see it. Who would 419 have thought that doing my job, going the extra mile, and 420 taking a stand for what is right would lead to this?

I am honored and proud to serve my Country in the capacity of contracting officer. I am proud of the warrant that hangs on my wall. And I am supremely confident that I perform my job with utmost integrity in an honorable, truthful, level-headed, sensible, quality oriented, professional manner that serves the public very well. This is unjust and unfair.

428 How ironic that the very people who are accusing me of 429 having poor integrity are, themselves, the ones who possess

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430 poor integrity. I believe that there is a term for this very 431 behavior used by mental health professionals. It is called 432 psychology projection. The encyclopedia describes it as 433 follows: psychology projection or projection bias is a 434 defense mechanism in which one attributes, projects to 435 others, one's own unacceptable or unwanted thoughts and/or 436 notions.

437 Projections reduces anxiety by allowing the expression of the unwanted subconscious impulses and desires without 438 439 letting the ego recognize them, and it is time for the 440 Congressional Committee to do its job right, and they can start by not attacking good people. I will not just sit back 441 442 and accept these unjust and undeserved insults. I will fight this to the bitter end for myself and for every average, 443 honest American citizen. Shana Budd, Contracting Officer, 444445 GSA Region 8, Denver Federal Center.''

And let me just add we got her permission to read this into the record. She is not a schedule C; she is a career professional.

I look forward to today's hearing and asking
Administrator Doan to allow to clear her name and reputation,
as well.

452 Thank you.

453 [Prepared statement of Mr. Davis of Virginia follows:]

455 Chairman WAXMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Davis. We456 will let the facts speak for themselves.

I do want to point out that Shana Budd's testimony in her interview will be made public and people can see what she said in that interview and then judge whether her comments in the e-mail are justified.

Let me also just point out two other procedural things, without getting into the facts. One, we issued no subpoenas. If people came and volunteered to talk to us because they knew we might issue subpoenas, well, that is just the way it works, but we did not issue any subpoenas. Secondly, the Republican staffs were present at every interview, so keep that in mind, as well.

We are pleased now to have with us Senator Grassley.
We are delighted that you took the time to come from the
other side of the Capitol because of your involvement in this
issue, and we welcome you here today. We are eager to hear
what you have to say about the matter, because I know you
have been involved in this question far longer than any of
us.

475 Mr. MICA. Mr. Chairman, just a point before we get to476 Senator Grassley, are we doing opening statements?

477 Chairman WAXMAN. No, we are not going to do opening
478 statements. We have the witnesses, and then we will proceed
479 right to the questions.

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482 Chairman WAXMAN. That is correct, until they get to 483 their five minutes.

484 Mr. MICA. Well, I would like an exception to that. I am 485 the Ranking Member of Transportation and Infrastructure 486 Committee, and we have responsibility, legislative 487 responsibility, over GSA, and we have also worked on this 488 particular issue, since you have raised the point, and I 489 would like time for an opening statement. I would be glad to defer first to the Senator, but we have spent a lot of my 490 491 personal time and staff time to investigate this matter.

Chairman WAXMAN. I certainly will want to--

493 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Mr. Chairman, the general rule of 494 the Committee, as I understand it, is that members get 495 opening statements. In this case, I would ask that we follow 496 the rules of the Committee and allow Mr. Mica to make an 497 opening statement.

498 Chairman WAXMAN. Well, Senator Grassley does have a time 499 schedule. Would you allow him to go first and then you make 500 your statement?

501Mr. MICA. Yes, I think that would be fine. Thank you.502Chairman WAXMAN. Senator, we are pleased to have you.

503 STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE CHUCK GRASSLEY, A UNITED STATES 504 SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF IOWA

505 STATEMENT OF SENATOR CHUCK GRASSLEY

506 Senator GRASSLEY. I thank the members of this Committee 507 for their commitment to oversight, one of our most sacred 508 responsibilities as a Congress. Today's hearing, focusing on 509 a number of issues related to decisions of GSA and other 510 senior officials, and ultimately their impact on the American 511 taxpayer.

512 My concerns began last year, when I learned that the 513 relationship between GSA Inspector General Mr. Brian Miller 514 and GSA Administrator Ms. Doan was strained and deteriorating. I hope you know that I had a long history of 515 516 looking into wasteful Government spending and the very 517 important role that is played by Inspectors General, and I 518 hope that you understand that it doesn't matter to me whether 519 we have a Republican or Democrat Administration, I try to do 520 the job of oversight equally the same.

I believe that the IG in any agency is our first and main line of defense against waste, fraud, and abuse of taxpayers' money and misconduct by Government officials. The

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524 IGs, quite simply, are watchdogs, and I have been and will 525 continue to watch the watchdogs. It is incumbent on Congress 526 to ensure that the IGs are doing their job, that they have 527 the resources to do their job, and that there is no undue 528 interference with an IG's ability to do mission.

529 Currently, GSA holds contracts with thousands of 530 contractors worth billions. Someone has to ensure that these 531 contracts yield the best deal possible, and that contractors 532 involved honor all terms of each contract. In the GSA, this 533 is a team effort involving GSA contract officials and IG. 534 This is a delicate balance, but one that has proven to work, 535 proven by millions and millions of dollars of savings.

536 When I learned that the relationship between GSA Administrator and the IG was becoming more and more strained, 537 538 I decided to get to the bottom, and I am not pleased with 539 what I found. I can certainly accept that agency heads and 540 their IGs may not always see eye to eye; however, I cannot 541 accept any move by an agency head to undermine the 542 independence of the IG. That independence is the heart and 543 soul of the IG Act. It is what allows the IG to present 544 objective findings in their investigative reports.

545 When it was brought to my attention that the 546 Administrator intended to remove the reimbursable fundings 547 that the GSA IG depends on for audits of contracts in their 548 pre-award phase, I immediately looked into the impact that it

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would have on the Inspector General's work. In the end, the money for the reimbursable audits was restored in fiscal year 2007, but the entire situation provided insight into the flawed budgeting concept that has the unintended effect of encroaching on the independence of the IG.

554 So on February the 23rd, 2007, I asked the Senate 555 Appropriations Committee to fix the problem by providing a 556 direct appropriation for GSA IG's pre-award audits. The 557 reimbursable audits cost the GSA only \$5 million per year, 558 but have been responsible for saving more than \$2 billion in 559 the last two years, alone. I think \$10 billion (sic) in and 560 \$20 billion out sounds like a pretty good deal.

I have asked Administrator Doan about her relationship 561 with the IG, and she has assured me that she understands and 562 563 accepts the importance and necessity of the IG's independence. She says that she is trying to bring fiscal 564 discipline to the entire Agency, including the Office of IG. 565 566 I accept that, because that is a worthy goal. But, despite 567 her assurances to the contrary, though, her actions and words 568 have not convinced me that she is committed to utilizing the 569 GSA Office of the Inspector General to its maximum potential, 570 as intended in the law.

571 She has indicated privately and publicly that the IG has 572 been heavy handed in dealing with GSA employees. She has 573 even suggested that the IG officials have intimidated other

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574 GSA employees and contractors. These are very serious 575 allegations against Federal law enforcement officers and 576 accredited auditors, and if true they deserve the highest 577 level of investigation by both Congress and the Executive 578 Branch.

579 Despite numerous attempts to get details, though, on 580 these allegations from the Administrator, I have received 581 nothing but innuendos and unspecified allegations.

During the course of my investigation I discovered that 582 583 there was one specific allegation relating to a contract 584 involving Government vendor SUN Microsystems. The GSA IG 585 conducted a very thorough investigation of the matter and 586 could find no one in the GSA's regional office that felt 587 intimidated by IG officials. However, during the course of 588 that investigation I did learn some very interesting facts 589 about this particular SUN Microsystems contract which may be 590 the root cause of the dispute with the IG.

591 The first piece of information that caught my attention 592 was this: in spite of repeated warnings by senior GSA 593 officials since 2006 that SUN Microsystems had allegedly 594 committed civil and/or criminal fraud on two of these 595 contracts, GSA, with Administrator Doan's blessing, proceeded 596 to re-award the contract to SUN on September the 8th, 2006, 597 with no conditions, strings, or precautions regarding alleged 598 fraud.

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The IG began post-award audits of these contracts over two years ago. Those audits were finally completed yesterday. The scope of the alleged fraud has been established and verified. The allegations of fraud by SUN will now be referred to the Department of Justice for further consideration.

605 By August, 2006, several GSA contracting officials, all the way up to the Administrator, were fully knowledgeable 606 about the alleged fraud, yet none took appropriate corrective 607 608 action to address alleged fraud. Why? Well, the alleged 609 fraud on these contracts involving defective pricing, unauthorized charges, unpaid discounts is valued at \$10 610 611 millions of dollars. Even SUN Microsystems had admitted to 612 GSA that they had been negligent in providing proper pricing 613 and discount information to GSA. SUN has provided a corrective action plan to prevent this from happening in the 614 Whether this corrective action plan is effective 615 future. 616 remains to be seen, but that doesn't wipe out years of 617 negligence by this Government contractor.

The second piece of information that concerned me was that this new SUN contract, which will go through 2009, was negotiated on terms that are extremely unfavorable to the Government. The terms were so unfavorable, in fact, that, immediately upon signing, taxpayers lost millions of dollars due to improper discounting and pricing calculations. The

624 lost savings could be as high as \$20 to \$30 million, based625 upon IG investigation.

This was the very same issue that the GSA IG was investigating before the contract was renewed. It seems that everyone involved--the IG, the contracting officer, senior GSA officials--was aware that the new contract was bad for the GSA, bad for Government, and, of course, bad for the taxpayers.

GSA's first response to the allegations of fraud
developed by the IG was to grant another in a long line of
contract extensions to SUN on August 30, 2006. This brought
a little time. Then a new contracting officer was installed
on August 31st, a contracting officer with no previous
experience with this very complicated contract.

Finally, on September the 8th, just eight days later,
GSA awarded the contract to SUN, this contract that is even
worse for the Government than the one previously negotiated
over the past year by the two previous contract officers,
both of whom were replaced between February and August, 2006.

To make matters worse, the Administrator told me in a letter dated March 13, 2007, that she was made aware of the potential criminal fraud by SUN on August 29, 2006, which was two days before the new contract officer was appointed and nine days before the new contract was awarded.

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After the IG informed her of the alleged fraud on SUN

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649 contract, she reportedly told the IG, ''It is essential for 650 GSA to sign the contract with SUN.'' That was on August 651 29th. Two days later, Federal Acquisition Service 652 Commissioner Williams told the contract officer that he and 653 Administrator Doan, ''Considered the SUN contract 654 strategically important and wanted it awarded.''

What is even more shocking is that the FSA staff, the Arm of the General Services Administration responsible for negotiating this contract, were made aware of SUN's alleged fraud as early as February 12, 2006, and possibly earlier, but at least seven months before the contract was awarded.

660 What was the rationale for going ahead with this
661 contract? Was it GSA's fear of losing the contract to
662 another Agency like NASA? Was it the loss of income from the
663 fees, or simply a desire to continue doing business with this
664 contractor for some other still unknown reason?

Hopefully continued investigation such as this hearing
today will eventually reveal what went wrong and answer these
questions.

I want to close by making a very important point. It was teamwork of the IG and the contracting officials that uncovered both the potential fraud and the problems with the new contract, and it was the IG Brian Miller's outstanding leadership that created an environment where these good things could happen. Yet, despite their very best efforts,

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PAGE 31

674 their warnings fell upon deaf ears at the highest levels of 675 GSA. The message this sends to Government contractors is very clear: it doesn't matter how poorly you manage the 676 677 Government's money or how badly you violate the Government's 678 contract, the doors of the U.S. Treasury are wide open. Help 679 yourself to what is in the coffers. Take what you need. GSA will do business with you on your terms. 680

So, Mr. Chairman, let me make one point crystal clear,
including my duties. The Government coffers are not open.
We are watching the activities of Government contractors,
senior agency officials. The perpetuation of fraud and
violation of law should not be tolerated, period.

686 There are systems in place to prevent this, like the IG Act and what you are doing here, Congressional oversight. 687 688 When money is lost due to a flawed contract, negligence, or 689 fraud, we must remember that money is not the GSA's, it is 690 not Congress' money, that it is money out of the pockets of 691 hard-working American taxpayers, and among our most important responsibilities is to ensure that it is spent responsibly, 692 693 wisely, and according to law.

If fraud occurred on this contract and SUN owes the taxpayers money, as the IG reports, then the money must be recovered, those responsible must be held accountable. Thank you.

[Prepared statement of Senator Grassley follows:]

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700 Chairman WAXMAN. Thank you very much, Senator Grassley.
701 I appreciate your being here. You have been legendary as an
702 advocate, and also for your tenacity in looking out for the
703 taxpayers of this country, and I appreciate your insights
704 into this issue.

705 I know you have to go, so what we are going to do is Mr.
706 Davis has a few questions, I have a few questions, and then
707 we are going to excuse you.

708 Senator GRASSLEY. Okay.

709 Chairman WAXMAN. Mr. Davis?

710 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Senator, I appreciate your being 711here. I, too, as the chairman of this Committee, we would go 712 where the facts took us, and Mr. Waxman and I together went 713 after the Administration when we thought they were wrong and 714 defend them when we think they are right. We all want savings. And Ms. Doan is a big girl. She can take care of 715 herself on the questions to follow to explain her role in 716 717 this.

There is no evidence that she negotiated directly with SUN Microsystems that you can find, is there? You don't have any evidence that she negotiated directly with SUN Microsystems, do you, Senator?

Senator GRASSLEY. What I have evidence of is that there
was questions raised about alleged fraud over a long period
of time that should have been taken into consideration by

725 anybody doing business with this company.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Right, but you don't have anyevidence that she negotiated with--

Senator GRASSLEY. At this point everything is alleged.
Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Right. I think she can answer
these questions.

731 I would just add that I spent my career before I came here as a Government contracts attorney. In most agencies 732 733 the IG doesn't do the pre-audit report. This is done by the 734 contracting auditors or the DCAA. This is kind of the 735 exception to the rule where the IG does. But let me just say 736 this. Let's assume that GSA allowed this SUN scheduled 737 contract to lapse. Let's just assume for a second we have reached an impasse, they have been through three contracting 738 739 officers. If the contract lapsed, what would happen then to 740 agencies that require needs for SUN products to purchase them under individual acquisitions? If they are not on the GSA 741 742 schedule and an agency needs it, how do they get it?

743 Senator GRASSLEY. I'm not doing the business of GSA, but 744 it seems to me when there is questions about fraud that come 745 up that if there was a necessity to go one more day or two 746 more days or ten more days to keep Government functioning, 747 that you would do it with complete openness, that there is 748 very much questions involved.

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Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. I agree with you. Well, Senator,

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750 the only thing I would note here is this had gone on for 751 weeks and months with extensions that were far more costly to 752 taxpayers than getting this resolved. And also, getting it 753 on the schedule is just a license to hunt. Once you are on a 754 schedule doesn't guarantee you one correct. That is why it 755 is so difficult to understand, for people to make these 756 statements about it cost millions of dollars.

757 What happens, as I understand the process, is ordering agencies--in this case, it is a license to hunt. You are on 758 759 the GSA schedule, but for an agency to then buy your product 760 they have to compete it off the schedule against competing 761 companies, who also have to negotiate their prices, and the 762 price that was negotiated here is just kind of a starting They generally go down from there, and that makes it 763 place. 764 difficult to measure.

But I think you are right that we need to take a look at this, and when agencies negotiate these things it should be subject to Congressional oversight. We look forward to, I think, a robust conversation about that today, and I'm sure the Administrator can tell you what her thought process was, as the policy-maker. As you know, IG's roles aren't to make policy, they are to make audit recommendations.

Senator GRASSLEY. you have got to remember that in
Government contracts it is a little bit different than in a
commercial--

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775 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Very different.

Senator GRASSLEY. The people want to do the business
with the Federal Government have responsibility to make more
information available to the Government.

779 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Absolutely.

780 Senator GRASSLEY. And you would expect that any deal 781 that the American Government gets would be, if nothing more 782 than reason because of quantity, we would get a better deal 783 than they give to the commercial side.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Senator, I am not sure that is always true. For example, in Medicare prescription drug prices I'm not sure that Government would get a better deal than you get off of some of these larger buying agencies. I think you would agree with me on that. But, aside from that, let's look at this. I appreciate your bringing it to our attention.

What I think the evidence will show today is that you 791 792 had an impasse. It had been through three contracting 793 officers, and if they went off the schedule the Government 794 was going to get its product somewhere. I think they can 795 defend or not the merits of this, but I think the evidence 796 will show that Ms. Doan didn't negotiate a thing in this 797 case. She simply said we have an impasse, let's try to 798 resolve it, and both sides at one point switched their 799 contracting negotiators.

37 PAGE

800 Thank you. Senator GRASSLEY. Well, in regard to drugs, the 801 802 Government might get a better deal, but our senior citizens 803 only have the choice of 25 percent of the drugs that they 804 otherwise have under the plan we have right now. 805 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Senator, it is the same problem 806 here. If you don't get a deal here, and SUN Microsystems isn't on the GSA schedules, and the Government has a need for 807 808 those products, you go out into the marketplace and you pay a 809 lot more. 810 Senator GRASSLEY. Are you done with me? Chairman WAXMAN. No, Senator, I want to ask you a few 811 812 questions. 813 Senator GRASSLEY. Yes, I'm glad to answer your questions. 815 Chairman WAXMAN. It seems that what GSA is supposed to 816 do is go out and negotiate fair and reasonable prices for other Government agencies to get the services or products 817 that they might use in their Government activities. We are 818 819 going to go into this issue more in detail, but, from my 820 understanding, GSA had a contractor, SUN Microsystems. SUN Microsystems was giving a lower price to their commercial 821 822 customers and then would turn around and charge the Government more for the same services, which was contrary to 823 824 GSA rules.

So when they negotiated the contract and renegotiated the contract they said you can't do that, and they went through a long period of time of extensions. What they needed to do, if they couldn't get their contractor, Microsystems, to give the best price to the Government, they needed to look for somebody else. But we will go into that more in detail.

What I want to ask you is you have been looking at this issue, and you asked Ms. Doan for her comments, and now you have seen what she had to say to you. You have looked at the documents and the e-mails from Ms. Doan. Do you think that this raises any question, after you reviewed all this matter, about the accuracy of the assertions that Ms. Doan made to you in the letter to you?

839 Senator GRASSLEY. I think it is typical of too many 840 letters I get back from various agencies of Government, 841 including this one, and this is an example of what I am 842 talking about, so I am in agreement with you that we need 843 more information and have not been entirely candid. But 844 there is an institutional disease in bureaucracy under 845 Republicans or Democrats that you have always got to pull 846 teeth to get answers to your questions.

Chairman WAXMAN. That is true enough, and that is why I think Congress has to do its oversight responsibility. Do you think this is a worthwhile activity for an oversight

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850 committee?

851 Senator GRASSLEY. Listen, you wouldn't be doing your
852 Constitutional job upholding your oath if you weren't doing
853 what you are doing today and do more of it.

Chairman WAXMAN. And let me ask you this question: who appointed Ms. Doan and who appointed the Inspector General for her Agency?

857 Senator GRASSLEY. Listen, the buck stops at the Oval858 Office.

859 Chairman WAXMAN. So both were appointed by the same 860 President?

861 Senator GRASSLEY. Yes. And I want you--

Chairman WAXMAN. And they are having a disagreement because the Inspector General, in pursuing his job of watching over this Agency, has pointed out that he thinks they have given contracts where the taxpayers are paying more money than they should?

867 Senator GRASSLEY. Yes.

868 Chairman WAXMAN. Well, we will go into it with them,
869 because we will have them both here, but it just strikes me
870 that when the Republicans say this is partisan and
871 unnecessary and unfair, I am pleased to have you here to say
872 that this is the kind of thing that we ought to be doing,
873 watching out for the taxpayers.

874 Senator GRASSLEY. I want you to know that Inspector

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875 Generals are in the first line. They should be very, very
876 independent. They ought to probably have more independence
877 than the present law gives them.

I have been involved in the firing and resignations of IGs that haven't been doing their job, at least five, and, you know, they help us to do our Constitutional job of oversight. Your job, my job would be much more difficult if we didn't have Inspector Generals.

Chairman WAXMAN. Thank you. I certainly agree with you.
Thank you very much for being here. We know you have a busy
schedule.

I would like to ask the members, by unanimous consent, even though we were going to have opening statements only by the Ranking Member and myself, that we allow Mr. Mica to give an opening statement, and then we will proceed to the witnesses. Does that meet everybody's agreement?

[No response.]

892 Chairman WAXMAN. If so, Mr. Mica, you are going to be 893 treated with special courtesy today and we recognize you at 894 this time for an opening statement.

Mr. MICA. Thank you. Having served with Mr. Waxman, I
have been 15 years, I know he has been a lot longer in
Congress, I appreciate that Congress.

As I did state, I took over the responsibility ofRanking Member of Transportation and Infrastructure. One of

900 our Subcommittees is Economic Development and Public 901 Buildings, of which we have legislative responsibility for 902 Quite frankly, I didn't know the GSA Administrator from GSA. 903 Adam's house cat several months ago. I might say that, just 904 by way of information about myself--and we just heard from 905 Senator Grassley--I started out some of my career with the 906 responsibility of reviewing local government and then some 907 State government operations.

908 One of the first things I did was send a local 909 Republican official, a county official, helped send him to 910 jail for waste, fraud, and abuse, so I don't play those 911 games. If someone is abusing their office, I will go after 912 them. Mr. Waxman and I and Mr. Davis, we have been on the 913 Committee and we have done that over the years, and I think 914 we have that responsibility in the future.

915 That being said, I have at least two times questioned 916 the Administrator with some of my staff. When I first read 917 some of the accounts in the Washington Post, I guess, that 918 printed this story about a no-bid contract, I, too, became 919 concerned. So I started looking at this and talked to her. Ι didn't know much about her. I found out she was a 920 921 professional businesswoman who had great experience. Ι thought, my god, she is giving some kind of a favor and a bid 922 923 to a company she dealt with in the private sector. This 924 looks like some sort of a payback.

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925 Then I was absolutely stunned when I found out that she had not received any money from the company, this diversity 926 927 company, that, in fact, she had paid \$400,000 for contracts and this company, in fact, had a good reputation in looking 928 at diversity issues, and she had conducted some of that in 929 the private sector, so I was sort of stunned by what I found. 930 Then I found out that GSA, and not knowing much about 931 GSA because I hadn't been responsible for oversight in this 932 933 area, was actually about to get or had gotten an F grade in 934 diversity. So here's an Agency, and she is a minority 935 Republican appointee who comes into an Agency and finds an 936 Agency that is getting an F grade in its performance relating 937 to racial diversity in the Department.

938 I think her biggest mistake at this point is trying to 939 think she could do something like she did in the private 940 sector, is move something forward to correct the situation. 941 Having already contracted in the private sector with someone 942 who did a good job on diversity questions, she tries to get a 943 contract to avoid an upcoming again analysis and review of 944 the Agency's poor performance.

945 So I looked at that and I thought there is nothing here.
946 I mean, in fact, she should probably be applauded for trying
947 to come into an Agency that has a horrible reputation on
948 diversity and racial questions of employment in the Agency,
949 and as a minority appointee trying to do something about it.

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950 So then I thought, well, I heard a little bit about the 951 partisan politics, possible violation of the Hatch Act. I 952 thought, well damn, me and Henry, we have got her on this 953 one. Then I find out that actually she didn't even initiate the conference. I thought, well, maybe she did this before 954 955 the election. Then I went back to see when was she 956 appointed. She was appointed in June of last year. July, 957 August, September, October, November, December, January, 958 February. Here we are in February, so she has been an 959 eight-month appointee. Was she trying to influence the 960 election in the fall? This actually took place January 28th, 961 I think the date was, the end of January, in a conference call not initiated by her. So strike out number two. 962 963 Then we get to the SUN contract. Ohio, we have got her 964 this time because she was involved in knowing all about the 965 SUN contract and probably let this. 966 Here's the dates on the SUN contract. Negotiation with 967 SUN started, the first and second contract extensions were 968 executed by Robert Overly over a period of seven months. A 969 second contract extension was granted to expire February, 970 2005. Well, where the hell is Ms. Doan? She didn't come in 971 until June, and then the dates we just got even from Senator

972 Grassley, she had been on the job for 45 days trying to get
973 something done on something that had been pending, I
974 understand, for five years.

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975 I have been involved in investigations and reviews on 976 this Committee for 15 years, and I am telling you this 977 unfortunately looks like it is a targeted attempt to go after 978 a minority appointee. I find that very offensive in this 979 process.

980 Chairman WAXMAN. The gentleman's time has expired.981 Mr. MICA. Thank you for the time.

982 Chairman WAXMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Mica. You can 983 stay for the rest of the hearing if you want to hear the 984 witnesses, but I know you have made up your mind.

985 We will now proceed to listen to the two witnesses that 986 involve the issues that have been put before us.

987 I am very pleased to welcome The Honorable Lurita A.
988 Doan. She is the 18th Administrator of the General Services
989 Administration. Prior to becoming GSA Administrator in May,
990 2006, Ms. Doan was the President of New Technology
991 Management, Inc., a company she founded in 1990.

Ms. Doan, we want to welcome you to our hearing today. I want to tell you that your prepared statement will be in the record in full. We would like to ask, if you would, to try to limit your oral presentation to around five minutes, but we will not be strict on that because it is important that we hear from you.

998It is the practice of this Committee to put all999witnesses under oath, and I would like to ask you to stand

1000 | and please raise your right hand to take the oath.

1001 [Witness sworn.]

1002 Chairman WAXMAN. The record will indicate the witness 1003 answered in the affirmative.

1004 We are pleased that you are here, and I am going to now 1005 recognize you for your comments.

1006 STATEMENTS OF THE HONORABLE LURITA A. DOAN, ADMINISTRATOR,
1007 GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION; BRIAN D. MILLER, INSPECTOR
1008 GENERAL, GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

1009 STATEMENT OF LURITA A. DOAN

1010 Ms. DOAN. Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Davis, and 1011 members of the Committee, I appreciate the invitation to 1012 appear before you today to address the matters raised in the 1013 March 6th invitation.

1014 This is my first time testifying as Administrator of the 1015 General Services Administration.

1016 Mr. Smith Goes to Washington is one of my favorite 1017 movies, but I have to admit that I never thought that I would 1018 be living the movie, and yet here I am.

1019 Thank you for the opportunity to resolve a number of 1020 issues that have appeared in the media. I welcome this 1021 opportunity to set the record straight.

1022 I have submitted a detailed written testimony, but let 1023 me highlight the key elements. They are: fiscal discipline, 1024 oversight, and results.

1025First, the cost of imposing fiscal discipline. Within1026hours of assuming office this past June, I initiated a

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1027 line-by-line review of the entire GSA budget. We had over \$1028 \$100 million deficit for fiscal year 2006. We had flunked 1029 our annual audit. The revenue from fiscal year 2005 to 1030 fiscal year 2006 had plunged by over \$4 billion. Morale was 1031 low, and there was talk of mandatory buy-outs.

I had three goals: eliminate sources of wasteful spending, apply oversight equally to all divisions within GSA, achieve results by encouraging GSA employees to innovate, improve GSA performance, and save taxpayer money. These were priorities I had identified in my confirmation hearing.

We identified and eliminated non-performing programs. We hacked unnecessary travel to places like Australia and Kuala Lumpur. GSA divisions cut spending by 9 percent, and we didn't even have to touch employee salaries. It was with great pride that we submitted a budget to OMB with retroactive cuts for fiscal year 2006, fiscal year 2007, and even proposed cuts in fiscal year 2008.

GSA employees knew the sources of wasteful spending, and they were elated to know that under me there were no sacred cows. Today, through the hard work of our GSA team, our morale has improved. GSA was recently ranked as one of the top ten best places to work in Federal Government. We have a balanced budget. And we got a clean audit.

1051 I am really proud of the transformational changes made

1052 to the GSA's schedule process, where we just awarded our 1053 first GSA schedule within 30 days of the application. Only 1054 ten months ago the average time was 157 days.

1055 The fast reorganization is successfully underway, and 1056 GSA has turned around and created a positive relationship 1057 with the Judiciary and the Department of Defense, and these 1058 are our two biggest customers.

We did all of this in ten months. Bold, new leadership was what the President wanted, and that is exactly what he got at GSA.

1062 The early fiscal discipline is now yielding improved 1063 performance, but I am going to tell you change is difficult, 1064 and not everyone wants to improve. Some cling to the old and 1065 refuse to cut spending and will do anything to protect 1066 bureaucratic turf, and this is what happened at GSA. Ι 1067 believe the Office of the Inspector General may have been 1068 angered by any suggestion that their operations could be 1069 improved or that any spending could be cut.

I probably should have predicted what followed: investigations intended to intimidate were launched, but never ended, and the old-fashioned squeeze was on. I refused to yield, and I still believe that my actions were right, but I am going to tell you I am not a perfect person. I make mistakes, and honestly I am probably going to make a few 1076 more, but there was no wrongdoing.

1077 In Washington, it seems to me that budgets are fiercely 1078 protected, but that sometimes these legitimate policy 1079 disputes cross the line and become personal attacks, and I 1080 believe that this is what happened to me.

1081 Mr. Chairman, you do not face the Administrator of GSA 1082 but the full fury of an absolutely angry Mom when someone 1083 from this Committee alleged that three years ago there was 1084 some wrongdoing involving my then-14-year-old daughter who participated in a mandatory, school-wide community service 1085 1086 program as an intern to Senator Debbie Stabenow three years 1087 ago, long before I entered public office. I am sure you know Senator Stabenow, and I am sure you know that she would never 1088 1089 do anything that is wrong.

1090 I know that this attack was probably inserted in the invitation by a too-eager staffer who thought that bloodsport 1091 1092 involving children was acceptable. To that Committee staffer 1093 who thought that attacking one of my kids would be fair game, let me tell you directly, shame on you. Shame on you for 1094 1095 getting so caught up in the give-and-take of politics that 1096 you lost your sense of decency and fair play and let partisan 1097 passions overwhelm good judgment. Shame on you for not 1098 thinking through the terrible and unintended consequences on 1099 good people everywhere interested in public service.

1100 You know, like Jimmy Stewart in Mr. Smith I stand here.1101 I am going to be honest. I am facing a gazillion

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allegations, but the curious thing is that all of these allegations stem from a single source, and all of them became public as a direct result of my attempts to impose fiscal discipline throughout GSA.

I knew that when I moved to restore fiscal discipline and bring some sunshine to poor managerial practices that I was going to be in for a lot of criticism, but I was surprised by the scandal-mongering involving attacks on children, that I now have hate mail sent to my home, and am vilified in the national media.

1112 The time to focus on the facts has come and the 1113 political points that can be scored from trumped-up charges 1114 put away. When you examine my testimony--and I hope that you 1115 will take the time to read it. I know it is a little 1116 lengthy--I hope that you will see that each of these 1117 different allegations and attacks on my character are 1118 groundless, that I did not interfere, and that I was simply 1119 exercising my right as Administrator to know what was going 1120 on at the GSA.

But I think that this hearing is important for two other far more important reasons. The first regards wasteful spending. I think that what we say and what we do here today could set the tone for how other Federal agencies look at oversight and accountability and how aggressive they are to be in identifying and eliminating specific causes of wasteful

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1127 spending.

GSA, as far as I know, was the only Federal agency that submitted a budget that voluntarily called for retroactive cuts to its budget. It took courage to do that, but I fear that if it becomes common practice for agency heads to face a never-ending barrage of personal attacks for doing so, that you can be sure that no such effort, it is never going to be made again.

1135 Second, this hearing could possibly, it seems to me, set 1136 the atmosphere for how we approach the issue of oversight. 1137 Much of my testimony deals with my determination to extend 1138 oversight and accountability equally throughout GSA divisions, including the Office of the Inspector General. 1139 Those of us in Government, we have a great opportunity to 1140 1141begin an important dialogue that has, at its core, two 1142 questions: first, is oversight something that applies equally 1143 to all spending decisions? Or should oversight and 1144 accountability only be applied to selected Government 1145 organizations or programs?

I thank you for this opportunity. I look forward to answering your questions. I hope that I will give you a chance to get to know me just a little bit better.

- 1149 Thank you.
- 1150 [Prepared statement of Administrator Doan follows:]

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1152 Chairman WAXMAN. Thank you, Ms. Doan, for your statement 1153 to us.

Without objection, we will now proceed with the Chairman and the Ranking Member controlling 15 minutes of time, and I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Iowa. I was only going to yield him 5 minutes, but I will yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from Iowa, Mr. Braley.

1159 Mr. BRALEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman and Ranking Member 1160 Davis.

1161 Good morning.

1162 Ms. DOAN. Good morning.

Mr. BRALEY. Let's begin by reviewing what GSA does and what its mission is. GSA is a Government agency that manages Federal buildings, buys equipment and supplies, and works with other agencies to purchase goods and services. As the chairman noted, the impact of this service is huge, because the GSA helps manage nearly \$500 billion in Federal assets.

According to GSA's web site, its core mission is to help According to GSA's web site, its core mission is to help Federal agencies better serve the public by offering at best value superior workplaces, expert solutions, acquisition services, and management policies.

1173 I assume you would agree with the mission statement that 1174 is posted on the web site?

1175 Ms. DOAN. I do, although I will tell you we are 1176 improving it, because we are just finishing our new strategic

1177 plan. 1178 Mr. BRALEY. But I assume that you would agree with it as 1179 it is currently stated? 1180 Ms. DOAN. Yes. 1181 Mr. BRALEY. And do you also agree that the GSA's core 1182 mission does not include engaging in partisan political 1183 activity? 1184 Ms. DOAN. I do not think that any Government agency 1185 should be engaging in partisan political activity. 1186 Mr. BRALEY. Let's talk about the meeting that you 1187 referenced in your opening statement on January 26 of 2007. I believe most people rightly assume that the GSA's mission 1188 is not political, just making sure that Government buildings 1189 1190 are well-built and well-maintained and that Federal employees 1191 have the resources and supplies they need to do their job. 1192 But on January 26 of 2007 you held a meeting at GSA 1193 headquarters that raised serious concerns about possible 1194 illegal political activity, and I want to ask you about that 1195 meeting. 1196 It is our understanding that the meeting occurred at GSA 1197 headquarters on Government property. We have been told that

1198 you were there as the highest-ranking GSA official, and your 1199 chief of staff, John Phelps, was there, as well as dozens of 1200 other political appointees working at GSA. Overall, there 1201 were nearly 40 Republican political appointees who joined the

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1202 meeting either in person or through a video conference. The Committee has been told that the reason for this 1203 1204 meeting was to hear a presentation from Scott Jennings. Scott Jennings is Karl Rove's deputy at the White House. He 1205 1206 is the Deputy Director of Political Affairs for President 1207 Is that correct so far? Bush. 1208 Ms. DOAN. No it is not. 1209 Mr. BRALEY. And what was not correct about that 1210 statement? 1211 Ms. DOAN. John Phelps did not attend that meeting. 1212 Mr. BRALEY. And did not participate by phone? 1213 Ms. DOAN. And did not participate by phone. 1214 Mr. BRALEY. And was not involved in any way in the 1215 meeting? 1216 Ms. DOAN. To my knowledge, he was not in any way 1217 involved in the meeting. 1218 Mr. BRALEY. The Committee has been informed that Mr. 1219 Jennings gave a PowerPoint presentation at the meeting. Were 1220 you aware of that? 1221 Ms. DOAN. Yes. Mr. BRALEY. And we have been told that he discussed the 1222 1223 2006 elections during that presentation. Would you characterize his presentation as a purely factual 1224 presentation about the results of the 2006 election? 1225 1226 Ms. DOAN. I am a little bit embarrassed to admit this,

1227 but I can say that I honestly don't have a recollection of 1228 the presentation at all.

1229 Mr. BRALEY. Well, I assume that, given your past 1230 experience, you have sat through PowerPoint presentations 1231 before?

1232 Ms. DOAN. I have sat through--

Mr. BRALEY. And that during PowerPoint presentations, information is projected in slides, and usually those slides are reviewed by the person making the presentation to reinforce verbally the visual images that are displayed on the slides?

1238 Ms. DOAN. Oftentimes they are.

1239 Mr. BRALEY. Is that your general understanding of what 1240 took place on this date?

1241 Ms. DOAN. Yes. I believe that is true. I believe there 1242 were PowerPoint slides, and I believe Scott Jennings did 1243 speak.

1244 Mr. BRALEY. The Committee has obtained a copy of the 1245 presentation that Mr. Jennings gave at your office, and I 1246 would like to ask you about the topics that he discussed with the staff. At this time I would ask the staff to put up 1247 1248 slide 555, which is the first cover slide for the PowerPoint presentation, showing that this was prepared by the White 1249 1250 House Political Office headed by Karl Rove. 1251 That is what the cover side says; is that correct?

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Ms. DOAN. Yes. I am looking at the one you gave me. Mr. BRALEY. And then let's look at slide 578. This is a slide that has at the top 2008 House Targets, Top 20. Do you see that?

1256 Ms. DOAN. I do.

Mr. BRALEY. And there can be no dispute, from the content of this slide, that this slide is depicting Republican targets that identify Democratic seats that are vulnerable in 2006. Isn't that what it says?

1261Ms. DOAN. I'm reading. It says House Targets, Top 20.1262Chairman WAXMAN. It shows 2008.

Mr. BRALEY. Yes. And it shows, District by District, the individuals, what the percentage of that District was in the 2004 election and what percentage that particular Democratic candidate received in the 2006 election; correct? Ms. DOAN. Yes. Honestly, I have not seen this chart

1268 until yesterday. I don't remember. I mean, I really, truly 1269 don't remember seeing this chart until yesterday, when I 1270 tried to dig it up, and I have to say I don't know what the 1271 explanation was that accompanied this. I truly do not 1272 remember this part of the presentation.

1273 Mr. BRALEY. Well, you are familiar with what the word 1274 target means, right?

1275 Ms. DOAN. I think we could say that I am one right now, 1276 yes.

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1277 Mr. BRALEY. Yes. And what this means is that the 1278 Republicans are trying to target these seats to win them back 1279 in 2008. That was what was discussed at the presentation. 1280 Ms. DOAN. I appreciate your interpretation of that. 1281 Chairman WAXMAN. If the gentleman would yield for one 1282 minute, I just want to verify, did you know that your office 1283 supplied this chart to us? 1284 Ms. DOAN. Yes, I did, but I did not review the actual 1285 data. There was different groups that were involved in this,

1286 since this was not my meeting. I did not convene it. I 1287 didn't run the agenda of it. I didn't invite Speaker 1288 Jennings, Scott Jennings, to the meeting. I actually didn't 1289 have any involvement in it. The group that was involved in 1290 that, they prepared that submission for you.

1291 Chairman WAXMAN. You were just there, though?
1292 Ms. DOAN. I attended the meeting. Yes, I was there.
1293 Chairman WAXMAN. Okay. Well, I am going to let Mr.
1294 Braley continue.

1295 Ms. DOAN. Yes.

1296 Mr. BRALEY. You would agree that a reasonable 1297 interpretation of this slide is that it was a political 1298 attempt to try to target the top 20 Democratic candidates for 1299 defeat in 2008?

1300Ms. DOAN. No, I would not say that. I would say that1301this is a slide that says 2008 House Targets, Top 20. I do

not want to try to speculate on what was intended by Mr. 1302 Jennings on the slide. I really think you have to ask him. 1303 1304 Mr. BRALEY. Well, I think reasonable people interpreting and viewing this material can probably get a pretty good 1305 1306 understanding of what Mr. Jennings was doing there. 1307 The next slide I would like to talk about is slide 579. This is a slide that has as a heading, 2008 House GOP 1308 1309 Defense. Have you seen this slide before? 1310 Ms. DOAN. I saw it yesterday is when I remember. I′m 1311 sure I probably, possibly saw it during the meeting. I don't remember it during our meeting, but honestly, as I said 1312 before, I don't really remember the PowerPoint presentation 1313 1314 very clearly during that meeting. 1315 Mr. BRALEY. And this slide lists a number of vulnerable Republican House seats that are being targeted for protection 1316 1317 in the 2008 Congressional elections; isn't that a reasonable 1318 conclusion that you can draw from this slide? 1319 Ms. DOAN. Congressman, I will accept your explanation of 1320 it. Mr. BRALEY. And then, if we look at slide 581, this 1321 slide has the caption, Battle for the Senate, 2008, and 1322 identifies potential pickup opportunities, one category 1323 1324 described as Republican offense listing six States, one 1325 category described as Republican defense listing eight 1326 States, and then listing other noncompetitive States. Do you

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1327 agree that a reasonable person interpreting what is contained 1328 on this slide could conclude that these are targeted Senate 1329 seats that the Republican White House is trying to protect or 1330 pick up?

Ms. DOAN. Senator, I will accept your interpretation of
this slide. I mean, I'm sorry, Congressman. A promotion.
Mr. BRALEY. I am very proud of my title as Congressman,
so thank you.

1335Ms. DOAN. Demotion. I'm sorry. I'm not even going to1336get into that, guys.

1337 Mr. BRALEY. Can you tell us what, if anything, these 1338 slides have to do with the GSA's core purpose of procuring 1339 supplies and managing Federal buildings?

1340 Ms. DOAN. This brown bag luncheon I believe has been 1341 mischaracterized. This is a meeting that is a team-building 1342 meeting that is hosted by our White House liaison, a GSA 1343 employee, a non-career employee, and it is hosted every 1344 month. I try to attend whenever I can. Occasionally I 1345 realize I am late either coming in or leaving early, but I do 1346 try to be supportive. We look upon this as team-building. 1347 We have had a variety of speakers who speak in whatever their particular area of expertise is. That is what we do in these 1348 1349 luncheons. I am trying to build a superior management team at 1350 GSA, and any kind of team-building activities that I can do, I - -1351

1352 Mr. BRALEY. With all due respect, Ms. Doan, I don't1353 believe you answered my question, which was--

1354 Ms. DOAN. I'm sorry.

1355 Mr. BRALEY.--to ask what these slides had to do with the 1356 GSA's mission.

1357 Ms. DOAN. I'm sorry.

Mr. BRALEY. I think the answer to my question is clear. This was a partisan political briefing. It occurred on GSA property during work hours and had nothing to do with the GSA mission. You identified team-building as one of the purposes of this meeting. Can you explain to the taxpayers of this country how holding this partisan political briefing helped with team building?

Ms. DOAN. As I had said a little bit earlier, this is a brown bag lunch. It occurs on the lunch hour of our non-career employees. This is not my slide presentation. And I really do ask you, if you need to have an accurate interpretation of what that PowerPoint slide presentation means, please, you know, I would ask you to ask Mr. Jennings. This is his product and he was a guest at our meeting.

Mr. BRALEY. Well, when the presentation begins with the White House Office of Political Affairs on the cover slide and the slide presentation has multiple references to the Republican's wanted, 72 hour get out the vote effort, and its impact on a host of different Congressional races, which is

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1377 what is contained on the other slides that are in this 1378 presentation, I think the American taxpayers have a very good 1379 reason to wonder whether the only team that was being helped 1380 during this briefing was the Republican party team. The 1381 Federal Hatch act says you can't use the workplace to engage 1382 in team building for any political party.

You have suggested that this wasn't intended to have a 1383 partisan purpose in your presentations, and yet the Committee 1384 has been informed by multiple sources that after Mr. Jennings 1385 finished his presentation, you took the floor, thanked him, 1386 1387 and then posed a question to the entire group of 1388 participants. And, according to those sources, you stated, ''How can we use GSA to help our candidates in the next 1389 1390 election?''

Now, reminding you that you are under oath, can you tell Now, reminding you that you are under oath, can you tell the Committee whether, in fact, you did make that statement? Ms. DOAN. I do know that I am under oath, and I will tell you that honestly and absolutely I do not have a recollection of actually saying that.

Mr. BRALEY. The Committee has interviewed and deposed witnesses who participated in the briefing, and these were not the type of off-the-record discussions the White House is currently recommending in the Attorney Generals investigation. One of those, Justin Bush, is a Republican political appointee at GSA, and he is quoted as saying that HGO087.000

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1402 your comment was, ''How can we use different GSA projects, 1403 building openings, and the like to further aid other 1404 Republicans.'' Do you have any reason to doubt Mr. Bush's 1405 memory?

1406 Ms. DOAN. Honestly, I have told you I do not have any 1407 recollection of saying that, but I do know, I have been 1408 brought to understand that there is actually a difference of 1409 opinion among the attendees about what exactly was said. 1410 Mr. BRALEY. Well, another attendee, Jennifer Millikan, 1411 is the Deputy Director of Communications at GSA and also a 1412 Republican appointee. She stated that you said, ' 'How we 1413 could help candidates.'' Do you remember saying that?

Ms. DOAN. I have no recollection of saying that.
Mr. BRALEY. Do you disagree with your own press person
that that comment was made by you?

1417 Ms. DOAN. Congressman--

1418 Mr. BRALEY. A comment about helping candidates, our 1419 candidates?

Ms. DOAN. Congressman, I don't know how many times I have said this, fourth or fifth time, but I will repeat again that I cannot, I do not recollect this. I honestly and absolutely have no recollection. But I will tell you that the IG has requested an investigation from the Office of the Special Counsel into this matter. That investigation, to my knowledge, is still open. It is currently running. We at

1427 GSA, I, in particular, we are cooperating fully, and I would 1428 actually ask you to please allow the investigation to run its 1429 course.

1430 Mr. BRALEY. Well, part of our function here is to 1431 perform Congressional oversight, which by its very nature 1432 includes investigation. That is the purpose we are here 1433 today.

Another attendee, the Chief Acquisition Officer of your Agency, Emily Murphy, also a Republican political appointee, said that at the meeting you stated, ``How can GSA help our candidates or help position our candidates.''

Her assistant, Kristyann Monica, backs up her account and says that you said, 'How can we help our candidates in the next election.''

1441 We also have a statement from Matthew Sisk, the Special 1442 Assistant to the Regional Administrator for Massachusetts, 1443 likewise a Republican political appointee, as well as Michael 1444Burkholtz, a Senior Advisor to the Chief Acquisition Officer 1445 at GSA. These are not partisan Democrats attacking you, as 1446 you have alleged. These are statements from six different 1447 Republican appointees who work at GSA, and they all told us 1448 the same thing about your making express reference to 1449 political comments during this meeting.

1450Do you think all of these people are lying?1451Ms. DOAN. I cannot answer for them. I can only answer

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1452 for myself, and I will tell you that I honestly have no 1453 recollection of making that statement.

Mr. BRALEY. Giving you one last chance to clarify the record, I am going to ask: did you ever make the statement, ''How can we use GSA to help our candidates in the next l457 election,'' or words to that effect?

1458 Ms. DOAN. Congressman, I cannot recollect making that 1459 statement.

Mr. BRALEY. The reason this is so important to me is 1460 1461 because you directed comments to staff of this Committee and 1462 you said, 'Shame on you for getting so caught up in the game 1463 of politics that you let partisan politics affect your 1464 judgment.'' Turning that mirror around, Ms. Doan, I think 1465 there are people on this Committee who wonder whether the 1466 same statement could apply to you, in light of what these 1467 Republican political appointees have testified you said 1468 during this meeting on GSA property with GSA employees in 1469 attendance. Can you understand that concern?

1470 Ms. DOAN. I do not believe that there were any 14 year 1471 olds at that meeting.

Mr. BRALEY. You don't believe that you could be perceived as having participated in a meeting where partisan political politics was the main subject with GSA employees in attendance on GSA property and asking a question which you cannot recall where you talk about helping our candidates,

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how that could be perceived as maybe being possibly clouded 1477 1478 by partisan political judgment? 1479 Ms. DOAN. I do not believe that this was an 1480 inappropriate meeting. I believe that all around Government 1481 there are non-career employees who meet to discuss different 1482 ways to advance policies and programs of the Administration. 1483 But that is not the same as asking Federal employees to 1484 engage in partisan political activities in the workplace. Ι 1485 simply do not have any recollection of ever saying that. 1486 Chairman WAXMAN. The gentleman's time has expired. 1487 Mr. BRALEY. Thank you. 1488 Chairman WAXMAN. I am now going to yield to Mr. Davis, but one quick question on this whole thing. 1489 1490 It was a brown bag lunch for those who were there, but 1491 this was a teleconference, and even people as far away as 1492 California were participating in this meeting; isn't that 1493 correct? 1494 Ms. DOAN. That is true. 1495 Chairman WAXMAN. Thank you. 1496 And Mr. Davis? 1497 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. And the White House called this, 1498 right? This is what they do on a regular basis, where they 1499 like to get together with their Schedule C's? 1500 Ms. DOAN. Yes, it is. 1501 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. How often do these occur at GSA?

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1502 Ms. DOAN. Usually they occur monthly. 1503 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Okay. Ms. DOAN. And they are convened and arranged by our 1504 1505 White House liaison. 1506 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. So the White House liaison, basically, the White House says we want to talk to our 1507 1508 Schedule C's. These are employees who serve at the pleasure 1509 of the President? 1510 Ms. DOAN. Right. We have a requirement to try to 1511 advance the policies of the Administration and execute them and make these initiatives successful. 1512 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Now, you didn't see these slides 1513 1514 | ahead of time, did you? Ms. DOAN. No, I did not. 1515 1516 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. You didn't help prepare these slides, did you? 1517 1518 Ms. DOAN. No, I did not. 1519 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. You had no idea what they were 1520 going to say, did you? 1521 Ms. DOAN. No, I did not. 1522 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. In fact, you weren't even paying attention, it sounds like. 1523 1524 Ms. DOAN. It is embarrassing to admit it, but it is true. If I could just say, it was a very busy week for me. 1525 I had received a letter from the Committee. We were in the 1526

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middle of preparing all of the document requests. 1527 1528 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. But when the White House does 1529 these, they like the Agency heads to be there? 1530 Ms. DOAN. I try. I think it is important for my 1531 employees to see that I am engaged in all aspects of GSA and 1532 I do try, even if I have to leave early or come late. 1533 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Now, we are told by some 1534 witnesses, there are some witnesses that say you said 1535 something, some that say you didn't, and it was a long time 1536 ago, but did anybody at any point say these were 1537 inappropriate subjects, or somebody said we should move away 1538 from this? Do you remember any of that? 1539 Ms. DOAN. I really do not remember anything about this 1540 meeting. 1541 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Okay. But you don't deny what 1542 people are saying? You are not denying --1543 Ms. DOAN. No, I'm not denying what they are saying; I'm 1544 simply saying there were cookies on the table, I remember 1545 coming in late, I remember we had, it seemed like, guite a 1546 few people who were actually missing. 1547 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Well, let me just ask you this: when there are building openings and the like, it is the 1548 policy, and is it your policy and the GSA policy that 1549 1550 incumbent members of Congress from both parties be invited to 1551 those events?

Ms. DOAN. Absolutely. GSA has an incredible record on this. We have Federal buildings, we have courthouses, and we have traditionally and consistently invited all members of State Congressional delegations.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. There was no conversation about excluding Democrats or excluding one party from any of these openings, was there?

1559 Ms. DOAN. Absolutely not. In fact, we try to get 1560 everyone to come, and if any of you have not been to a 1561 building opening--I see, Congressman Higgins, you will have 1562 an opportunity certainly at the Buffalo Courthouse in a few years--but if you have an opportunity to come to one of our 1563 1564 building openings, they are incredible things. You can see 1565 the truly splendid work that we do at GSA. I think we are 1566 really proud of that, so we invite everyone.

1567 I think, if you look at my actions, you will find that I 1568 have spent an enormous amount of time in outreach activities 1569 and responding to Democrats in the last--

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Ms. Doan, what I gather is this
is a presentation that the White House was giving to Schedule
C employees. You obviously had a lot of other things on your
mind. You didn't call the meeting. You didn't approve the
slides. You didn't even know what they would talk about-Ms. DOAN. No, I did not.
Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA.--in a general sense. And you

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1577 said, ``Well, what can we do?'' Is that basically the gist 1578 of what I understand the majority is saying? You look and 1579 they are saying this is somehow illegal violation, they want 1580 to run you out of town.

1581 Ms. DOAN. Honestly, I don't even remember that.

1582 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. I understand.

1583 Ms. DOAN. I know you are trying--

1584 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. I think this goes on every day. 1585 It happens in Republican and Democratic Administrations. 1586 This was during the people's lunch hours?

1587 Ms. DOAN. Yes, it is.

1588 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. And generally their lunch hours 1589 are free for people to do--you don't regulate what people do 1590 during their lunch hours?

1591 Ms. DOAN. Well, we don't even regulate what time your 1592 lunch hour is. Usually you can take your lunch hour whenever 1593 you want.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Some members came during their lunch hour to do this, and the allegation, I think, from the other side is that somehow, because there was a video conference to listen to the White House, that somehow you are to blame. You didn't arrange this? This came at the request of the White House?

1600 Ms. DOAN. That is true.

1601 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Thank you. Thank you very much.

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1602 Chairman WAXMAN. For the record, in California it is not 1603 lunch hour, so somebody is videoconferencing this in 1604 California. While it is a lunch hour here, it is early 1605 morning there.

1606 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. They might be having an early 1607 lunch, Mr. Waxman.

1608 Ms. DOAN. That is true. In fact, you could take your 1609 lunch whenever you choose, so if you wanted to arrange your 1610 day differently or if you were on --

1611 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Well, I guess if they really want 1612 to pursue this they can go back to the time slips--

1613 Ms. DOAN. Yes.

1614 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. -- and they could just see if somebody took an 8:00 a.m. lunch and a 12:00 lunch, and maybe 1615 1616 they can find some act of genocide there that they can hang 1617 some Schedule C on, as well.

1618 Let me go ahead to SUN Microsystems, because there have been a lot of allegations on it. I mean, this has happened. 1619 1620 I have been in this town a long time. I worked in the Nixon 1621 White House. You know, this is a political town, and these are political appointees, and there is no allegation here 1622 1623 that there were any actions taken by GSA to retaliate against 1624 anybody. We just finished one election there weren't even 1625 candidates in these races. So it has to be put in 1626 perspective, and it just shows how desperate they get to

focus on some meeting that was called by the White House that 1627 1628 you attended and some statement. There are variations, if 1629 everyone will read the record, in terms of what people recollect you saying and other people saying at that point. 1630 1631 Now, on the SUN Microsystems issue, a lot was made of that from Senator Grassley over here, and he clearly wasn't 1632 1633 that familiar with the fact that this is basically a license 1634 to hunt, that all SUN Microsystems was trying to do or you were trying to do is keep them on the GSA schedule; is that 1635 1636 correct?

1637 Ms. DOAN. That is true.

1638 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Now, because you were on the GSA 1639 schedule with certain prices, that isn't necessarily the 1640 price the Government pays, is it?

Ms. DOAN. No. In fact, we ask that any Government agency also attempt to negotiate a lower price, and, of course, then they would compete it probably with maybe two other or three other contractors.

1645 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. So that is a ceiling?

1646 Ms. DOAN. Yes, that is the high end, and then you are 1647 trying to drive the price down from there.

1648 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. And, in fact, often the prices 1649 that are negotiated, because once the SUN Microsystems or any 1650 company is on the schedule, they have to compete with that 1651 ceiling price against other companies to get the business; is

that correct? 1652 Ms. DOAN. Yes. This is all about competition. 1653 1654 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. And SUN Microsystems is a big 1655 company, isn't it? 1656 Ms. DOAN. They are quit large. 1657 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. I mean, less than 10 percent of their business is Federal, as I understand it. 1658 1659 Ms. DOAN. That is true. 1660 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. So in the scheme of things, their 1661 numbers don't rise or fall when they are doing business with 1662 the Government, unlike a lot of Government contractors; is 1663 that fair to say? 1664 Ms. DOAN. That is true. 1665 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. So they could, in theory, just 1666 walk away from this. And who wins then? Give us your 1667 perspective about why you felt it was important to try to keep SUN Microsystems within the Government. And I just add, 1668 we have already heard Senator Grassley testify that on 1669 1670 Medicare Part D maybe the Government can negotiate low prices 1671 in some areas, but there are other areas where people walk, 1672 where pharmaceuticals walk and don't offer their products and 1673 don't give the Government the opportunity. That is similar

1674 to what could happen in this case. Just walk us through your 1675 thought process of why you wanted to bring this to a 1676 resolution one way or the other.

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1677 Ms. DOAN. SUN is a major IT vendor of really mammoth 1678 proportions. They are very important, especially connected 1679 to the internet. Obviously, at least at GSA we use the 1680 internet quite a bit. GSA is the premier procurement agency 1681 for the Federal Government. Our job is to make sure that all 1682 different types of technologies, the most innovative, the most leading edge types of products and services are 1683 1684 available to our Government community to purchase. And so I 1685 feel that, as the Administrator of GSA, and certainly the Commissioner, I believe, of Federal Acquisition Service would 1686 1687 say, it is our obligation to make sure that we have the widest array of products and services available to our 1688 1689 Federal Government customers. And for that reason, if 1690 nothing else, it is really important that we try to work with 1691 all of our many vendors to get them on the schedule.

1692 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Let's assume for a minute that we 1693 had gone the way of the IG and you just knocked them off the 1694 schedule, so you are not getting on the schedule. And you 1695 had a Government agency that wanted to buy a SUN Microsystems 1696 product, either for continuity of operations or for some 1697 other reason, that they had the product that met the 1698 Government's particular need and they weren't on the schedule. How would that agency then go about buying the 1699 1700 product, and what is the likely cost in that case vis-a-vis 1701 buying off the schedule?

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Ms. DOAN. Well, I probably would have to ask you to have Jim Williams give you a lot more clarification on that, but I will tell you that I think that the Government agency would probably, just in a general way, be scrambling a little bit, because one of the neat things about the GSA schedule is it is very easy to use. It is very easy to get something immediately.

1709 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. But they could go out for a 1710 procurement to try to--

1711 Ms. DOAN. They could, but that would take a lot longer1712 probably.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Would it cost more, probably?
Ms. DOAN. It would certainly cost more, because you
would also have to then add into the cost the procurement
officials who would have to be involved, the statement of
works, the source selection committee.

1718 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. So there are good policy reasons 1719 for trying to keep them within the Government ambit on the 1720 schedules?

1721 Ms. DOAN. Absolutely.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Now, the IG has made a lot of the fact that you mentioned that they might go to NASA soup. Could you explain to us what NASA soup is--I'm familiar with it, but I'm not sure other members are--and what this would mean, not only to GSA but to the costs to the American

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1727 | taxpayers?

1728 Ms. DOAN. NASA soup is another Government-wide 1729 acquisition contract. It is called a GWAC. This is a 1730 contract vehicle where other--

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Similar to a schedule?
Ms. DOAN. It is similar to a schedule. They can provide
goods and services; however, usually the fee is quit a bit
more that the Government agency would pay on top of the cost
of the product.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. So, as a general rule, it is your
belief that NASA soup is a more expensive vehicle for these
than the--

1739 Ms. DOAN. That has always been my belief, and I think I 1740 am pretty well documented in the press for saying that.

1741 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Okay. And also there was a fee 1742 involved, correct?

1743 Ms. DOAN. Yes, there is.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. If an agency were to buy off NASA soup instead of the GSA schedules, that fee would then go to NASA as opposed to your Agency, which was suffering budgetary constraints; is that correct?

1748 Ms. DOAN. That is true.

1749 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. That is an additional reason to 1750 try to keep them within the ambit, if you could?

1751 Ms. DOAN. That is true.

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1752 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Now let me ask you this. Did you 1753 personally appoint the contracting officers in this case to 1754 negotiate this?

Ms. DOAN. No. I did not even know who they were until I 1755 read their name in Congressman Waxman's invitation letter. 1756 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Well, what was your role? Was 1757 your role here just to try to get a decision, that this had 1758 1759 been bubbling for years, we were on extensions, which are 1760 generally more expensive than negotiating a new contract, and 1761 you just wanted to get a resolution? What were you 1762 instructions to Mr. Williams, or whomever you delegated this 1763 to?

1764 Ms. DOAN. Well, it was Commissioner Williams, and it was 1765 very simple. I think I was actually at a much higher level, 1766 Congressman Davis. My job is simply to provide some 1767 managerial oversight into the different processes at GSA. 1768 What I was interested in was making sure that we were getting 1769 the very best value for the American taxpayer. I believe 1770 that having SUN Microsystems on the GSA schedule is an 1771 important aspect of that. I simply turned to Commissioner Williams and I said, Could you look into this. He then took 1772 1773 it from there.

1774 And we have some very, very competent and incredibly 1775 qualified contracting personnel.

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Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. But there had been an impasse

before. I mean, we had been looking into this for months.
Ms. DOAN. They were at a total impasse, and I think our
contracting folks did just an extraordinary job of bringing
this to conclusion.

1781 We are very proud of the work that they have done. I am 1782 proud of my employees.

1783 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. I understand that, and we can get 1784 into it later. Obviously, IG has a different perspective on 1785 this.

Did you say cut a deal no matter what? Or did you just say let's bring it to a conclusion? That is important for us to know.

1789 Ms. DOAN. I don't remember saying cut a deal no matter 1790 what. I do remember saying let us look into this and see 1791 what can be done, something along those lines.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. So you were just trying to
resolve a problem that had been ongoing for some time?
Ms. DOAN. Yes. I'm more about options. I am more about
saying what are our options, what can we do to try to make
things better.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. I understand that the Federal Acquisition Service Commissioner, Jim Williams, informed Mr. Miller, the IG, that a contracting officer was being intimidated by an IG employee and asked him to look into it. Did you follow up with the IG about this complaint?

1802 Ms. DOAN. Yes, I did. At one of our monthly 1803 meetings--this was about a month after Commissioner Williams 1804 had brought that to the Inspector General's attention--I 1805 asked him in the meeting, I said, 'So, you know, whatever happened. I was hoping I would hear from you on that.'' And 1806 1807 then I was told, in what seemed to me a sort of lackadaisical 1808 manner, Well, you know, I looked into it. Nothing was there, or something along those lines. I don't want to try to do a 1809 1810 direct quote because I don't remember.

1811Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. You don't have a good1812relationship with the IG, do you, in your Agency?

Ms. DOAN. Not in the Agency, but I think that it has been wildly mischaracterized in the press. I think we have a budget dispute that has now spiraled into other areas. I believe that the Inspector General believes strongly in independence and oversight, and I think the challenge there is that I do, too; it is just that I believe all, even oversight, needs to have oversight.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Okay. Let's go to another issue that has been raised here, and that is on the Diversity Best Practices and the contract with Ms. Fraser. Can you contract your relationship with Ms. Fraser? She was a vendor. I mean, she bought from you; isn't that correct? Isn't that how you knew her?

1826 Ms. DOAN. Yes, that is true.

1827 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. And for diversity practices did 1828 you feel that the services her company offered were some of 1829 the best in the field?

1830 Ms. DOAN. The work that Diversity Best Practices does is 1831 almost unparalleled in the area of opening doors and 1832 providing opportunities for small, minority, women-owned, 1833 service disabled veteran businesses. They have done 1834 extraordinary work over many, many years.

1835 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. And you had used them in your own 1836 company, right?

1837 Ms. DOAN. Yes, I did.

1838 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. She never hired you for anything,1839 did she?

1840 Ms. DOAN. No, she did not.

1841 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. You hired her?

1842 Ms. DOAN. Yes.

1843 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Okay. Now, walk me through your 1844 thought process in terms of this \$20,000 purchase order that 1845 has been alleged. Was this purchase order, did any money 1846 change hands?

1847 Ms. DOAN. There was no money that changed hands, no 1848 Government contract was issued, no deliverables.

1849 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. That may be a technical term 1850 whether a contract was issued, but nothing was ever--as I 1851 understand it, no money changed hands, no performance. This 1852 | was nixed pretty early on; is that correct?

1853 Ms. DOAN. Yes.

1854 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. What was your thought process in 1855 moving forward with this? The IG in his report says you 1856 should have known the thresholds. It intimates that you were 1857 trying to give a sweetheart deal to a friend. Why don't you 1858 give us an explanation of that, from your perspective and 1859 your thought process?

Ms. DOAN. GSA was failing in opening doors to small and minority businesses. We got an F on our score card from the SBA. Sadly, it seems like there is a possibility it might have been well deserved.

I thought that doing a study of what we were doing with our outreach to small, minority, women-owned, and service disabled veteran businesses would reveal what are the things that we are doing well, what are the things that we are doing poorly. And the idea there is that, once you understand this from an objective source, then you can make a decision to try to do more of one and less of the other.

1871 As I said in my statement, this is both a personal and a 1872 professional embarrassment to me.

1873 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. My time is running out.

1874 Ms. DOAN. I'm sorry.

1875 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. The question is: why didn't you 1876 compete this out and go to a number of firms? What was your

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1877 thought process in just giving it to this one company that 1878 you knew could do the job?

1879 Ms. DOAN. It is because they are the unparalleled expert 1880 in the field of diversity studies. I signed what I thought was a draft outline, a service confirmation order. I moved 1881 1882 it on. I thought I was putting it through the processes. I 1883 thought it was going to be turned into a purchase order, or 1884 whatever. What my job was to do was to try to take action to 1885 show that I wanted to turn this around and to move it 1886 forward. This is what I was trying to do.

The minute it was brought to my attention that this was done in error, and that was when my chief of staff called me and said it was not going to be able to happen, I said fine. They said they issued a termination. They did. The whole timeframe from start to finish was about ten days.

1892 Chairman WAXMAN. Thank you, Mr. Davis.

1893 Mr. ISSA. Mr. Chairman, a point of parliamentary 1894 inquiry. What time will our official lunch be and when will 1895 it begin, 11:30 or 12:00?

1896 Chairman WAXMAN. Well, we are going to continue on with 1897 our hearing.

I will now proceed in regular order with each member
being called in order under the rules for five minutes. I
want to recognize the gentleman from Maryland, Mr. Cummings.
Mr. CUMMINGS. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

1902 Ms. Doan, welcome to our Committee. I must tell you 1903 that when I heard your opening statement I was very 1904 impressed, but as I listened to your answers to Mr. Braley I 1905 became very concerned.

1906 One of the things I am concerned about is your memory. You just, in answer to Mr. Davis' question, went back to the 1907 Edie Fraser contract. You were able to tell us all kinds of 1908 1909 things about that. That happened back in July of 2006. Mr. 1910 Braley methodically and excellently asked you about an 1911 incident that happened two months ago, and it is interesting 1912 to me that you don't remember certain things during that. As 1913 a matter of fact, you seemed like you didn't remember much of 1914 anything, but yet and still you remembered quite well the 1915 Edie Fraser contract situation. That concerns me.

1916 I must tell you that, you know, this Committee has 1917 serious questions about whether you violated the Hatch Act, 1918 which prohibits Federal employees from engaging in partisan 1919 politics at the office. You received training on the Hatch 1920 Act several months before the January 26, 2007, meeting, did 1921 you not?

1922 Ms. DOAN. Yes, I did.

Mr. CUMMINGS. And under your understanding of the Hatch Act, are you permitted to ask staff to help a particular candidate or particular party?

1926 Ms. DOAN. No, I am not.

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1927 Mr. CUMMINGS. Ms. Doan, we asked the Congressional 1928 Research Service, which is independent, about the incident at 1929 GSA headquarters on January 26th, and CRS told us that--well, 1930 CRS is a nonpartisan research arm of the Congress, so you 1931 will be very clear. We asked CRS about both the White House 1932 presentation and about your alleged comments afterwards. You 1933 said you didn't remember that two months ago. I know that. 1934 In response, CRS issued a report which I would like to 1935 make a part of the official hearing record. 1936 Chairman WAXMAN. Without objection, that will be the 1937 order. 1938 Mr. CUMMINGS. Thank you very much. 1939 [The CRS Report follows:]

1940 ********* INSERT ********

1941 Mr. CUMMINGS. This is what CRS said. First, on the 1942 White House slides that Mr. Braley referred to, CRS said that this presentation raises concerns ``the sponsor or presenter 1943 1944 is closely affiliated, identified with a partisan political 1945 campaign, invitations are directed only to political 1946 employees of a Department, and the objectives and agenda of 1947 the program appear to have a partisan slant.'' Doesn't that describe what Mr. Jennings did to a T, as best you can 1948 1949 recall?

1950 Ms. DOAN. Could you do each one of those? Do I have to 1951 answer them all at one time?

1952 Mr. CUMMINGS. Well, first of all, you said--let me go 1953 back.

1954 Ms. DOAN. Okay.

1955 Mr. CUMMINGS. You said something very interesting. You 1956 said that these meetings, these brown bag lunches, were for 1957 the purpose of team building, and I assume that you want your 1958 entire team to be built.

1959 Ms. DOAN. Yes.

1960 Mr. CUMMINGS. But these team-building lunches were only 1961 Republican appointees. So help me with that. On the other 1962 hand, you then seem to take a position that, oh, you just 1963 kind of mosied in late and didn't remember the very essence 1964 of the presentation. So it is sort of hard for me to ask you 1965 questions when you don't have a memory from two months ago.

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1966 I am trying to refresh your recollection.

Ms. DOAN. Thank you, Congressman, and I appropriate your giving me the opportunity. I do want to try to make this clear to you.

First, as far as what you are considering my memory lapse, I have to tell you diversity opportunities for small and women-owned business, this is a passion for me. This is something I have dedicated years to. I love this. It is important. Of course I am going to remember it.

1975 I have to tell you polls and stuff like that, this isn't 1976 my thing. This isn't what really motivates me or energizes 1977 me.

I had an incredible day on the 26th. I had the article in the paper. I had the letter from the Committee. I had just gathered together the group of folks who were going to assemble. And you guys got some of these documents. It was a huge submission that we gave to you all. This was our first time we had ever done it as a team, you know, made a submission for Congress. There was a lot going on.

1985I came in just a little bit late at the beginning of the1986meeting. I apologized for coming in late. I didn't need to.1987But, frankly, I had a lot on my mind that day.

1988 Mr. CUMMINGS. Well, the question is: isn't team building 1989 important to you?

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Ms. DOAN. Team building is important to me, but this was

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1991 not my meeting, and happily I didn't--this was one meeting 1992 where I did not have to take the lead. I could just sit back 1993 and coast on that.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Do you believe from what you have seen so far and heard so far that this was a violation of the Hatch Act based upon what you learned from your lessons about the Hatch Act?

Ms. DOAN. Congressman Cummings, I am not trying to be, 1998 1999 you know, snappy or something with you, but I will tell you I 2000 am a businesswoman who is now in a Government job for her 2001 first time, and I will tell you that I cannot make a judgment 2002 on this, but I do know that the Office of Special Counsel is 2003 looking into this. I know that they are experts on it. I 2004 know they are going to make a decision, and I am going to 2005 live with it.

2006 Mr. CUMMINGS. Knowing what you know now, would you do it 2007 again?

2008 Ms. DOAN. I think I would have to--

2009 Mr. CUMMINGS. Would you invite a White House--

2010 Ms. DOAN. Absolutely. A White House liaison invites all 2011 sorts of people. We get people from personnel--

2012 Mr. CUMMINGS. And have charts that talks about

2013 targeting? You would do that, too?

2014 Ms. DOAN. I think that we will probably review charts in 2015 the future. There is no doubt about that. I think HGO087.000

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2016 everything that you do you try to be better every time you do 2017 it. Certainly, especially given the concerns of this 2018 Committee, I do not want this Committee to be focused on 2019 these issues. We have important things we have got to do at 2020 GSA.

Mr. CUMMINGS. That is our job. That is our job. Ms. DOAN. I know. That is why, as I said, we will do what we have to to make sure that we have the confidence of this Committee in the future because we do have important things we are trying to do at GSA. And I want you all to be working with me on it to try to make things better.

2027 Chairman WAXMAN. The gentleman's time has expired.

2028 Ms. DOAN. Thank you, Congressman Cummings.

2029 Chairman WAXMAN. Did you need--

2030 Mr. CUMMINGS. Just one question. Did you give \$200,000 2031 to the GOP?

2032 Ms. DOAN. I'm sorry? What?

2033 Mr. CUMMINGS. Did you give \$200,000 in contributions to 2034 the GOP?

2035 Ms. DOAN. Yes. I am happy to say that I--

2036 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Mr. Chairman, are we going to 2037 have regular order?

2038 Ms. DOAN.--am a Republican and a supporter of the party. 2039 I am proud of it. I am happy that we have President Bush as 2040 our President. I think he is a great man in very troubled

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2041 times. I am not ashamed of this.

2042 Chairman WAXMAN. Thank you very much.

2043 The Chair would now recognize for five minutes Mr. Mica. 2044 Mr. MICA. Let me yield just a moment.

2045 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. News flash. The President 2046 appointed a Republican to head GSA. I mean, this shouldn't 2047 surprise anybody.

And let me just say I assumed that this chart was given 2048 2049 all over town. It wasn't given to me, but they probably gave 2050 this to all the different agencies, and that may or may not 2051 be a good thing and this Committee is welcome to look at it, but I think to lay it on Ms. Doan when you have every Federal 2052 agency holding meetings with Schedule C, some of them weekly, 2053 2054 monthly, she didn't call this meeting. I think we need to put it in perspective. What it tells me is that they are 2055 2056 bankrupt. They are going after personal items. They are 2057 bankrupt, so now they are going after a White House political 2058 presentation.

2059 Mr. MICA. Thank you.

That is kind of interesting, to follow what the Ranking Member said, that originally they went after her for this contract. When she came in, didn't you say that they were getting an F grade, or about to get another one?

2064 Ms. DOAN. That is true.

2065 Mr. MICA. This is on diversity. This is some of the

2066 diversity of racial employment practices at GSA?

Ms. DOAN. Philippe Mendosa, who is our Office of Small 2067 and Disadvantaged Business Utilization Administrator, came to 2068 2069 It was probably my sixth--I don't want to give exact me. 2070 dates--fifth or sixth day on the job, and he told me that GSA was getting a failing score from the SBA and what could we 2071 2072 We were failing in our opportunities to provide outreach do. to small minority owned business, you know, service disabled 2073 2074 veteran businesses, HUD zone businesses, just--

2075 Mr. MICA. So that is the reason--

2076 Ms. DOAN. You know it. I jumped on it. I was on it.
2077 Mr. MICA. Okay. As a Republican minority appointee,
2078 this was something important to you, and that is why the
2079 \$20,000 contract--how much does GSA let in contracts, \$66
2080 billion?

2081 Ms. DOAN. Between 56 and 60.

Mr. MICA. And this is interesting, because I am going to 2082 follow the IG, because I don't like his performance. Grassley 2083 talked about getting five fired. I may want to work with him 2084 on six, because I am not liking the picture that I see in 2085 some of the leaks and things that came out of the IG's office 2086 2087 to go after you, and they targeted you. They targeted you because you just told us, in fact, that the day that this 2088 occurred was the day you got the so-called political action 2089 that was taken, and this conference call was taken the same 2090

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2091 day that you got the inquiry from the Committee? 2092 Ms. DOAN. No, no. It wasn't the same day. It was in 2093 the same timeframe.

2094 Mr. MICA. In the same timeframe?

2095 Ms. DOAN. We were in the process of--yes, we were 2096 preparing the submission.

2097 Mr. MICA. That is the point I am making. And this was a 2098 fishing expedition to get you, and what they are doing to you 2099 they are going to try to do to other appointees, so this is a 2100 good warning for folks. Someone who came out as a successful 2101 minority business person and took on GSA, she has been there 2102 eight months, and they have made this eight months hell for 2103 her. Wouldn't you agree with that?

2104 Ms. DOAN. It has been challenging.

2105 Mr. MICA. So look at the timeframe. Every part of the 2106 violations under the SUN contract, all of that took place 2107 before you ever got there. You came when? June?

2108 Ms. DOAN. June, 2006. June 1st was my first day on the 2109 job.

2110 Mr. MICA. We have the record of when that took place, 2111 and you were trying to--SUN, you said, was a very important 2112 component to Government services throughout the Government.

2113 Ms. DOAN. We have 27,000 vendors, and I want to say, in 2114 case it is on TV or something, all of my vendors are 2115 important and I am grateful for your business.

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2116	Mr. MICA. All right. Again, on the video conference,
2117	which they are trying to make a big deal out of, that was the
2118	Political Office of the White House. Schedule C's are what?
2119	Political appointees, serve at the pleasure; is that correct?
2120	Ms. DOAN. That is true.
2121	Mr. MICA. And what are you?
2122	Ms. DOAN. I am a proud political appointee.
2123	Mr. MICA. Okay. Approved by
2124	Ms. DOAN. By the President of the United States. Yes.
2125	Mr. MICA. And the Senate?
2126	Ms. DOAN. And I am Senate confirmed. Yes.
2127	Mr. MICA. Now, again, this is a fishing expedition. I
2128	have never seen anything like it, and targeting. So they
2129	couldn't find anything on the \$20,000, and it wasn't a
2130	contract. It was never a contract. Was it a contract?
2131	Ms. DOAN. There is a lot of debate back and forth as to
2132	whether it was.
2133	Mr. MICA. Was a contract let? Was a contract let?
2134	Answer me.
2135	Ms. DOAN. No, it was not. And I will tell you
2136	Mr. MICA. Okay. There was no contract let?
2137	Ms. DOAN. Could it say one thing, Congressman? People
2138	always say, you know, you did a lot of business with the
2139	Government. How come you really couldn't tell the
2140	difference? And one of the things I would like to show you,

if you don't mind, is this is what I signed. It was a 2141 service order. Attached to it was a draft outline of the 2142 study, what we were going to do, trying to open doors and 2143 opportunities. This is what I am used to seeing as a 2144Government contract. This is a standard form 33 that usually 2145 2146 is the Section A, the front page of every Government contract. It requires the signature of a contracting 2147 officer. This is what I am used to seeing. This is what I 2148 call a Government contract. The service order to me, I am 2149 2150 trying to move this study forward.

2151 Mr. MICA. And some of this appears that this is where 2152 you initially rubbed the wrong way with the Inspector 2153 General's Office. Is this where the edict came down? 2154 Ms. DOAN. No. Actually, I think it started pretty much 2155 in my first week or second week in the job where he asked me 2156 for--

2157 Mr. MICA. You added to the--

Ms. DOAN. No, no. It was a totally different thing. He asked me for basically additional SES slots, which would have taken all the ones that we had, and at the time we were trying to hold them for the fast reorganization, so I think we got off to a little bit of a bad start there.

2163 Chairman WAXMAN. The gentleman's time has expired.
2164 I recognize Ms. Watson for five minutes.
2165 Ms. WATSON. Ms. Doan--

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2166 Ms. WATSON. I have one additional question. Can I ask 2167 that, or does the minority--

2168 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Do it on our time.

Ms. WATSON. Retrieving my time, Ms. Doan, the political 2169 activities of GSA seem to be part of a much broader and more 2170 troubling trend throughout the entire Federal Government 2171 under this Administration. We have learned, for example, how 2172 2173 the White House and the Attorney General politicized the hiring and firing of U.S. Attorneys--that is going on right 2174 2175 now, that debate -- and our Nation's top law enforcement officers. In fact, we now know that Karl Rove's deputy, Scott 2176 2177 Jennings, was involved in both scandals.

2178 This is not the only example. There have been civil rights enforcement at the Justice Department, and they have 2179 been undermined by political appointees; drug approvals at 2180 the Food and Drug Administration have been based on political 2181 calculations, not the best science; intelligence was twisted 2182 2183 by White House officials to build a political case for war in 2184 Iraq; and not many people realize this, but there are now more political appointees working in this Administration than 2185 2186 in any time in our Nation's history.

2187 Now, Ms. Doan, I know of your political activities, and 2188 I know of your donations, and it is fine to be political, 2189 active. It is your right and your obligation as a citizen, 2190 and we understand that. But we have got to maintain the rule

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2191 of law. When you become a Government employee and when you 2192 become responsible for thousands of Government employees, 2193 then you have a heavy new responsibility.

You can't turn that Agency into a political tool. When this was held up and you said that you did not remember hardly anything in it, that you came late and you had to leave, you have a heavy week, it is like turning your head away from political activities under your responsibility.

2199 My concern is that what has happened at the GSA may be 2200 happening at other agencies throughout this Government, and 2201 we surely see signs of that. So, Ms. Doan, do you know 2202 whether Mr. Jennings gave this presentation at any other 2203 Federal agencies?

2204 Ms. DOAN. I don't know anything about that. 2205 Ms. WATSON. Okay. But he did give it at yours? 2206 Ms. DOAN. Yes.

2207 Ms. WATSON. Okay. Do you think he prepared this just 2208 for the GSA? Or is it more likely that he adapted something 2209 he already had?

2210 Ms. DOAN. Congresswoman, I have no idea. I think you 2211 really would have to ask Mr. Jennings that question.

2212 Ms. WATSON. Okay.

2213 Chairman WAXMAN. Would the gentlelady yield to me?2214 Ms. WATSON. I will yield, Mr. Chairman.

2215 Chairman WAXMAN. It sounds like it is not just GSA,

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2216 because the way the Republicans on our Committee say it is 2217 just routine practice, it is done everywhere, well, I think 2218 we ought to find out if that is the case, because it is a 2219 violation of the Hatch Act. Thank you.

Ms. WATSON. Yes. I hope that he didn't just target your Agency to hold you responsible for politicizing whatever goes on at GSA in your Agency, and why did he choose you, so I have some suspicions there.

2224 Ms. DOAN. I cannot possibly speculate.

2225 Ms. WATSON. I know. I am not asking you to. I am 2226 stating an opinion for what I heard.

2227 Ms. DOAN. Okay. I'm sorry.

2228 Ms. WATSON. And I don't think that this presentation is just tailored to GSA. Instead, it reads like a presentation 2229 that might have been given to other agencies across the 2230 Government, and I think that this Committee has the authority 2231 and the right to have oversight. Why did they choose your 2232 Agency to make this presentation? This is clearly targeting 2233 Democrats to take their seats. Clearly, that is the purpose 2234 2235 of this.

Chairman WAXMAN. Would the gentlelady yield?
Ms. WATSON. I will yield, Mr. Chairman.
Chairman WAXMAN. The last few seconds she has.
You said politics is not your passion.
Ms. DOAN. No, no. I did not say that.

2241 Chairman WAXMAN. But you gave \$200,000--2242 Ms. DOAN. I said polls, polls. 2243 Chairman WAXMAN. I see. But politics is one of your 2244 passions. You gave --2245 Ms. DOAN. Politics should be the passion of every 2246 American citizen. 2247 Chairman WAXMAN. Yes. Ms. DOAN. This is what makes our country run. 2248 2249 Chairman WAXMAN. Great. You gave \$200,000 to the Republican Party and you spoke at the Republican National 2250 2251 Convention; isn't that accurate? 2252 Ms. DOAN. If I could just --2253 Ms. WATSON. I am going to reclaim my time. 2254 Chairman WAXMAN. Regular order. You don't have any. 2255 Ms. WATSON. Sorry. I am going to reclaim my time. 2256 Chairman WAXMAN. You don't have any time. 2257 Ms. WATSON. You cannot tell me that, and would you 2258 please let me reclaim my time. 2259 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Mr. Chairman, can we have regular 2260 order. 2261 Ms. WATSON. How much time do I have? 2262 Chairman WAXMAN. Without objection, we will extend a 2263 courtesy to the gentlelady for one additional minute, and we 2264 will do the same for other members. 2265 Ms. WATSON. Thank you very much. I am trying to make a

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2266 point here. I think, Ms. Doan, your Agency has been targeted 2267 and you have been used to spread White House politicizing in 2268 your Department. I am so pleased that we are doing what we should do, and that is to have these oversight hearings to 2269 2270 hear where there are violations of our laws, rules, and 2271 regulations. 2272 Thank you so much, Mr. Chairman. 2273 Chairman WAXMAN. Thank you, Ms. Watson. 2274 Mr. MICA. Mr. Chairman, just an inquiry. Parliamentary 2275 inquiry. 2276 Chairman WAXMAN. What is your parliamentary inquiry? 2277 Yes, please? 2278 Mr. MICA. Parliamentary inquiry is you just granted one 2279 additional minute to the majority side. Is this a new change 2280 in policy, and can I obtain one additional minute on the 2281 minority side? Chairman WAXMAN. Well, you had five additional minutes 2282 that other members didn't have, and I asked without objection 2283 2284 she be given another minute, and I would hope if a member--2285 Mr. MICA. Well, if it wouldn't be granted to me could it 2286 be granted to another--2287 Chairman WAXMAN. I will now recognize--2288 Mr. MICA. If we could have --2289 Chairman WAXMAN. The regular order is Mr. Issa, who is 2290 now recognized.

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2291 Mr. MICA. The committee is responsible for investigations and oversight. Are we going to be equal in 2292 conducting investigations and oversight or are we going to 2293 2294 give the majority--2295 Chairman WAXMAN. Your point is --Mr. MICA.--additional time and not the minority? I want 2296 2297 that question answered. 2298 Chairman WAXMAN. Oh, please. 2299 Mr. MICA. I want the question answered. 2300 Chairman WAXMAN. Oh, please. If someone asks for 2301 additional--Mr. MICA. This is one of the most important committees 2302 2303 in the Congress, and --2304 Chairman WAXMAN. Do you want the question answered or do 2305 you want to speak? 2306 Mr. MICA. Investigations and Oversight, and are you going to grant special consideration to their side of the 2307 aisle and not to this side of the aisle? Now, I chaired for 2308 2309 ten years--Chairman WAXMAN. Does the gentleman wish an answer, or 2310 2311 does he wish to talk? 2312 Mr. MICA. And I chaired two of the committees in this 2313 Committee, Civil Service and --2314 Chairman WAXMAN. The Chair will now recognize --2315 Mr. MICA .-- and also Criminal Justice --

Chairman WAXMAN. The gentleman is using his time. 2316 Mr. MICA. I never, never denied the opportunity for a 2317 2318 minority member or cut them off in questioning, and I expect 2319 the same courtesy for my members. What is the policy? This 2320 is a parliamentary inquiry in procedures, the conduct of one 2321 of the most important investigative committees of the United 2322 States Congress that dates back its function to the early 2323 1800s.

2324 Chairman WAXMAN. The gentleman stated a parliamentary inquiry and the Chair is prepared to answer his parliamentary 2325 inquiry. Under the rules, members are given five minutes for 2326 2327 questioning. By unanimous consent an additional minute may 2328 be given. Under the rules, we ask that only opening 2329 statements today be given by Mr. Davis and myself. We asked 2330 unanimous consent for the gentleman that is complaining to 2331 have five minutes that other Members didn't get.

If a member on the Republican side or the Democratic side asks for additional time, it will be up to the members, and I would hope that members would be generous enough not to cut people off. So the time now is to Mr. Issa, and I will start the five minutes for him so he will have his complete time.

2338 Mr. Issa, you are recognized.
2339 Mr. ISSA. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
2340 On my five minutes, I would like to ask that regular

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order be strictly adhered to unless there is unanimous consent, and I trust in the future we can eliminate this problem by doing so. I think if we are going to ask the GSA and other organizations to strictly adhere to the rules, regulations, and laws, we should do no less.

Administrator Doan, I am frustrated because I came out of the business world, too, and I came to this Committee to fight the bureaucracy that sits around us and behind us throughout all of Government, the people who are there when you arrive and will be there when you are gone.

2351 Now, I just want to concentrate on one simple thing. 2352 Your team, your team building, these are people chosen, some 2353 confirmed and some just straight appointments, but, like 2354 yourself, many are confirmed by the Senate. They are chosen by the elected President of the United States to oversee and 2355 2356 to provide policy guidance and control over the largest body 2357 of human beings that exist on the face of the earth working 2358 for a government, our U.S. bureaucracy; isn't that right? 2359 Ms. DOAN. That is true.

2360 Mr. ISSA. And in your eight months I think you probably 2361 found what I found in my nearly seven years now: that this is 2362 a bureaucracy that will resist you at every point, isn't it? 2363 Ms. DOAN. You are absolutely right.

2364 Mr. ISSA. So when you talk about team building, 2365 including a reminder that you worked at the pleasure of the

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President, it is not inappropriate for you to understand, as the slides, the one they don't tend to show you, show that this President was right in the middle in his last mid-term of how many seats he lost in the House. That is informational, isn't it?

2371 Ms. DOAN. Yes, it is public domain.

2372 Mr. ISSA. And when you are looking at the presentation 2373 by the President and how the President views his working 2374 relationship and how he views his--you are receiving a 2375 briefing from the man who appointed you and for whom the 2376 Senate confirmed you?

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Ms. DOAN. That is true.

2378 Mr. ISSA. So, you know, the amazing thing here--and I don't want to take a lot of time talking about the Body up 2379 here--but would it shock you to find out that members of 2380 2381 perhaps this Committee's majority staff, and certainly 2382 personal staff members of some of the people on that side and 2383 some of the people on this side, they go to either the 2384 Republican Committee or the Democrat Committee and they make 2385 fund-raising calls on their lunch hour for members of 2386 Congress, these Federal employees? Would that shock you to 2387 find out?

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Ms. DOAN. Thank you for telling me.

2389 Mr. ISSA. Would you be shocked to find out that, well, 2390 chiefs of staff, chiefs of mission, if you will, to our

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2391 Districts come back here to be briefed on Federal expense, 2392 Federal expense. We bring them back here, we put them up in 2393 housing, and guess what, they go to evening events either at 2394 the Democrat Committee or the Republican Committee's expense 2395 to find out how they can do a better job of keeping their 2396 member in office. Would that surprise you? 2397 Ms. DOAN. I didn't know that before, but thank you. Mr. ISSA. Well, the American people probably are 2398 surprised. And yet, in fact, that is a system that the 2399 2400 chairman is well aware, chairwoman, and so on, are all well 2401 aware of. 2402 But I want to go back to the team building. You have 2403 been building a team to take this incredibly large 2404 bureaucracy, one that was receiving F's for how it dealt with 2405 disabled vets that had businesses, veterans that had businesses, African Americans that had businesses, women that 2406 2407 had businesses, and, for that matter, small businesses, in 2408 general. It had an F for reaching out and providing opportunities for those contracts. That is one of the major 2409 2410 things you are working on, isn't it? 2411 Ms. DOAN. That is one of many initiatives, but it is a 2412 passion of mine, yes. 2413 Mr. ISSA. And it is something that this Congress and 2414 this Oversight Committee has wanted you to do, isn't it? 2415 Ms. DOAN. That is very true, because, you know, it is

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2416 hard enough as it is if you are a small or minority or 2417 woman-owned business or a service disabled veteran. You 2418 know, I don't want working with the Federal Government to be 2419 yet another barrier or challenge for them.

2420 Mr. ISSA. Well, I tell you, I was recently given a small 2421 award by my university, and I was honored with Ronny Harris, 2422 the Golden Gloves champion of Mexico City. He is an African 2423 American, small businessman in Ohio, and he finds it very 2424 frustrating, with a successful business, doing business with 2425 the Government. And you know what? It has nothing to do 2426 with the fact that he happens to be minority owned. It is 2427 just hard to do business with agencies, including the GSA. 2428 So I, for one, commend you for concentrating on what is 2429 important, which is building a team that will break through 2430 the bureaucracy and will meet the objectives that the 2431 American people care about, and one of the most important is 2432 making your organization responsive to small and emerging 2433 businesses and giving them opportunities.

I would like you just to tell us for a minute in the remaining time how you are doing that and how this Committee should be helping you do more of that.

Ms. DOAN. At least we are trying as hard as we can to do a much, much better job. The first thing we have done is we have finally been able to start awarding schedules in 30 days. This is the best and first opportunity for small and

2441 minority businesses to be a prime contractor, and that helps 2442 them with cash flow.

The second thing we have done is we have just made the 2443 largest award of actual work, not just a hunting license, but 2444 the get-go contract for IT infrastructure support to a 2445 service disabled 8A company. We are really proud of that. 2446 It is the largest award of its kind. We have alliance small 2447 2448 business. We have a lot of small business opportunities that are going to be out there. Even our satcom, our satellite 2449 procurement that is ongoing, very unusual, it is going to 2450 2451 have a professional services component that will be for small and minority businesses. We are trying really hard to carve 2452 2453 out opportunities because, you know, everybody can talk a good story, but when you are in the small business community 2454 2455 you want efforts that have real meat to them. You want actual funding to go to your business. You don't want it to 2456 just be an open vehicle that has nothing behind it. 2457 This is 2458 what we are trying to change.

Chairman WAXMAN. The gentleman's time has expired.
Ms. DOAN. Sorry. I didn't mean to talk so long.
Chairman WAXMAN. We allow full answer to the questions,
but the question period is limited.

I want to recognize Mr. Higgins, and as I do I want to inform all the members that it would be a violation of the law for them to make phone calls from their office soliciting

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contributions. We have to go elsewhere to do it. We don't 2466 2467 use our offices, nor many of us think Government offices 2468 should be used.

2469 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Mr. Chairman, let me note, but the rules pertaining to fundraising are different than other 2470 2471 items. Members politic in this building all the time. 2472 Democratic conferences, Republican, talk about politics within this building and within the Capitol, the conferences. 2473 2474 You can't raise money. No one solicited money in this case. 2475 Chairman WAXMAN. All right. I accept your point. 2476

Mr. Higgins?

2477 Mr. HIGGINS. Yes, thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Let me, before I ask Ms. Doan several questions, let me 2478 just clarify this issue of lunch hour and whenever this had 2479 2480 occurred. It doesn't matter under the Hatch Act whether it 2481 was during the lunch or whether she invited employees. Under 2482 the Hatch Act, the Administrator is not allowed to be present 2483 at a political event on or off Federal property in which these activities happened, if her subordinates were at the 2484 2485 event, even if they came voluntarily, because it is 2486 considered inherently coercive.

2487 Ms. Doan, the Committee has obtained internal e-mails 2488 between the White House and GSA regarding political 2489 presentation of Scott Jennings that he gave at GSA. I want to ask you about those. They will appear up on screen here. 2490

Ms. DOAN. Is that what this is? 2491 2492 Mr. HIGGINS. Yes. It is in your packet. I'm sorry. 2493 Let me first direct your attention to the e-mail dated 2494 January 19, 2007, which is on page one of your documents. 2495 This e-mail is from Jocelyn Webster, who works for Mr. 2496 Jennings at the White House, and she is writing to Tessa 2497 Truesdale. I understand that Ms. Truesdale is your 2498 confidential assistant?

2499 Ms. DOAN. Yes. She works in the Administrator's office 2500 for me.

2501 Mr. HIGGINS. In this e-mail Mr. Jennings' assistant is sending a copy of Mr. Jennings' slides to GSA. 2502 This is what 2503 Mr. Jennings' assistant says. ``Please do not e-mail this 2504 out or let people see it. It is a close hold and we are not 2505 supposed to be e-mailing it around.'' My question is, can 2506 you tell me why Mr. Jennings' assistant says this is close 2507 hold and why you are not supposed to be e-mailing this 2508 around?

Ms. DOAN. I can't imagine, since I am not actually on this e-mail. I think probably either Jocelyn or Joycelyn--I'm not sure what her name is--Joycelyn Webster or maybe Tessa Truesdale could answer that. But this isn't my e-mail.

2514 Mr. HIGGINS. I would like you to look closely at the 2515 e-mail from Mr. Jennings' assistant. HGO087.000

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2516 Ms. DOAN. Is that the same one?

2517 Mr. HIGGINS. Yes.

2518 Ms. DOAN. Okay.

Mr. HIGGINS. An image of the e-mail is up on the screen. If you look at the e-mail address, you can see that Mr. Jennings' assistant is sending this from GWB43.com account. The GWB43.com domain is owned by the Republican National Committee. Do you know why Mr. Jennings' assistant e-mailed this from a Republican National Committee account instead of a White House account?

2526 Ms. DOAN. No, I do not. This is not my e-mail and it 2527 was not addressed to me.

2528 Mr. HIGGINS. Do you know of any reason why Mr. Jennings' 2529 assistant would try to hide that she was communicating from 2530 the White House?

2531 Ms. DOAN. No. I don't. I am not familiar with her and 2532 this is not my e-mail or--

2533 Mr. HIGGINS. Let me put up another e-mail on the screen 2534 that is document 2-432. This is on page two of your packet. 2535 Ms. DOAN. Yes. I have got it.

Mr. HIGGINS. This one is from Mr. Jennings, himself. He is using the Republican National Committee e-mail account, too. In this e-mail Mr. Jennings is using his GWB43.com account to communicate with GSA's White House liaison, J.B. Horton. My question is: were you aware that your staff was

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2541 communicating with the White House officials who used e-mail 2542 accounts controlled by the Republican National Committee? 2543 Ms. DOAN. No, I was not.

2544 Mr. HIGGINS. Let me show you another e-mail on page three of your packet. This one is from your confidential 2545 2546 assistant, Ms. Truesdale. She had apparently been contacted 2547 by GSA staff who wanted to do a trial run with a copy of the 2548 presentation on GSA's audio-visual equipment. Ms. Truesdale 2549 says that she can't share the document for use in a 2550 pre-meeting walk-through. Here is what she says, 'I just heard back from the presenter, and, as much as the 2551 2552 information is highly sensitive, he would prefer not to 2553 e-mail it.''

Ms. Doan, the e-mails show that Mr. Jennings regarded the briefing as 'highly sensitive.'' His assistant also called them close hold, that other people should not see. Do you know why he would regard the briefing as highly sensitive?

2559 Ms. DOAN. No, I don't. I think you would have to speak 2560 to the person whose e-mail and all this attachments that it 2561 was.

2562 Mr. HIGGINS. I think the answer, Mr. Chairman, is 2563 obvious. The briefing is highly secretive because it 2564 contains partisan political analysis and strategy. The White 2565 House didn't want to share their target list with Democrats 2566 and they didn't want Democrats to know whom they regarded as 2567 most vulnerable Republican members.

It is perfectly appropriate for party leaders to compose these kinds of political hit lists and to hold discussions about political strategy among party officials. It is not appropriate to use Government agencies to advance partisan political agendas, yet that is exactly what happened here.

GSA's top officials were assembled to hear a presentation about targeting Democratic members in the upcoming elections, and then they discussed how GSA could help Republican candidates. They did this in a Government building during a week day where these officials should have been doing business of the American people.

2579 Mr. Chairman, I would like to make one other observation. Mr. Jennings and other White House officials 2580 appear to be using their Republican National Committee e-mail 2581 2582 accounts on a routine basis to discuss politically sensitive topics. We know from documents obtained by the Judiciary 2583 2584 Committee, for example, that Mr. Jennings used the identical Republican National Committee account to discuss the U.S. 2585 Attorney firings that he was involved with, and we know this 2586 2587 from the Committee's work that the Abramoff investigation, that the White House used Republican National Committee 2588 2589 e-mail accounts to communicate with Mr. Abramoff and his 2590 staff.

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2591 I think this is a subject the Committee should 2592 investigate, and it would be a serious abuse if White House officials were using these political e-mail accounts to 2593 2594 subvert the requirements of the Presidential Records Act. 2595 Chairman WAXMAN. The gentleman's time has expired. Thank 2596 you, Mr. Higgins. 2597 Mr. Burton? 2598 Mr. BURTON. I used to be the chairman of this Committee. 2599 My picture is here some place. 2600 Ms. DOAN. I know. You look just like it. Mr. BURTON. I want to tell you, Ms. Doan, I really 2601 2602 appreciate you coming here and being very open, and I want to 2603 thank you for the \$200,000 for the Republican Party. I wish more people would do that. 2604 2605 Now, I have great respect for my colleagues on the other side of the aisle. I have worked with them on a lot of 2606 2607 legislation, and Henry and I, the chairman, he was my ranking 2608 Democrat for six years. I want to give you a little bit of a 2609 history lesson, because this is pretty interesting. 2610 We had over 100, maybe 150 people that we had as witnesses that were dealing with the Clinton Administration 2611 2612 that either took the Fifth Amendment or left the country.

They wouldn't even talk to us. We had to issue over 1,200 subpoenas to get people to come up from the White House to talk to us. And every time we did that Henry would say,

''This is a witch hunt. This is a witch hunt.'' So I just 2616 2617 want to say to my good friend, Henry, you know, there is 2618 nothing as self righteous as a reformed lady of the evening. 2619 Now, let me go into a few things that happened during my tenure as chairman. We had two guys that were downloading 2620 2621 FBI confidential files into home computers, which is illegal. 2622 These are top secret things. Two guys, Marceca and 2623 Livingston. You know, when we had them before the Committee 2624 they could not remember who hired them at the White House. 2625 Now, Mr. Aldridge who was the FBI agent who worked down there, said that he was told by the Chief of Staff that 2626 2627 Hillary Clinton hired them. But, of course, when we brought that up in the Committee, my god, this is a witch hunt, you 2628 can't talk about that. But they were downloading FBI files 2629 2630 into home computers so they could get stuff on Republicans to 2631 give us a hard time.

We had a guy named Johnny Chung come before the Committee who told us he got \$300,000 from the head of the Communist Intelligence Agency in Hong Kong in a restaurant saying that he wanted to give it to the Clinton Administration because he said he thought President Clinton was doing a good job and he wanted him re-elected. This was illegal. But, once again, this was just a witch hunt.

2639 We had a guy named John Whong--that was Johnny Chung, 2640 the first one. John Whong, who was a member of the Lippo

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2641 Group, said that the Lippo Group of Indonesia gave the 2642 Clinton Administration millions of dollars in illegal 2643 campaign funds. But, once again, this was a witch hunt.

We had people come from the White House. I had the Chief of Staff at the White House, his assistant, the Chief Counsel at the White House, person after person at the White House come down here and testify about all these things, and they couldn't remember a thing.

We had what we called an epidemic of selective memory loss. It was really a difficult time. And all the while that this was going on my good friend, Mr. Waxman, kept saying in the media and all over the country, 'Burton is on a witch hunt. This is terrible. These are horrible things that were going on.''

So I just want to tell you, Ms. Doan, you are here. You have not taken the Fifth Amendment. You have not fled the country. You are a patriotic American. I appreciate what you are doing by testifying here today. And don't let these guys intimidate you. And you haven't and I really appreciate that.

Now, I have high regard for my Democrat colleagues, and I see a lot of new members over there, but before you start pointing fingers about something that really can't be proven--this is all spurious arguments that are being made. But before you start pointing fingers please do me a favor.

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2666	Do me a favor. Go back and look at six years of
2667	investigations that we conducted when I was chairman of this
2668	Committee and find out how many people in the Administration
2669	couldn't remember things, how many people wouldn't talk, how
2670	many fled the country or took the Fifth Amendment, and then
2671	come back and say to me, ``Well, we want to be fair.''
2672	I yield the balance of my time to Mr. Davis.
2673	Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. On the e-mail
2674	Chairman WAXMAN. Before you yield to Mr. Davis, I just
2675	want to point outmake sure this time doesn't count. Stop
2676	the clock. You have got one minute left. I just want to say
2677	to Mr. Burton his characterizations today are inaccurate,
2678	wrong.
2679	Mr. BURTON. This is my time. Let me just say let's go
2680	and get all the newspapers and the reports from the Committee
2681	and look at them. We will find out how inaccurate they are.
2682	Look at the papers and look at the records. You did that for
2683	six years, and now you are going to have to eat it.

2684 Chairman WAXMAN. If I might just conclude very, very 2685 briefly--

2686 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. I just want to get--

2687 Chairman WAXMAN. I would like to put in the record a 2688 report that we did on Mr. Burton's investigation so people 2689 can see what we thought was going on, and we also heard what 2690 you had to say that you thought was going on. Without

2691 objection, that report will be made part of the record. 2692 Mr. BURTON. As long as mine is in there, I don't object. 2693 [The reports follow:] 2694 ********* INSERT ********

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2695 Chairman WAXMAN. Mr. Davis has the last minute. Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Thank you. 2696 2697 You know, officials appointed by the President with the 2698 advice and the consent of the Senate who are in 2699 policy-determining positions and certain Presidential aides 2700 have restrictions, I mean are exempt from restrictions, the 2701 no politics portion, so I don't think a lot of this applies 2702 to you, but, anyway, the Office of Special Counsel is looking 2703 at this.

2704 Ms. DOAN. They are.

2705 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Despite members' individual 2706 opinions on this, I think what will be there will be. What I 2707 think is clear here is that this is now turning into an 2708 assault, less on you--I think you have acquitted yourself 2709 well today--than on the Administration, and raises other 2710 issues I suspect the Committee will be looking at over time.

I just want to ask for the record, the e-mails that came to your aide that were put up on the board a couple of minutes ago, did you ever see those? Do you recall seeing them?

2715 Ms. DOAN. No, I did not.

2716 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. So a lot of e-mails go to aides 2717 and stuff that never gets on your desk; is that correct? 2718 Ms. DOAN. That is very true.

2719 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Okay. I wanted to clarify that

2720 for the record. 2721 Once again, this is nothing that she did. This is 2722 something the White House evidently does on a fairly routine 2723 basis, and as far as you go, the initial allegations against 2724 you have now turned into just a lot of political mud 2725 fighting, unfortunately. 2726 Thank you. 2727 Ms. DOAN. Thank you. 2728 Chairman WAXMAN. The gentleman's time has expired. 2729 We will now go to Ms. McCollum. 2730 Ms. MCCOLLUM. Thank you, Mr. Chair. Looking at the GSA mission statement again, it talks 2731 2732 about respect for fellow associations, professionals --2733 Ms. DOAN. Excuse me, Congresswoman, could you talk just 2734 a tad louder. 2735 Ms. MCCOLLUM. Well, there has been so much yelling going 2736 on I thought maybe a softer voice might be appreciated. 2737 Under the GSA general missions, your values are listed: 2738 ethics --2739 Chairman WAXMAN. Ms. McCollum, would you speak right 2740 into the mic? I'm even having trouble hearing you. 2741 Ms. MCCOLLUM. I couldn't get much closer to it, Mr. Chair. Maybe I don't have a good mic. 2742 2743 Ethics and integrity in everything we do, respect for 2744 fellow associates, teamwork. When you received the briefing

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2745 on the Hatch Act, did you sign off any information? Did they 2746 give you any booklets to get home?

I worked in the private sector for a long time and on our ethics in retail to make sure that my employees were doing things, they were handed a booklet. They signed off on something, and once you signed off on it you became responsible for it. It was your responsibility to read it all. Do you recall if you were given anything?

2753 Ms. DOAN. Congresswoman, I know I am under oath, so I 2754 have to tell you I can't remember, but what I can do is we 2755 can check and then I can come back to you with this after the hearing with exactly. I do know that I had an ethics letter 2756 2757 that I had signed when I became a Presidential appointee, and that was done by the General Counsel's office, you know, and 2758 2759 I signed off on that. I know I did that. I did attend a Hatch Act briefing, but what I am having a little trouble 2760 remembering is whether there was actually a document that at 2761 2762 the time of the briefing I had to sign off. But I can check 2763 and follow up with you on that. Would you like me to do 2764 that?

2765 Ms. MCCOLLUM. Well, once any one of us signs off on 2766 those things we assume a responsibility, a very serious 2767 responsibility, especially when we are supervising 2768 individuals. Class C employees are not exempt from the Hatch 2769 Act. They are not exempt. So I want to go back, very

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2770 seriously, to a letter on March 13th that you sent to this 2771 Committee, in which you stated there were no improper 2772 political actions that occurred during or as a result of the 2773 January 26th teleconference. But your statement doesn't 2774 square with the facts, because Class C employees are not 2775 exempt from the Hatch Act.

You also today--and I believe you read it, so you might want to find it, because I don't want to misquote you or misrepresent anything you have said--you talked about advancing the policy of the Administration. Well, what happened at this lunch is you were advancing the policy of Karl Rove and Mr. Jennings, either with the best of intentions or with no intentions, by what happened.

So let's go back to the slides. These slides are clearly partisan. They are from the point of view of Republican. They are not saying team, Democrats, Independents, and Republicans. They say us versus them, in fact. Slide 2-566 is called Lost Ground with Swing Voters. Ms. DOAN. Which one? Do you have a page number or something?

2790 Ms. MCCOLLUM. It is 566. It is upside down. It is up 2791 there, but right side up. Lost Ground with Swing Voters, 2792 Republicans or Democrats. This is the Republicans losing 2793 ground, is it not?

2794 Ms. DOAN. Can I check with somebody?

2795 Ms. MCCOLLUM. Well, we will go to another slide. 2796 Ms. DOAN. Honestly, I am happy to give an official 2797 opinion, and if you say that it is we can just assume it is 2798 and let's go on.

2799 Ms. MCCOLLUM. Slide 2-567, Bigger Losses Among Men. Who 2800 had the bigger losses, Republicans or Democrats? It is 2801 Republicans.

The next slide, 568, Long-Term Problems Among Latinos and Youth Vote. Who has the long-term problem? Democrats? It is not. The us in all of these slides are referring to the Republicans.

Here is the last one I am going to show, 576. This one shows the Republicans' 72-Hour Get Off the Vote Effort made a difference in several races.

You concede that this slide refers to our strategy, meaning the Republican strategy? They are not talking about the Independent strategy or the Democratic strategy in 2008. So I am asking you, your statement in writing, you regarded this briefing as team building among GSA appointees. What kind of team do you think this presentation was building? An Independent, a Democrat, or a Republican team?

2816 Chairman WAXMAN. The gentlelady's time is expired, but 2817 the witness will be permitted to answer.

2818 Ms. DOAN. I think she was just really probably trying to 2819 make a statement, so that is fine.

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2820 Chairman WAXMAN. It sounded like a question to me. You 2821 don't want to respond?

2822 Ms. DOAN. Was it a question?

2823 Chairman WAXMAN. What kind of team were you building? Ms. MCCOLLUM. What kind of team were you building? 2824 2825 Ms. DOAN. I am building the most incredible team in all 2826 of Government with incredible managers. Honestly, you quys, if you get past this and everything let me send you their 2827 2828 bios. You have got to look at these people. You have never 2829 seen anyone like these managers that I brought in. I have 2830 brought in people. These are not your regular Government 2831 people. These are people from the outside. This is new 2832 blood. It is a great team. You have got to give them a 2833 chance. You really do.

2834 Chairman WAXMAN. Okay. The gentlelady's time is 2835 expired.

2836 Mr. Shays, you are next for questioning.

2837 Mr. SHAYS. May I ask how many members on the other side 2838 are still waiting to ask questions?

2839 Chairman WAXMAN. We have got a lot of them over here. 2840 Mr. SHAYS. This is my time and I would like to reserve 2841 it.

2842 Chairman WAXMAN. Okay. The gentleman will be called on 2843 later.

2844 Next in order in the Committee is Mr. Sarbanes.

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Mr. SARBANES. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 2845 My questions are really trying to go to the process 2846 2847 inside of GSA, and so I am particularly concerned about the questions that have been raised on the SUN Microsystems 2848 2849 contract. It appears that for two years the career 2850 contracting officials inside of GSA were refusing to renew the contract because SUN wasn't giving the kind of pricing 2851 2852 that it was giving to its commercial customers, as I 2853 understand it. And then the Government, which really means 2854 taxpayers, paid tens of millions of dollars more than we should have paid because SUN concealed larger discounts that 2855 2856 the company was giving to the private sector. I am curious 2857 as to your role in this.

2858 The Committee interviewed one of the career contracting 2859 officials on the SUN negotiation, a fellow named Mike Butterfield, and he was opposed to signing the contract, as I 2860 2861 understand, and he told the Committee that he had warned that 2862 signing a deal with SUN ``would mean getting discounts that 2863 would be inferior.'' But after he made his recommendation to 2864 end the negotiations, Jim Williams, who is your Commissioner of the Federal Acquisitions Service, told him that you wanted 2865 the SUN contract done anyway. I believe his exact words to 2866 2867 Mr. Butterfield were, '`Lurita wants this contract awarded.'' 2868 So my question is: did you tell Mr. Williams that you 2869 wanted the SUN contract to be done in spite of all of these

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2870 reservations that had been brought forward?

Ms. DOAN. I cannot give you an exact, verbatim quote, 2871 2872 but what I can tell you is the sense of it, and that is that 2873 I spoke with Commissioner Williams and told him that I needed 2874 him to use his best judgment, put his best people on the 2875 effort, and try to understand what is the sense of it. 2876 I think, if you could just possibly allow me to give you just a little bit of the context of all of this, it only came 2877 2878 to my attention because I was sort of abruptly told that SUN 2879 Microsystems had been referred for some kind of criminal 2880 judgment--that is probably not the legal word--to the 2881 Department of Justice, and I was absolutely astounded, 2882 because this was the first I had ever heard of this, and yet 2883 I had had, you know, multiple meetings with my Inspector 2884 General. It had somehow never come up. So that was sort of 2885 the entry point where I became engaged.

2886 But at no time in either event have I ever intervened. 2887 I do not believe that I have been intrusive in any way. I do 2888 believe that, as the head of the Agency, I have not just a 2889 right but also an obligation to be informed, to understand 2890 what is going on, and to make some actions transparent to 2891 everyone within our community. So obviously SUN Microsystems 2892 is a technology vendor that falls under our Federal 2893 Acquisition Service. Our Commissioner, Jim Williams, we were 2894 all, all of senior management, totally, totally in the dark.

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2895 We did not know any of these challenges were going on 2896 connected to the Department of Justice, because we had not 2897 been apprised. We had not been kept informed. We had not 2898 been briefed. This was just completely mind boggling to me 2899 that something of this scope could have happened, with 2900 repercussions across the entire Federal Government, and that 2901 nobody, not anybody, would have seen fit from the IG's office 2902 or, you know, nowhere, they never came to me, they have came 2903 to my chief of staff, they never came to the Commissioner, 2904 who is directly affected and oftentimes meets with these 2905 people every day. They never did that. 2906 Mr. SARBANES. Thank you. Actually, I am not as 2907 interested in that particular-2908 Ms. DOAN. This is not my time? I'm sorry. I thought 2909 that was my time to talk. 2910 Mr. SARBANES. I'm not as interested in--2911 Ms. DOAN. Sorry. This is my first hearing. 2912 Mr. SARBANES. -- that particular issue. What I am going to is the people that were most familiar with the contract 2913 who were bringing forth their concerns, it is interesting, 2914 2915 because you said the context you wanted to give me was that 2916 your message back was exercise your best judgment, but that 2917 directly contradicts the message that Mr. Butterfield feels 2918 he was receiving, which was, despite your concerns about this 2919 contract, we want this to be done. And when Mr. Butterfield

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2920 held his ground and refused to sign the contract, what 2921 happened to him?

Ms. DOAN. I have never met Mr. Butterfield and I didn't 2922 2923 realize that he was a contracting officer. I do not know what happened to him. But I will tell you that what you are 2924 2925 saying, I truly believe what you are implying, rather, seems 2926 untrue. What I know is that Jim Williams is a great 2927 Commissioner for the Federal Acquisition Service. He has 2928 stellar judgment, and we have great contracting officers. Ι 2929 don't know what Mike Butterfield said. I don't really know 2930 what Jim Williams says. But what I do know is that --

2931 Mr. SARBANES. Well, Mr. Butterfield--

2932 Ms. DOAN.--I have said that--

2933 Mr. SARBANES. What he told the Committee was that he was 2934 replaced by another contracting officer named Shana Budd, who 2935 then signed the contract. And the Inspector General--

2936 Ms. DOAN. No, excuse me, who negotiated a great deal for 2937 the American people, and in the process of doing that signed 2938 a contract.

2939 Mr. SARBANES. Yes. Well, our information is that it 2940 wasn't a great deal for the--

2941 Ms. DOAN. We must beg to differ on this.

2942 Mr. SARBANES. Mr. Chairman, just 30 seconds.

2943 Chairman WAXMAN. Without objection, the gentleman will 2944 be given one additional minute.

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Mr. SARBANES. Thank you very much.

What I am concerned about is the message that gets sent down from high levels to professionals in these agencies, and this is adding sort of the third leg to a three-legged stool I see in terms of an assault on Federal employees.

The first piece that we have seen in your hearings, Mr. 2950 2951 Chairman, is cutting resources to people that are trying to 2952 do their job. The second piece is contracting services out 2953 without the oversight that ought to be with them. And the 2954 third piece, which is evidenced here, is that when people try 2955 to do their job and they bring their best judgment to the 2956 table they are overruled from above in a way that I think is 2957 demoralizing for people in that Agency.

2958 Thank you.

2959 Chairman WAXMAN. Thank you, Mr. Sarbanes.

2960 Mr. Shays?

2961 Mr. SHAYS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate your 2962 recognizing me.

I want to say to you, Ms. Doan, I think you have a remarkable history and you should be very proud of your accomplishments as a minority businesswoman who did something any American would be so grateful to do--create a business that you could be so proud of. And you did it, and many of us haven't. I congratulate you for that. I also want to thank you from the bottom of my heart for

2970 your service to our country, for your willingness to step in 2971 and basically make so much less than you make in the private 2972 sector, and want to serve a President you believe in. And I 2973 particularly appreciate it because now the President isn't so 2974 popular, and the in thing is to say you hardly know the man, 2975 and good for you.

2976 You know, with hindsight I would have recommended to the 2977 White House they not do this chart and I would have 2978 recommended they should know to have probably said to you, 2979 you know, this shouldn't happen on a Government site. But 2980 this wasn't about how you were going to raise money and it 2981 wasn't how you were going to undermine Democrats. It helped 2982 explain why we lost. And I think we, Republicans, you know, 2983 we lost because of corruption issues, we lost because we weren't doing things as well as we should have. You know, a 2984 2985 terrible thing for someone to have learned. Frankly, I am 2986 happy that that would have been conveyed so it would tell you that, you know, if you want to help your country and you want 2987 2988 to help someone you believe in, just do a good job. That is 2989 the message that I heard.

It is my understanding--and I want to say this--that when you have had events, that you make sure Republican and Democrats all know about it. And I fully understand if a Democrat Administration is in power, you know, they might notify our two Senators, or at least one of our Senators

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2995 first before they notify me, but they are going to invite me 2996 and they are not going to say I have done a great job. They 2997 will say the Senator has. I understand that, and I don't 2998 lose sleep about it.

I feel like this Committee is straining at gnats and swallowing camels at this particular hearing. We have had a lot of very important hearings. This isn't one of them.

With that, I would like to yield time to my colleague.Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Thank you.

3004 You never met Mr. Butterfield to your recollection; is 3005 that correct?

3006 Ms. DOAN. I still have not yet.

3007 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. And I'd just refer the gentleman 3008 to Ms. Budd's, who did negotiate that, her comments that we 3009 put in the record earlier in the day.

3010 SUN Microsystems were referred to the Department of 3011 Justice, is my understanding from the IG.

3012 Ms. DOAN. That is what I believe.

3013 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Did you do anything to stop them 3014 from being referred? Did you step in the way and say we 3015 can't do this?

3016 Ms. DOAN. No, I did not.

3017 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. You just let the ordinary process 3018 take its way and let the--

3019 Ms. DOAN. Apparently, it actually had already been done,

3020 but nobody bothered to inform me. It had already happened 3021 two weeks before.

3022 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. And it would be helpful to know 3023 that, wouldn't it?

3024 Ms. DOAN. It would have been nice to at least have a 3025 courtesy memo dropped to me or something.

3026 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. And that is really part of the 3027 problem here, isn't it? The IG, who is supposed to report to 3028 you, just--

3029 Ms. DOAN. And he doesn't, and it is hard because we sit 3030 with our vendors and they feel in many ways that we are 3031 two-faced and we are not, you know, we are not understanding of their issues, and it is very hard when you are sitting in 3032 3033 a meeting with someone and they know they have been referred to the Department of Justice and you are smiling and doing a 3034 3035 meet and greet and you don't bring it up, and it looks like 3036 we are duplicitous, when the truth of the matter is we were 3037 simply uninformed.

3038 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. We don't debar companies for 3039 referrals to Department of Justice, do we?

3040 Ms. DOAN. No, we do not.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. It is not in the rules, is it?
Ms. DOAN. No. I think there has to be a ruling and a
finding and wrongdoing found.

3044 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Yes, there has to be

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3045 adjudication.

3046 Ms. DOAN. Nothing has happened in that area yet, to my 3047 understanding.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. So if you were to debar them or throw them out for this and there had been no adjudication, you would probably be in violation of the law, wouldn't you? Ms. DOAN. Yes, but I don't think debarment would be happening even as a result. That is for the Department of Justice to decide what has to happen.

3054 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Exactly.

3055 Ms. DOAN. I think.

3056 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. If they were convicted--

3057 Ms. DOAN. Can I just correct it, because I don't know 3058 the--

3059 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. You are not an attorney.

3060 Ms. DOAN. The General Counsel for GSA is making wild 3061 signals to me.

3062 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Not renewing the contract would 3063 be de facto debarment.

3064 Ms. DOAN. Yes. right.

3065 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. That is my point.

3066 Ms. DOAN. Okay. I am sorry.

3067 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. But if SUN Microsystems is 3068 adjudicated, if Justice sees merit in this and moves forward, 3069 they could still be debarred, right? 3070 Ms. DOAN. Yes. It would then come to our suspension and 3071 debarment official and then he would take that action.

3072 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. And that has not happened, has 3073 it?

3074 Ms. DOAN. No, that has not.

3075 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. And if that came up, then you 3076 would review it on its face and weigh all the other factors? 3077 Ms. DOAN. Well, I wouldn't be. I actually have 3078 delegated that authority to the suspension and debarment 3079 official at GSA.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Well, that brings me up, because 3080 3081 there were some allegations earlier about there was--and you might say this where the Big Five accounting firms or Four--I 3082 3083 don't want to slight anybody -- en masse, and you were told 3084 about that, and what would that have done to the Government to not have been able to get the accounting from the biggest 3085 3086 accounting firms and have them eligible to do audits. That 3087 would have crippled.

3088 Ms. DOAN. It would have been devastating, especially 3089 since initially, when e-mail came to me, it was two weeks 3090 before the end of the fiscal year.

3091 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. But you didn't do anything to 3092 interfere with that, did you?

3093 Ms. DOAN. No. It was a Sunday. I just wanted to be 3094 informed. I was hoping people could wait until Monday to do

3095	it.
3096	Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Can you imagine what would have
3097	happened if a debarment official debarred the Big Four
3098	accounting firms with Government audits coming on and we had
3099	to go to smaller companies that did not have the level of
3100	expertise to get this done, and all of the sudden
3101	Mr. SHAYS. Could I ask for a unanimous consent?
3102	Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIAyou didn't know about
3103	Mr. SHAYS. Mr. Chairman, could I ask unanimous consent
3104	for my colleague. It is my time.
3105	Chairman WAXMAN. This is your time.
3106	Mr. SHAYS. It is my time. And could I ask for unanimous
3107	consent for an additional minute?
3108	Chairman WAXMAN. I will let Mr. Davis complete his
3109	sentence, but we have
3110	Mr. SHAYS. Could I ask for a unanimous consent for an
3111	additional minute?
3112	Chairman WAXMAN. The Chair will object, because we do
3113	want to get another member able to ask questions.
3114	Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. I think my point is simply this.
3115	My understanding is that you just made an inquiry at that
3116	point and wanted to be informed. You did nothing to
3117	interfere with that decision.
3118	Ms. DOAN. I did not.
3119	Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. But had you not been informed and
1	

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3120 that, in fact, took place, can you imagine coming up before 3121 this Committee at that point and saying you were out of the 3122 loop.

3123 Ms. DOAN. Yes.

3124 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Thank you.

3125 Chairman WAXMAN. Let me ask you this question. Jim 3126 Williams, your Commissioner of Federal Acquisition--

3127Mr. SHAYS. Point of order, Mr. Speaker. Point of order.3128Chairman WAXMAN. The Chair has not taken his time.

3129 Mr. SHAYS. And are you yielding yourself--

3130 Chairman WAXMAN. I am asking a question. That is my 3131 answer to your point of order.

3132 Mr. SHAYS. I'm asking if you are yielding time. I am 3133 raising a point of order. I would like to know--

3134 Chairman WAXMAN. What is the point of order?

3135 Mr. SHAYS.--if you are yielding yourself five minutes 3136 now.

3137 Chairman WAXMAN. I am yielding myself one minute.

3138 Mr. MICA. Point of order. Point of order. Question.

3139 The parliamentary inquiry about the rules--

3140 Chairman WAXMAN. Look, you have carried on enough today.3141 I would like to ask a question.

3142 Mr. MICA. I have a parliamentary inquiry.

3143 Chairman WAXMAN. Jim Williams, your Commissioner--

3144 Mr. MICA. I have a parliamentary inquiry--

3145 Chairman WAXMAN. -- of Federal Acquisition Services --Mr. MICA. I have a parliamentary inquiry. 3146 3147 Chairman WAXMAN. -- told the Committee that he knew of 3148 the--3149 Mr. MICA. Parliamentary inquiry. 3150 Chairman WAXMAN. -- Department of Justice referral in 3151 early August. 3152 Mr. MICA. Parliamentary inquiry. 3153 Chairman WAXMAN. Did he not tell you that? And do you 3154 know why he didn't tell you if he didn't. 3155 Mr. MICA. Parliamentary inquiry. 3156 Ms. DOAN. I don't know what Jim Williams told you all. 3157 What I do know is that I was--I think it was--I don't want to 3158 go with the date, but it was, like, 26, 27, somewhere, 29, 3159 something like that. That was when I first heard about it. 3160 It is not, I believe--I don't know who heard about it first. I think you would have to probably follow up with me 3161 3162 afterwards. I can do something in writing and figure out exactly that time line. 3163 3164 Chairman WAXMAN. Okay. Thank you. 3165 Mr. MICA. Parliamentary inquiry. 3166 Chairman WAXMAN. It is Mr. Welch's time. What is your 3167 parliamentary inquiry? Mr. MICA. Parliamentary inquiry relates to yielding one 3168 3169 additional minute to the minority member who requested it.

3170 He waited patiently for his time. Others were yielding-3171 Chairman WAXMAN. I am sorry. That is not a
3172 parliamentary inquiry. It is, rather, a complaint, and I
3173 think an unfounded one.

3174 Mr. Welch?

3175 Mr. SHAYS. I do have a parliamentary inquiry, Mr. 3176 Chairman, and it is a sincere one. I just want to--

3177 Chairman WAXMAN. All of your statements are sincere.
3178 What is it?

Mr. SHAYS. Well, I know, but I would like you to listen, and my request is this: would you think that your obligation is to yield yourself five minutes, because what I see is you yielding yourself one minute in between our questioning, and then we never know when your time is. So wouldn't it be logical that you would--

3185 Chairman WAXMAN. If the gentleman would permit, while I 3186 don't think that is a parliamentary inquiry, I gave Mr. Davis 3187 additional time. I didn't cut him off when his time 3188 finished. It wasn't a great deal of time.

3189 Mr. SHAYS. My parliamentary inquiry--

Chairman WAXMAN. But I, as the Chair, have the prerogative of asking a question that related to this matter, and I said I yielded myself time for that. That is out of my time. But, if you will permit--

3194 Mr. SHAYS. Just one question.

3195 Chairman WAXMAN. Let me ask this of Mr. Welch. Do you 3196 want to take your time now, because we are going to have to 3197 respond to votes.

3198 Mr. SHAYS. I just want to know how the process works.
3199 Chairman WAXMAN. Well, you know how the process works.
3200 What is your question?

Mr. SHAYS. The question is this: when you yield yourself time isn't it appropriate to yield yourself five minutes and to use your five minutes and not choose a minute here and a minute there and a minute here? That is my question.

Chairman WAXMAN. Well, that is a good question, except the Chair does have prerogatives, and I have seen other chairmen, including yourself, use the prerogatives of the Chair to occasionally ask questions. I am not going to consider that in violation of the rules.

3210 Now, Mr. Welch--

3211 Mr. SHAYS. So you can give yourself time any time you 3212 want?

3213 Mr. WELCH. I will proceed if we have enough time for the 3214 vote.

3215 Chairman WAXMAN. I think we have five minutes.

3216 Mr. WELCH. Okay. Thank you.

3217 Ms. Doan, thank you. Just one very simple question 3218 about this presentation, and it is this: you know what the 3219 content is. It identifies the 20 Democratic targets to be

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3220 defeated in the next election. Was that a proper topic of 3221 discussion and presentation at a lunch at your office? 3222 Ms. DOAN. Congressman, there is an investigation open by 3223 the Office of Special Counsel. I am not even going to try to 3224 speculate on this. I am just going to let the investigation

3225 take its course, let them make their decision. They are 3226 independent. I will live with it.

3227 Mr. WELCH. In your capacity as the head of that 3228 organization, was that a proper topic of discussion at a 3229 lunch?

3230 Ms. DOAN. Congressman, I am going to let the Office of 3231 the Special Counsel's investigation move forward and let them 3232 make a judgment as to what they feel is appropriate or not. 3233 Mr. WELCH. I heard you the first and the second time. 3234 Ms. DOAN. Okay. Great.

Mr. WELCH. And let me ask you my question the third time. In your capacity as the head of the organization, where you have responsibility about the administration of time within your office, was that a proper topic of discussion?

Ms. DOAN. I am going to allow the Office of the Special Counsel to make a decision on this investigation. Since it is open, and this is exactly what they do, I am going to allow them to make a decision as to whether they thought it was appropriate or not.

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3245 Mr. WELCH. Yes, but I am asking you whether you thought 3246 it was appropriate.

Ms. DOAN. And, Congressman, I am going to allow the Office of Special Counsel, which has an open investigation, to proceed with the course of their investigation. I am not going to try to murky the waters one way or the other, and I am going to allow them to make their independent judgment, and I will live with it.

3253 Mr. WELCH. Well, I would be glad to live with your 3254 answer, if you would give me an answer.

3255 Ms. DOAN. I am happy to leave the investigation and the 3256 decision-making to the Office of the Special Counsel, 3257 Congressman.

Mr. WELCH. If Nancy Pelosi called up and said that she wanted to come over or send somebody over to identify the top 20 Republican targets, maybe some of our friends here, would that be a topic that you would invite her or her representatives to discuss at lunch?

Ms. DOAN. We were very blessed to have Speaker Pelosi in our new San Francisco Federal building, and I'll tell you--Mr. WELCH. I didn't ask you if she was going to come to a ribbon cutting. Look, this is a very serious question. You have a very serious responsibility.

3268 Ms. DOAN. Yes.

3269 Mr. WELCH. The person who heads an agency has to make

3270	certain that there is integrity in how the time of taxpayer
3271	money and people working for taxpayers is used, whether they
3272	are Schedule C employees or not. Right?
3273	Ms. DOAN. Yes. I have a responsibility to
3274	Mr. WELCH. It is a very simple question. I honestly,
3275	you know, I listened to you not remember, not remember, not
3276	remember, despite what is very clearly a very good memory and
3277	a very competent record of accomplishment in your own career,
3278	so I found that a little frustrating.
3279	Ms. DOAN. So does my husband, because I can never
3280	remember our wedding anniversary.
3281	Mr. WELCH. You want to know something? I am deadly
3282	serious about this because it is a very simple question.
3283	Ms. DOAN. I understand.
3284	Mr. WELCH. And I find you being evasive on this, in all
3285	candor.
3286	I am asking you very simply, as the Chief Operating
3287	Officer of this very important organization, whether you
3288	think it was proper to allow a political appointee to come in
3289	on lunch time and identify the 20 political targets in the
3290	House races. It is a simple question that I am asking you.
3291	I am asking you your opinion. I am not asking you what I
3292	know to be the case if there is an ``investigation'' ongoing.
3293	Ms. DOAN. I appreciate that, Congressman, and since
3294	there is an open investigation ongoing and since this

3295 investigation involves me I believe that I need to allow this 3296 independent investigation by the Office of Special Counsel to 3297 proceed without weighing in one way or the other and coloring 3298 their judgment.

3299 Mr. WELCH. How does it adversely affect the 3300 investigation if you express an opinion about--

3301 Ms. DOAN. I have not yet been interviewed.

3302 Mr. WELCH.--using lunch to have a discussion targeting 3303 political candidates?

3304 Ms. DOAN. Congressman, I have not had an investigation before by an Office of Special Counsel. I have actually not 3305 3306 testified in front of a Committee before. But what I will 3307 tell you is that I will allow what is another organization's 3308 responsibility, which is to make a decision on this matter, to proceed. And I will wait and live with their judgment. 3309 3310 Mr. WELCH. Let's say an archbishop--I am a Catholic--3311 Ms. DOAN. So am I.

3312 Mr. WELCH.--wanted to come in and proselytize at lunch.
3313 Would that be a proper activity at lunch?

3314 Ms. DOAN. I don't know. I might have to take the Fifth 3315 on this. I don't know the murkiness of that.

3316 Chairman WAXMAN. Would the gentleman yield?

3317 You are going to have to answer this question to the
3318 Special Counsel. Why can't you answer this question to us?
3319 Ms. DOAN. And when the Special Counsel asks me, this is

3320	their purview. When they investigate and
3321	Chairman WAXMAN. It is also our purview
3322	Ms. DOAN. I appreciate that, Chairman.
3323	Chairman WAXMANto ask you whether you think it is
3324	appropriate. I think it is a violation of the law.
3325	Ms. DOAN. Chairman
3326	Chairman WAXMAN. Do you think it is appropriate?
3327	Ms. DOAN. Chairman, you are allowed to have an opinion
3328	Chairman WAXMAN. I want your opinion.
3329	Ms. DOANand this is a free country, I am allowed to
3330	have one, too, and my opinion is that I get to wait
3331	Chairman WAXMAN. We are asking your opinion.
3332	Ms. DOAN. I am telling you. My opinion is I get to wait
3333	until the Office of Special Counsel makes a decision, and I
3334	will live with it.
3335	Mr. WELCH. That is not an opinion.
3336	Ms. DOAN. Yes, it is.
3337	Mr. WELCH. That is a
3338	Ms. DOAN. It is my opinion.
3339	Mr. WELCH. That is a tactic.
3340	Ms. DOAN. No, no, no.
3341	Chairman WAXMAN. That is a tactic
3342	Ms. DOAN. Politicians have tactics.
3343	Chairman WAXMANof evasion.
3344	Chairman WAXMAN. The gentleman's time has expired. We
4	

3345 have a series of votes on the House floor. We will recess to respond to those votes, then members who have not been 3346 3347 recognized will complete the questioning of Ms. Doan. Then 3348 we will hear from the Inspector General. Mr. TURNER. Mr. Chairman, if you might, please, if you 3349 3350 could recognize me and allow me to yield my time to the 3351 Ranking Member so that he might have my time when we return, 3352 I would greatly appreciate the favor. 3353 Chairman WAXMAN. You want to do that now? 3354 Mr. TURNER. If you would allow. 3355 Chairman WAXMAN. We do have to respond to the vote. 3356 Mr. TURNER. And then he could take his five minutes when 3357 we return from voting. 3358 Chairman WAXMAN. I will check the rules on that, but I would certainly want to be as generous as possible to my 3359 3360 colleagues. 3361 We will now adjourn to respond to the votes. 3362 [Break.] 3363 Chairman WAXMAN. The meeting of the Committee will come 3364 back to order. 3365 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Mr. Chairman? 3366 Chairman WAXMAN. Yes? 3367 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Let me just say at the outset 3368 that I know some of my colleagues have expressed some 3369 consternation about your inter-toning. When I was chairman I

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3370 would occasionally, as you know, tone in after a question for clarification, and we have always had an understanding. 3371 We 3372 don't try to abuse it, and I know you are bending over 3373 backwards to be fair, but that is in tune with how I acted, 3374 as well. I just wanted to clarify that. This has been a 3375 rough hearing. We have some disagreements about this, but, 3376 you know, I appreciate your trying to answer some of the 3377 inquiries and just note for the record that I intoned when I 3378 was chairman, as well. 3379 Chairman WAXMAN. I appreciate that. 3380 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. And we are trying to get through 3381 this. Chairman WAXMAN. I appreciate that, and I want to be 3382 3383 fair to all the members on both sides of the aisle on this 3384 Committee. 3385 Mr. Tierney, it is your turn. 3386 Mr. TIERNEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 3387 Chairman WAXMAN. Just a minute, Mr. Tierney. Ms. Norton was ahead of you. I didn't see her walk in, but she is here, 3388 3389 and I am going to recognize her to take her turn. 3390 Ms. NORTON. This may not be a welcome occasion. More 3391 than most members, I am saddened by this occasion, surprised 3392 even by it, because I have gotten to know you since you have 3393 become Administrator. I share jurisdiction with this 3394 Subcommittee. I also know personally about your

3395 accomplishments and am proud of your accomplishments, 3396 particularly as an African American businesswoman. I know 3397 how likeable and bright you are.

3398 One of the reasons why I think, for the Administration 3399 people here, you have an obligation because you are not doing 3400 your job when these people are making their transition from 3401 the private sector. Anybody in the White House who had this 3402 woman in on that call, you ought to be--that is who ought to 3403 be punished.

Look, I am not going to ask the political questions, because the most serious things that have happened here, as far as I am concerned, the political questions are very embarrassing, very straightforward, will be understood by the public. I am more concerned about the IG and the SUN Microsystems, and I can't ask about both of them.

3410 Ms. Doan, I worked with the appropriators when you 3411 combined Government policy and Congressional affairs, because 3412 that, again, gave the impression of politicizing the Office of Government Policy. Maybe it wouldn't have looked that way 3413 in the private sector. That is an agency where GSA is the 3414 3415 lead Agency, but it controls travel and space use all around 3416 the Government. It is kind of the CR. It kept that from happening. But the IG, somebody should have told the 3417 Administrator how sacred the IG was. 3418

3419 In your testimony--and you have got to explain how you

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3420 explain this-on page four you describe what amounts to your attempt to order the IG. In black and white here it looks 3421 3422 like the Administrator is having problems with the IG, the way he spends his money. And you say that the divisions were 3423 required to supplement the Office of IG with an additional \$5 3424 3425 million above and beyond the budget that Congress had 3426 approved and appropriated, and you quickly moved to address 3427 this imbalance.

Administrator Doan, were you not aware that, in removing this \$5 million, you were not removing money from the IG's budget. Each division has set aside funds that are, indeed, included in the budget of your Agency so that pre-audits may occur. Pre-audits are what divisions do to make sure that they will not be hauled before Congress for violations or for not getting the best deal for the Government.

3435 Your Agency manages \$56 billion in contracts for the 3436 Defense Department, Homeland Security, and other agencies. 3437 By taking that \$5 billion (sic), which divisions request 3438 pre-audits be done of their work, very businesslike practice, 3439 to assure they were getting the best deal for the Government, 3440 you left the impression that you did not want, particularly 3441 in eliminating the entire amount, that you did not want pre-audits in order to assure that the best deal was being 3442 done. Far from what your testimony says, as if somehow the IG 3443 was over-spending, the money had been included and you 3444

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3445 apparently had to restore it because the Hill went ballistic.
3446 This money was included so that this \$56 billion in
3447 contracts could be pre-audited to catch the kinds of errors
3448 and bad deals that this Committee has already heard a great
3449 deal about last year and this year.

Why do you characterize in your testimony as the IG spending beyond his budget? Were you aware that this money was already in the budget of your Agency to do pre-audits and that you were de-funding all pre-audits for \$56 billion of contracts when you did that?

3455 Ms. DOAN. Do I have time to respond?

3456 Chairman WAXMAN. Yes, please. Please respond.

3457 Ms. DOAN. Congresswoman Norton, thank you for your kind 3458 comments at the beginning.

3459 To give you a very brief context, as I mentioned in my 3460 hearing submission and in my oral presentation, when I came 3461 to GSA this was an Agency that was in distress, and I 3462 mentioned that it was over \$100 million deficit that I had to 3463 immediately work to address. What I found was that the \$120 3464 million that was sort of in the red, if we are going to go 3465 from a business point of view, was actually in the division that ironically was now being tasked with paying the \$5 3466 3467 million supplemental to the Inspector General.

3468 I am not undermining oversight. I am totally supportive 3469 of oversight.

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Ms. NORTON. I am just asking you a question. Did you know that that money was included in your budget precisely for pre-audits, and that he was not over-spending his budget? Ms. DOAN. What I know is that this funding was coming from a failing division that was already \$120 million in the red and they were required to supplement it. What I have always said is I approve--

3477 Ms. NORTON. And so you think--

Ms. DOAN.--of oversight because I want it to occur--Chairman WAXMAN. The gentlelady's time has expired. Ms. DOAN.--in the appropriated dollars from the Inspector General. That is all I have asked. Do as many as you want, be as independent as you want, but do it within your appropriated funding.

3484 Chairman WAXMAN. Thank you.

3485 Mr. Tierney?

3486 Mr. TIERNEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

3487 Ms. Doan, I think today's hearing is pretty much about 3488 judgment, and yours in particular, and I know we are not going to go into political slides again. I accept the fact 3489 3490 that you apparently want to give no opinion on that. But on 3491 the diversity issue, before you decided to give a contract to 3492 Edie Fraser had you ever personally reviewed the Small Business Administration report that granted an F to the 3493 3494 Agency?

Ms. DOAN. I'm sorry? What?
Mr. TIERNEY. Before you decided to look in the direction
of Edie Fraser, had you ever personally reviewed the SBA
report that gave an F to your Agency on the diversity issue?
Ms. DOAN. I had spoken with Philippe Mendosa, our

3500 OSDBUA. I trust him, and he at that time was warning me, 3501 giving me a heads-up, it is coming.

3502 Mr. TIERNEY. Okay.

3503 Ms. DOAN. It did, indeed, come.

3504 Mr. TIERNEY. So had you looked at the report, the SBA 3505 report, before you wanted to contract Edie Fraser--

3506 Ms. DOAN. I believe that Philippe Mendosa tells the 3507 truth, and when he tells me that--

3508 Mr. TIERNEY. Ma'am, this isn't rocket science. I am 3509 asking you a question, and I am asking you to do it. The Mr. 3510 Smith Goes to Washington stuff is old already, and it is not 3511 even over for this hearing, so just please answer the question. Did you personally look at the SBA report before 3512 3513 you looked in the direction of Edie Fraser for a contract? 3514 Ms. DOAN. I appreciate what you are trying to ask--3515 Mr. TIERNEY. No, you don't, because you are not 3516 answering it. Did you or did you not? 3517 Ms. DOAN. Congressman--

3518 Mr. TIERNEY. Did you or did you not personally look at 3519 the SBA report?

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3520	Ms. DOAN. Congressman Tierney
3521	Mr. TIERNEY. Are you going toMr. Chairman, would you
3522	direct the witness to answer and be responsive?
3523	Ms. DOAN. Would I be allowed to just
3524	Chairman WAXMAN. This is the time for members to ask you
3525	questions.
3526	Ms. DOAN. Okay.
3527	Chairman WAXMAN. There is a limited amount of time.
3528	Ms. DOAN. I am sorry.
3529	Chairman WAXMAN. If it is a yes or no question, answer
3530	it yes or no. If you say you don't know, that is fine.
3531	Ms. DOAN. Okay. I appreciate it. I'm sorry, Chairman.
3532	Chairman WAXMAN. Just answer the question directly.
3533	Ms. DOAN. This is the first time I talked with him. I
3534	was trying to be respectful.
3535	The answer to that, Congressman, is no.
3536	Mr. TIERNEY. Thank you. Now, had you talked to the
3537	people, your own Office of Minority and Disadvantaged
3538	Matters, about that report, about the F?
3539	Ms. DOAN. Yes. I talked with Philippe Mendosa.
3540	Mr. TIERNEY. And did you do it in detail to find out
3541	what that report and findings were, what the data was behind
3542	it?
3543	Ms. DOAN. Yes. We had a pretty long talk. I think we
3544	spoke in our first meeting for

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3545	Mr. TIERNEY. So the answer is yes?
3546	Ms. DOAN. Yes. The answer is yes.
3547	Mr. TIERNEY. Thank you very much. If I direct your
3548	attention to page 16 of your packet, please, I want to show
3549	you a fact sheet that the GSA career people put together
3550	during the SUN Microsystems contract negotiations. It says
3551	in the post-audit audit, which covered 1999 to 2005, we have
3552	forfeited \$70.4 million in reseller price reductions and
3553	\$7.04 million in GSA price reductions, for a total of \$77.4
3554	million. That was the last five years. The career auditors
3555	also discussed what would happen for the next three years of
3556	GSA signed the contract, and the fact sheet says about that,
3557	for the remaining three years on the extension option, if we
3558	accept SUN's proposed price reduction clause, we estimate we
3559	will lose a minimum of \$13.1 million in reseller price
3560	reductions and \$1.31 million in GSA contract price
3561	reductions, for a total of \$14.41 million.
3562	Had you read that or familiarized yourself with that
3563	part of the report before Shana Budd took over for Mr.
3564	Butterfield?
3565	Ms. DOAN. No, I did not, because I did not in any way
3566	Mr. TIERNEY. Okay. So without having read that
3567	Ms. DOANget involved in this process.
3568	Mr. TIERNEY. Without having read that, all right, Shana
3569	Budd comes on, and she then, within nine days of the time she

3570 takes the job, for a matter that has been going on for a 3571 couple of years, within nine days she then signs a contract 3572 with returns highly unfavorable to the taxpayer, and when we 3573 asked her about it, the Committee asked her about it, she 3574 said, well, she doesn't rely on auditors to determine 3575 contract prices. Her approach is just to do what the 3576 contractor wants. That is a serious judgment issue.

You are her boss. You don't look into this report or even know what the projected losses are or what the past losses are. You hire a woman whose approach, apparently which you adopt, is that she just wants to do what the contractor wants to do.

The Inspector General then goes on to say that, with regard to your involvement in this, it is the first time we are aware of which an Administrator has personally intervened in this way.

Now, you, on the other hand, tell Senator Grassley in his letter that you weren't involved. I wasn't briefed by FAS in August or any other time on the SUN Microsystems contract deficiencies. I had no knowledge of the negotiations or the basis for decisions made regarding this contract.

I direct your attention to page four of your packet. On August 27, 2006, Marty Wagner, Jim Williams' deputy at FAS, the Federal Acquisition Service, sent an e-mail to your chief 3595 of staff, John Phelps, explaining that the SUN contract was 3596 likely to be canceled because they couldn't meet contract 3597 requirements on pricing. Your chief of staff forwarded the 3598 e-mail directly to you with this message: 'Lurita, wasn't 3599 sure you had seen this or not. Looks like Jim's prediction 3600 came true.'' He is referring, of course, to Jim Williams, 3601 the Commissioner of the FAS.

Three minutes later you wrote back your chief of staff, Mr. Williams, saying, ''This is truly unfortunate. There will be serious consequences felt across the FAS.''

Less than an hour later Mr. Williams writes back to you stating that he has scheduled a meeting with the president of SUN's Federal sales to see what can be done to resurrect the partnership.

Then you have an e-mail exchange between Washington Management Group, a fellow named Larry Allen--I'm looking at page seven of your packet. Mr. Allen works for the Washington Management Group. That firm represents SUN in the negotiations. Mr. Allen also runs a group called the Coalition for Government Procurement that just happens to have SUN as a premier member.

In that packet you will see an e-mail dated September 7, 2006, from Mr. Allen that says, ''Ms. Doan, I understand that new life has been breathed into the SUN situation. They are meeting with Mr. Williams today, among other things, and I

3620 understand that a new deal is, indeed, possible within the 3621 30-day timeframe you have envisioned.''

Chairman WAXMAN. The gentleman's time has expired. Mr. TIERNEY. My question is, Ms. Doan, how can you tell Senator Grassley that you had no involvement in this at all and then look at that trail of e-mails?

3626 Ms. DOAN. Because I was not directly involved in this matter at all. What I did do is exercise proper oversight 3627 3628 that I should do as the administrator of GSA. Larry Allen 3629 is, to my knowledge, the head or president or something of 3630 the Coalition for Government Procurement. This is the 3631 capacity in which I know him, in which I have met with him, with all of our schedule holders and things of that nature. 3632 3633 I think you are mischaracterizing this and I think it is a little bit outrageous what you are trying to say. 3634

3635 Mr. TIERNEY. Just read the--I am not mischaracterizing.
3636 I directed you to the e-mails. Just read it. I was reading
3637 literally from it.

3638 Chairman WAXMAN. The gentleman's--

3639 Mr. TIERNEY. That is not a characterization; that is a 3640 quote.

3641 Chairman WAXMAN. The gentleman's time has expired.

3642 Mr. Davis, you can be recognized now.

3643 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Thank you.

3644 Chairman WAXMAN. Five minutes.

3645 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. You were not directly in the negotiations with SUN Microsystems, correct? 3646 3647 Ms. DOAN. No, I was not. 3648 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Basically, you were up there saying we would like to keep this going. What would have 3649 3650 been the ramifications on the supply schedule if SUN 3651 Microsystems were not an option for Government buyers? Ms. DOAN. I think this would be very dire for the 3652 3653 Federal Government. 3654 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Can you explain why? 3655 Ms. DOAN. Because SUN Microsystems has servers, it has 3656 software, it has java scripts, that everyone in the Federal Government uses. They may not be aware of it, but it is one 3657 3658 of the things that is the backbone of their internet and many 3659 other areas.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. And if you didn't offer your supply schedule, is it likely it would have been offered on other supply schedules, perhaps at even more disadvantageous rates?

3664 Ms. DOAN. I think it would have been much more expensive 3665 for the Federal Government to purchase SUN products.

3666 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. You can't just measure it by what 3667 is on your schedule.

3668 Now, let me just ask you, on the procedures on this, as 3669 I understand it, once on the schedule SUN is not guaranteed 3670 | any business at all, correct?

3671 Ms. DOAN. No, they are not.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. A Government agency orders items off the schedule after it reviews the prices of at least three schedule holders; isn't that correct?

3675 Ms. DOAN. That is true.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. So SUN would offer their prices.
3676 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. So SUN would offer their prices.
3677 If they weren't competitive, a Government buyer could go
3678 somewhere else, is that correct, to some of the other
3679 schedule holders that offer same or similar services?
3680 Ms. DOAN. That is true.

3681 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. And the chosen contractor would have to represent the best value. Now, throughout the 3682 3683 process, ordering agencies are encouraged to seek and often 3684 receive significant price reductions above and apart from the discounts that are encompassed in the schedule prices. So 3685 3686 even if the schedule price is something, isn't it true--and 3687 we have been through this before--that very often the negotiated price is far lower than what is on the schedule? 3688 3689 Ms. DOAN. Yes. That is what we hope and anticipate. 3690 Mr. TIERNEY. Would the gentleman yield? 3691 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. I would be happy to. Mr. TIERNEY. Thank you. If SUN Microsystems wasn't on 3692 the schedule, somebody else would be; is that correct? 3693 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. No. I can answer that. 3694

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3695 Mr. TIERNEY. SUN Microsystems was the only one offering 3696 on that schedule, was it? 3697 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. No. There were a lot of people 3698 on the schedule. 3699 Mr. TIERNEY. Exactly. That is my point.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Well that is my point.
Mr. TIERNEY. And your staff had filed a report that said
it was going to cost \$77 million plus if you sign the
agreement with them to put them on the schedule.

3704 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Let me--

3705 Mr. TIERNEY. I am hard pressed to see what you are 3706 losing by not having them on.

3707 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. As someone who has spent their 3708 career on this, I can explain it very quickly. There are 3709 going to be some Government servers that are SUN systems that 3710 are going to want to continue with SUN products. If they 3711 can't get it off the schedule, they would go to NASA soup or 3712 GWETS or they may go off the schedule entirely and buy it on 3713 the market, which traditionally had been much higher prices. 3714 That is one of the concerns with this.

Now, let me just ask, the contract that Mr. Butterfield Now, let me just ask, the contract that Mr. Butterfield was negotiating--maybe this is to a detail you don't know, but maybe you have learned it after the fact--we didn't say yes to the contract he said no for. There were changes, weren't there, after Mr. Williams negotiated it?

3720 Ms. DOAN. That is true. It was a negotiation, which 3721 means there is give and take on both sides. 3722 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. And when Mr. Butterfield was 3723 relieved at that point and Shana Budd came in and negotiated, she negotiated a different agreement than what Mr. 3724 3725 Butterfield had offered; isn't that right? Both parties 3726 moved? 3727 Ms. DOAN. That is my understanding, that both parties 3728 moved. 3729 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. And maintenance was one of the 3730 key elements of this? 3731 Ms. DOAN. Yes, I believe it was. 3732 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. A key element throughout. So I 3733 think it is important for this Committee to understand how schedules work, how these are negotiated. That is certainly 3734 3735 appropriate. But I think the key here is all you were doing 3736 as the Administrator was to just keep the negotiations going. 3737 Ms. DOAN. That is exactly right. Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Because you recognized what it 3738 3739 could do to the schedules, what it could do to Government buying options if you didn't reach an agreement. You never 3740 3741 dictated an agreement, did you? 3742 Ms. DOAN. That is exactly correct. 3743 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. You didn't walk into a room and 3744 negotiate directly with SUN Microsystems, did you?

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3745	Ms.	DOAN.	No,	Ι	did	not.	
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3746 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. You didn't appoint the
3747 contracting officers that negotiated it, did you?
3748 Ms. DOAN. No, I did not.

3749 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. So I think if members have 3750 questions, we are asking the wrong person. To my way of 3751 thinking, she did the appropriate thing to try to get a more inclusive schedule. SUN Microsystems' business, less than 10 3752 3753 percent of it is with the Federal Government. If we say no 3754 to them, they can walk around the world and sell their products, and they don't have to sell at discounts here when 3755 3756 they can sell at a fuller price other places.

3757 We have held hearings on this before. One of the 3758 difficulties is trying to get companies that traditionally 3759 don't sell to the Government to sell to the Government, where 3760 we can get the variety of prices and the options and the 3761 technologies that are being developed in the private sector 3762 and apply them to Government. But because Government has a 3763 different set of regulations, a different set of accounting 3764 standards, a different set of rules, some companies just find 3765 it disadvantageous to redo all of these kind of things. We 3766 try to work through the procurement process to find options 3767 to bring them in.

3768 So I don't know that there is anything necessarily 3769 improper about this. Time will tell if this was the right

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3770	approach or not. It is hard to say if you save or lose
3771	money, because we don't know how SUN Microsystems competes
3772	with other products that are on the schedule right now once
3773	you have to go to three for Government buyers to choose
3774	whether they want SUN Microsystems or something else on the
3775	schedule and get the best deal; is that correct?
3776	Ms. DOAN. That is correct.
3777	Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Thank you.
3778	Chairman WAXMAN. Mr. Clay?
3779	Mr. CLAY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
3780	Thank you, Ms. Doan, for being here today. Ms. Doan, it
3781	is my understanding that, as Administrator of the GSA, you
3782	manage over \$56 billion in contracts. What percentage of the
3783	GSA contracts is currently held by minority owned businesses?
3784	Ms. DOAN. I do not have that fact at this moment. Can
3785	you hold one minute?
3786	Mr. CLAY. Sure.
3787	Ms. DOAN. Could we follow up with you after the record
3788	for that precise number?
3789	Mr. CLAY. You certainly can. I would appreciate a
3790	description of what types of programs you have.
3791	[The information follows:]
3792	******* COMMITTEE INSERT ********

3793 Mr. CLAY. Let me ask you, during your ten month tenure, 3794 how many contracts have you personally awarded to minority 3795 owned businesses?

3796 Ms. DOAN. I haven't personally awarded any contracts to 3797 minority or large businesses

3798 Mr. CLAY. Okay. All right. You stated in your written 3799 testimony that it was outrageous for the Committee to cite 3800 that, as an example of the personal assistance Ms. Fraser 3801 provided to you--she assisted your high-school aged daughter in securing a Congressional internship--you denied that Ms. 3802 3803 Fraser assisted you and called the suggestion despicable; 3804 yet, in her interview with the Committee Ms. Fraser was asked 3805 this very question and confirmed that she called a Senate 3806 office to seek an internship for your daughter.

3807 Here is what Ms. Fraser told the Committee: ''I am really glad you asked that question because I think it is a 3808 3809 really--if there is any humor in this whole situation, you 3810 know, when she said to me, you know, Edie, I am so dedicated 3811 to the Republicans, you are so dedicated to the Democrats. 3812 My daughter needs to learn there is another side. And so I called the administrative assistant to Senator Stabenow and 3813 3814 said, 'This high school kid, you know, all their high school has internships in Government and in the Senate. Would you 3815 3816 take her on?' ''

3817

So, Ms. Doan, it was Ms. Fraser who said that she did

3818 this for you. By the way, no one has suggested that your 3819 daughter did anything wrong by accepting Ms. Fraser's help, 3820 but perhaps you would like to reconsider your statement to 3821 Congress that Ms. Fraser did not provide any assistance, in 3822 light of Ms. Fraser's clear testimony that she did.

3823 Ms. DOAN. What I believe I said--and if I am incorrect 3824 maybe I will check my letter that I wrote to the Committee. 3825 What I said is that this is a 40-year program that is hosted 3826 by Madiera High School that has been well documented. Ιt provides 90 interns, non-paying, throughout the entire 3827 3828 Federal Government. I am happy to hear that she had support 3829 from so many different people, but this is how--they have 3830 interns in many, many offices, both Democratic side and the 3831 Republican side, the House, and the Senate. Every junior at this high school does this. It is a very well-recognized 3832 That is what I believe, something of that nature I 3833 program. 3834 think I wrote in that.

I still believe, and I will say this, the fact that you are willing to keep pushing this point absolutely indicates your willingness to drag whatever kind of extraneous things in. There is nothing wrong. I was not the Administrator at the time. This is a high school child--

Chairman WAXMAN. Will the gentleman yield?
Mr. CLAY. I will yield to the gentleman from California.
Chairman WAXMAN. I just want to read that, what you said

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in your statement. This is what you said: 'Over three years ago, as a high school junior, my daughter participated in a mandatory school-sponsored community service program. School counselors worked directly with members of the House and the Senate to arrange for entry-level, non-paying positions. My innocent daughter was assigned to the staff of Senator Debbie Stabenow.''

Now, what Mr. Clay is pointing out is that we know it wasn't school counselors but your good friend who was the one who recommended her.

3853 I yield back the balance.

3854 Ms. DOAN. Am I allowed to comment at all, because this--3855 Chairman WAXMAN. If there is a question.

3856 Mr. CLAY. Please do.

3857 Ms. DOAN. There is nothing on this that is incorrect. 3858 There is nothing on this that is incorrect. The high school 3859 counselors at Madiera work with the House and the Senate, and 3860 they absolutely have internships. We have probably people on 3861 this Committee who have these interns here.

3862 Mr. CLAY. Well, Ms. Doan, why would Ms. Fraser make this 3863 statement? Can you shed any light on that?

Ms. DOAN. No, I can't shed any light on that. I can share with you that people often try to help when other people say there are things that are of interest or concern or things. This is what we do. We care for one another.

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3868 People do things like this. This is very kind of her to have 3869 done that. 3870 Mr. CLAY. And that is all fine and well, but I think that the concern here is that this is conflicting testimony 3871 3872 between Ms. Fraser and you and what you have told Committee 3873 investigators. 3874 Ms. DOAN. This is not conflicting testimony. It says here that high school counselors worked directly with members 3875 3876 of the House and Senate to arrange for entry-level, 3877 non-paying positions. 3878 Chairman WAXMAN. The gentleman's time has expired. 3879 Ms. DOAN. This is a statement of fact. 3880 Chairman WAXMAN. I would ask unanimous consent that I have a minute so I can pursue this issue, without objection. 3881 3882 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Without objection, but I would 3883 like to also reserve just a clarification question at the end 3884 of that. 3885 Chairman WAXMAN. Absolutely. 3886 Ms. Doan, I know you are outraged about this whole 3887 thing. You expressed it with a great deal of emotion. But 3888 your statement was it was school counselors. We pointed out 3889 that Edie Fraser claimed that she helped her daughter. I am 3890 not saying that there is anything wrong with it, but it is 3891 something--

3892

Ms. DOAN. Thank you. I appreciate that, because the

3893 implication there was that there was something improper going 3894 on.

Chairman WAXMAN. No, the implication of it was that she helped you. You had a relationship, she helped you, and evidently you wanted to help her with that contract, and the was a give-and-take kind of relationship.

3899 Ms. DOAN. Chairman, with all due respect, Congressman, 3900 Congressman Clay prefaced it--and I don't have the exact 3901 transcript, but he prefaced it with something like, ``In the 3902 process of her performing personal services for you.'' That 3903 was improper, in my mind. That implied a certain amount of 3904 impropriety.

3905 Chairman WAXMAN. But you don't deny that she helped?
3906 Ms. DOAN. She apparently did help, and I am very
3907 grateful that she did.

3908 Chairman WAXMAN. Okay. That is fine. Let's just get 3909 the record complete.

3910 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Mr. Chairman?

3911 Chairman WAXMAN. Yes, Mr. Davis?

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. I have had interns from the Madiera School. It is not in my District. It is not uncommon for kids from Madiera to apply across the Hill, and it is not uncommon, by the way, for people to recommend people that are applying. These are unpaid internships during the school year when, frankly, many offices can use

3918	interns. Summer time it is different. These are during
3919	school year. And we work directly with the counselors,
3920	because we have to fill out forms
3921	Ms. DOAN. Exactly.
3922	Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIAtelling how the kids do. I
3923	don't see any conflict in this at all. If this is the best
3924	you can do, I think we are wasting our time.
3925	Chairman WAXMAN. Well, I certainly don't think it is a
3926	conflict. I think people ought to understand the complete
3927	picture.
3928	Let's see, Mr. Lynch, it is your turn now.
3929	Mr. LYNCH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you for
3930	having this hearing. I also thank the Ranking Member.
3931	We seem to be getting tied in knots about your
3932	testimony, previous testimony, current testimony. I am
3933	getting a little frustrated, just like you are, trying to
3934	figure out what you are exactly saying.
3935	You just told us a moment ago that you weren't involved
3936	with the SUN Microsystems deal, you were just involved in the
3937	oversight of it. Now, you weren't directly involved, you
3938	just did your job in an oversight capacity.
3939	Now, I just want to compare what you said to Senator
3940	Grassley. This is a quote. When asked about the SUN
3941	Microsystems, you said, ``I had no knowledge of the
3942	negotiations or the basis of the decisions made regarding

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3943 this contract.'' That is a very broad statement, and it is 3944 completely inconsistent with what you have said here today. 3945 I just want to tell you--and this may go further. I know you 3946 know that you are under oath. What is troubling to me is 3947 this--and there is a lot of peripheral stuff, but there is 3948 some central stuff about what is being testified to here 3949 today.

3950 You have testified to the facts that at the GSA 3951 headquarters, the headquarters of this Agency, a Government 3952 institution, that there was a meeting, a presentation, a teleconference at which you were present. The object of that 3953 3954 meeting, especially, was for influencing the election. More 3955 specifically, the object of the meeting was to target, and, 3956 if successful, remove members of Congress who are charged 3957 with the oversight of your Agency. This goes to the integrity of the electoral process that has been violated 3958 3959 here, not just in the Hatch Act but also embodied in the 3960 Voting Rights Act.

There were members of this Congress that were targeted by a Government Agency, by a sitting Government Agency with the head of that Agency present, and also special assistants to the White House present to influence the election. That is central to what you did. That is central.

3966Now, you haven't claimed the Fifth Amendment, which3967maybe you should have, but you have come here today and you

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have testified, you have really adopted the Sergeant Shultz 3968 3969 defense, you know nothing. But I want to just recount what 3970 you have testified here today. And I came here in an 3971 objective fashion just to listen to what you had to say. You have testified that you remember the time you have 3972 arrived. You testified as you knew who was in the meeting, 3973 3974 who was not in the meeting. You testified that you know who called in and who did not call in. You testified as to what 3975 3976 food was served. You testified--if you want to read the transcripts, go ahead--you remember the folks that were 3977 telecommunicated in from California. You testified that you 3978 3979 saw before a PowerPoint presentation, which is an enhanced 3980 cognitive medium, but then you have a blank spot in your 3981 memory as to what you recall about the PowerPoint 3982 presentation targeting members of Congress.

We have the testimony of six Republican colleagues who 3983 3984 have your own testimony as to what can we do to help the 3985 Republican members of Congress, and that is terribly troubling, in my estimation. Maybe this will be worked out 3986 in the subsequent investigations. I am not sure. But 3987 certainly just the core facts that you have helped establish 3988 here, you know, leads me to believe that there is further 3989 action necessary to be taken on this, and it is not good for 3990 3991 I have to say, your own testimony has been very you. 3992 damning, I think, that you have had this very selective lapse

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3993 of memory before members of Congress.

You know, I think the whole episode is utterly disgraceful, in my opinion, and, you know, maybe there are members here that think that you helped yourself here today by testifying, but I need to be quite honest with you. The only thing that you have removed here is the original impression that it was incompetence, it was incompetence, because now it appears that your action was purposeful.

I just have to say, as a member of Congress trying to uphold the Constitution, trying to uphold the integrity of Government, that I am deeply disappointed in your testimony here today and I will do everything I possibly can to get to the bottom of this and to restore the integrity that I think has been diminished by your own actions.

4007 Thank you.

4008 Chairman WAXMAN. The gentleman's time has expired.
4009 The Chair wishes to recognize himself for five minutes
4010 just to ask a few questions. Maybe I won't even take the
4011 full five minutes.

4012 There were two contracts that we have been discussing.
4013 One was the SUN Microsystems contract. In your March 13th
4014 letter you said, ``I was not briefed by FAS in August or at
4015 any other time on the SUN Microsystems contract
4016 deficiencies.'' FAS is the Federal Acquisition Service.
4017 Ms. DOAN. Right.

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4018 Chairman WAXMAN. Now, we interviewed Mr. Williams and we
4019 asked him whether he briefed you on the SUN contract and he
4020 said he did. He told us directly that he updated you on the
4021 SUN situation several times during the contract negotiations.
4022 Was he lying to us? How do you explain this contradiction?
4023 Ms. DOAN. Chairman, I don't want to ask you to read it
4024 back to me again, but I think--

4025 Chairman WAXMAN. You said that you weren't involved and 4026 he said he briefed you.

Ms. DOAN. In the August timeframe, I believe we talked about. Is that what we talked about? I think I would much rather sit there and, you know, add up the dates and stuff like that and organize it for you and provide it.

4031 Chairman WAXMAN. Did he brief you?

4032 Ms. DOAN. Some time in early September.

4033 Chairman WAXMAN. I am not asking you when. Did he brief 4034 you on this contract?

4035 Ms. DOAN. Well, I thought the date was the issue we were 4036 discussing here.

4037Chairman WAXMAN. Well, your March 13th letter you said4038he had not briefed you. I presume this is before you agreed4039to the contract. Did he brief you or not?

4040 Ms. DOAN. Well, no, he didn't brief me.

4041 Chairman WAXMAN. He did not brief you?

4042 Ms. DOAN. He just spoke, you know, once on the phone. I

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don't know. 4043 4044Chairman WAXMAN. Only once on the phone. Ms. DOAN. I honestly cannot--we never sat down and 4045 4046 actually had a briefing. We just had a brief discussion on 4047 the phone. 4048 Chairman WAXMAN. On how many occasions? 4049 Ms. DOAN. He said one or two times. I am just 4050 following, maybe twice. 4051 Chairman WAXMAN. Okay. And then on the--4052 Ms. DOAN. I think the issue is August versus September. Chairman WAXMAN. Do you consider it a briefing if it is 4053 4054 a telephone conversation when someone tells you about a 4055 contract? Ms. DOAN. No. I consider a briefing when you are 4056 4057 actually provided with substantive information related to a matter at hand. That is what I consider a briefing. 4058 4059 Chairman WAXMAN. I would just point out that you sent a 4060 letter to Senator Grassley to say, ''I was not briefed by FAS--'' Federal Acquisition Service--''in August or at any 4061 4062 other time on the SUN Microsystems contract deficiencies." 4063 That is a pretty clear statement, but now it seems as if you 4064 are backing off that statement. You did have a couple phone 4065 conversations telling you about it? Yes, you did have phone 4066 conversations? No, you didn't have a couple phone 4067 conversations?

4068	Ms. DOAN. I don't consider that a briefing.
4069	Chairman WAXMAN. Okay. That is Clintonian. Now, on the
4070	other contract, you were directly involved in the contract
4071	for Edie Fraser, weren't you?
4072	Ms. DOAN. I do not believe that that was a contract, but
4073	yes, I was directly involved in directing the action to try
4074	to start a study for minority and women-owned and diversity
4075	Chairman WAXMAN. Okay. You were directly involved in
4076	that. But these others you were indirectly involved. You
4077	are the head of GSA, and that is the Agency in charge of
4078	giving out those contracts, so other things were delegated to
4079	other people, but on the Edie Fraser contract you were
4080	personally involved; is that a fair statement?
4081	Ms. DOAN. Yes, it is a fair statement at the beginning
4082	of the action. After I approved the draft outline, I then
4083	moved it on to be processed through the contracting shop and
4084	the office for the procurement.
4085	Chairman WAXMAN. Okay. Thank you.
4086	Well, I want to thank you.
4087	Does the gentleman have any additional questions he
4088	would like to ask, maybe make some comments about the way
4089	life is going?
4090	Mr. MICA. Could you yield?
4091	Chairman WAXMAN. Certainly.
4092	Mr. MICA. How much time?
1	

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4093 Chairman WAXMAN. Whatever time is left, I would be glad 4094 to give it to you. 4095 Mr. MICA. Okay. Well, again, let's just take it in reverse order. The \$20,000 contract that you attempted--and 4096 4097 it wasn't a contract, was never awarded. 4098 Ms. DOAN. It was not. 4099 Mr. MICA. Okay. The video conference, this says the White House. The first chart there is the White House 4100 Political Office? Is that what that says, the White House 4101 4102 Political Office? 4103 Ms. DOAN. Yes. 4104 Mr. MICA. Is that who conducted that? Did you initiate 4105 the videoconference? 4106 Ms. DOAN. No, I did not. 4107 Mr. MICA. Okay. And then SUN Microsystems, the third question, you were never fully briefed? You never sat down 4108 4109 and had a full briefing about the terms of the contract, and 4110 most of the problems had occurred before you got there? 4111Ms. DOAN. All of that is true. 4112 Mr. MICA. In 15 years, you know, they tried to get you on this \$20,000, and this is embarrassing, too, what they are 4113 doing to your daughter, 2004 to intern with a Democrat 4114 Senator. But I have never seen such an attempt to go after a 4115 minority appointee of any Administration in this fashion, and 4116 the thing about this --4117

4118 Chairman WAXMAN. The gentleman's--4119 Mr. MICA.--it will discourage others from ever coming 4120 into the--4121 Chairman WAXMAN. The gentleman's time has expired. Mr. MICA.--what you are doing here today. 4122 4123 Chairman WAXMAN. Ms. Doan, thank you very much for your 4124 presentation. Ms. DOAN. Thank you, Chairman. Thank you, Ranking 4125 Member Davis. Thank you, Committee members. 4126 Chairman WAXMAN. We will probably ask you some further 4127 4128 questions for the record. 4129 [The information follows:]

4130 ******** COMMITTEE INSERT ********

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Chairman WAXMAN. We are now pleased to call our next 4131 witness, Mr. Brian D. Miller, the Inspector General of GSA. 4132 4133 Before assuming this post in 2005, Mr. Miller worked as 4134 Federal Prosecutor in the U.S. Attorney's Office for the 4135 Eastern District of Virginia, where he helped prosecute 4136 Zacharias Mousaui and John Walker Lindt. In this position, 4137 he also supervised numerous audits and investigations 4138 involving procurement, grant, and health care fraud. 4139 Mr. Miller, I thank you very much for being here. Your prepared statement will be in the record in full. I would 4140 like to ask you now to proceed with your oral statement. 4141

4142 STATEMENT OF BRIAN D. MILLER

4143 Mr. MILLER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank you,
4144 Ranking Member, and thank you, members of this Committee, for
4145 inviting me here to testify.

4146 I would also like to thank Senator Grassley for taking 4147 the time to testify here this morning about the importance of 4148 oversight and the role of an Inspector General. Indeed, it 4149 is a privilege for me--

4150 Mr. MICA. Parliamentary inquiry and procedure. Was the 4151 witness sworn in?

4152 Chairman WAXMAN. The gentleman is correct. It is our 4153 practice to swear in all witnesses, and we want to put you 4154 under oath, as well.

4155 [Witness sworn.]

4156 Mr. MILLER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

4157 Chairman WAXMAN. I thank you. Now let's start all over 4158 again.

4159 Mr. MILLER. Okay. It is a privilege to be here this 4160 afternoon. I have devoted most of my professional life to public service. For roughly a decade-and-a-half before 4161 4162 becoming Inspector General at GSA I served as a career 4163 Federal attorney. As a United States Attorney in the Eastern 4164 District of Virginia, the Ranking Member's own District, I 4165 worked on a variety of cases, including terrorism cases, as 4166 the chairman has noted.

4167 In July, 2005, the Senate confirmed me as Inspector 4168 General of GSA, and it is, indeed, an honor for me to lead 4169 the Office of the Inspector General. Our audits and 4170 investigations safeguard the integrity of Government 4171 operations and provide cost avoidance for taxpayers in the 4172 billions of dollars.

For years my office enjoyed good working relations with
GSA managers who appreciate our work. My relationships with
former GSA Administrator Stephen Perry and Acting
Administrator David Bibb were excellent. they recognized
that independent oversight was a tool for good management.
And I have been trying to establish a good working

4179 relationship with Administrator Doan and will continue to do 4180 so.

It is important for me to note here that it is my duty, as Inspector General, to investigate allegations of wrongdoing and to conduct audits. I would not be doing my job if I were to look the other way at credible allegations of wrongdoing or pass over an embarrassing audit, as Senator Grassley has noted this morning.

The taxpayers and the Congress rely on IGs to do their job to ferret out fraud, waste, and abuse, and to help their agencies run more efficiently and effectively.

4190 At the end of the day, it is about accountability, 4191 accountability to the President, to the Congress, and, most 4192 importantly, to the American taxpayers.

A193 Now, this Committee has asked me to address three issues 4194 in connection with the actions of the Administrator: first, 4195 her intervention in a major contract negotiation, SUN 4196 Microsystems; second, her sole source award of a contract to 4197 a friend; and, third, her alleged role in encouraging use of 4198 GSA resources for partisan political purposes.

4199 Six months ago GSA awarded a contract extension to SUN 4200 Microsystems. Our auditors showed that it was a bad deal for 4201 the Government. The contracting officer thought it was a bad 4202 deal. All of GSA's management, up to and including 4203 Commissioner Jim Williams, agreed it was a bad deal. And a

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4204 notice was sent to SUN that the contract would end.

4205 But then Administrator Doan found out and word went out 4206 that SUN was a strategically important vendor and that the 4207 Administrator wanted the contract awarded. The contracting 4208 officer could not extend it, so a new contracting officer was 4209 assigned. Eight days later, the contract was renewed.

4210 Why is this such a bad deal? Well, the auditors warned 4211 that SUN's past charges looked fraudulent and told GSA 4212 management. Frankly, the deal should have been terminated 4213 when allegations of potential fraud first surfaced.

I agree with Senator Grassley that once the potential for serious fraud was identified, the deal should have been slowed down, at the very least. Instead, it was speeded up. None of this would have happened if Administrator Doan had not intervened and directed GSA to make the award.

Now, turning to the Public Affairs Group contract,
Administrator Doan was wrong in attempting to award a sole
source contract to the company of a personal friend, Edie
Fraser. She was wrong to keep trying to get this project
awarded to her friend, even when told the first contract was
improper. And she was wrong to try and cover up the extent
of her improper efforts.

Administrator Doan has tried to say that she did nothing improper and that, anyway, it wasn't a contract, but that is not what her own General Counsel has told her. Administrator

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4229 Doan has claimed that she did everything she could to clean
4230 up the mess, but that is not what her own General Counsel
4231 told this Committee.
4232 Turning to the Hatch Act issue, when my investigators

4233 received credible information about a potential Hatch Act 4234 violation, we referred the matter to the appropriate 4235 investigatory agency, the Office of Special Counsel. That is 4236 our duty.

4237 Now, in tandem with these events, the Administrator has 4238 advocated for reduced oversight and has made many statements 4239 to that effect. Unfortunately, the Administrator has 4240 demonstrated a disregard for the very contracting rules that 4241 oversight is meant to detect.

4242I notice my time is out. I would like to thank the4243Committee, and I stand ready to answer questions.

4244 Thank you.

4245 [Prepared statement of Mr. Miller follows:]

4246 ********* INSERT *********

4247 Chairman WAXMAN. Mr. Davis?

4248 Mr. ISSA. Mr. Chairman, he will be right back. Do you 4249 want us to begin?

4250 Chairman WAXMAN. Why don't you just finish your 4251 statement. We did give Ms. Doan additional time, and I think 4252 it would be only fair to let you have additional time to 4253 complete your statement.

4254 Mr. MILLER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. There is not much 4255 left.

In fact, she may have violated basic rules of conduct for an Agency head while, at the same time, worked to pare back the mechanisms for uncovering such violations. What may explain both is the lack of respect for law and law enforcement.

4261 I would be happy to answer questions.

4262 Chairman WAXMAN. Thank you very much.

4263 Mr. Davis, I am going to recognize you to control 15 4264 minutes, and we will let you go first, then our side will 4265 control 15 minutes.

4266 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Mr. Miller, I heard you say that 4267 you are accountable to the White House, to the Congress, and 4268 to the American people.

4269 Mr. MILLER. That is correct, Congressman.

4270 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Aren't you also, under the 4271 statute, accountable to the head of the Agency to keep the

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4272 establishment and the Congress fully informed? 4273 Mr. MILLER. Indeed. 4274 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. You mentioned that? 4275 Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir. Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. You didn't mention that. 4276 4277 Mr. MILLER. Well, I would be happy to mention it now. 4278 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. And you are not an accountant; is 4279 that correct? 4280 Mr. MILLER. Pardon me? 4281 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. You are not an accountant; is 4282 that correct? 4283 Mr. MILLER. That is correct. Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. You are not a CPA; is that 4284 4285 correct? You are a prosecutor by career, right? 4286 Mr. MILLER. Correct. 4287 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Your prepared statement today 4288 takes credit for saving the Government a lot of money. How 4289 much did the investigation of this diversity study cost in 4290 your own staff time and expense? Any idea? 4291 Mr. MILLER. Congressman, I don't have that number right now, but let me tell you that when this complaint originally 4292 4293 came in, it came in with documentation to our office. It was 4294 a credible complaint. We looked at it. We decided that it 4295 was credible. We had to interview the Administrator. 4296 I personally went up and told the Administrator that we

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4297 had received this complaint and that my agents would have to 4298 go up and interview her.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. You didn't save any money on this
one, though, did you, because it was canceled? Am I right?
You didn't save any money on this one?

4302 Mr. MILLER. Part of our job, Congressman, is--

4303 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Just yes or no.

4304 Mr. MILLER.--is to investigate--

4305 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Is that a yes or a no? Did you 4306 save any money on this investigation? The answer is no, 4307 isn't it?

4308 Mr. MILLER. I believe it--

4309 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Because the contract was never-4310 Mr. MILLER. There was no money paid on that contract.
4311 That is correct.

4312 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA: Now let me ask you this. What 4313 obligation does the IG and his investigators and his staff 4314 have to prevent disclosure of investigative information to 4315 outside sources in ongoing investigations? Can you tell us 4316 what your responsibility there is under the statute?

4317 Mr. MILLER. I will, but I hadn't finished my answer to 4318 the last question.

4319 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. I have got limited time and I 4320 want to have the answer to this question.

4321 Mr. MILLER. Okay. The question is responsibilities to

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4322 safeguard confidential information. We do have a
4323 responsibility to do that and we do take measures to
4324 safeguard confidential information, Congressman.

4325 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Now, do you think that the 4326 premature disclosure of investigative information, even when 4327 permitted by law, can cause substantial harm to an ongoing 4328 investigation?

4329 Mr. MILLER. It is possible, Congressman.

4330 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Do you think that the GSA IG investigative information in the ongoing investigation of 4331 4332 Administrator Doan was provided to the Washington Post 4333 reporters who authorized the January 19, 2007, article 4334 entitled, ''GSA Chief Scrutinized for Deal with Friend''? 4335 Mr. MILLER. Congressman, we did not disclose any part of the investigative file to anyone who is not authorized to see 4336 4337 it. I don't know how the Post reporters got that 4338 information. I was surprised to see it.

4339 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Did you do any investigation to 4340 see how it might have gotten out of your office? 4341 Mr. MILLER. Well, we did ask around. In fact, we 4342 received a call in January, January 25, from Mr. Nardoti, 4343 Administrator Doan's private attorney. He called our lead 4344 investigator and said that on January 19th the Washington 4345 Post reporters had documents, they showed Administrator Doan 4346 documents that came out of the investigative file. I think

4347 they claimed it was her supplemental statement correcting 4348 mis-statements in the earlier--

4349 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. That information, under the law,4350 shouldn't get out; isn't that correct?

4351 Mr. MILLER. That is correct, Congressman.

4352 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. And your office--you are under 4353 oath--had nothing to do with this?

4354 Mr. MILLER. I am confident that my office had nothing to 4355 do with it. If I may finish, we immediately looked into 4356 this. Mr. Nardoti said that the Post reporter showed the 4357 information to Administrator Doan and to the acting General 4358 Counsel. When we heard this, we immediately interviewed the 4359 acting General Counsel, who said that that didn't happen, 4360 that the Post reporters did not show him any documents from 4361 the investigative file, and that to his knowledge they had 4362 not.

4363 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. What did you do to investigate 4364 the leak at that point, though? It is clear that something 4365 had been leaked, correct?

Mr. MILLER. Well, at that point the head of my investigations said that the allegation by Administrator Doan's attorney was not credible. In fact, the lead agent called him back and told him that.

4370 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. So there was no documents that 4371 were leaked to the Post that shouldn't have been out there;

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4372 is that correct? 4373 Mr. MILLER. Congressman, they didn't come from my 4374 office. 4375 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Did you investigate --4376 Mr. MILLER. I am confident my office did not disclose 4377 any--4378 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. What did you do to ensure that it 4379 didn't? Did you do an investigation in your office to make 4380 sure that they didn't? Did you talk to employees, put 4381 anybody under oath, or anything? 4382 Mr. MILLER. Well, Congressman, I am trying to answer 4383 your question --4384 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. I want you to answer it. 4385 Mr. MILLER.--as best I can. It is a little involved, and I ask you to bear with me, but at that point our lead 4386 4387 agent called Mr. Nardoti back and told him what the General 4388 Counsel said, and he gave a nervous laugh and said, Well, 4389 gee, I will have to go talk to my client again. Well then he 4390 calls back on February 1st with a changed story, and the 4391 revised story said that Ms. Doan saw the statement in the 4392 Post reporter's hands, and that he also talked to another party that indicated subpoenaed e-mails had been turned over 4393 4394 to the press, and he then told us he was filing a PCIE 4395 complaint. 4396 Now, part of the mystery was solved two weeks later on

February 13th. The attorney for PAG--Public Affairs Group--sent a letter to us saying they were producing an e-mail for the first time to us because they had learned that it had been leaked to the press. That is before it even got to our office. PAG tried to characterize it as outside the scope of our request, but it was a September 6th e-mail ending in 309.

4404 At any rate, that second half of Mr. Nardoti's statement 4405 was clearly explained that it came from the Public Affairs 4406 Group.

4407 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Okay.

4408 Mr. MILLER. I am trying to answer in the sense that we 4409 also learned that there was a complaint filed with the PCIE, 4410 and we did not want to interfere with the investigation of 4411 the PCIE.

4412 Now, we also asked the Administrator for copies of
4413 documents that she was producing to this Committee relating
4414 to the PAG investigation, and in connection with that Mr.
4415 Nardoti wrote us a letter saying she would not produce them
4416 in light of the PCIE complaint.

4417 I responded to her, in response, preparing for that 4418 response, I did ask everyone who had access to those 4419 documents, whether or not they had disclosed them to anyone 4420 except other Governmental officials with a legitimate 4421 interest in the investigation. So we did make inquiries. We

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4422 did not--if your question is did we take sworn statements, 4423 the answer is no.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Okay. The first public
disclosure of the problems between you and the Administrator
were revealed in a Post article December 2nd. Do you
remember that article?

4428 Mr. MILLER. I do generally.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. The Post stated that they had obtained notes from a private meeting you had with the Administrator. One of your assistants took notes in that meeting, and those notes found their way to the Post. The Post wrote that, according to these notes, the Administrator compared Miller and his staff to terrorists. Do you know anything about that leak?

4436 Mr. MILLER. I don't know where the Post reporters got 4437 those notes. I do--

4438 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. You don't think they got them 4439 from Ms. Doan, do you?

4440 Mr. MILLER. I don't think that they got them from Ms. 4441 Doan.

4442 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Is it appropriate--

4443 Mr. MILLER. They did not--

4444 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Is it appropriate for the notes 4445 of one of your staff to appear in the Washington Post in a 4446 meeting like that?

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Mr. MILLER. Congressman, those notes -- we did share some 4447 of those comments and those notes the Congressional staff, 4448 4449 and I don't know where the Post--4450 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Which Congressional staff? when 4451 did you do that? 4452 Mr. MILLER. We shared them with Congressional staff, 4453 maybe in October. 4454 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Okay. Which Congressional staff? Mr. MILLER. I believe that I shared them with 4455 4456 Representative Platts' staff. 4457 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Okay. 4458 Mr. MILLER. I may have shared them with other oversight 4459 staff. 4460 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. You think they may have leaked it? Of course, this meeting that we are talking about here, 4461 4462 these notes that found their way, you are assuring me they 4463 didn't come from your office? 4464 Mr. MILLER. Congressman, as far as I know, those notes 4465 did not come from my office to the Post reporters. 4466 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. And you hadn't talked to the Post 4467 reporters prior to the article on December 2nd; is that 4468 correct? 4469 Mr. MILLER. Well, they did call me and asked me to 4470 confirm the--they read out of the notes, and I said, Look, I 4471 am not going to confirm or deny, I am not going to comment on

the relationship, my relationship with the Administrator. 4472 4473 And then I talked about the positive mission of my office. 4474 I did have one prior conversation with the Post 4475 reporters several months before that about how GSA contracts 4476 operate, in general. 4477 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Did you initiate that conversation or did they initiate that conversation? 4478 4479 Mr. MILLER. I believe they did. 4480 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Okay. 4481 Mr. MILLER. And we talked about firm fixed price 4482 contracts versus time and material contracts. There was not 4483 one word mentioned about my relationship with the

4484 Administrator or any of the issues going on between me and4485 the Administrator.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Now, you say that Allen Swindeman, General Counsel, told this Committee that he asked the Administrator several times to terminate the contract and that she refused. That was your briefings to the Committee; is that correct?

4491 Mr. MILLER. I'm sorry. I didn't hear you.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. That Mr. Swindeman told this committee that he had asked the Administrator several times to terminate the contract and that she refused, talking about the \$20,000 contract?

4496 Mr. MILLER. Yes, I believe that is on the web site in

4497 the Chairman's letter.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. But he never told the Committee any such thing that we are aware of. Are you aware of him telling the Committee that, or did you get that off the web site?

4502 Mr. MILLER. I got that off of the web site and the 4503 Chairman's letter.

4504 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. So you getting the information 4505 from the majority in this case. Okay.

4506 Have you given any information about the Committee's 4507 investigation that you have included in your report and 4508 testimony today, have you been given any information about 4509 the Committee's investigation that you have included in your 4510 report and testimony to day besides that?

4511 Mr. MILLER. I would have to go back and look at the 4512 report. We did look at the chairman's letter, and I would 4513 have to go back and take a close look and see--

4514 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. How much of your testimony comes 4515 from what the majority has put on their web site and how much 4516 of it comes from your independent investigation, because the 4517 information about Mr. Swindeman's discussion, from our 4518 investigation, is flat out false. So what does that say 4519 about your credibility?

4520 [No response.]

4521 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. You don't have any independent

investigation; you just took it off the majority web site. 4522 4523 That is what you are saying? 4524 Mr. MILLER. That is not correct, Congressman. Most of 4525 my testimony is taken from our --4526 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. I asked about that particular 4527 issue. 4528 Mr. MILLER. Most of the report is based on the 4529 investigation that my office did. 4530 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Most of it? 4531 Mr. MILLER. Most of it is --4532 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. But not all of it? 4533 Mr. MILLER. There--4534 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Thank you. 4535 Mr. MILLER. The statements that Mr. Swindeman--4536 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. It seems that a significant --Chairman WAXMAN. Wait. Give him a chance to answer. 4537 4538 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. He has answered it. He just took this off your web site. Am I wrong? That is where you said 4539 4540 you got the information? 4541 Mr. MILLER. Well, the statements that I was referring to that Mr. Swindeman made, I actually said he said to this 4542 4543 Committee--Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Correct. That is why I was 4544 moving off. I'm not going to let him run the clock out on 4545 4546 us.

Let me just ask this: it seems that a significant area of disagreement between you and the Administrator centers on the OIG's performance of contract support audits; is that fair to say?

4551 Mr. MILLER. I don't believe so.

4552 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. The disagreement between you and 4553 the Administrator, is it your view that it is important that 4554 your office provide this audit assistance on contract 4555 support?

Mr. MILLER. Congressman, I think my disagreement with the Administrator is more on oversight. She has made numerous statements that she would like to reduce oversight. Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. But you have also, in your own testimony you went after this SUN Microsystems, and that is contract support, correct? I mean, a significant part of your testimony today--

4563

Mr. MILLER. Sure.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA.--was focused on that. So all I 4565 was saying is a significant area of disagreement was on 4566 contract support. Now, my understanding is that in most 4567 agencies they either use DCAA or auditors that do acquisition 4568 support exclusively, as opposed to auditors from the IG's 4569 office. Isn't that true in a lot of agencies?

4570 Mr. MILLER. I don't know what the practice is at other 4571 agencies.

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4572 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. You don't?

4573 Mr. MILLER. I know that many of them do use DCAA.

4574 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Thank you.

Mr. MILLER. What is different about our Agency is that there was a GAO report, and the GAO recommendation was that--and it was agreed to by GSA. It was actually an arrangement developed and established by the Office of Management and Budget. It was a Bush Administration initiative to set up this reimbursable agreement for us to do these pre-award price audits.

4582 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. But it doesn't happen that way in 4583 a lot of agencies. That is my only point.

4584 Mr. MILLER. That is correct.

4585 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Okay. Is your office paid by the 4586 GSA contracting activities for this audit support?

4587 Mr. MILLER. There is a reimbursable arrangement where 4588 they reimburse us for our audit activities.

4589 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. How much per year does your 4590 office receive for these services, ball park?

Mr. MILLER. Ball park, it is between \$4 and \$5 million.
Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. What is your total budget?
Mr. MILLER. Total budget for last year was around--I
would have to get back to you with the specific number.
Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Ballpark, \$40 million?

4596 Mr. MILLER. About 43, maybe more, maybe less.

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Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Is it your understanding that 4597 4598 your office's role in providing pre-and post-award contract 4599 audit reports is to support the contracting officer? 4600 Mr. MILLER. Yes, generally. 4601 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. That is not an oversight role in 4602 that sense, correct? 4603 Mr. MILLER. I'm sorry? 4604 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Your role in providing pre-and post-award contract audit reports is to support the 4605 4606 contracting officer who makes the decision. You are not 4607 vested with making the decision? Mr. MILLER. That is correct, Congressman. 4608 4609 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. You were advisory, correct? 4610 Mr. MILLER. That is correct. 4611 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. I mean, do they always take your 4612 advice? 4613 Mr. MILLER. No, they don't always. Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Okay. So it is not add for a 4614 4615 contracting officer to say thank you very much but I'm going 4616 to settle it, correct? 4617 Mr. MILLER. They have a warrant and they are responsible 4618 to--Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Correct. 4619 4620 Mr. MILLER. -- exercise their own judgment. 4621 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. In our acquisition system, it is

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the contracting officer that makes the final decision to 4622 4623 award a contract, exercise an option, or take any other 4624 contract action, correct? 4625 Mr. MILLER. Yes. 4626 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. As I understand it, one of the 4627 roles of the Office of the Inspector General is to 4628 impartially evaluate the Agency's programs and functions. Do 4629 you see any tension between the evaluation role and the role 4630 of advisor to the contracting officer in a particular 4631 acquisition? 4632 Mr. MILLER. Do I see any conflict between--4633 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Any tension, not conflict. Do 4634 you see any tension between your evaluative role and the role 4635 of advisor to the contracting officer in a particular 4636 acquisition? 4637 Mr. MILLER. Congressman, I think I would have to think 4638 about that question. 4639 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. That is fine. You can get back 4640 to us on it. 4641 [The information follows:] ********* COMMITTEE INSERT ******** 4642

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4643 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. I think my time is up now. We 4644 will have more questions. Thank you.

4645 Mr. MILLER. Mr. Chairman, may--

4646 Chairman WAXMAN. Yes.

4647 Mr. MILLER.--I explain, I guess, an answer a little more 4648 fully? We did interview Mr. Swindeman. The report of his 4649 interview is in our investigative report, so we did rely on 4650 those statements from Mr. Swindeman, as well. I would like 4651 to point that out.

4652 Chairman WAXMAN. Thank you.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Wait a minute. I am looking at the list of witnesses and exhibits for today, and I don't see it. I have a number of others. I am looking here at the report of investigation for official use only. This is on page 26, if you want to move to page 26. That is your list of witnesses and exhibits, and I see a number of exhibits but I do not see that.

4660 Mr. MILLER. With the Chair's indulgence may I consult 4661 with--

4662 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Sure. Please. And maybe you
4663 could be confusing Moentrip, who was the acting General
4664 Counsel. Is that what happened?

4665 Mr. MILLER. Okay. I will withdraw.

4666 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. That is fine. For the record, we 4667 just--

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4668 Mr. MILLER. Thank you, Congressman.
4669 Chairman WAXMAN. The gentleman's time has expired.
4670 The Chair will recognize himself to pursue some
4671 questions.

By the way, your investigation of the leak was more 4672 4673 extensive than the White House investigation of the outing of 4674 the CIA agent which was involving national security. They 4675 did nothing. We had a hearing on that a couple weeks ago. 4676 They did absolutely nothing. They didn't ask any of the 4677 employees, didn't ask anybody who had access to this information how it got out, how it was being marketing to 4678 4679 different press people, even though it affected national security and might have threatened the life of a covert CIA 4680 4681 agent.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Maybe they could transfer Mr.
Miller to the White House and everybody would be happy here.
Chairman WAXMAN. Then he could make political
presentations about the upcoming Republican campaigns.

I want to ask you about a statement that you made regarding the SUN contract. You said that Ms. Doan's actions were a breach of GSA's fiduciary duty to U.S. taxpayers. Why did you say this?

Mr. MILLER. Well, because for the first SUN
contract--there were two contracts with SUN prior to that
that were consolidated into one SUN contract. We did a

post-award audit. We did two post-award audits on that and 4693 learned that SUN had overcharged us by \$27 million, so the 4694 4695 first SUN contract cost \$27 million in defective pricing. To 4696 push through another contract with SUN following that is what 4697 I was trying to express was not in the best interest of the 4698 taxpayer, especially when we had done a pre-award audit 4699 indicating that the rates, the discounts that SUN was 4700 offering were not the best discounts to the Government. Thev 4701 were offering commercial customers better discounts than they 4702 were to the U.S. taxpayers.

4703 Chairman WAXMAN. And that was inconsistent with the 4704 rules, wasn't it?

4705 Mr. MILLER. It was. Yes, sir.

4706 Chairman WAXMAN. Now, you also said it is the first time 4707 we are aware of in which an Administration has personally 4708 intervened in this way. Why did you say that?

4709 Mr. MILLER. My staff is not aware of an Administrator
4710 becoming involved in any negotiation in the same way at any
4711 time in the past.

4712 Chairman WAXMAN. Well, she says she wasn't involved.
4713 Mr. MILLER. Our office has not been aware of any
4714 Administrator being involved, even in the way that she says
4715 she was involved, with the e-mails and with talking with the
4716 Commissioner of FAS, and certainly with the word going out
4717 that this was a strategically important contract and needed

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4718 to go through. On August 29th she called an impromptu 4719 meeting with the head of audits of my staff and with my 4720 counsel, and at that meeting she told them how important the 4721 SUN contract was and that it needed to go through. 4722 They attempted to explain the programs with the SUN 4723 negotiation --4724 Chairman WAXMAN. And this was with Ms. Doan, herself? 4725 Mr. MILLER. With Ms. Doan, herself. 4726 Chairman WAXMAN. Never would have thought that. 4727 Mr. MILLER. She cut them off when they tried to explain 4728 the problems with the SUN negotiation. 4729 Chairman WAXMAN. Now, they were trying to explain to her 4730 what her own contracting officers had said, that if they go 4731 ahead with this contract the taxpayers were going to have to 4732 pay millions of dollars in additional funds for a service than otherwise would be the case; is that right? 4733 4734 Mr. MILLER. That is right. 4735 Chairman WAXMAN. So she acted as if she wasn't involved 4736 in this. I guess the question is what does involved mean. 4737 It is sort of like what is a briefing. A briefing seems to be in her mind only a sit-down meeting where charts and 4738 4739 pointers are involved. But you actually had a sit-down meeting with her, or was it a telephone conversation? 4740 4741 Mr. MILLER. Actually, it was the head of my audits, Andy 4742 Pagent.

4743

Chairman WAXMAN. Yes.

4744 Mr. MILLER. He was the Assistant Inspector General for
4745 Auditing and the Counsel for the Inspector General, who went
4746 up and briefed her on this, at very short notice.

4747 Chairman WAXMAN. Yes. Well, if they didn't give this 4748 contract to SUN Microsystems, wouldn't they have had other 4749 bidders come in and have some competition and see if somebody 4750 else could do the job at a cheaper amount?

4751 Mr. MILLER. Mr. Chairman, that was our position. In fact, our Deputy Inspector General suggested that one way to 4752 resolve the impasse was for GSA to team up with NASA, the 4753 4754 NASA soup, to force SUN to give the Government better 4755 discounts, because by joining forces with NASA we have more 4756 leverage on SUN and we would be able to push the discounts to 4757 get greater discounts at a better price for the taxpayer. Chairman WAXMAN. Well, that would have been good. Did 4758

4759 Ms. Doan seem to worry that NASA might provide a contract 4760 with SUN Microsystems and that she wouldn't get the money 4761 that GSA gets for that contract; is that right?

4762 Mr. MILLER. Well, that is what I understand was her 4763 point to the head of my auditing and to the counsel. She did 4764 mention the NASA soup. Now, I wasn't there so I can't say 4765 for sure what was said.

4766 Chairman WAXMAN. Well, the only comment I would make to 4767 that is her job is to protect the taxpayers, not to have the

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4768 taxpayers pay more just so she could get a percentage for her4769 Agency.

Mr. MILLER. Well, at GSA, obviously, if the price goes
up GSA gets a commission, so to speak, a fee, and so the
revenues going into GSA actually increase, but if the price
goes down the fee decreases. By our pre-award audits, we can
actually push. If the contracting officer accepts our
recommendations, the prices can actually go down and it may
result in fewer funds going into GSA.

4777 Chairman WAXMAN. How are NASA soup prices compared to
4778 GSA's? I am told NASA's are often better. Is that the case?
4779 Mr. MILLER. Mr. Chairman, I don't know personally. I
4780 understand that NASA soup may actually adopt GSA's price
4781 negotiations. I'm not sure.

4782 Chairman WAXMAN. Now, this is a schedule that goes out
4783 Government wide, and GSA is supposed to bargain tough, hard-4784 Mr. MILLER. Yes.

4785 Chairman WAXMAN.--and negotiate the lowest prices, 4786 because otherwise that is what everybody in the Government 4787 assumes they have done when they go out and take advantage of 4788 a contract negotiated by GSA; isn't that correct?

4789 Mr. MILLER. That is correct. And it does have an impact 4790 to resellers, as well. The price negotiation drives the 4791 price, the discount that resellers of the same product sell 4792 to Government agencies, so it can have a massive impact.

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4793 Chairman WAXMAN. Well, that involved money. Now let me 4794 ask you about a third statement you made involving Edie 4795 Fraser contracting.

4796 Mr. MILLER. Yes, sir.

4797 Chairman WAXMAN. And I gather that didn't go through, 4798 but in your testimony you said that the record paints quite a 4799 different picture than what Administrator Doan told the OIG 4800 investigators. This sounds like you are saying that she was 4801 not candid. Why did you say this?

4802 Mr. MILLER. Well, as I was trying to explain to the 4803 Ranking Member, but I didn't get a chance to explain, was the 4804 allegation came in. We thought the agent would simply 4805 interview the Administrator and we would close the report, 4806 write a letter or report to the White House liaison, but 4807 instead she told a story to our agents that could not 4808 possibly be true. As a result, we had to go forward with our 4809 investigation of the Administrator.

4810 Now, several days later her attorney sent a letter
4811 trying to explain that the statements she made were
4812 incorrect, inaccurate.

4813 Chairman WAXMAN. What did she say that was not true? 4814 Mr. MILLER. Well, as I recall, I wasn't actually at the 4815 interview, but what the agents told me about the interview 4816 was she denied signing the contract and she actually folded 4817 up the paper to say that it wasn't this, it was something

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4818 like something else, and she folded it up, and when you put those pieces of paper together you get two paragraphs that 4819 4820 have the same number, and it just was not a plausible story. 4821 Other statements are statements that it wasn't a contract, that she also minimized her relationship with Ms. 4822 4823 Fraser.

4824 Chairman WAXMAN. What is the significance? I know she 4825 said a lot today that it wasn't really a contract. What is 4826 significant? Why does she keep on denying this is a 4827 contract? She said it was a draft outline of the work to be 4828 performed, but she has difficulty saying that the document 4829 was a binding contract. I find it surprising a person coming from a business background, as Ms. Doan does, would have so 4830 4831 much trouble understanding whether or not she has entered 4832 into a contract. Was it a contract or was it not a contract? 4833 Mr. MILLER. I believe it was a contract, Mr. Chairman. 4834 also, the General Counsel at the time, Allen Swindeman, 4835 believed it was a contract, as did now the Acting General Counsel, Lenny Loewentritt. In fact, that was the reason why 4836 4837 there had to be a letter of termination. In fact, when asked 4838 about the letter of termination, I believe Ms. Doan said that 4839 that was to correct the perception on the part of Ms. Fraser that there was a contract, when, in fact, we saw e-mails back 4840 4841 and forth between her and John Felts after the termination 4842 letter went out where John Felts says, Well, I will have to

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4843 tell Edie that we have more work to do on our end to get this 4844 moving forward.

4845 Chairman WAXMAN. You started to say before that she 4846 minimized her relationship with Ms. Fraser. What is the 4847 significance of that?

Mr. MILLER. Well, over a three-year period Ms. Doan has
paid over a half million dollars to Edie Fraser's Public
Affairs Group, to Ms. Fraser for consulting and other-Chairman WAXMAN. That is interesting, because under
questioning from the Republicans they made the statement that
Ms. Doan--so Ms. Doan did pay money to her, so she was
working for Ms. Doan?

4855 Mr. MILLER. That is correct. It was for sponsorships 4856 and consulting. The consulting services was to promote Ms. 4857 Doan personally and as President of NTMI, and the fee for 4858 that was \$20,000 a month, and it is interesting to note that 4859 the fee that Ms. Doan fixed was \$20,000, and she said that 4860 she decided that on her second or third day at GSA.

4861 Chairman WAXMAN. We are told over and over again \$20,000 4862 is a small am the of money, and, besides, it didn't happen. 4863 She didn't actually enter the contract. So do you think it 4864 is a big deal or not?

4865 Mr. MILLER. Mr. Chairman, I think what the problem is, 4866 as I explained, we thought that our agents would interview 4867 her, she would accept responsibility and admit the mistake.

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4868 Instead she did not. She told a story and it forced us to 4869 continue to investigate. It forced us to issue subpoenas. 4870 We had to wait for documents to come back on subpoenas. 4871 I think the issue is that of candor, of accepting 4872 responsibility, of being truthful with law enforcement. She 4873 mentioned that -- and I think she said publicly -- that she 4874 worked hard to terminate the contract, the relationship, 4875 when, in fact, the e-mails and the documents that I believe 4876 are in the Committee's possession show that she was still 4877 trying to get this going as late as, I believe, early 4878 September, September 4th or so. 4879 I mentioned the August e-mail where--4880 Chairman WAXMAN. That is astounding. You are saying she 4881 wasn't candid with law enforcement. Are you saying law enforcement is your independent investigation? 4882 4883 Mr. MILLER. Yes. I meant our agents. 4884 Chairman WAXMAN. Your agents? 4885 Mr. MILLER. Yes. 4886 Chairman WAXMAN. Okay. 4887 Mr. MILLER. And the statement from her attorney admits 4888 that she made mis-statements to our agents. That explains 4889 the need for the supplemental statement. 4890 Chairman WAXMAN. Yes. Can you explain the leadership 4891 role the GSA Administrator plays in the Federal acquisition 4892 community and why it is important for her to demonstrate a

4893 familiarity with the Federal acquisition regulations? Your 4894 investigation concluded that when she awarded this contract 4895 she ignored several of the most basic rules of Federal 4896 contracts, such as a principle that contracts should be 4897 awarded on a competitive basis.

4898 Mr. MILLER. Yes, Mr. Chairman. As head of the premier 4899 civilian procurement agency, it is important that the chief 4900 of that agency follow the procurement rules. As Inspector 4901 General, our job is to make sure that everyone follows those 4902 rules and procedures.

4903 Chairman WAXMAN. That is a basic principle of Government 4904 contracting that you award a contract based on what is best 4905 for the Government, not based on your friendship with 4906 somebody; isn't that a correct statement?

Mr. MILLER. That is correct, Mr. Chairman. And, you
know, at the time, Public Affairs Group was owned, I believe
ultimately, by General Electric, so it was a subsidiary of
General Electric at the time.

4911 Chairman WAXMAN. Now let me just concluded, because I
4912 see the yellow light is on. You raised these concerns. It
4913 sounds like you had a pretty acrimonious relationship with
4914 her. You didn't feel she was being candid with you and your
4915 Agency, even though she has an obligation to be. Her
4916 response was to try to cut your budget, wasn't it?
4917 Mr. MILLER. Mr. Chairman, there were efforts on the part

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4918 of the Administrator to try and cut our--actually, prevent us 4919 from presenting our budget to OMB, and she actually stopped 4920 and said I had a proposal to add criminal investigators, and 4921 she simply would not--

4922 Chairman WAXMAN. You felt that was a recrimination 4923 against your criticism? Yes or no, and then I have one last 4924 question before my time is up.

4925 Mr. MILLER. I don't want to go there.

4926 Chairman WAXMAN. Okay. The last question I want to ask you is: are you concerned about the slides that involved a 4927 4928 political presentation on the premises of GSA that was 4929 Republican partisan from the political person at the White 4930 House about how people ought to get involved, or at least 4931 know what is happening for Republicans, and about her statement that a number of witnesses gave to us that she 4932 4933 said, How can we help our candidates in this next election?

Mr. MILLER. As I have said, a confidential source told
our agents all that, and it was very concerning. We did our
duty, which was to refer to the appropriate investigatory
agency, the Office of Special Counsel.

4938 Chairman WAXMAN. Do you know whether everybody does 4939 this? It sounded to me from her defenders was that everybody 4940 does it, all the agencies do that, all Administrations do 4941 that. Do you know that to be the case, and does that mean 4942 everybody violates the law?

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4943	Mr. MILLER. I certainly hope that is not the case, Mr.
4944	Chairman. As Inspector General, I have sworn an oath to
4945	follow the law. As Administrator, she has sworn an oath to
4946	follow the law. I hope that other officials follow the law.
4947	Chairman WAXMAN. Thank you very much.
4948	We will now proceed to Mr. Platts for five minutes.
4949	Mr. PLATTS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
4950	First, Inspector General Miller, I appreciate your
4951	testimony and also your service at GSA.
4952	Mr. MILLER. Thank you, Congressman.
4953	Mr. PLATTS. I apologize for being in three other places
4954	at the same time and having to run back out of here, but I
4955	know the one issue was raised about the documents that were
4956	shared with my Committee staff and then of the same topic was
4957	addressed in a Post story.
4958	One, I appreciate the Inspector General having met with
4959	my staff, as we sought to, I would say, take a similar
4960	approach as Senator Grassley to try to diminish the problems
4961	that were between the IG's office, Administrator, and my
4962	staff had conversations with OMB, with Clay Johnson's office
4963	to try to resolve these issues.

4964 Mr. MILLER. Thank you.

4965 Mr. PLATTS. But I wanted to make clear that, in the
4966 documents that were shared by you--and I appreciated your
4967 working with us--that, neither prior to the story being

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4968 published or since have any of my staff that were part of 4969 that meeting or I shared any of those documents with the Post 4970 or any other journalist to address this issue through the 4971 media. I think it is important that we understand our efforts were in a similar vein to Senator Grassley to just trying to 4972 4973 have a good Government resolution of the issue. 4974 Mr. MILLER. Sure. 4975 Mr. PLATTS. But I do appreciate your service and efforts 4976 in taking your responsibilities seriously. 4977 I apologize that I am not able to stay. I am going to yield the balance of my time to the Ranking Member. 4978 4979 Mr. MILLER. Thank you. 4980 Mr. PLATTS. Thank you. 4981 Mr. MILLER. Congressman, I appreciate your help and your 4982 staff's help on these issues. Thank you. 4983 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Mr. Miller, let me ask who else 4984 did you brief besides Mr. Platts, because you threw his 4985 office out there. Did you brief Mr. Grassley's staff at that 4986 time? 4987 Mr. MILLER. I believe I--it is hard for me to 4988 reconstruct. Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Well, we are trying to 4989 reconstruct where the documents came from, and Mr. Platts has 4990 4991 said he didn't. Did you brief Mr. Waxman's staff at that 4992 point?

Mr. MILLER. I don't believe I did. You are asking me to 4993 4994 think back from July through --4995 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Correct. If you don't remember, 4996 you don't remember. 4997 Mr. MILLER. When did the story come out? December? 4998 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Correct. 4999 Mr. MILLER. And I met with Oversight, I met with Senate Oversight staff, Homeland Security, and Government Affairs. 5000 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Let me ask you this. You were on 5001 5002 the invite list for the January 26th brown bag lunch. Did 5003 you attend? 5004 Mr. MILLER. I did not. 5005 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Did anyone from your office 5006 attend? Were there any Schedule C's that attended? 5007 Mr. MILLER. No, sir. 5008 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. You made a referral to the Office 5009 of Special Counsel, correct? 5010 Mr. MILLER. That is correct. 5011 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Did the referral include the White House for the slides, or did you just include 5012 5013 Administrator Doan? Mr. MILLER. The referral referred the allegations. As I 5014 understand it, a confidential source talked to agents in my 5015 5016 office. They contacted agents at the Office of Special 5017 Counsel--

5018 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Correct. I am just saying--5019 Mr. MILLER. -- telling them what the allegations were. 5020 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. In terms of the allegations, were 5021 the allegations directed at the Administrator or were they also to Mr. Jennings at the White House who gave the 5022 5023 political slide that has been the subject today? 5024 Mr. MILLER. I would have to go back and look at the 5025 file, Congressman. I believe I gave a copy of the referral 5026 to the chairman on his written request. 5027 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. We have not received a copy of the referral, Mr. Waxman, from your staff. It would be 5028 5029 helpful to have that. 5030 My question here is was this labeled just at 5031 Administrator Doan or was it the White House, as well? And 5032 you don't remember? 5033 Mr. MILLER. I don't know, Congressman. 5034 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Can you ask your staff? Would 5035 anyone here know? 5036 Mr. MILLER. I think --5037 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. So you supplied it to Chairman 5038 Waxman's staff, but you haven't provided it to us, basically? Mr. MILLER. Well, the chairman wrote a letter to me 5039 5040 asking for it. 5041 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Right. And he copied me. 5042 Mr. MILLER. I don't know if he copied you or not.

5043 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Generally you do.

5044 Chairman WAXMAN. Yes, we always copies letters to you 5045 and we always share the information we get in response to 5046 those letters, so I can't explain it.

5047 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Okay. We would like to know 5048 that.

5049 Chairman WAXMAN. We will check our files.

5050 Mr. MILLER. I will provide a copy of the referral to 5051 you.

5052 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. I just want to know if it is 5053 aimed at Administrator Doan or if it is also aimed at the 5054 White House, who, after all, called the meeting. It was not 5055 called by Administrator Doan, correct?

5056 Mr. MILLER. Congressman Davis, I wouldn't say that it 5057 was directed to any one person or another person.

5058 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. So you are not even saying here 5059 it was directed at the Administrator?

5060 Mr. MILLER. What we got were credible allegations that 5061 appeared to be a violation of the Hatch Act. My 5062 investigations office referred it over to the Office of 5063 Special Counsel.

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. But the media reports and the other allegations seemed directed just at her, and she didn't call the meeting, and at the same time she didn't make the presentation, which if you have watched today has really been

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5068 the subject of some controversy, whether the Administration 5069 was right to come in and make these presentations in a 5070 Federal building. She wasn't the one who originated this. 5071 So my question would be--and I guess this goes over to Mr. Waxman--is there a retaliation going on or anything. Was 5072 5073 this directed at her or was it directed at the whole 5074 presentation, and you don't know the answer to that is what 5075 you are telling me? You made a referral to the Justice 5076 Department or just the -- not to Justice, or did you just make 5077 it--

5078 Mr. MILLER. Office of Special Counsel.

5079 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Just to the Special Counsel on 5080 Hatch Act?

5081 Mr. MILLER. Yes. As I explained earlier--I think you 5082 may have been out of the room--I have to do my duty as 5083 Inspector General.

5084 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. I agreed with that. I am just 5085 asking if that included the White House or just the 5086 Administrator.

5087 Mr. MILLER. When we get credible allegations in, we 5088 refer them to the appropriate investigatory agency.

5089 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. I understand, but my question is, 5090 the allegations, if you look at this, would have included 5091 both, would they not?

5092 Mr. MILLER. Well, as I understand it, the Hatch Act

5093 issue is within the sole jurisdiction of the Office of 5094 Special Counsel.

5095 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Correct. But the referral--5096 Chairman WAXMAN. Mr. Jennings could well have been 5097 exempt from the Hatch Act.

5098 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. He may or may not have. Do you 5099 know if Mr. Jennings was exempt from the Hatch Act or not? 5100 Mr. MILLER. I am not an expert in the Hatch Act.

5101 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Exactly my point. Actually, Ms. 5102 Doan has some exemptions under the Hatch Act, as well, as the 5103 Administrator.

5104 Mr. MILLER. The Office of Special Counsel is, and that 5105 is why, when we--

5106 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. But you understand my point. My 5107 point is was this inclusive of the entire presentation and 5108 the slides from the Administration, or was this just about 5109 Ms. Doan, and you don't know the answer?

5110 Mr. MILLER. I think what happened was someone told our 5111 agents that this happened, it looked like it was wrong, and 5112 that it may violate--

5113 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. What happened?

5114 Mr. MILLER. I think the allegation--and, again, I wish I 5115 had the referral in front of me, but--

5116 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. You knew this was the subject 5117 when you came here today, so I am--

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5118 Mr. MILLER. Well, as I understand it, I also knew that 5119 my office was not very involved in this, that we handed it 5120 off to the Office of Special Counsel. But, as I understand, 5121 the confidential source said that there was a presentation on 5122 some sort of election results, maybe. I don't quite remember 5123 what--then, again, I would rather just go back and check the 5124 documents and then respond.

5125 Chairman WAXMAN. We will hold the record open to receive 5126 it.

5127 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. I just wanted to get him while he 5128 was under oath though to get it, because when he sends them 5129 later I don't know if that applies, and I just want to make 5130 sure you don't know the answers right now. You will get back 5131 to us?

5132 Mr. MILLER. Yes, I will get back to you.

5133 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Okay.

5134 [The information follows:]

5135 ******** COMMITTEE INSERT ********

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5136 Chairman WAXMAN. Mr. Issa? 5137 Mr. ISSA. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 5138 I am going to continue a little bit along that line. 5139 When you were speaking to Chairman Waxman and you referred to 5140 law enforcement officers--5141 Mr. MILLER. Yes? Mr. ISSA.--now, that term is really a term from your 5142 years as a U.S. Attorney, Assistant U.S. Attorney, isn't it? 5143 5144 And, in fact, that is really your career? You are a career 5145 prosecutor, you are not an accountant? 5146 Mr. MILLER. No, sir. 5147 Mr. ISSA. You don't understand how to deal with 5148 bureaucracies, where the problems are? I know you are 5149 smiling, but I want to understand this. You are not just about the Hatch Act. In fact, that is not within your 5150 5151 jurisdiction. Your jurisdiction is supposed to be to find 5152 the waste, fraud, and abuse within the GSA, right? 5153 Mr. MILLER. Correct, and to investigate credible 5154 allegations of wrongdoing. 5155 Mr. ISSA. Okay. And it seems like we are spending an 5156 awful lot of time on a \$20,000 non-contract, but let me just run you through a couple of questions here, because I want to 5157 understand it related to Administrator Doan. 5158 5159 She could have taken \$200,000 worth of her employees'

5160 time and had them do research and prepare and try to consult,

5161 right? She has the ability to have those people work for her 5162 and do what she needs to do?

5163 Mr. MILLER. Congressman, first of all, I do believe it 5164 was a contract. I believe that is what the General Counsel 5165 then concluded, Allen Swindeman, and also the acting--

5166 Mr. ISSA. I appreciate that, but--

5167 Mr. MILLER.--the acting General Counsel, Lenny 5168 Loewentritt.

5169 Mr. ISSA. Right. I appreciate that, but that is a 5170 personal service contract, if we are going to put the word 5171 contract on it. It was a request for a service that would 5172 cost \$20,000 which she wanted done in order to further the 5173 office's ability to execute things. And I want to simply ask 5174 you, she could have, in fact, gone to her people and said, go 5175 study and read and spend \$200,000 accomplishing the same 5176 thing? Wouldn't have been a problem at all, right? She has 5177 the ability to use her own resources, millions and millions 5178 of dollars worth of human beings' time, to do that? As the 5179 IG, I am assuming you can answer that with come credible 5180 validity.

5181 Mr. MILLER. Well, Congressman, I would assume that she 5182 would also look at the in-house capability to do that job, as 5183 well--

5184Mr. ISSA. Right. I asked you a question--5185Mr. MILLER.--and she would follow all the procurement

5186 rules. 5187 Mr. ISSA. No. You know, the point is I am asking the questions, I would like the answers to my questions. 5188 5189 Mr. MILLER. Sure. 5190 Mr. ISSA. I believe that you have been on a witch hunt 5191 and that this is, in fact, an IG who, instead of looking at the waste, fraud, and abuse, is going after one person, a big 5192 5193 prosecution, if you will, of one individual, and that is my 5194 opinion. We will see in the long run how it pans out. But I do see \$20,000 in an Agency of \$54 billion, and I am going 5195 5196 back to my questions. You are not really comfortable looking 5197 into the nuances of all the contracts. You picked this 5198 \$20,000 service agreement in order to go after; is that 5199 correct? 5200 Mr. MILLER. That is not correct, Congressman. I would 5201 really like the opportunity to try and explain to you--Mr. ISSA. My time is very short. It is five minutes, so 5202 5203 when I ask a question that is a yes or no I will take a yes 5204 or no, and you are welcome to it, or a little beyond that. 5205 Mr. MILLER. Absolutely not. It is not a witch hunt. 5206 Mr. ISSA. Okay. What other areas are you working on in 5207 the \$54 billion that is being spent by the GSA? 5208 Mr. MILLER. Well, we recently settled a case with Oracle and PeopleSoft for \$98.5 million. That was settled in 5209 5210 October. I am Vice Chair of the National Procurement Fraud

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5211 | Working Group in the Department of Justice.

5212 Mr. ISSA. Is that as a result of your position, or is 5213 that something you had before you came to this position? 5214 Mr. MILLER. I was appointed to that when it was formed 5215 in October.

Mr. ISSA. You know, look, I have no question you are a fine prosecutor with a great history of being able to do those. I am just trying to understand why a mistake which was corrected by the GSA, itself, the contract, if you call it that, was canceled, even though there is nothing in that contract that says it would be canceled, it was canceled without a penny being spent.

5223 My real question is: when you said earlier if Ms. Doan 5224 had said, oh, I made a mistake, you implied that that would have been the end of it. Now, in your years as a prosecutor, 5225 5226 do cases end if you think they are criminal or wrong? Do 5227 they end because somebody says I am so sorry? And her belief 5228 that it wasn't a contract and she didn't do anything wrong, 5229 does that somehow change the facts on the ground for you, because that is what you said here under oath today was that, 5230 in fact, if she had just apologized it would have been okay, 5231 5232 if she had just admitted that.

5233 Mr. MILLER. Well, Congressman, first of all, I didn't 5234 say if she just apologized. My point was that this was a 5235 credible allegation. We have a responsibility. I don't have 5236 a choice. I have a duty to follow up on credible allegations 5237 of wrongdoing. This was a credible allegation. It came 5238 complete with documents.

5239 Mr. ISSA. Because my yellow light is on, I just want to 5240 do one follow-up. She, in fact, said she didn't think it was 5241 a contract. As such, she wasn't apologetic for it, and that 5242 is what caused you to continue on with the prosecution, is 5243 what you said here today.

5244 Chairman WAXMAN. The gentleman's time is expired. You 5245 will be given opportunity now to answer the question.

5246 Mr. MILLER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I think that that 5247 is not what I said, Congressman. What I said and what I 5248 meant was that we have a duty to follow up on allegations. I 5249 went up to her personally and say, you know, I'm sorry, but 5250 our agents are going to have to come and interview you. We 5251 have this complaint.

5252 We fully expected that she would be totally forthcoming 5253 with our agents and that that would explain the whole matter, 5254 there would not be any other leads to follow up on, and that 5255 we would just close it out. I was actually wondering who do 5256 I write the letter to--is it the White House liaison--because this does not happen very often. And the agents come back 5257 and said no, she told a story that they did not believe was a 5258 5259 correct story, an accurate story, and then we had to make a decision. We had the follow up to see, gee, what are the 5260

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5261 facts here. I do have an obligation to follow the facts. 5262 Chairman WAXMAN. Thank you. 5263 Mr. MILLER. And no more, but no less. 5264 Chairman WAXMAN. Thank you, Mr. Issa. Mr. Mica, I think you are next. 5265 5266 Mr. MICA. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 5267 Sorry I didn't get to hear all of it. I heard your testimony, but not all of the questions. I hope I don't 5268 5269 repeat any. 5270 Mr. Miller, one of your responsibilities as the Inspector General is to look at things that aren't going 5271 5272 right or problems with contracts within GSA; is that correct? 5273 Mr. MILLER. Generally, yes, sir. 5274 Mr. MICA. Were you aware of, like, say, in a human resources situation, it may or may not have been important to 5275 5276 you, but were you aware of some of the failings as far as GSA 5277 in getting--I guess they were going to get a failing score or 5278 they got a failing score on some of the diversity issues in 5279 regard to GSA. Were you aware of that? 5280 Mr. MILLER. We were aware of that issue and that 5281 problem, yes, sir, and --Mr. MICA. Did you investigate it, or was there any 5282 5283 review by you? Did you ever see the memo that was referred 5284 to that Ms. Doan did not read but she was briefed on, by 5285 Mendosa?

5286 Mr. MILLER. Congressman, I am not exactly sure what you 5287 are referring to, but there is an SBA score card--5288 Mr. MICA. Yes. Mr. MILLER.--that I believe came out in December, 2006, 5289 5290 that gave an F rating to the GSA. 5291 Mr. MICA. A failing. But, again, this wouldn't be a 5292 concern, but you were not aware of it? Mr. MILLER. To the extent that we are part of the 5293 Agency, we are concerned about that. It doesn't fall within 5294 5295 the mission of the Office of the Inspector General. 5296 Mr. MICA. Well, again, I think one of the things that 5297 Administrator Doan, her concern, and probably rightfully so, 5298 an African American female Administrator of Agency, one of 5299 her concerns was to come in here in this position from the 5300 private sector and see the public sector getting a failing 5301 score, or about to get a failing score, maybe for a second 5302 time. I guess she was really trying to push this contract to 5303 get a review through this group. Was it Diversity Best Practices, Ms. Fraser? She was really pushing that, wasn't 5304 5305 she? 5306 Mr. MILLER. Congressman, for her to be involved in those issues is perfectly fine. I understand that. Our concern 5307

5308 was we got an allegation--

5309 Mr. MICA. But she was trying--

5310 Chairman WAXMAN. Would the gentleman yield? Just one

5311 point for the record.

5312 Mr. MICA. Yes.

5313 Chairman WAXMAN. That failing score wasn't something 5314 that motivated it. That failing score was after this 5315 contract had fallen through.

5316 Mr. MILLER. That is what I understand, Mr. Chairman. 5317 Mr. MICA. It is my understanding that GSA already had a 5318 reputation for a failing score, that this isn't like a new 5319 revelation, and she was briefed that they were going to get a failing score and was trying to do something about it, but it 5320 5321 wasn't very important to you, but she was really pushing this 5322 because I think even the General Counsel had advised her. 5323 She had signed off on this contract, but was the contract 5324 executed, fully executed?

5325 Mr. MILLER. I believe it was, Congressman.

5326 Mr. MICA. But she was really pushing this to get this 5327 diversity study? And you advised her not to, or was that the 5328 General Counsel, Mr. Allen Swindeman--is it Swindeman?

5329 Mr. MILLER. I believe Allen Swindeman strongly counseled 5330 her--

5331Mr. MICA. You did not advise her? It was Mr. Swindeman?5332Mr. MILLER. That would have been the General Counsel's5333role.

5334 Mr. MICA. Okay. And Mr. Swindeman or the General 5335 Counsel allegedly told the Committee that they had evidence

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5336 that he repeatedly advised that the contract be terminated; 5337 is that --5338 Mr. MILLER. That is my understanding. 5339 Mr. MICA. But you never advised that. Did he advise you 5340 that something was wrong? 5341 Mr. MILLER. Mr. Swindeman? 5342 Mr. MICA. Yes, the General Counsel. I don't think Dorn 5343 was going to call you. 5344 Mr. MILLER. Well, it would not have been his role. He 5345 did not advise us. 5346 Mr. MICA. Well, how did you find out, then? 5347 Mr. MILLER. We received a complaint, an anonymous 5348 complaint with documents of the contract. 5349 Mr. MICA. And was that before or after? 5350 Mr. MILLER. I guess it would be after the contract was 5351 signed. 5352 Mr. MICA. After the contract was signed. 5353 Mr. MILLER. I don't recall the precise date. I can look 5354 it up. 5355 Mr. MICA. But when did the General Counsel contact you? 5356 Mr. MILLER. Pardon me? 5357 Mr. MICA. Did the General Counsel contact you? 5358 Mr. MILLER. No. 5359 Mr. MICA. It was an anonymous? Mr. MILLER. It was an anonymous--5360

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5361 Mr. MICA. Okay. Then did you contact him? 5362 Mr. MILLER. Who?

5363 Mr. MICA. The General Counsel. You get a complaint--5364 Mr. MILLER. Our agency--

5365 Mr. MICA. First thing I would have done is call the 5366 General Counsel and say, I have got a complaint here that she 5367 is trying to push this contract that has been signed, and you 5368 advised her against it. Did you talk to him?

5369 Chairman WAXMAN. The gentleman's time has expired, but 5370 please answer the question.

5371 Mr. MILLER. My agents did interview Mr. Swindeman. They 5372 also interviewed Mr. Loewentritt of the General Counsel's 5373 office. Our obligation was to follow up on the contract, on 5374 the allegation. We had the allegation, the complaint, and 5375 the contract. We then, our agents interviewed the 5376 Administrator.

5377 Chairman WAXMAN. Mr. Shays?

5378 Mr. SHAYS. Thank you.

5379 Mr. Miller, I believe the Inspector Generals have a 5380 vital role to play. I get uncomfortable when I think they 5381 focus on minutia and then ignore big pictures. Frankly, you 5382 know, this is a--

5383 Mr. MICA. Could you yield for just--

5384 Mr. SHAYS. Let me just make my points.

5385 So I have a problem with that. And the second issue I

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5386 have a problem with is I have a problem if I feel like an 5387 Inspector General is just doing something to got you, and so 5388 when I look at this meeting that I think never should have 5389 happened and I know that you were invited, what I find 5390 curious is why someone didn't go to the chief of staff of the 5391 Secretary or the Administrator and say, you know, this is a 5392 really dumb idea. I think it borders on a bad meeting. Was 5393 it just that you knew there was a meeting but you didn't know what was going to happen in the meeting? 5394 5395 Mr. MILLER. That is correct. I get e-mails for these 5396 brown bag lunches all the time because I am a Presidential 5397 appointee appointed by President Bush, and I am copied on all 5398 of those--5399 Mr. SHAYS. You didn't know what the purpose of the 5400 meeting was? 5401 Mr. MILLER. I looked at the e-mail briefly, and went on 5402 to my other e-mails. 5403 Mr. SHAYS. So the answer is, like, other people come before you looked at the--but did it make clear in the e-mail 5404 5405 what it was about? 5406 Mr. MILLER. I think what I read was that it was Mr. 5407 Jennings coming over for a brown bag. 5408 Mr. SHAYS. That is it? 5409 Mr. MILLER. That is all I recall. 5410 Mr. SHAYS. Okay. The next issue I just want to ask you,

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5411 with the issue of the contract, the diversity contract, 5412 basically I look at it and say no contract, no service 5413 performed, no money transferred, end of story. What am I 5414 missing in this?

5415 Mr. MILLER. Thank you for asking that. I think what you 5416 are missing is when our agents interviewed the Administrator 5417 they received a story that couldn't possibly be true, which 5418 forced us to continue to investigate to find out what 5419 happened.

5420 Mr. SHAYS. To me, no contract, no money spent, no 5421 service performed. That is the way I look at it.

5422 But let me yield to my colleague, the Ranking Member. 5423 Did you want to quickly get something?

5424 Mr. MICA. The Committee doesn't have the Special 5425 Counsel's memorandum, the--

5426 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Yes, do you have notes from the 5427 interview of Mr. Swindeman?

5428 Mr. MILLER. I believe we do.

5429 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Could you make those available? 5430 And here is why I ask. Our information--we interviewed 5431 him--is that he wrote one memo to the Administrator. There 5432 are no phone calls and no e-mails. That is at variance with 5433 what you are representing. We just need to see if we can get 5434 that squared.

5435 Let me ask a couple other questions.

5436You assumed your duties as the GSA IG in July, 2005?5437Mr. MILLER. Correct.

5438 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. And in June, 2006, Administrator Doan assumed her duties. The GSA at that point was 5439 experiencing serious fiscal challenges, with the possibility 5440 5441 of Anti-Deficiency Act violations; is that correct? 5442 Mr. MILLER. Congressman, I don't believe that is 5443 correct. I believe they were running a surplus of over--I 5444 would have to check into it, but I believe they have always 5445 run a surplus, and last year it was over \$400 million.

5446 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Okay. So you don't think that 5447 there were serious fiscal challenges?

5448 Mr. MILLER. There are always serious fiscal challenges, 5449 and I applaud Administrator Doan's attempts to exercise 5450 fiscal discipline.

5451 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Did you take any actions in your 5452 office to address the fiscal challenges, or did you feel that 5453 wasn't your problem, that was part of the rest of GSA? I 5454 guess that goes to the nub of it.

5455 Mr. MILLER. No. We obviously had a very serious fiscal 5456 problem, because Administrator Doan informed us that our 2007 5457 money was going to be terminated, and so all of the sudden we 5458 had \$5 million or \$2.5 million--

5459 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. I know she--

5460 Mr. MILLER.--taken out of our current operating budget.

5461 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. But had you done anything else to streamline your budget in response to her request to tighten 5462 the budget? 5463 5464 Mr. MILLER. Well, we tightened all around. We had to 5465 tighten. 5466 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. What did you do to tighten? 5467 Mr. MILLER. Pardon me? Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. What did you do in your office to 5468 5469 tighten the belt? 5470 Mr. MILLER. Well, we reduced hiring. We actually looked 5471 at--5472 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Did you put a freeze on? 5473 Mr. MILLER. -- two dozen auditors were in danger of RIF, 5474 of reduction in force, so we were looking at those. Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. That was under her rules, not 5475 5476 under yours. What did you do? What did you do? 5477 Mr. MILLER. No, that was my--I mean, I was looking at 5478 how to manage the office without the reimbursable monies. 5479 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. But, aside from the reimbursable monies, notwithstanding that, if the Agency was undergoing 5480 5481 fiscal constraints did you come forward and say, Look I don't 5482 think you need to take away that money. I will do these to reduce operations. That is what I am asking. As a loyal 5483 5484 member of the team --5485 Mr. MILLER. Okay. I understand your question now. Ι

5486 believe that I am duty bound, as an Inspector General, to 5487 make sure that we have the resources to do our job.

5488 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Doesn't everybody? So the answer 5489 is you didn't do anything?

5490 Mr. MILLER. May I explain?

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Yes, but my red light is on. I just wanted to make sure. You can answer that, but also do this. I think every Agency head feels it is their job to do that, and if everybody does that, when the Administrator comes down and says, Can you tighten up, can you let this go, you are all going to say no and you are all going to complain.

5498 Mr. MILLER. I believe the point you are missing here is 5499 we have a separate appropriate.

5500 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Right.

5501 Mr. MILLER. The money that goes to our office is a 5502 separate appropriate. Our request or our budget requests are 5503 attached to the GSA budget. Never before has any Administrator said no, we are not going to pass it on to OMB 5504 5505 and to the Congress or extensively edited what we said, 5506 taking out phrases like fraud, waste, and abuse. So it is 5507 not coming out of the GSA budget. It is a separate budget. 5508 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Are you the only separate line in 5509 GSA? Aren't there other agencies that have separate lines in 5510 the budget, as well?

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5511 Chairman WAXMAN. That will have to be the last question. 5512 Would you answer it, and then I think we have to conclude 5513 this hearing.

5514 Mr. MILLER. I believe other IGs have separate 5515 appropriations.

5516 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. But within GSA are there other 5517 separate lines of appropriation?

5518 Mr. MILLER. I do not know the answer to that, 5519 Congressman.

5520 One very last point is that the \$5 million that the 5521 Administrator was taking was still going to be spent. It was 5522 not a budget-cutting issue at all. It was going to be spent. 5523 It was simply going to be spent on small contractors. So it 5524 was not a budget issue.

5525 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Let me--

5526 Chairman WAXMAN. Thank you very much.

5527 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Mr. Chairman, let me just ask if 5528 we could keep the record open on that just to clarify some 5529 questions and inconsistencies.

5530 Chairman WAXMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Miller. We 5531 appreciate your testimony. We may have further questions 5532 that we will submit in writing to you, and we would 5533 appreciate a response in writing for the record.

[The information follows:]

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5536 Mr. MILLER. Thank you, Mr. Chair. Thank you, Ranking 5537 Member. Thank you, members.

5538 Chairman WAXMAN. Let me just conclude, and I will give 5539 Mr. Davis a chance if he wants to say anything to conclude, 5540 but I think that the basic rules of Government is that 5541 Federal agencies are not to be used for Government 5542 politicking. The rules for anybody heading up an agency is 5543 that they have to follow the rules that say that Government 5544 resources are not to be used for partisan politics, they 5545 can't give no-bid contracts to their friends, and they should 5546 listen to their career staff and auditors when it involves 5547 millions of dollars out of taxpayers' pockets.

5548 I just want to close by pointing out what Senator 5549 Grassley said. This investigation is not only worthwhile, 5550 but that we would be ignoring our Constitutional oversight 5551 responsibilities if we didn't hold these hearings. I think 5552 that it is clear in my mind that Senator Grassley was 5553 correct. GSA involves billions of dollars, and if we are 5554 seeing millions of dollars squandered I think we ought to 5555 speak up about it, because if money is being squandered it 5556 comes out of the taxpayers' pockets, and it may be millions today but it could be billions tomorrow if people just don't 5557 5558 follow the rules.

5559 Thank you.

5560

Mr. Davis, any concluding statements?

Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Mr. Waxman, let me just say of 5561 5562 course it is appropriate oversight for this Committee to look 5563 at how all of our agencies, including GSA, operate. I would 5564 have basically favored a hearing today that would have been more programmatic in terms of looking at the issues in GSA. 5565 5566 There are a lot of issues there. We have got the merger of 5567 FTS and FSS and how that has operated. I think the issue in 5568 terms of SUN Microsystems could be an interesting exercise. 5569 But I think it has become way too personalized in this 5570 particular case.

Mr. Miller, I hope that you and the Administrator can 5571 patch it up and work together. We count on everybody working 5572 5573 as a team. That clearly hasn't happened in this case. I am 5574 not going to throw brick bats in terms of who is to blame, 5575 but if we leave here today, if we can focus and recognize you 5576 have a reporting responsibility to her and you also have 5577 independence, and balancing that appropriately is something 5578 we rely on you all to do. When it gets to this stage, I think it becomes way too personal. 5579

Let me just say, in terms of Government politicking, I don't know how you take politics out of Government, but we will look at these issues as we move forward. Mr. Waxman and I have talked about some issues raised today that are not personal to the Administrator. But I can tell you Cabinet officers are all the time out campaigning for and against

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5586 members. I am sure their staffs are part of that. I had a 5587 Cabinet Secretary come in and campaign against me in my 5588 reelection in 1996. I am not sure what the appropriate 5589 balance is. We will explore this in future hearings.

5590 I thank you for being here.

5591 Chairman WAXMAN. We do have laws.

5592 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. Yes, we do.

5593 Chairman WAXMAN. And the laws say that you can't, on 5594 Government time, at Government resources, go out and 5595 campaign. When Cabinet Secretaries go out and campaign, they 5596 do it at the expense of the campaign. It may be personal to 5597 Ms. Doan because she is the one heading this Agency, but we 5598 have had a Senator and her Inspector General, and I must say 5599 my own conclusion is that she is not always being very candid 5600 in telling us the truth, and that makes her problems much 5601 worse, because she has to be honest.

5602 Mr. DAVIS OF VIRGINIA. There is no evidence here that 5603 she campaigned at all on Government time. She was sitting 5604 here at a hearing, at a meeting that was called by the White 5605 House, and participated in that.

5606 Mr. MICA. Mr. Chairman, as you summarize, I do think 5607 some positive things could come out of this. I did not know 5608 that the White House could videoconference in this fashion. 5609 We might want to look at that, because I am now learning that 5610 this went on, and even Mr. Miller said he participated or was

5611 invited to participate. That is one thing. I did not know the GSA Administrator didn't have discretion to do a contract 5612 5613 for \$20,000 and was prohibited from doing that. 5614 The third thing I think --5615 Chairman WAXMAN. Mr. Mica, ignorance of the law is no 5616 excuse. The law is there. The rules are there. She has to 5617 follow it. 5618 Mr. MICA. Absolutely. 5619 Chairman WAXMAN. Would you make your concluding 5620 statement so we could adjourn? 5621 Mr. MICA. Absolutely. But another thing I would like to 5622 look at is diversity in some of these agencies. 5623 Chairman WAXMAN. Great. 5624 Mr. MICA. This Agency --5625 Chairman WAXMAN. We will do that. 5626 Mr. MICA.--failed. 5627 Chairman WAXMAN. Thank you very much. The meeting is 5628 adjourned. 5629 Mr. MICA. They failed. And you failed, too. 5630 [Whereupon, at 3:25 p.m., the committee was adjourned.]

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