



MICHAEL CURTIS
ELECTIONS COMMISSION CHAIR

STATE OF HAWAII ELECTIONS COMMISSION

MINUTES OF THE REGULAR MEETING OF THE ELECTIONS COMMISSION

July 30, 2025 at 10:00 AM

Pursuant to Section 92-3.7, Hawaii Revised Statutes, the Elections Commission met remotely using interactive conference technology. The video of the meeting may be viewed on our website at: <https://elections.hawaii.gov/about-us/boards-and-commissions/elections-commission/>.

Commissioners in Attendance:

Michael Curtis, Chair
Dylan Andrion
Ralph Cushnie
Lindsay Kamm
Clare McAdam
Jeffrey Osterkamp
Kahiolani Papalimu
Peter Young

Support Staff in Attendance:

Jordan Ching, Department of the Attorney General
Raymund de Vega, Office of Elections
Aaron Schulaner, Office of Elections
Aulii Tenn, Office of Elections

PROCEEDINGS

I. Call to order [10:00 AM]

The regular meeting of the Elections Commission was called to order by Chair Curtis.

II. Roll call and determination of a quorum [10:00 AM]

All members of the Elections Commission were present at the meeting with the exception of Commissioner Kuwada.

III. Presentation of Commissioner Young's Permitted Interaction Group (P.I.G.) report on the Investigation into State and Kauai County Compliance with HAR 3-177 and Discrepancies in Ballot Counts and Recommendations to the State of Hawaii Elections Commission pursuant to §HRS 92-2.5 [10:00 AM]

Deputy Attorney General (DAG) Jordan Ching explained that the purpose of the meeting was to hear Commissioner Young's report and recommendations from the Permitted Interaction Group (PIG) in accordance with §HRS 92-2.5. He explained that any discussions or decisions will be made in a subsequent meeting, as required by law. He added that after presenting the report, the PIG will be dissolved, and no further interactions will occur outside of Elections Commission meetings.

Commissioner Young discussed the PIG report, highlighting concerns about chain of custody, discrepancies in election results, lack of logs from the Kauai County, and unexplained increases in mail ballot counts. He shared that the group recommends official audits, holding a hearing, and procedural improvements, including more Official Observers.

Commissioner Kamm emphasized the recommendations made in the report, including an official audit of ballot envelopes and mail ballots and holding a hearing to address discrepancies in the mail-in ballot count on Kauai. She also recommended changes to election administration, such as keeping accurate daily counts of ballot envelopes, allowing Official Observers to be present during the signature verification process, and publishing counts of ballots transported to the Counting Centers.

Nolan Chang provided testimony expressing his support for the Elections Commission's audit of Kauai County's 2024 electoral system, highlighting critical issues and urging immediate corrective actions to ensure the integrity of the electoral process.

Judith Mills-Wong provided testimony supporting Official Observers and greater transparency in all stages of elections, while urging for state funding to ease the administrative burden on local offices.

Representative Garner Shimizu provided testimony expressing his gratitude for the Elections Commission's work and committed to help in getting answers and improving transparency and accountability.

Shelby Billionaire provided testimony raising concerns about discrepancies in vote counts, particularly on the Big Island, and emphasized the need for a full audit and accountability in the electoral process.

Andy Crossland provided testimony expressing appreciation for the Elections Commission's work, emphasized the need for accountability and transparency in addressing discrepancies, and called for the removal of Chief Election Officer (CEO) Scott Nago.

Jennifer Hunt provided testimony expressing concerns about the lack of records and transparency in Maui's election process, emphasizing the need for continued investigations and suggesting a return to paper ballots for better accountability.

Jamie Detwiler provided testimony urging action in Hawaii County and expressed concerns about the lack of transparency and access for election observers in Honolulu County.

Tara Rojas provided testimony calling for a Statewide audit, citing discrepancies and lack of transparency in Kauai's election process, which she believes indicate fraud and corruption.

Brett Kulbis provided testimony sharing that in his experience as an Official Observer in Honolulu County, the process at the Counting Center was within the requirements of the law, adding that Official Observers should have easier access to observe the signature verification process.

Andrew Aker provided testimony calling for transparency and accountability, criticized censorship, and urged for peaceful and lawful resolution while expressing his commitment to liberty.

Mary Healy provided testimony urging the removal of CEO Nago due to perceived issues with the Hawaii election system, citing violations of the law and the need for accountability to prevent election fraud and corruption.

Jamie Detwiler provided additional testimony, calling for accountability and the establishment of PIGs for Hawaii County, City and County of Honolulu, and Maui County to address chain of custody issues.

Tara Malia Gregory provided testimony calling for accountability and an independent audit of Hawaii's election system, citing multiple instances of alleged fraud and procedural violations.

Keikilani Ho provided testimony highlighting discrepancies in the Hawaii County election and called for CEO Nago's removal due to ballot discrepancies.

Wallyn Christian provided testimony calling for investigations in every county for election integrity, highlighting issues with the primary ballot, and urged the removal of CEO Nago due to job performance concerns.

Megeso-William Denis provided testimony calling for in-person voting with voter ID, criticized mail-in ballots as tools for fraud, and urged election officials involved in alleged interference to resign and expose wrongdoing.

Susan Strom provided testimony calling for continued and expanded investigation into voter anomalies across all counties, emphasizing the need for an independent audit, and urged CEO Nago to step down.

Bob McDermott provided testimony emphasizing the importance of accurate vote counts and requests the use of paper ballots for audits to prevent manipulation.

Tara Rojas provided additional testimony, emphasizing the need for Commissioners to be visible, calling for the removal of CEO Nago, and urged investigations into election discrepancies across all islands.

Shelby Billionaire provided additional testimony, expressing the need for accountability and transparency, especially for Big Island and other counties, and expressed distrust in government agencies.

Robyn McCreary provided testimony stating that unpaid Commissioners should step down, except for Commissioner Cushnie, and advocated for the use of paper ballots to ensure fair tracking and transparency.

Representative Diamond Garcia provided testimony commending Commissioner Cushnie's work, emphasizing the need for transparency in the election system, and urged the continuation of investigations to maintain public trust.

Glenda Nogami Streufert provided testimony sharing her experience as an Official Observer and assuring that Kauai's ballot counting process was transparent and accountable.

Kealoha provided testimony thanking the Elections Commission and public for their efforts in exposing corruption and reminded everyone that God is watching over us.

Joe Akana provided testimony emphasizing the need for thorough investigations into election integrity across the State, highlighting past issues with ballots and the importance of accurate voter rolls.

Jennifer Cabjuan provided testimony urging adherence to election laws, proper audits using paper ballots, and further investigations across the State, while opposing ranked choice voting due to audit concerns.

Gary Cordery provided testimony criticizing the Elections Commission's lack of transparency and accountability in election integrity, urging them to consider the consequences of their actions and to open the door to requested information.

Wallyn Christian provided additional testimony, advocating for eliminating mail-in and electronic voting in favor of in-person voting.

Jennifer Hunt provided additional testimony, emphasizing the need for observers to verify the entire chain of custody for ballots, from drop-off to counting, to ensure transparency and prevent potential fraud.

Brett Kulbis provided additional testimony, suggesting requesting the Attorney General to appoint a special investigator or prosecutor to address election integrity issues.

Megeso-William Denis provided additional testimony, highlighting his experience with voting technology and expressed frustration that his record requests regarding the audit process and equipment logs went unanswered.

Wendy Willis-Moore provided testimony recalling past issues with not receiving Republican ballots due to CEO Nago and criticized ongoing corruption in Hawaii's elections.

Keleionalani Taylor provided testimony expressing gratitude for the Elections Commission's efforts and emphasized the need for accountability and change before the 2026 election.

Mary Healy provided additional testimony, urging the Elections Commission to fire CEO Nago due to numerous complaints and election integrity issues, calling for the use of paper ballots, and expressed dissatisfaction with the current Governor of Hawaii.

April Lee provided testimony emphasizing the need for publicly funded elections to combat corruption and improve transparency, agreeing with previous testifiers on the issues within Hawaii's election system.

Star Fernandez provided testimony calling for the resignation of CEO Nago, citing long-standing issues under his leadership and emphasizing the need for in-person, one-day voting.

Chair Curtis asked that each of the Commissioners express their thoughts on the report. DAG Ching interjected, adding that in accordance with §HRS 92-2.5, any discussion can be held at the next meeting and that any discussion by the Commission at the current meeting would be a violation of Sunshine Law. Chair Curtis stated that he disagreed.

Commissioner Papalimu highlighted concerns about the lack of accountability for the Clerk's errors, the integrity of the vote, and potential fiscal issues related to unaccounted mail-in ballots. Additionally, she questioned whether the U.S. Postal Service was paid for processing these ballots and suggested that their PIG might need to use subpoena power to address these issues.

Commissioner McAdam suggested discussing the findings once all reports are available, noting that discussing them now would violate Sunshine laws. She also recommended considering the results from both the current PIG and the PIG for Hawaii County simultaneously for a comprehensive response. She acknowledged that this would delay the process but believed it would be more beneficial.

Commissioner Andrion expressed his agreement with the report and its recommendations but chose to reserve his comments to avoid violating Sunshine law. He requested that investigations should cover all counties, not just Kauai and Hawaii, and emphasized that the Office of Elections should be held accountable. He also requested that the evaluation of the Chief Election Officer be a perpetual agenda item.

Commissioners Osterkamp and Young shared that based on guidance from DAG Ching, they had no further comments at that time.

Commissioner Cushnie expressed concerns about the 2024 election in Kauai County, alleging that thousands of ballots were inserted electronically without a paper trail, and that there were discrepancies in the chain of custody records. He claimed that falsified records were submitted to the State Supreme Court and that 2,000 ballots are unaccounted for. He additionally accused the County of issuing certificates of election before submitting revised records and committing perjury by falsifying public records.

Commissioner Kamm expressed concern about the lack of alignment between the Chair Curtis and DAG Ching on discussion rules. She clarified that the report focused on issues with what came into the Counting Center, not the Counting Center itself. She also criticized CEO Nago's unverified numbers, emphasizing the need for verification.

Chair Curtis discussed the transition to mail-in voting, stating that it began as a

pilot program in 2020 and was later implemented statewide. He emphasized the need for ongoing analysis to improve transparency and public trust. Chair Curtis noted that political polarization has made discussions contentious, but stressed the shared goal of honest, secure, and efficient elections. He highlighted concerns about the chain of custody, particularly with ballot drop boxes, and suggested eliminating them to ensure only trusted agents handle ballots. Chair Curtis called for setting aside divisions to resolve conflicts in good faith.

Commissioner Andrion requested that his PIG, which is investigating anomalies in Hawaii and Kauai Counties, be allowed to present their findings at the next meeting. He emphasized that the issues discussed are not isolated and will be echoed in their report. Chair Curtis confirmed that they will receive the report at the next meeting.

Commissioner Cushnie alleged that over 4,000 ballots were inserted electronically without proper verification and that the County revised their chain of custody records only after the election was certified. He highlighted issues with the chain of custody for ballot envelopes, noting that Observers could only count trays, not individual envelopes, leading to potential discrepancies. He also mentioned that mail-in voting audits use ballot images, which can be duplicated, rather than physical ballots. He additionally recommended removing CEO Nago and Chair Curtis from their roles and conducting an independent audit with the FBI's assistance.

Commissioner Kamm expressed frustration over inconsistent and unverified numbers in election reports, suggesting an external audit as a first step. She disagreed with delaying action until the Hawaii County PIG report is presented.

Commissioner Papalimu agreed with not waiting for their PIG's report and raised several questions about the rules and subpoena power of the PIG. She suggested a fiscal audit of the checking account related to mail-in ballots. Additionally, she recommended reviewing election results from the past 15 years to identify any patterns and requested that all testifiers provide their names for transparency.

Commissioner Cushnie raised concerns about the changing chain of custody documents. He requested an explanation from CEO Nago regarding the thousands of pages of records provided. He emphasized the need for a sheet that reconciles the different records to certify the election.

Commissioner Papalimu recommended that the Office of Elections create a standard operating procedure for county operations to ensure consistency across all counties. She noted that the lack of printed guidelines leads to varied interpretations of the rules.

Commissioner Andrion reiterated his request for his PIG to present their findings orally at the next meeting and suggested that the evaluation of the Chief Election Officer be a perpetual agenda item. Chair Curtis responded that they need to receive the report first and discuss it at the following meeting. Commissioner Andrion disagreed, insisting that they should be able to present it formally at the next meeting.

Commissioner Kamm requested that the PIG number 2 report be received and presented at the next meeting, similar to how the PIG number 1 report was handled. Chair Curtis announced the next Elections Commission meeting will be August 27, 2025.

IV. Adjournment [12:16 PM]

Chair Curtis adjourned the meeting at 12:16 PM.

Respectfully submitted,

Raymund de Vega

Raymund de Vega
Elections Commission Secretary