

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF OHIO

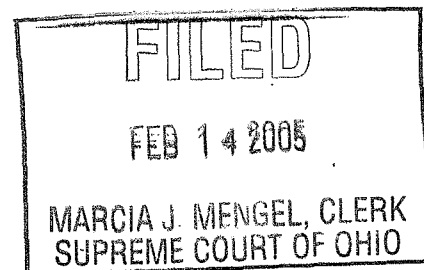
MOSS, *ET AL.*, :
:
CONTESTORS, : CASE No. 04-2088
:
-V- : ORIGINAL ACTION TO CONTEST ELECTION
:
BUSH, *ET AL.*, :
:
CONTESTEES. :

MEMORANDUM OF UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE JOHN CONYERS,
JR. AS *AMICUS CURIAE* IN OPPOSITION TO MOTION OF SECRETARY OF
STATE BLACKWELL AND OHIO'S TWENTY PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS FOR
SANCTIONS PURSUANT TO CIV. R. 11 AND S. CT. PRAC. R. XIV, §5

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INTEREST OF *AMICUS*

Amicus Curiae, the Honorable John Conyers, Jr., is a member of the United States House of Representatives. He currently serves as the Ranking Minority Member of the House Committee on the Judiciary.

Amicus has assumed an active role on federal election issues. In response to problems experienced by voters during the 2000 Presidential Election, *Amicus* called on then-President Clinton to investigate the Florida election. He then co-authored comprehensive election reform legislation to end discriminatory election practices, which was enacted in October 2002 as the Help America Vote Act, codified at 42 U.S.C. § 15481, *et seq.* This bill advanced voting rights, by, among other things, establishing federal minimum voting rights standards for election machines.

As part of his ongoing oversight of federal election administration, *Amicus* followed closely the 2004 federal election, including the controversy in Ohio that generated the instant dispute. In response to the documented irregularities that occurred in Ohio's presidential election, *Amicus* oversaw the preparation of a report issued by the House Judiciary Committee Staff that documented those irregularities. Further, in February 2005, *Amicus* introduced in the House of Representatives the Voting Opportunity and Technology Enhancement Rights Act. If enacted into law, that legislation would, among other things, require states to provide for a verifiable audit trail, eliminate disparities in the allocation of

voting machines and poll workers among a given state's precincts, and provide uniform standards for vote recounts.

Amicus takes no position on the underlying election contest that was *voluntarily* dismissed by the Contestors. Rather, *Amicus* provides an explanation of how Ohio's election contest mechanisms balance the important public interests of electoral integrity and finality, identifies the applicable standards for the granting of sanctions (an issue not substantially addressed by any party), and demonstrates that sanctions are plainly inappropriate in this case.

SUMMARY OF ARGUMENT

For over two hundred years, one of the strengths of our democracy has been that citizens may question the results of an election. Ohio's legislature has provided by statute a mechanism for this questioning through a series of rules that govern election contests. Those rules balance the important public interests of electoral integrity and finality. As demonstrated below, under Ohio law, sanctions should be awarded against Ohio election contestors only in extreme circumstances, if ever, and are plainly inappropriate in this case.

ARGUMENT

I. Ohio's Election Contest Mechanisms Balance the Important Public Interests of Electoral Integrity and Finality.

Public confidence in the democratic process is crucial to the legitimacy of government. Election contests are fundamental to maintaining that public confidence by promoting fair and regular elections. They "serve[] the public interest by raising and

litigating important questions concerning the public's vote." *In re Election of Nov. 6, 1990 for the Office of Attorney Gen.* (1991), 62 Ohio St. 3d 1, 5, 577 N.E.2d 343, 346; *see also Bradley v. Perrodin* (2nd Dist. 2003), 106 Cal. App. 4th 1153, 1165, 131 Cal. Rptr. 2d 402, 411 (observing that "the fundamental right of self-determination for the citizens" of a given jurisdiction is implicated "in each and every election contest.").

Indeed, the nation's Founders recognized the importance of ensuring the availability of robust election contests to the legitimacy of electoral results. In 1798, Congress first enacted legislation allowing parties to election contests to obtain subpoenas for evidence discovery. 9 ANNALS OF CONGRESS 3704-05 (1799). Throughout the over-two hundred year history of election contests since then, the "vast majority of election contests have been initiated by private parties." *Dornan v. Sanchez* (C.D. Cal. 1997), 978 F. Supp. 1315, 1319.

In doing so, however, these citizens vindicate more than their own private rights: they protect the broader public interest. "Election contests are not typical adversary proceedings between individuals asserting personal rights or interests." *Bradley*, 106 Cal. App. 4th at 1171, 131 Cal. Rptr. 2d at 416 (internal quotations omitted). Rather, they "involve the right of the people to have the fact as to who has been duly elected by them judicially determined." *Id.* "The inquiry must be as to whether in a given instance the popular will has been, or is about to be, thwarted by mistake or fraud. The public interest imperatively requires that the ultimate determination of the contest shall reach the right result." *Id.*

Also in the public interest, of course, is the finality of elections. Election contests in Ohio account for this interest by placing at least two substantial constraints on those contesting an election: a sharply constricted time frame and a high burden of proof.

First, election contests must be brought within a profoundly short time frame. In Ohio, contests must be filed “within fifteen days after the results of [the] . . . election have been ascertained and announced by the proper authority.” R.C. § 3519.09. Moreover, once filed, the contest proceeding moves in an exceedingly brisk fashion: the contestor has only twenty days to take and file the deposition testimony. *See id.* at § 3515.16. Thus, this Court, in rejecting a contestee’s argument that costs should be awarded against the election contestor, has emphasized “the closeness of the election” and “the very short time for filing a contest of election petition under R.C. 3515.09.” *In re Election of Nov. 6, 1990*, 62 Ohio St. 3d at 5, 577 N.E.2d at 346.

Second, the evidentiary burden for proving an election contest—by “clear and convincing evidence”—erects a high barrier to gaining relief. This Court stated in *In re Election of Nov. 6, 1990* (1991), 58 Ohio St. 3d 103, 106, 569 N.E.2d 447, 450:

We adopt the clear and convincing evidence standard. . . . we define[] clear and convincing evidence as: that measure or degree of proof which is more than a mere preponderance of the evidence, but not to the extent of such certainty as is required beyond a reasonable doubt in criminal cases, and which will produce in the mind of the trier of facts a firm belief or conviction as to the facts sought to be established. This is [a] contestor’s burden of proof in [an election contest] case.

(internal citations and quotation marks omitted). Notably, this is a *proof* burden, not a pleading standard; Ohio election contests require “notice pleading,” *not* “fact pleading.” *See*

In re Election Contest of Democratic Primary Election Held on May 4, 1999 for Nomination of Clerk, Youngstown Municipal Court (1999), 87 Ohio St. 3d 118, 120, 717 N.E.2d 701, 702 (noting that election contest challenges “do[] not fall within one of the limited exceptions to the general rule requiring notice pleading”). Thus, while ordinary *pleading* standards typically apply to Ohio election contests, the barrier to a contestor securing a favorable judgment is considerable.

These strict finality-promoting rules make it exceedingly difficult for a contestor to mount a comprehensively documented challenge. “[T]ime constraints that govern election contests, primarily designed to serve important interests and needs of election officials and the public interest in finality, simply do not work well in those elections where misconduct is of [a significant] dimension and multi-faceted variety.” *Pabey v. Pastrick* (Ind. 2004), 816 N.E.2d 1138, 1147. Thus, in adjudicating a sanctions motion filed by a partisan government official against an election contestor, this Court should recognize that challenges in elections with pervasive and insidious election irregularities or misconduct are the *most* difficult to plead and prove within the tightly circumscribed constraints. *Accord In re Election of Nov. 6, 1990*, 62 Ohio St. 3d at 5, 577 N.E.2d at 346 (rejecting the contestee’s argument that the contestor should be required to pay for litigation costs despite the “[c]ontestee[’s] argu[ment] that contestor asserted numerous contentions without any factual basis, without any reasonable prefiling investigation, and without any effort to demonstrate the relation to the specific election race and willingness to withdraw them when they proved totally groundless.”).

II. Sanctions Should be Awarded Against Ohio Election Contestors Only in Extreme Circumstances, if Ever.

Because, as established above, Ohio election contests serve important public interests, Ohio courts must show determined restraint before imposing sanctions against those who seek to vindicate the public interest through an election contest. *See, e.g., In re Election of Nov. 6, 1990* 62 Ohio St. 3d at 5, 577 N.E.2d at 346 (explaining a variety of reasons for refusing to impose certain cost sanctions against the contestor, including “the very short time for filing a contest of election petition under” Ohio law); *Carr v. Riddle* (8th Dist. 2000), 136 Ohio App. 3d 700, 706, 737 N.E.2d 976, 980 (holding that the trial court abused its discretion in imposing sanction, explaining that it was “not unmindful of the chilling effect applying the sanction remedy can have upon zealous advocacy brought ostensibly in the public interest.”). Moreover, beyond the democracy-promoting value, contest proceedings also implicate important First Amendment interests such as the right to free speech and the right to petition the government for redress of grievances. Imposition of inappropriate sanctions could, therefore, have a broadly chilling effect far beyond those parties currently before the Court. *See, e.g., White v. Lee* (9th Cir. 2000), 227 F.3d 1214, 1228 (“Informal measures, such as the threat of invoking legal sanctions and other means of coercion, persuasion, and intimidation, can violate the First Amendment also.”).

Ohio’s statutory code evidences the legislature’s intent to avoid judicial sanctions in the cauldron of election contest proceedings. As this Court has recognized, “[t]he procedures prescribed for election contests are specific and exclusive. . . . Given the exclusivity of the election contest procedures in R.C. 3515.08 et seq., [this Court] cannot

afford relief except as provided therein.” *In re Election of Nov. 6, 1990* (1991), 62 Ohio St. 3d at 1, 577 N.E. 2d at 344 (citing *State, ex rel. Daoust, v. Smith* (1977), 52 Ohio St.2d 199, 200, 371 N.E. 2d 536, 537 and *Foraker v. Perry Township Rural Sch. Dist. Bd. of Educ.* (1935), 130 Ohio St. 243, 199 N.E. 74) (internal citations omitted in quote). Ohio’s legislature *could* have included election contest proceeding sanctions within the “procedures prescribed for election contests [that] are specific and exclusive.” *Id.* But it did not do so. Thus, construed strictly, Ohio’s election statutes do not empower this Court to award election contest sanctions. Unsurprisingly, Secretary of State Blackwell cites *no* examples where this Court (or indeed *any* court) has levied sanctions in the election contest context.

However, even if the Court elects to break new ground and construe Ohio’s statutes governing elections liberally to give the Court the authority to award sanctions against election contestors, or their counsel, it should adopt a rule under which at *most*, such sanctions are granted only in quite extreme circumstances; the best reading of the legislature’s decision *not* to include in those procedures a vehicle for sanctions is that it evidences recognition of the pernicious chilling effect that would be presented by such sanctions. As discussed below, though, even if this Court concludes it has the authority to sanction election contestors, or their counsel, it plainly should decline to do so here.

III. Sanctions are Plainly Inappropriate in this Case

A. Standard for Awarding Sanctions

If this Court concludes that Ohio law grants it the authority to award sanctions against an election contestor, or contestor’s counsel, it must then analyze the merits of the

sanctions motion lodged by Secretary of State Blackwell. Secretary Blackwell asks this Court to impose sanctions against counsel for the Contestors pursuant to Ohio Rule of Civil Procedure 11 (“Rule 11”) and Supreme Court Practice Rule XIV, § 5 (“Rule XIV, § 5”). As a preliminary matter, because the standards for granting sanctions under these rules are nowhere explicated in the Secretary’s motion or supporting memorandum, *Amicus* briefly discusses those standards here.

Ohio courts have set forth a three-step process for Rule 11 analysis. First:

[b]efore a trial court imposes sanctions pursuant to Civ. R. 11, it must consider whether the attorney who signed the pleading, motion or other document: read it; to the best of his or her knowledge, harbored good grounds to support it; and did not file the pleading, motion or other document for purposes of delay.

Rust v. Harris-Gordon (Lucas App. Mar. 31, 2004), No. L-03-1091, 2004 Ohio 1636, 2004 WL 628230, at *5 (citing *Ceol v. Zion Indus., Inc.* (Lorain 1992), 81 Ohio App. 3d 286, 290, 610 N.E.2d 1076, 1080-81) (internal numbers omitted). Second, if any of these three rules are violated, “the trial court must then determine if the violation was ‘willful’ as opposed to merely negligent,” a subjective, bad faith standard. *Id.* And, third, if the violation was willful, “the trial court may impose an appropriate sanction on the offending party, which may include an award to the opposing party of its expenses and reasonable attorney fees incurred in bringing the Civ. R. 11 motion.” *Rust*, 2004 WL 628230, at *5 (internal quotation marks omitted).¹

¹ When adopted in 1970, Ohio’s Rule of Civil Procedure 11 was nearly identical to its federal analogue. *Ceol v. Zion Indus., Inc.* (Lorain 1992), 81 Ohio App. 3d 286, 290, 610 N.E.2d 1076, 1080-81. In 1983, the federal Rule 11 was amended after “receiving widespread criticism of its general ineffectiveness.” *Id.* at 240, 1080 (quoting *Cooter & Gell v. Hartmarx Corp.* (1990), 496 U.S. 384, 391). Currently, the federal rule sets forth

In contrast to Rule 11, Rule XIV, § 5 provides both a subjective and an objective standard. Rule XIV, § 5 provides that if this Court “determines that an appeal or other action is frivolous or is prosecuted for delay, harassment, or any other improper purpose, it may impose. . . appropriate sanctions.” Delay, harassment, and improper purpose all suggest subjective bad faith. *See, e.g., Black’s Law Dictionary* (8th ed. 2004) (defining bad faith as “[d]ishonesty of belief or purpose.”).

With respect to frivolousness, however, Rule XIV, § 5 provides an objective standard: it defines a frivolous action as one that “is not reasonably well-grounded in fact or warranted by existing law or a good faith argument for the extension, modification, or reversal of existing law.”

The Secretary’s motion levels charges against counsel for the Contestors based upon *both* the bad faith standards of Rules 11 and XIV, § 5 *and* the objective standard in Rule XIV, § 5 that is used to determine whether an action is “frivolous.” As illustrated below, the Secretary has wholly failed to show that sanctions are warranted under any of these standards.

B. Sanctions Are Not Appropriate Under Any of the Applicable Standards

The Secretary argues that the Contestors’ entire election contest suit served an “improper purpose.” Motion of Secretary of State Blackwell and Ohio’s Twenty Presidential Electors For Sanctions Pursuant To Civ. R 11 And S. Ct. Prac. R. XIV, §5

objective standards, such as “the signer must conduct a “reasonable inquiry” into whether the action “is well grounded in fact” and “warranted by existing law or a good faith argument for the extension, modification, or reversal of existing law.” *Ceol*, 81 Ohio App. 3d at 280, 610 N.E.2d at 1078. “Lacking these amendments, Ohio Civ. R. 11 still employs the subjective ‘bad faith’ approach.” *Id.*

(“Secretary’s Brief”), at 3. Moreover, the Secretary appears to contend that both the filing and the subsequent prosecution of the suit evidence this purported improper purpose. However, an examination of the filing and the prosecution of the suit demonstrate that while, in the necessary rush of the suit that circumstances required if the perceived election irregularities were to be remedied, the Contestors may have committed procedural missteps, their conduct was clearly not worthy of sanctions.

1. The Contest Action Was Not Frivolous

The Contestors’ good-faith filing met the requisite pleading requirements and was based on their consultation with multiple experts and the data available at the time. Given the importance of the election and the significance of quickly remedying any result-altering irregularities before Ohio’s electoral results were accepted by the Congress, the contest served the entirely proper purpose of working to ensure that the election was legitimate. An analysis of the record demonstrates the good faith underlying the Contestors’ conduct.

As a preliminary matter, the record unequivocally establishes that the Contestors met the notice pleading requirement necessary to initiate a contest action. The main statutory requirement of an election contest petition is that it must “set forth the grounds for such contest.” R.C. § 3515.09. To comply with this statutory requirement, a contestor must allege the two elements of an election contest: that (1) one or more election irregularities occurred, and (2) the irregularity or irregularities affected enough votes to change or make uncertain the results of the election. *See, e.g., In re Election Contest of Democratic Primary Election*, 87 Ohio St. 3d at 118-19, 717 N.E.2d at 702 (holding that the petition at issue should not be dismissed and reasoning that dismissal was inappropriate in part because the

petition alleged that the board of elections failed to remove a withdrawn candidate's name from the ballot and that this irregularity affected enough votes to affect the outcome). As the contest petition in this case demonstrates, this pleading requirement was met. For example, Contestors' Verified Petition lists county-by-county the "number of votes actually cast for the Kerry-Edwards ticket and added to the number of votes actually cast for the Bush-Cheney ticket." Verified Petn. ¶ 94. This irregularity, the Petition avers, was due to "error, fraud, or mistake," *id.*, and was result-altering. The very next paragraph alleges that "[a]fter correcting for at least 130,613 votes improperly and unlawfully deducted from those actually cast for the Kerry-Edwards ticket and the at least 130,613 votes improperly and unlawfully added to those actually cast for the Bush-Cheney ticket, the true result was that the Kerry-Edwards ticket won Ohio by at least 142,537 votes." *Id.* ¶ 95.

The Secretary charges that the contest petition was subject to a heightened pleading standard because, although not required by R.C. § 3515.09, the Contestors "voluntarily chose to allege fraud, rather than simply allege irregularities." Secretary's Brief at 3. As the Secretary notes, "[i]n all averments of fraud or mistake, the circumstances constituting fraud or mistake shall be stated with particularity." Ohio Civil Rule 9(b). However, because this Court has held that election contests require only notice pleading, the question of what pleading standard applies if an election contest petition alleges fraud as one of the irregularities at least "remains open."² Accordingly, even assuming *arguendo* that the

² Christopher M. Fairman, *Pleading and Discovery in an Ohio Election Contest*, available at <<http://moritzlaw.osu.edu/electionlaw/analysis/041207b.htm>> (Dec. 7, 2004) (citing *In re Election Contest of Democratic Primary Election Held May 4, 1999 for Nomination of Clerk, Youngstown Municipal Court* (1999), 87 Ohio St. 3d 118, 119, 717 N.E.2d 701, 703).

Contestors were required to plead fraud with particularity and ultimately did not do so, this could hardly be a basis upon which a *sanctions* motion could be sustained.

Moreover, the Contestors *did* allege fraud with substantial particularity. The gravamen of their Verified Petition was set forth at Paragraph 73:

“The pre-corrected exit poll data for Ohio predicted that Kerry would win 52.1% of the Ohio presidential vote. The actual certified result shows Kerry winning 48.7% of the Ohio vote. The difference between the exit poll projection of Kerry’s share of the vote and the certified actual Kerry share of the Presidential vote is 3.4%. According to standard statistical analysis, assuming a random exit poll sample and an honest vote count, there is a probability of roughly one in a thousand (0.0012) that this certified election result would occur. This implies that there is a 999/1000 chance that the Ohio exit poll result is either not based on a random sample or that the election itself was not honest....the inescapable conclusion is that there was election fraud in connection with the vote counting in Ohio.”

In addition, the petition alleged that:

- “[U]nlawful ballots (not cast by a registered voter but merely added to the stack of ballots being counted) were added to those cast by lawful voters and that lawfully cast ballots were either destroyed or altered.” Verified Petn. ¶ 82 (parenthetical in original).
- “580 absentee votes were cast for which there was no notation of absentee voting in the poll books.” *Id.* ¶ 83.
- “[D]efendant-contestor Blackwell using his official powers as Secretary of State ordered all 88 boards of election to prevent public inspection of poll books . . . in

violation of R.C. §§3599.161(B) and (C), which constitutes a separate prima-facie case of election fraud.” *Id.* ¶¶ 84-85 (internal brackets omitted).

- “On information and belief, one of these means of changing the legitimate result to a fraudulent result included gaining physical or electronic access to the tabulating machines and systems.” *Id.* ¶86.

- “[V]otes were deducted from the total number of votes actually cast for the Kerry-Edwards ticket and added to the number of votes actually cast for the Bush-Cheney ticket” *Id.* ¶ 94 (itemizing the minimum number of votes that were added and subtracted from the vote in a given county).

And finally, Contestors alleged that an article by University of Pennsylvania Professor Steven F. Freeman, attached as Exhibit A to the Verified Petition, had concluded that the odds of the exit-poll data and the certified results in Ohio, Florida and Pennsylvania being as different as they were equaled approximately 662,000 to 1. *Id.* ¶ 75.

Each of these allegations constituted particularized pleading of the circumstances of the alleged elections fraud. Nevertheless, the Secretary’s sanctions motion is based on the assertion that the Verified Petition did not provide *evidence* of fraud. *See, e.g.*, Secretary’s Brief at 4 (“Yet, what was the *evidence* of irregularities sufficient to change or make uncertain the outcome of the election? Contestors relied on early exit polls. . . . These exit polls clearly constituted hearsay *evidence*. . . . And, Contestors had no credible expert review of the hearsay. . . . Where was any *evidence* of fraud?”) (emphasis added). That

argument is directly undercut by the extensive and specific examples of Contestors' particularized pleading.

Moreover, Secretary Blackwell's arguments concerning what he views as the insufficiency of the evidence, however, are simply not appropriately aimed at the Verified Petition. "This argument is more appropriately made on summary judgment, where the plaintiff may be required to provide direct or circumstantial evidence to support its legal claims. In its complaint, . . . plaintiff[s] [are] not required to plead evidence." *U.S. Sec. and Exch. Comm'n v. Blackwell* (S.D. Ohio 2003), 291 F. Supp. 2d 673, 689 (analyzing pleading requirements in the context of fraud allegations); *see also Michaels Bldg. Co. v. Ameritrust Co., N.A.* (6th Cir. 1988), 848 F.2d 674, 680 n.9 (recognizing that Rule 9(b) "requires only that the 'circumstances' of the fraud be pled with particularity, not the evidence of the case").

Finally, it is notable that, as discussed below, Contestors' allegations that there were serious irregularities in the election place them in substantial company, including that of the Judiciary Committee Democratic Staff, two dozen congressional representatives, many non-partisan civil rights and civil groups, and even staff in Secretary Blackwell's own office. First, according to the Status Report of the House Judiciary Committee Democratic Staff (attached hereto as Exhibit 1):

We have found numerous, serious election irregularities in the Ohio Presidential election, which resulted in a significant disenfranchisement of voters. Cumulatively, these irregularities, which affected hundreds of thousands of votes and voters in Ohio, raise grave doubts regarding whether it can be said the Ohio electors selected on December 13, 2004, were

chosen in a manner that conforms to Ohio law, let alone federal requirements and constitutional standards.³

Second, as a result of this report, twenty-four members of the U.S. House of Representatives stated, in a letter to the leaders of Congress (attached hereto as Exhibit 2), that “we believe there were numerous, serious election irregularities in the recent presidential election, which resulted in a significant disenfranchisement of voters.” and remarked upon the “the massive and unprecedented extent of irregularities in Ohio.”⁴ (Indeed, as a result of these widely perceived irregularities, Congress debated the first challenge to a state’s slate of electors⁵ since the federal Electoral Count law was enacted in 1877).⁶ Similarly, a coalition of over fifty major *non-partisan*, non-profit civic and civil rights organizations have also been prompted by the many complaints of irregularities in the 2004 election they received from voters in Ohio and other states to issue a detailed report chronicling those irregularities, attached hereto as Exhibit 3.⁷ Finally, as quoted in a recent Columbus Dispatch article, Secretary of State Blackwell’s own spokesperson acknowledged

³ *Preserving Democracy: What Went Wrong in Ohio*, Status Report of the House Judiciary Committee Democratic Staff (Jan. 5, 2005).

⁴ Letter from Rep. Conyers, *et al.*, to the Hon. Richard Cheney, *et al.* (Jan. 5, 2005), available at http://www.house.gov/judiciary_democrats/leadershipselectionltr1505.pdf.

⁵ See 151 Cong. Rec. S41-03, 2005 WL 27057 (Cong. Rec.), Senate Proceedings and Debates of the 109th Congress, First Session (Jan. 6, 2005) (debating S41, titled “Objection To Counting Of Ohio Electoral Votes”); 151 Cong. Rec. H84-06, 2005 WL 27020 (Cong. Rec.), Proceedings and Debates of the 109th Congress, 1st Sess. (Jan. 6, 2005).

⁶ See 90 Cong. Rec. 373 (Feb. 3, 1887) (enacting “[a]n act to . . . provide for and regulate the counting of votes for President and Vice-President and the decision of questions arising thereon”).

⁷ Election Protection 2004, *Shattering the Myth: An Initial Snapshot of Voter Disenfranchisement in the 2004 Elections 20-23* (Dec. 2004), available at <<http://www.lawyerscomm.org/preliminaryreport.pdf>> (detailing a litany of problems with Ohio’s administration of the 2004 election, including voter intimidation, voter suppression, and malfunctioning of the voting machines disproportionately in predominantly African-American areas of Ohio).

that Franklin County is “historically inept at election administration,” conceded that “a Nov[ember] 2 computer glitch temporarily inflated President Bush’s vote total in one polling place,” and termed opposition to “challenges over new voting systems” in Franklin County to be “mind-boggling.”⁸ Thus, the specific allegations, multiple inclusions of evidence of fraud, and credible theory of election irregularity in Ohio, taken together and cumulatively make clear that the Verified Petition was filed for the entirely proper purpose of challenging an election that seemed deeply flawed and suspicious.

2. The Prosecution of the Contest Did Not Constitute Harassment

The Secretary also appears to make a cumulative argument under which, taken together, the following acts by the Contestors in prosecuting the case after the Petition was filed constitute harassment: filing a motion to prevent spoliation of evidence; propounding discovery demands seeking documents within 24 hours and people within 48 hours, which led to a motion for a protective order; filing a verified complaint allegedly defective because a signatory voted for Ralph Nader for President; and filing a motion for default judgment based upon what the Secretary describes as a faulty reading of Ohio Civil Rule 37.

Amicus takes no position as to whom—between the Secretary and the Contestors—has the better arguments on the procedural technicalities. Rather, it is sufficient to note that, as evidenced by the Secretary’s motion and the oppositions to that motion filed by Counsel for the Contestors, these issues are plainly debatable. Under the incredibly truncated time-

⁸ Robert Vitale, *Voting System Directive: Blackwell Went Too Far With Edict, Petro Says*, COLUMBUS DISPATCH A1-2 (Feb. 9, 2005) (quoting “Blackwell spokesman Carlo LoParo”).

frame of an election context, procedural error—even in situations where the requirements are beyond question—occurs.

Moreover, Secretary Blackwell has provided no direct evidence of the subjective state of mind of contestors or their counsel as to their good faith in the filing and prosecution of the election contest. In contrast, Contestors' counsel -- who include experienced practitioners with election-monitoring expertise⁹ -- have subsequent to voluntarily dismissing the contest filed affirmative, *sworn* affidavits in this action, stating that "I had a good faith belief that there was a factual basis for the allegations in the petition and *all pleadings filed* in the case on behalf of contestors."¹⁰

Under these circumstances, a finding of bad faith and imposition of sanctions would be highly inappropriate and would serve to chill advocacy of important interests that are implicated by election contests. One of the strengths of our democracy is that citizens are free to question the results of an election. Those who—in good faith—attempt to complain through legally provided channels about the deficiencies of an election are protected by law from retaliatory sanction motions.

⁹ See, e.g., App. 6 (Exhibits 15-19) to Memorandum of Contestors' Counsel Robert J. Fitakis, Susan Truitt, and Peter Peckarsky in Opposition to Motion of Secretary of State Blackwell and Ohio's Twenty Presidential Electors for Sanctions Pursuant to Civ. R 11 and S. Ct. Prac. R. XIV, § 5 (Affidavit of Robert J. Fitakis) (on file with Court) (setting forth counsel's qualifications, including that he has a J.D. and a Ph.D. in political science, is employed as a tenured full professor at Columbus State Community College, and has served as an international election observer in El Salvador).

¹⁰ See App. 6 (Exhibits 15-19) to Memorandum of Contestors' Counsel Robert J. Fitakis, Susan Truitt, and Peter Peckarsky in Opposition to Motion of Secretary of State Blackwell and Ohio's Twenty Presidential Electors for Sanctions Pursuant to Civ. R 11 and S. Ct. Prac. R. XIV, § 5 (affidavits of Susan Truitt and Peter Peckarsky, and Supplemental Affidavit of Robert J. Fitakis) (on file with Court) (each setting forth in a sworn affidavit filed in the instant action the affirmation quoted in the above text) (emphasis supplied). And see Affidavit of Clifford Arnebeck attached as Exhibit 3 to Contestor Attorney Arnebeck's Memorandum Contra Motion of Secretary of State Blackwell et al. for Sanctions (on file with the Court).

CONCLUSION

For the reasons stated above, *Amicus Curiae* U.S. Representative John Conyers, Jr. respectfully requests that this Court deny the motion for sanctions.

Respectfully submitted,



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CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

The undersigned hereby certifies that a copy of the foregoing was served upon the persons listed below by delivering a copy to the addresses indicated below this 14th day of February, 2005.

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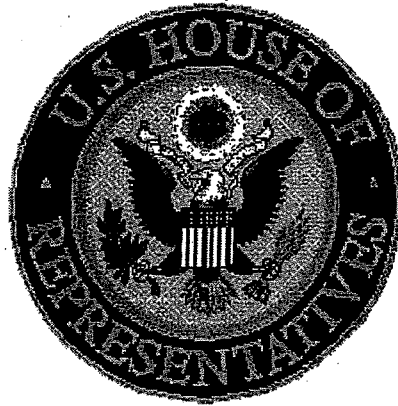
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Benson A. Wolman



Preserving Democracy: What Went Wrong in Ohio

Status Report of the
House Judiciary Committee Democratic Staff

January 5, 2005

EXHIBIT 1

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Executive Summary

Representative John Conyers, Jr., the Ranking Democrat on the House Judiciary Committee, asked the Democratic staff to conduct an investigation into irregularities reported in the Ohio presidential election and to prepare a Status Report concerning the same prior to the Joint Meeting of Congress scheduled for January 6, 2005, to receive and consider the votes of the electoral college for president. The following Report includes a brief chronology of the events; summarizes the relevant background law; provides detailed findings (including factual findings and legal analysis); and describes various recommendations for acting on this Report going forward.

We have found numerous, serious election irregularities in the Ohio presidential election, which resulted in a significant disenfranchisement of voters. Cumulatively, these irregularities, which affected hundreds of thousands of votes and voters in Ohio, raise grave doubts regarding whether it can be said the Ohio electors selected on December 13, 2004, were chosen in a manner that conforms to Ohio law, let alone federal requirements and constitutional standards.

This report, therefore, makes three recommendations: (1) consistent with the requirements of the United States Constitution concerning the counting of electoral votes by Congress and Federal law implementing these requirements, there are ample grounds for challenging the electors from the State of Ohio; (2) Congress should engage in further hearings into the widespread irregularities reported in Ohio; we believe the problems are serious enough to warrant the appointment of a joint select Committee of the House and Senate to investigate and report back to the Members; and (3) Congress needs to enact election reform to restore our people's trust in our democracy. These changes should include putting in place more specific federal protections for federal elections, particularly in the areas of audit capability for electronic voting machines and casting and counting of provisional ballots, as well as other needed changes to federal and state election laws.

With regards to our factual finding, in brief, we find that there were massive and unprecedented voter irregularities and anomalies in Ohio. In many cases these irregularities were caused by intentional misconduct and illegal behavior, much of it involving Secretary of State J. Kenneth Blackwell, the co-chair of the Bush-Cheney campaign in Ohio.

First, in the run up to election day, the following actions by Mr. Blackwell, the Republican Party and election officials disenfranchised hundreds of thousands of Ohio citizens, predominantly minority and Democratic voters:

- **The misallocation of voting machines led to unprecedented long lines that disenfranchised scores, if not hundreds of thousands, of predominantly minority and Democratic voters.** This was illustrated by the fact that the *Washington Post* reported that in Franklin County, "27 of the 30 wards with the most machines per

registered voter showed majorities for Bush. At the other end of the spectrum, six of the seven wards with the fewest machines delivered large margins for Kerry.”¹ Among other things, the conscious failure to provide sufficient voting machinery violates the Ohio Revised Code which requires the Boards of Elections to “provide adequate facilities at each polling place for conducting the election.”

- **Mr. Blackwell’s decision to restrict provisional ballots resulted in the disenfranchisement of tens, if not hundreds, of thousands of voters, again predominantly minority and Democratic voters.** Mr. Blackwell’s decision departed from past Ohio law on provisional ballots, and there is no evidence that a broader construction would have led to any significant disruption at the polling places, and did not do so in other states.
- **Mr. Blackwell’s widely reviled decision to reject voter registration applications based on paper weight may have resulted in thousands of new voters not being registered in time for the 2004 election.**
- **The Ohio Republican Party’s decision to engage in preelection “caging” tactics, selectively targeting 35,000 predominantly minority voters for intimidation had a negative impact on voter turnout.** The Third Circuit found these activities to be illegal and in direct violation of consent decrees barring the Republican Party from targeting minority voters for poll challenges.
- **The Ohio Republican Party’s decision to utilize thousands of partisan challengers concentrated in minority and Democratic areas likely disenfranchised tens of thousands of legal voters, who were not only intimidated, but became discouraged by the long lines.** Shockingly, these disruptions were publicly predicted and acknowledged by Republican officials: Mark Weaver, a lawyer for the Ohio Republican Party, admitted the challenges “can’t help but create chaos, longer lines and frustration.”
- **Mr. Blackwell’s decision to prevent voters who requested absentee ballots but did not receive them on a timely basis from being able to receive provisional ballots**



“True peace is not merely the absence of tension: it is the presence of justice.”

-- Martin Luther King Jr.

¹See Powell and Slevin, *supra*.

likely disenfranchised thousands, if not tens of thousands, of voters, particularly seniors. A federal court found Mr. Blackwell's order to be illegal and in violation of HAVA.

Second, on election day, there were numerous unexplained anomalies and irregularities involving hundreds of thousands of votes that have yet to be accounted for:

- There were widespread instances of intimidation and misinformation in violation of the Voting Rights Act, the Civil Rights Act of 1968, Equal Protection, Due Process and the Ohio right to vote. Mr. Blackwell's apparent failure to institute a single investigation into these many serious allegations represents a violation of his statutory duty under Ohio law to investigate election irregularities.
- We learned of improper purging and other registration errors by election officials that likely disenfranchised tens of thousands of voters statewide. The Greater Cleveland Voter Registration Coalition projects that in Cuyahoga County alone over 10,000 Ohio citizens lost their right to vote as a result of official registration errors.
- There were 93,000 spoiled ballots where no vote was cast for president, the vast majority of which have yet to be inspected. The problem was particularly acute in two precincts in Montgomery County which had an undervote rate of over 25% each – accounting for nearly 6,000 voters who stood in line to vote, but purportedly declined to vote for president.
- There were numerous, significant unexplained irregularities in other counties throughout the state: (i) in Mahoning county at least 25 electronic machines transferred an unknown number of Kerry votes to the Bush column; (ii) Warren County locked out public observers from vote counting citing an FBI warning about a potential terrorist threat, yet the FBI states that it issued no such warning; (iii) the voting records of Perry county show significantly more votes than voters in some precincts, significantly less ballots than voters in other precincts, and voters casting more than one ballot; (iv) in Butler county a down ballot and underfunded Democratic State Supreme Court candidate implausibly received more votes than the best funded Democratic Presidential candidate in history; (v) in Cuyahoga county, poll worker error may have led to little known third-party candidates receiving twenty times more votes than such candidates had ever received in otherwise reliably Democratic leaning areas; (vi) in Miami county, voter turnout was an improbable and highly suspect 98.55 percent, and after 100 percent of the precincts were reported, an additional 19,000 extra votes were recorded for President Bush.

Third, in the post-election period we learned of numerous irregularities in tallying provisional ballots and conducting and completing the recount that disenfranchised thousands of voters and call the entire recount procedure into question (as of this date the recount is still not complete) :

- Mr. Blackwell's failure to articulate clear and consistent standards for the counting of provisional ballots resulted in the loss of thousands of predominantly minority

votes. In Cuyahoga County alone, the lack of guidance and the ultimate narrow and arbitrary review standards significantly contributed to the fact that 8,099 out of 24,472 provisional ballots were ruled invalid, the highest proportion in the state.

- ***Mr. Blackwell's failure to issue specific standards for the recount contributed to a lack of uniformity in violation of both the Due Process Clause and the Equal Protection Clauses.*** We found innumerable irregularities in the recount in violation of Ohio law, including (i) counties which did not randomly select the precinct samples; (ii) counties which did not conduct a full hand count after the 3% hand and machine counts did not match; (iii) counties which allowed for irregular marking of ballots and failed to secure and store ballots and machinery; and (iv) counties which prevented witnesses for candidates from observing the various aspects of the recount.
- **The voting computer company Triad has essentially admitted that it engaged in a course of behavior during the recount in numerous counties to provide "cheat sheets" to those counting the ballots.** The cheat sheets informed election officials how many votes they should find for each candidate, and how many over and under votes they should calculate to match the machine count. In that way, they could avoid doing a full county-wide hand recount mandated by state law.

Chronology of Events

The Lead Up to the 2004 Ohio Presidential Election In Ohio – In the days leading up to election day 2004, a consensus appeared to have emerged among observers that the state of Ohio would be one of the battleground states that would decide who would be elected the Forty-fourth President of the United States.² Both the Democratic and Republican Presidential campaigns, as well as outside groups, had spent considerable time and resources to win the state, but the day before the election, the Democratic candidate, Senator John Kerry, appeared to have the edge.³ The Democratic Party also had vastly outperformed its Republican counterparts in registering voters in this key state.⁴

Election Day – Numerous irregularities were reported throughout Ohio. In particular, in predominately Democratic and African-American areas, the voting process was chaotic, taxing and ultimately fruitless for many. The repeated and suspicious challenges of voter eligibility and a lack of inadequate number of voting machines in these areas worked in concert to slow voting

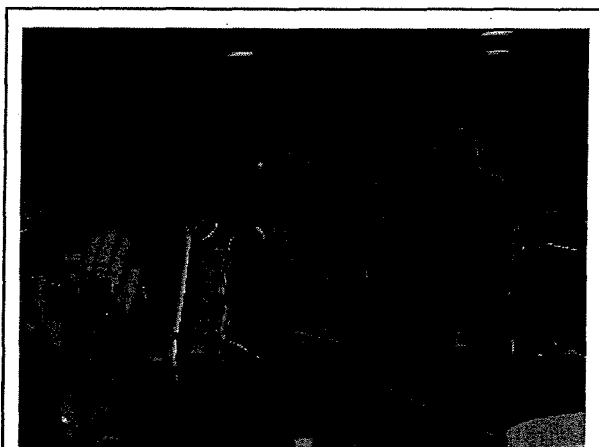
²See, e.g. Susan Page, *Swing States Lean to Kerry: Democrat Ties Bush Nationally*, USA TODAY, Nov. 1, 2004; Anne E. Kornblut, *Big Push to the Finish: Bush, Kerry Make Last Stand in Crucial States*, BOSTON GLOBE, Nov. 1, 2004; Mike Allen and Lois Romano, *A Feverish Pitch in Final Hours*, WASH. POST, Oct. 31, 2004.

³See Page, *supra*.

⁴See Ford Fessenden, *A Big Increase Of New Voters in Swing States*, N.Y. TIMES, Sept. 26, 2004.

to a crawl, with voting lines as long as ten hours.⁵ Voters reported bizarre “glitches” in voting machines where votes for Senator Kerry were registered as votes for the President.⁶ The counting process was similarly chaotic and suspect.

The Aftermath – On November 5, after receiving preliminary reports of election irregularities in the 2004 General Election, Congressman John Conyers, Jr., the Ranking Member of the House Judiciary Committee, and 14 Members of Congress wrote to the Government Accountability Office (GAO) to request an investigation of such irregularities.⁷



Reverend Jesse Jackson Receives Standing Ovation at
December 13 Columbus Hearing

On November 22, at the request of the GAO, the House Judiciary Committee Democratic staff met with GAO officials. In this meeting, GAO officials advised that, on its own authority, the GAO was prepared to move forward with a wide ranging analysis of systemic problems in the 2004 elections. GAO officials also advised Judiciary staff that they would be unable to examine each and every specific election complaint, but would look at some such complaints as exemplars of broader deficiencies.

At the same time, the offices of Democratic Staff and of Democratic Judiciary Committee Members were deluged with e-mails and complaints about the

election. While such complaints are still being processed, close to 100,000 such complaints were received. As of this writing, the Judiciary Democratic office alone is receiving approximately 4,000 such e-mails a day. More than half of these complaints were from one state: Ohio. The

⁵See discussion *infra*.

⁶See discussion *infra*.

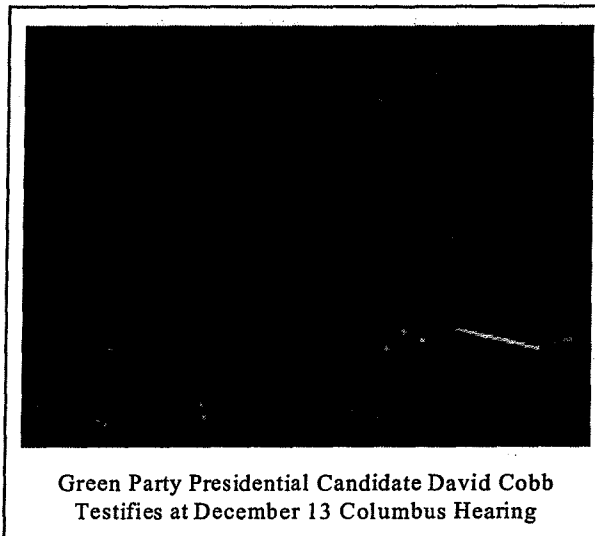
⁷Letter from John Conyers, Jr., Jerrold Nadler, and Robert Wexler (subsequently added to this letter were the following signatories: Robert C. Scott, Melvin L. Watt, Anthony Weiner, Rush Holt, John Olver, Bob Filner, Gregory Meeks, Barbara Lee, Tammy Baldwin, Louise Slaughter, George Miller, Jan Schakowsky, Sam Farr, Bernard Sanders, Elijah Cummings and Lynn Woolsey), to David Walker, Comptroller General of the United States, Government Accountability Office (November 5, 2004) (on file with the House Judiciary Committee Democratic Staff and at http://www.house.gov/judiciary_democrats/gaoinvestvote2004ltr11504.pdf. See also Subsequent Letters from Members of Congress requesting to be added as original requesters to the November 5 letter, (on file with the House Judiciary Committee Democratic Staff).

Election Protection Coalition has testified that it received more complaints on election day concerning irregularities in Ohio than any other state.⁸

On December 2, 2004, Members of the Judiciary Committee wrote to Ohio Secretary of State Kenneth Blackwell that these complaints appear collectively to constitute a troubled portrait of a one-two punch that may well have altered and suppressed votes, particularly minority and Democratic votes. The Members posed 36 questions to Secretary Blackwell about a combination of official actions and corresponding actions by non-official persons, whether in concert or not, worked hand-in-glove to depress the vote among constituencies deemed by Republican campaign officials to be disadvantageous.

Through his spokesman, Secretary Blackwell assured the public and the press that he would be happy "to fill in the blanks" for the Committee and asserted that many questions were easily answered. In fact, Secretary Blackwell belatedly replied to the letter with a refusal to answer any of the questions. Ranking Member Conyers wrote back to Blackwell the same day requesting that he remain true to his promise to answer the questions. Congressman Conyers has yet to receive a reply.

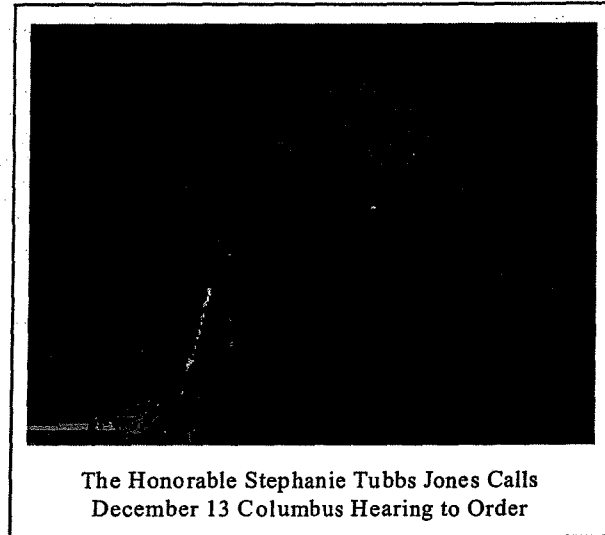
At the same time, officials from the Green Party and Libertarian Party have been investigating allegations of voter disenfranchisement in Ohio and other states. Eventually, the Presidential Candidates for those parties, David Cobb and Michael Badnarik, filed requests for recounts to all 88 Ohio Counties. However, it appears their efforts too are being stonewalled and thwarted by nonstandard and highly selective recounts, unnecessary delays, and blatant deviations from long accepted Ohio law and procedure. Recently, Senator Kerry, a party to the recount action, joined the Green Party and Libertarian Party in requesting immediate action to halt these irregularities and potential fraud in the recount. The recount is still pending before the federal court, and valid votes have yet to be counted.



⁸The Election Protection Coalition consists of the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, the People for the American Way Foundation, the National Coalition for Black Civic Participation, and other groups.

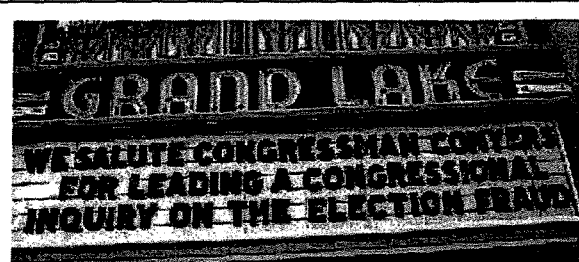
In addition, a challenge has been filed to the Ohio results asserting, to a level of sworn proof beyond a reasonable doubt, that Senator Kerry, not President Bush, was the actual victor of the Presidential race in Ohio. Kenneth Blackwell is adamantly refusing to answer any questions under oath in regard to election irregularities or results. He is apparently counting upon Congress accepting the votes of the electors and, as an immediate consequence, the Ohio Supreme Court dismissing the citizens' election contest.

Committee Members and other interested Members have gone to substantial lengths to ascertain the facts of this matter. The investigation by Congressman Conyers and the Democratic staff of the House Judiciary Committee into the irregularities reported in the Ohio presidential election has also included the following efforts:



- On November 5, 2004, Representatives Conyers, Nadler, and Wexler wrote to the GAO Comptroller David M. Walker requesting an investigation of the voting machines and technologies used in the 2004 election;
- On November 8, 2004, Representatives Conyers, Nadler, Wexler, Scott, Watt, and Holt wrote to GAO Comptroller Walker requesting that additional concerns surrounding the voting machines and technologies used in the 2004 election be investigated;
- On November 15, 2004, Representatives Lee, Filner, Olver, and Meeks joined in the request for a GAO investigation;
- On November 29, 2004, Representatives Weiner, Schakowsky, Farr, Sanders, and Cummings joined in the request for a GAO investigation;
- On December 2-3, 2004, Congressman Conyers and other Judiciary Democratic Members wrote to Ohio Secretary of State J. Kenneth Blackwell concerning Ohio election irregularities;
- On December 3, 2004, Representative Woolsey joined in the request for a GAO investigation;
- On December 3, 2004, Congressman Conyers wrote to Warren Mitofsky of Mitofsky International requesting the release of exit poll raw data from the 2004 presidential election as such data may evidence instances of voting irregularities;
- On December 8, 2004 in Washington, D.C., Congressman Conyers hosted a forum on voting irregularities in Ohio;
- On December 13, 2004 Congressman Conyers hosted a second forum on voting irregularities in Ohio in Columbus, Ohio;
- On December 13, 2004 Congressman Conyers and other Members wrote to Ohio Governor, Bob Taft, Speaker of Ohio State House, Larry Householder, and President of Ohio State Senate, Doug White, requesting a delay of the meeting of Ohio's presidential electors;

- On December 14, 2004, Congressman Conyers wrote to Ohio Secretary of State J. Kenneth Blackwell in regards to the Secretary's refusal to cooperate with the Judiciary Democratic Members investigating election irregularities in Ohio;
- On December 15, 2004, Congressman Conyers wrote to FBI Special Agent in Charge, Kevin R. Brock and Hocking County, Ohio Prosecutor, Larry Beal, requesting an investigation into alleged Ohio election problems;
- On December 21, 2004 Congressman Conyers wrote to Ohio candidates requesting that they report any incidences of irregularities or deviations from accepted law or practices during the recount in Ohio;
- On December 21, 2004, Congressman Conyers wrote to several major media outlets requesting the exit poll raw data from the 2004 presidential election;
- On December 22, 2004, Congressman Conyers wrote to Triad GSI President Brett Rapp and Triad GSI Ohio Field Representative Michael Barbian, Jr. regarding the voting machine company's involvement in the Presidential election and Ohio recount and allegations that it intentionally or negligently acted to prevent validly cast ballots in the presidential election from being counted;
- On December 23, 2004, as a follow-up letter to the December 22 letter, Congressman Conyers wrote to Triad's President Rapp and Ohio Field Representative Barbian upon learning that Triad had remote access to tabulating computers controlled by the Board of Elections; and
- On January 3, 2004, federal and Ohio state lawmakers joined Reverend Jesse Jackson in Columbus, Ohio for a rally calling attention to the need for national election reform and the January 6th joint session of Congress where election results will be certified.



Marquee of the Grand Lake Theater in Oakland, California, Dec. 27, 2004

Citizen groups have played a substantial role in acquiring relevant information. Citizens Alliance for Secure Elections in Ohio has organized hearings that have provided valuable leads for this report. We have been contacted by thousands of concerned citizens: they want a full and fair count of all of the votes and confidence in the electoral system, and they find both of these to be sorely lacking in this election. Many have investigated these matters themselves and have made considerable sacrifices to do so.

The events surrounding the Presidential election in Ohio must be viewed in two important contexts. First, there is the 2000 Election debacle in Florida. In that election, advocates for a full and fair count were asked to "move on" after Vice President Al Gore conceded the election to then-Governor George W. Bush. Months later, it was found that a full and fair count would have resulted in Gore, not Bush, being elected the Forty-third President of the United States.⁹ Subsequent investigations also uncovered rampant disenfranchisement in Florida, particularly of African-American voters.¹⁰



The Honorable Maxine Waters Speaks at December 13 Columbus Hearing as the Honorable Stephanie Tubbs Jones Looks On

Second, as events have unfolded in Ohio, telling events have taken place within the United States, in the State of Washington, and across the globe, in the Ukraine. In Washington State, after the Republican Gubernatorial Candidate, Dino Rossi, declared victory after a partial recount,¹¹ it was later found – after a full and fair recount – that the Democratic candidate, Christine Gregoire, was the victor.¹² While national and state Republican leaders in Ohio have derided attempts to ascertain the Ohio Presidential election result and resolve the questions described herein, after the Washington recount, Mr. Rossi has now asked for a re-vote in the State of Washington, saying it is needed for the election to be "legitimate."¹³

In the Ukraine, after the apparent defeat of the opposition leader, Viktor Yushchenko, in that nation's Presidential election, amid allegations of fraud and public protests, a new election was held, and Yushchenko won by a significant margin.¹⁴ In fact, in the first, seemingly flawed

⁹Hendrik Hertzberg, *Recounted Out*, THE NEW YORKER, Dec. 24, 2001.

¹⁰U.S. COMM'N ON CIVIL RIGHTS, VOTING IRREGULARITIES IN FLORIDA (June 2001).

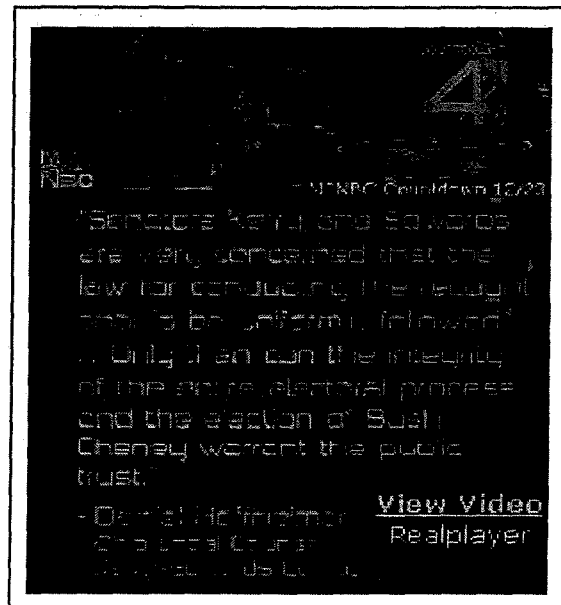
¹¹Chris McGann and Angela Galloway, *Recount Gives Rossi a 42-vote Victory*, SEATTLE POST INTELLIGENCER, Nov. 25, 2004.

¹²*County Recount Gives Win to Democrat*, at <http://www.cnn.com/2004/ALLPOLITICS/12/23/wash.gov/index.html> (Dec. 23, 2004).

¹³David Ammons, *It's Governor-Elect Gregoire, but Rossi seeks "do-over"*, ASSOC. PRESS, Dec. 29, 2004.

¹⁴Aleksander Vasovic, *Yanukovych Vows Challenge in Ukraine*, ASSOC. PRESS, Dec. 27, 2004.

election, Yushchenko appeared to lose by three percentage points.¹⁵ However, he won by eight percentage points in the subsequent revote.¹⁶ United States officials called the original vote rife with “fraud and abuse,” largely relying on anecdotal evidence and deviations between exit polls and reported results.¹⁷



A simple lesson may be drawn from these two contexts: elections are imperfect. They are subject to manipulation and mistake. It is, therefore, critical that elections be investigated and audited to assure the accuracy of results. As Senator Kerry’s attorney recently noted, only with uniformity in the procedures for such an investigation and audit “can the integrity of the entire electoral process and the election of Bush-Cheney warrant the public trust.”¹⁸

Regardless of the outcome of the election, and that outcome cannot be certain as long as legitimate questions remain and valid ballots are being counted, it is imperative that we examine any and all factors that may have led to voting irregularities and any failure of votes to be properly counted.

Relevant Background Law

A. Federal Constitutional Law Safeguards

The right to vote is our most cherished democratic right and, as such, is strongly protected under the Constitution. Both the Equal Protection and Due Process Clauses of the 14th Amendment operate to protect our citizens’ right to vote for the candidate of their choice.

In the seminal voting rights case of *Reynolds v. Sims*, the Supreme Court held that “the right to vote freely for the candidate of one’s choice is of the essence of a democratic society, and any restrictions on that right strike at the heart of representative government.”¹⁹ The Court

¹⁵William Branigan, *U.S. Rejects Tally, Warns Ukraine*, WASH. POST, Nov. 25, 2004.

¹⁶See Vasovic, *supra*.

¹⁷See Branigan, *supra*.

¹⁸Statement to Countdown with Keith Olbermann (Dec. 23, 2004).

¹⁹377 U.S. 533, 555 (1964). See also *Yick Wo v. Hopkins*, 118 U.S. 356, 370 (1886) (“the political franchise of voting” is a “fundamental political right, because preservative of all

observed that, “undeniably the Constitution of the United States protects the right of all qualified citizens to vote, in state as well as in federal elections. A consistent line of decisions by this Court in cases involving attempts to deny or restrict the right of suffrage has made this indelibly clear. It has been repeatedly recognized that all qualified voters have a constitutionally protected right to vote, . . . and to have their votes counted.”²⁰

Under the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, *Reynolds* and its progeny require that votes that are cast must actually be counted.²¹ The Equal Protection Clause also requires that all methods the “legislature has prescribed” to preserve the right to vote be effected, not thwarted.²²

Courts have held that the Due Process Clause implemented in the context of voting rights requires “fundamental fairness” — the idea that the state official cannot conduct an election or apply vote-counting procedures that are so flawed as to amount to a denial of voters’ rights to have their voices heard and their votes count. As a result, under the Constitution, citizens have a fundamental right to vote and to have their vote counted by way of election procedures that are fundamentally fair.²³ Where “organic failures in a state or local election process threaten to work patent and fundamental unfairness, a . . . claim lies for a violation of substantive due process.”²⁴

rights.”).

²⁰*Reynolds*, 377 U.S. at 554 (emphasis added; collecting cases); *id.* (“it is ‘as equally unquestionable that the right to have one’s vote counted is as open to protection . . . as the right to put a ballot in a box.’”) (quoting *United States v. Mosley*, 238 U.S. 383, 386 (1915)). “Obviously included within the right to choose, secured by the Constitution, is the right of qualified voters within a state to cast their ballots and *have them counted*” *United States v. Classic*, 313 U.S. 299, 315 (1941) (emphasis added).

²¹*Reynolds*, 377 U.S. at 555; *Mosley*, 238 U.S. at 386; *Classic*, 313 U.S. at 315.

²²*Bush v. Gore*, 531 U.S. 98, 104 (2000).

²³*Mosley*, 238 U.S. at 386; *Griffin v. Burns*, 570 F.2d 1065 (1st Cir. 1978).

²⁴*Bonas v. Town of N. Smithfield*, 265 F.3d 69, 74 (1st Cir. 2001); *see also* *Marks v. Stinson*, 19 F.3d 873, 888 (3d Cir. 1994) (finding that substantive due process violation exists where there is a “broad-gauged unfairness” that infects the results of an election); *Duncan v. Poythress*, 657 F.2d 691, 700 (5th Cir. 1981) (holding that “the due process clause of the fourteenth amendment prohibits action by state officials which seriously undermine the fundamental fairness of the electoral process”); *Griffin v. Burns*, 570 F.2d 1065, 1077 (1st Cir. 1978) (“If the election process itself reaches the point of patent and fundamental unfairness, a violation of the due process clause may be indicated and relief under § 1983 therefore in order”); *Siegel v. LePore*, 234 F.3d 1163, 1187 (11th Cir. 2000) (a federally protected right is implicated “where the entire election process including — as part thereof the state’s administrative and judicial corrective process — fails on its face to afford fundamental fairness”) (citations omitted).

Importantly, protections for the right to vote extend to and include the right to a full and fair recounting of those votes. A recount is fundamental to ensure a full and effective counting of all votes. Ohio courts have held that “[a] recount ... is the only fair and equitable procedure to ensure the correct tally of all the votes.”²⁵ As the Oklahoma Supreme Court recently emphasized, “[a] *timely* recount is an integral part of an election.”²⁶ The West Virginia Supreme Court, construing a recount statute similar to Ohio’s recount provisions, stressed the importance of an election recount to the fairness and integrity of the election itself.²⁷ Indeed, courts in states which provide a statutory right to a recount uniformly have held that an election cannot be deemed over and final until a recount provided under state law has been completed.

B. Federal Statutory Election Safeguards

There are numerous federal statutes that protect the right to vote. First and foremost, the Voting Rights Act prohibits any person, whether acting under color of law or otherwise, from:

- (1) failing or refusing to permit *any* qualified person from voting in ... federal elections;
- (2) refusing to count the vote of a qualified person; or
- (3) intimidating any one attempting to vote or any one who is assisting a person in voting.²⁸

In addition, the Civil Rights Act of 1968 provides criminal penalties for violations of civil rights, including interference with the right to vote. Specifically, section 245 of title 18 makes it a crime for any person who “by force or threat of force willfully injures, intimidates or interferes with, or attempts to injure, intimidate or interfere with any person because he is or has

²⁵Matter of Issue 27 on November 4, 1997, 693 N.E.2d 1190, 1193 (Ohio C.P. 1998).

²⁶McKye v. State Election Bd. of State of Oklahoma, 890 P.2d 954, 957 (Okla. 1995) (emphasis added).

²⁷Miller v. County Comm’n, 539 S.E.2d 770, 776 (W.Va. 2000), “[I]nherent in the recount procedure is the concept of fairness to all interested candidates in an election. The recount procedure is the only mechanism available in an election dispute which gives the interested candidates a chance to identify and define problematic votes, thereby establishing the parameters for an election contest. . . . It is, therefore, evident that where the challenge to election results stems from specific votes cast, a recount plays an integral and indispensable role tantamount to fundamental principles of due process, which cannot be ignored or omitted.”

²⁸Voting Rights Act of 1965 § 11, 42 U.S.C.A. § 1963i (2004) The Voting Rights Act was enacted in response to evidence that some states and counties had denied many citizens access to the ballot because of their race, ethnicity, and language-minority status. Other major provisions of the act prohibit enactment of any election law that would deny or abridge voting rights based on race, color or membership in a language minority.

been, or in order to intimidate such person or any other person or any class of persons from voting or qualifying to vote....”

In 1993, Congress enacted the National Voter Registration Act²⁹ (NVRA), which requires that, for federal elections, states establish fair and expeditious procedures so that eligible citizens may register to vote.³⁰ Pursuant to the NVRA, section 1974a of title 42 makes it a crime for any person to willfully steal, destroy, conceal, mutilate, or alter any voting records, including those having to do with voter registration.³¹

After the widespread problems that occurred in the November 2000 election, Congress enacted the Help America Vote Act (HAVA),³² thereby creating a new federal agency with election administration responsibilities, setting requirements for voting and voter-registration systems and certain other aspects of election administration, and providing federal funding. Perhaps the central requirement of HAVA was that, beginning January 1, 2004, any voter not listed as registered must be offered and permitted to cast a provisional ballot. HAVA included a variety of additional new requirements, including a provision that beginning January 1, 2004 (extendable to 2006), states using voter registration must employ computerized, statewide voter registration systems that are accurately maintained.

C. Ohio Election Safeguards

Ohio has enacted numerous provisions designed to protect the integrity of the voting and tabulation process.

²⁹42 U.S.C. § 1973gg *et seq.* This is the so-called “motor-voter” law.

³⁰*Id.* Specifically, the NVRA requires states to provide procedures so that eligible citizens may register to vote:

- (1) by application made simultaneously with an application for a motor vehicle driver’s license ... ;
- (2) by mail application ... ; and
- (3) by application in person (A) at the appropriate registration site designated with respect to the residence of the applicant in accordance with state law; and (B) at a federal, state, or nongovernmental office designated under Section 7 (required for state agencies providing public assistance and agencies primarily engaged in providing services to persons with disabilities).

³¹In addition, a person who knowingly and willfully deprives, defrauds, or attempts to deprive or defraud the residents of a State of a fair and impartially conducted election process, by the procurement or submission of voter registration applications that are known by the person to be materially false, fictitious, or fraudulent is guilty of a crime under Section 1973gg-10 of Title 42. The act of engaging in fraudulent voter registration practices, destroying voter registration forms, or otherwise interfering with the ability of qualified voters to register as prescribed by law are clearly covered by these statutes and demand prompt action by the Department of Justice.

³²Pub. L. No. 107-252.

1. The Right to Vote in Ohio

Under the Ohio Constitution, "Every citizen of the United States, of the age of eighteen years, who has been a resident of the state, county, township, or ward, such time as may be provided by law, and has been registered to vote for thirty days, has the qualifications of an elector, and is entitled to vote at all elections."³³ This includes the right to vote directly for Presidential electors.³⁴ The protection of this right is placed squarely on the Secretary of State, who has the affirmative duty to "investigate the administration of election laws, frauds, and irregularities in elections in any county, and report violations of election laws to the attorney general or prosecuting attorney, or both, for prosecution."³⁵ To complete this task, the legislature has given the Secretary the power to "issue subpoenas, summon witnesses, compel the production of books, papers, records and other evidence."³⁶

Many specific provisions in the Ohio Revised Code help protect one's right to vote:

- Polls must be open from 6:30 in the morning until 7:30 at night, and everyone in line at that time must be allowed to vote.³⁷
- Loitering around the polling place is barred, and no one may "hinder or delay" a voter from reaching the polls or casting a vote.³⁸
- Alteration or destruction of ballots, machinery or election records is prohibited.³⁹
- Illegal voting is a felony.⁴⁰

³³OHIO CONST. art. 5, § 1.

³⁴OHIO REV. CODE § 3505.10 (West 2004) (setting forth requirements for a presidential ballot); *id.* § 3505.39 (describing the appointment of electors and setting of meeting by the Secretary of State after the canvass); *id.* § 3505.40 (requiring electors to vote for the candidate of the political party they were slated to vote for).

³⁵*Id.* § 3501.05 (N)(1).

³⁶*Id.* § 3501.05 (W).

³⁷*Id.* § 3501.32.

³⁸*Id.* § 3501.35.

³⁹*Id.* §§ 3599.27, 3599.24, 3599.33-.34.

⁴⁰*Id.* § 3599.12.

- Those who cannot mark their own ballot due to illiteracy or disability are entitled to assistance.⁴¹
- Election officials who do not enforce these provisions are criminally liable.⁴²

2. Declaring Results

Ohio law requires that, before the Secretary of State can declare the initial results of the Presidential election in Ohio, each of the 88 county boards of elections ("county boards") must (1) canvass the results in the county, (2) certify abstracts of those results, and (3) send the certified abstracts to the Secretary of State.⁴³ Only after the Secretary of State receives the certified abstracts from the county boards is the Secretary able to canvass the abstracts to "determine and declare" the initial results of the Presidential election in Ohio.

Under Ohio law, the Secretary of State is required to fix the calendar by which the state's Presidential election results initially are declared and by which a recount of those initial results can occur. Specifically, the Secretary is to set the date by which Ohio's 88 county boards must complete their canvass of election returns and send the certified abstracts of the results to the Secretary.⁴⁴ Any statutorily mandated recount of the votes cast in Ohio for President cannot occur before the Secretary declares the initial results.

3. Security of Ballots and Machinery

In addition, Ohio law prohibits election machinery from being serviced, modified, or altered in any way subsequent to an election, unless it is done so in the presence of the full board of elections and other observers. Any handling of ballots for a subsequent recount must be done in the presence of the entire Board and any qualified witnesses.⁴⁵ Containers in which ballots are kept may not be opened before all of the required participants in are attendance.⁴⁶ The Ohio Revised Code defines a ballot as "the official election presentation of offices and candidates . . . and the means by which votes are recorded."⁴⁷ Therefore, for purposes of Ohio law, electronic records stored in the Board of Election computers are to be considered "ballots."

⁴¹*Id.* § 3505.24.

⁴²*Id.* §§ 3599.32, 3599.16-19.

⁴³*Id.* § 3505.35.

⁴⁴*Id.* § 3501.05(U).

⁴⁵*Id.* § 3515.04.

⁴⁶*Id.*

⁴⁷*Id.* § 3506.01(B).

Further, any modification of the election machinery may only be done after full notice to the Secretary of State. The Ohio Code and related regulations require that after the state certifies a voting system, changes that affect “(a) the method of recording voter intent; (b) voter privacy; (c) retention of the vote; or (d) the communication of voting records,”⁴⁸ must be done only after full notice to the Secretary of State.

Secretary Blackwell’s own directive, coupled with Ohio Revised Code § 3505.32, prohibits any handling of these ballots without bipartisan witnesses present. That section of the code provides that during a period of official canvassing, all interaction with ballots must be “in the presence of all of the members of the board and any other persons who are entitled to witness the official canvass.” In this election, the Ohio Secretary of State has issued orders that election officials were to treat all election materials as if the State were in a period of canvassing,⁴⁹ and that, “teams of one Democrat and one Republican must be present with ballots at all times of processing.”⁵⁰

In addition to these provisions imposing duties on the Board of Elections, there are numerous criminal sanctions for tampering with votes and the machines that tabulate them:

“No person shall tamper or attempt to tamper with, deface impair the use of, destroy or otherwise injure in any manner any voting machine...No person shall tamper or attempt to tamper with, deface, impair the use of, destroy or otherwise change or injure in any manner any marking device, automatic tabulating equipment or any appurtenances or accessories thereof.”⁵¹

“No person shall...destroy any property used in the conduct of elections”⁵²

“No person, from the time ballots are cast or voted until the time has expired for using them in a recount or as evidence in a contest of election, shall unlawfully destroy or attempt to destroy the ballots, or permit such ballots or a ballot box or pollbook used at an election to be destroyed; or destroy, falsify, mark, or write in a name on any such ballot that has been voted.”⁵³

⁴⁸OHIO ADMIN. CODE § 111:3-4-01 (2004).

⁴⁹Mehul Srivastava, *Greene County Elections Board Scrutinized; Office Containing Ballots Found Unlocked Overnight*, DAYTON DAILY NEWS, Dec. 12, 2004, at B1.

⁵⁰Secretary of State J. Kenneth Blackwell, *Absentee/Provisional Counting and Ballot Security*, Directive No. 2004-48 (Oct. 29, 2004).

⁵¹OHIO REV. CODE § 3599.27.

⁵²*Id.* § 3599.24.

⁵³*Id.* § 3599.34.

"No person, from the time ballots are cast or counted until the time has expired for using them as evidence in a recount or contest of election, shall willfully and with fraudulent intent make any mark or alteration on any ballot; or inscribe, write, or cause to be inscribed or written in or upon a registration form or list, pollbook, tally sheet, or list, lawfully made or kept at an election, or in or upon a book or paper purporting to be such, or upon an election return, or upon a book or paper containing such return the name of a person not entitled to vote at such election or not voting thereat, or a fictitious name, or, within such time, wrongfully change, alter, erase, or tamper with a name, word, or figure contained in such pollbook, tally sheet, list, book, or paper; or falsify, mark, or write thereon with intent to defeat, hinder, or prevent a fair expression of the will of the people at such election."⁵⁴

All of these are fifth degree felonies.

4. The Law of Recounts and Contests

The Secretary of State's declaration of the initial results of a Presidential election in Ohio is not final. Under Ohio law, a recount of the initial results is required where the margin of victory is one-fourth of one percent or less, or where a candidate who is not declared elected applies for a recount within five days of the Secretary of State declaring the results of the election and remits the required bond.⁵⁵ In either instance, the Secretary of State "shall make an amended declaration of the results" of the Presidential election after a full and complete recount of the initial results throughout the state is completed.⁵⁶ Therefore, the Ohio legislature has determined that, in certain statutorily-defined circumstances, the Secretary's final declaration of the results of a Presidential election in Ohio shall not occur prior to a full and complete recount of the initial results.

Once the recount applications have been filed, all affected county boards must notify the applicant and all others who received votes in the election of the time, method and place at which the recount will take place, such notice to be no later than five days prior to the start of the recount.⁵⁷ Nothing in Ohio law prohibits the notices from being mailed prior to the certification of results. The recount must be held no later than ten days after the day the recount application is filed or after the day the Secretary of State declares the results of the election.⁵⁸

At the time and place fixed for making a recount, the Board of Elections, in the presence of all witnesses who may be in attendance, shall open the sealed containers containing the ballots

⁵⁴*Id.* § 3599.33.

⁵⁵*Id.* §§ 3515.01-.03.

⁵⁶*Id.* § 3515.05.

⁵⁷*Id.* § 3515.03.

⁵⁸*See id.*

to be recounted and shall recount them.⁵⁹ Each candidate may “attend and witness the recount and may have any person whom the candidate designates attend and witness the recount.”⁶⁰

Due to a directive issued by Secretary Blackwell, the recount does not automatically require a hand count of every vote cast in the election.⁶¹ Each county board of elections randomly takes a sample representing at least 3% of the votes cast and compares the machine count to a hand count.⁶² If there is a discrepancy, the entire county must be hand counted.⁶³ If there is no discrepancy, the remainder of ballots may be recounted by machine.⁶⁴

D. Determination of Ohio’s Electoral College Votes

Ohio and federal law intersect with regard to the issue of determining the extent to which Ohio’s electoral votes are counted towards the election of the president through the electoral college. The 12th Amendment sets forth the requirements for casting electoral votes and counting those votes in Congress. The electors are required to meet, cast and certify their ballots and transmit them to the Vice President in his or her capacity as President of the Senate. In addition, the Electoral Count Act requires that the results be transmitted to the secretary of state of each state, the Archivist of the United States, and the federal judge in the district in which the electors met.⁶⁵ Upon receipt of the ballots at a time designated by statute, the “President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted.”⁶⁶

Congress has specified that all controversies regarding the appointment of electors should be resolved six days prior to the meeting of electors (on December 7, 2004, for purposes of this year’s presidential election) in order for a state’s electors to be binding on Congress when Congress meets on January 6, 2005, to declare the results of the 2004 election.⁶⁷

Specifically, 3 U.S.C. § 5 provides, in pertinent part:

⁵⁹*Id.* § 3515.04.

⁶⁰*Id.*

⁶¹Secretary of State J. Kenneth Blackwell, Directive to All County Boards of Elections Directive No. 2004-58 (Dec. 7, 2004).

⁶²*Id.*

⁶³*Id.*

⁶⁴*Id.*

⁶⁵3 U.S.C. §11.

⁶⁶U.S. CONST. amend. XII.

⁶⁷3 U.S.C. § 5.

If any State shall have provided, by laws enacted prior to the day fixed for the appointment of the electors, for its final determination of any controversy or contest concerning the appointment of all or any of the electors of such State, by judicial or other methods or procedures, and such determination shall have been made at least six days before the time fixed for the meeting of the electors, such determination made pursuant to such law so existing on said day, and made at least six days prior to said time of meeting of the electors, shall be conclusive, and shall govern in the counting of the electoral votes as provided in the Constitution, and as hereinafter regulated, so far as the ascertainment of the electors appointed by such State is concerned.

The joint session of the Senate and House is held on January 6, unless Congress determines otherwise, of the year following the presidential election at 1:00 p.m.⁶⁸ No debate is allowed during the joint session.⁶⁹ The President of the Senate opens the electoral vote certificates in alphabetical order from each state, passes them to four tellers (required by statute to be appointed two from each House) who announce the results. The votes are then counted and those results announced by the President of the Senate. The candidates for President and Vice President receiving a majority of the electoral votes, currently set at 270 of 538, are declared to have been "elected President and Vice President of the States."⁷⁰

Section 15 of title 3, United States Code, provides that, when the results from each of the states are announced, that "the President of the Senate shall call for objections, if any." Any objection must be presented in writing and "signed by at least one Senator and one Member of the House of Representatives before the same shall be received."⁷¹ The objection must "state clearly and concisely, and without argument, the ground thereof."⁷² When an objection has been properly made in writing and endorsed by a member of each body the Senate withdraws from the House chamber, and each body meets separately to consider the objection. "No votes . . . from any other State shall be acted upon until the [pending] objection . . . [is] finally disposed of."⁷³ Section 17 of title 3 limits debate on the objections in each body to two hours, during which time no member may speak more than once and not for more than five minutes. Both the Senate and

⁶⁸"Congress shall be in session on the sixth day of January succeeding every meeting of the electors. The Senate and House of Representatives shall meet in the Hall of the House of Representatives at the hour of 1 o'clock in the afternoon on that day . . ." *Id.* §15.

⁶⁹*Id.* §18 ("no debate shall be allowed and no question shall be put by the presiding officer except to either House on a motion to withdraw.").

⁷⁰*Id.* §15.

⁷¹*Id.*

⁷²*Id.*

⁷³*Id.*

the House must separately agree to the objection; otherwise, the challenged vote or votes are counted.⁷⁴

Historically, there appears to be three general grounds for objecting to the counting of electoral votes. The law suggests that an objection may be made on the grounds that (1) a vote was not “regularly given” by the challenged elector(s); (2) the elector(s) was not “lawfully certified” under state law; or (3) two slates of electors have been presented to Congress from the same State.⁷⁵ Section 15 of title 3 specifically provides:

[N]o electoral vote or votes from any State which shall have been regularly given by electors whose appointment has been lawfully certified . . . from which but one return has been received shall be rejected, but the two Houses concurrently may reject the vote or votes when they agree that such vote or votes have not been so regularly given by electors whose appointment has been so certified. If more than one return or paper purporting to be a return from a State shall have been received by the President of the Senate, those votes, and those only shall be counted which shall have been regularly given by the electors who are shown. . . to have been appointed.

Since the Electoral Count Act of 1887, no objection meeting the requirements of the Act has been made against an entire slate of state electors.⁷⁶ In the 2000 election several Members of the House of Representatives attempted to challenge the electoral votes from the State of Florida. However, no Senator joined in the objection, and, therefore, the objection was not “received.” In addition, there was no determination whether the objection constituted an appropriate basis under the 1887 Act. However, if a State has not followed its own procedures and met its obligation to conduct a free and fair election, a valid objection – if endorsed by at least one Senator and a Member of the House of Representatives – should be debated by each body separately until “disposed of”.

Detailed Findings

⁷⁴*Id.* § 15.

⁷⁵In this latter case, the statute addresses three scenarios to dispose of duplicate slates of electors. First, only the votes from the electors properly appointed are counted. Second, when the slates are presented by two different state authorities who arguably have properly certified the electors, both houses of Congress must concur as to which is the “lawful tribunal of such State” and accept the slate approved by that tribunal. And, finally, if there is no authority for which slate was lawfully appointed, both houses of Congress must agree either to accept one set of electors over the other or to reject the electors from that state altogether.

⁷⁶In 1969 Senator Muskie and Representative O’Hara joined to file a objection against a “faithless elector” who cast a vote for George Wallace and Curtis LeMay instead of the candidate for whom he was expected to vote. The objection was debated and rejected by both houses. This is the only objection that has been raised since the 1887 Act in accordance with its requirements.

A. Pre-Election

1. Machine Allocations – *Why were there such long lines in Democratic leaning areas but not Republican leaning areas?*

Facts

One of the critical reforms of HAVA was federal funding for states to acquire new and updated voting machines, and to fairly allocate the machines. Under HAVA, the Election Assistance Commission (EAC) provides payments to States to help them meet the uniform and nondiscriminatory election technology and administration requirements in title III of the law.⁷⁷ In 2004, the EAC processed a payment of \$32,562,331 for fiscal year 2003 and \$58,430,186 for fiscal year 2004 for a total of \$90,992,517.⁷⁸ There is no information publicly available describing what, if any, Ohio HAVA funds were used and for what those funds were used. Nor are we aware how such funds were allocated within the state of Ohio and between counties.

There was a wide discrepancy between the availability of voting machines in more minority, Democratic and urban areas as compared to more Republican, suburban and exurban areas. Even on election day, urban areas were hard pressed to receive the critical machines to respond to the ever lengthening lines. According to a *Washington Post* investigation, “in Columbus, Cincinnati and Toledo, and on college campuses, election officials allocated far too few voting machines to busy precincts, with the result that voters stood on line as long as 10 hours – many leaving without voting.”⁷⁹ Moreover, the Election Protection Coalition testified that more than half of the complaints about long lines they received “came from Columbus and Cleveland where a huge proportion of the state’s Democratic voters live.”⁸⁰

Based upon various sources including complaints, sworn testimony, and communications with Ohio election officials, we have identified credible concerns regarding the allocation of machines on election day:

⁷⁷Those requirements are ensuring that voting systems used in federal elections on and after January 1, 2006 meeting six voting system standards; allowing provisional voting for certain voters whose eligibility to vote is in question in federal elections held on and after January 1, 2004; posting certain voting information at the polls on the day of each election for federal office held on and after January 1, 2004; developing and maintaining a uniform computerized statewide voter registration database no later than January 1, 2004, unless a waiver until January 1, 2006, has been requested; and implementing requirements for voters who register by mail on and after January 1, 2003.

⁷⁸Information available at http://www.eac.gov/state_funding.asp?format=none.

⁷⁹Michael Powell & Peter Slevin, *Several Factors Contributed to ‘Lost’ Voters in Ohio*, WASH. POST, Dec. 15, 2004.

⁸⁰James Dao et al., *Voting Problems in Ohio Spur Call for Overhaul*, N.Y. TIMES, Dec. 24, 2004, at A1.

Franklin County

- A *New York Times* investigation revealed that Franklin County election officials reduced the number of electronic voting machines assigned to downtown precincts and added them to the suburbs. "They used a formula based not on the number of registered voters, but on past turnout in each precinct and on the number of so-called active voters – a smaller universe. . . . In the Columbus area, the result was that suburban precincts that supported Mr. Bush tended to have more machines per registered voter than center city precincts that supported Mr. Kerry."⁸¹
- The *Washington Post* also found that in voter-rich Franklin County, which encompasses the state capital of Columbus, election officials decided to make do with 2,866 machines, even though their analysis showed that the county needed 5,000 machines.⁸²
- The Franklin County Board of Elections reported 81 voting machines were never placed on election day, and Board Director Matt Damschroder admitted that another 77 machines malfunctioned on Election Day.⁸³ However, a county purchasing official who was on the line with Ward Moving and Storage Company, documented only 2,741 voting machines delivered through the November 2 election day.⁸⁴ While Franklin County's records reveal that they had 2,866 "machines available" on election day.⁸⁵ This would mean that the even larger number of at least 125 machines remained unused on Election Day. Mr. Damschroder misinformed a federal court on Election Day when he testified the county had no additional voting machines; this testimony was in connection with a Voting Rights Act lawsuit brought by the state Democratic Party that alleged minority precincts were intentionally deprived of machines.⁸⁶
- After the election the *Washington Post* also reported that in Franklin County, "27 of the 30 wards with the most machines per registered voter showed majorities for Bush. At the

⁸¹*Id.*

⁸²*See Powell & Slevin, supra.*

⁸³Bob Fittrakis, *How the Ohio Election Was Rigged for Bush*, THE FREE PRESS, Nov. 22, 2004.

⁸⁴*Id.*

⁸⁵Franklin County Board of Elections 2004 Election Abstract, www.co.franklin.oh.us/boe/content/electionAbstract.htm

⁸⁶Bob Fittrakis et al., *Startling New Revelations Highlight Rare Congressional Hearings on Ohio Vote*, THE FREE PRESS, Dec. 13, 2004.

other end of the spectrum, six of the seven wards with the fewest machines delivered large margins for Kerry.”⁸⁷

- At seven of the eight polling places in Franklin County, a heavily populated urban community, there were only three voting machines per location; but there had been five machines at these locations during the 2004 primary.⁸⁸
- According to the presiding judge at one polling site located at the Columbus Model Neighborhood facility at 1393 E. Broad St., there had been five machines during the 2004 primary.⁸⁹ Moreover, at Douglas Elementary School, there had been four machines during the spring primary.⁹⁰
- We have received additional information of hardship caused by the misallocation of machines based on emails and other transmissions, with waits of 4-5 hours or more being the order of the day. For example, we have learned of four hour waits at Precincts 35B and C in Columbus; seven hours waits for one voting machine per thousand voters, where the adjacent precinct had one station for 184 voters.”⁹¹ Additionally, it appears that in a number of locations, polling places were moved from large locations, such as gyms, where voters could comfortably wait inside to vote, to smaller locations where voters were required to wait in the rain.⁹²
- Dr. Bob Fittrakis testified before the House Judiciary panel that Franklin County Board of Elections Chair, Bill Anthony, said that a truckload of 75 voting machines were held back on election day while people waited 5 to 6 hours to vote.⁹³
- Over 102,000 new voters were registered in Franklin County. A majority of them were African Americans. "And so," said State Senator Ray Miller, "only logic would say, we need more machines, particularly in the black community.”⁹⁴

⁸⁷See Powell & Slevin, *supra*.

⁸⁸Bob Fittrakis, *Document Reveals Columbus, Ohio Voters Waited Hours as Election Officials Held Back Machines*, THE FREE PRESS, Nov. 16, 2004.

⁸⁹*Id.*

⁹⁰*Id.*

⁹¹E-mails on file with House Judiciary Committee staff.

⁹²*Id.*

⁹³Judiciary Hearing transcript at 36 (Dec. 13, 2004).

⁹⁴*Id.* at 140.

- Rev. William Moss testified that there were "unprecedented long lines" and noted that Secretary of State Blackwell did not provide sufficient numbers of voting machines to accommodate the augmented electorate in Columbus.⁹⁵

Knox County

- At Kenyon College, a surge of late registrations promised a record vote. Nevertheless, Knox County officials allocated two machines, just as in past elections.⁹⁶ Voter Matthew Segal, a student at Kenyon College, testified before the House Judiciary panel about conditions that amounted to voter disenfranchisement in Gambier, Ohio.⁹⁷ The Gambier polling place had two machines for a population of 1,300 people, though nearby counties had one machine for every 100 people.⁹⁸ He noted that voters were "compelled to stand outside in the rain, through a hot gymnasium in crowded, narrow hallways, making voting extremely uncomfortable."⁹⁹ According to his testimony, "many voters became overheated and hungry" and had to leave the long lines to eat. "One girl actually fainted and was forced to leave the line," he said. "Many others suffered headaches due to claustrophobic conditions and noise."¹⁰⁰
- In contrast, at nearby Mt. Vernon Nazarene University, which is considered more Republican leaning, there were ample voting machines and no lines.¹⁰¹



Kenyon College Student Matthew Segal: "Voting Should Neither Be a Painstaking Nor Arduous Task, and if it is, Our Fundamental Understanding of Democracy is Shattered."
December 8 Hearing.

Other

⁹⁵Judiciary Hearing transcript at 65, 68 (Dec. 8, 2004).

⁹⁶*See Powell & Slevin, supra.*

⁹⁷Judiciary Hearing transcript at 91 (Dec. 8, 2004).

⁹⁸*Id.* at 90-91.

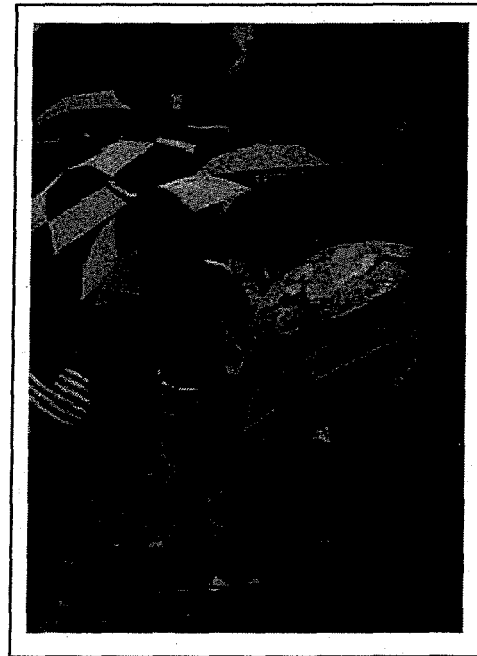
⁹⁹*Id.* at 89.

¹⁰⁰*Id.*

¹⁰¹*See Fittrakis et al., supra.*

- The NAACP testified that approximately “thirty precincts did not have curbside voting machines for seniors and disabled voters.”¹⁰²
- One entire polling place in Cuyahoga County had to “shut down” at 9:25 a.m. on Election Day because there were no working machines.¹⁰³
- We received an affidavit from Rhonda J. Frazier, a former employee of Secretary Blackwell, describing several irregularities concerning the use of HAVA money and the acquisition of election machinery by the state. She states that Secretary Blackwell’s office failed to comply with the requirements of the voting reform grant that required all of the voting machines in Ohio to be inventoried and tagged for security reasons. Ms. Frazier also asserts that she “was routinely told to violate the bidded contracts to order supplies from other companies for all 17 Secretary of State offices throughout the State which were cheaper vendors, leaving a cash surplus differential in the budget” and that, when she inquired as to where the money differential was going, she was essentially told that this was not her concern and that she should not inquire about where that money went.¹⁰⁴

Secretary of State Blackwell has refused to answer any of the questions concerning these matters posed to him by Ranking Member Conyers and 11 other



¹⁰²*Preserving Democracy - What Went Wrong in Ohio: Democratic Forum Before the House Comm. on the Judiciary*, 108th Cong., 2d Sess. 5 (2004) (statement of Hilary Shelton, Director, Washington Bureau, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People).

¹⁰³*Id.* at 22 (referring to PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY, ET AL., ELECTION PROTECTION 2004, SHATTERING THE MYTH: AN INITIAL SNAPSHOT OF VOTER DISENFRANCHISEMENT IN THE 2004 ELECTIONS (Dec. 2004)).

¹⁰⁴*See* Affidavit of Rhonda Frazier, on file with House Judiciary Committee staff.

Members of the Judiciary Committee on December 2, 2004.¹⁰⁵

Analysis

Through intent or negligence, massive errors that led to long lines were made in the distribution and allocations of voting machines. *The Washington Post reports that in Columbus alone, the misallocation of machines reduced the number of voters by up to 15,000 votes.*¹⁰⁶ *Given what we have learned in our hearings, this is likely conservative estimate, and statewide, the shortage of machines could have resulted in the loss of hundreds of thousands of votes.* The vast majority of this lost vote caused by lengthy lines in the midst of adverse weather was concentrated in urban, minority and Democratic leaning areas. As a result, this misallocation appears to be of the pivotal factors concerning the vote and outcome in the entire election in Ohio.

On its face, the misallocation, shorting, and failure to timely deliver working machines would appear to violate a number of legal requirements.

First, it would seem to constitute a violation of the Voting Rights Act and the constitutional safeguards of Equal Protection and Due Process, particularly given the racial disparities involved. Denying voters the means to vote in a reasonable and fair manner is no different than preventing them from voting outright.

Second, the failure to provide enough voting machinery violates both Ohio's Constitution, that provides all eligible adults the right to vote, and the Ohio Revised Code which requires the Boards of Elections to provide "for each precinct a polling place and

¹⁰⁵ See Letter from John Conyers, Jr., Jerrold Nadler, Tammy Baldwin, Melvin L. Watt, Linda Sanchez, Robert Wexler, Maxine Waters, Sheila Jackson Lee, Martin Meehan, Zoe Lofgren and Anthony Weiner to the Honorable J. Kenneth Blackwell, Ohio Secretary of State (Dec. 2, 2004) (on file with the House Judiciary Committee Democratic Staff and at http://www.house.gov/judiciary_democrats/ohblackwelltr12204.pdf). Secretary Blackwell was asked, and has yet to respond to, the following questions:

- How much funding did Ohio receive from the federal government for voting machines?
- What criteria were used to distribute those new machines?
- Were counties given estimates or assurances as to how many new voting machines they would receive? How does this number compare to how many machines were actually received?
- What procedures were in place to ensure that the voting machines were properly allocated throughout Franklin and other counties? What changes would you recommend be made to insure there is a more equitable allocation of machines in the future?

¹⁰⁶ See Powell & Slevin, *supra*.

provide adequate facilities at each polling place for conducting the election.¹⁰⁷ Further, “the board shall provide a sufficient number of screened or curtained voting compartments to which electors may retire and conveniently mark their ballots.”¹⁰⁸

These conclusions regarding Ohio legal violations are supported by several precedents, as well as common sense:

- The U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Ohio found such a serious threat to the voting right that it took the highly unorthodox step of ordering that those individuals waiting in line for longer than two hours receive paper ballots or some other mechanism.¹⁰⁹
- There is specific precedence for a legal violation due the fact that, under Ohio law in 1956, the courts were forced to intervene to enforce the then-applicable requirement of one machine per 100 voters.¹¹⁰ The court was highly critical of the previous practice of requiring only one machine for 800 voters or two for 1,400.¹¹¹ Nearly 50 years later, we are unfortunately back to the antiquated practice of effectively disenfranchising those who are unable to spend an entire day voting.
- Evidence suggests that the Board of Elections’ misallocation of machines went beyond urban/suburban discrepancies to specifically target Democratic areas. In particular, within the less urban county of Knox, the more Democratic leaning precincts near Kenyon College were massively shorted; the more Republican leaning precincts near Mt. Vernon Nazarene University were not.

Third, it appears that a series of more localized legal violations have not been investigated. These include Mr. Damschroder’s contradictory statements regarding the number and availability of machines on election day in Franklin County raise the possibility of perjury. The affidavit submitted by Rhonda Frazier would also appear to demonstrate a prima facie violation of the Help America Vote Act.

Fourth, Secretary of State Blackwell’s failure to initiate any investigation into this pivotal irregularity (which perhaps borders on fraud), notwithstanding his clear statutory duty to do so under Ohio Revised Code section 3501.05, represents a clear violation of Ohio law. The Secretary of State’s most important obligation under the Ohio Constitution is to protect

¹⁰⁷OHIO CONST., art. 5, § 1; OHIO REV. CODE § 3501.29.

¹⁰⁸OHIO REV. CODE § 3501.29.

¹⁰⁹Ohio Democratic Party v. Blackwell, No. C2 04 1055, (S.D. Ohio 2004).

¹¹⁰Spencer v. Montgomery County Bd. of Elections, 141 N.E.2d 195 (Ohio Ct. App. 1956).

¹¹¹*Id.*

the right of every Ohio citizen who is eligible to vote and investigate any and all irregularities concerning the same. Mr. Blackwell's failure to obey Ohio law on this point constitutes a clear instance where Ohio election law has been abrogated.

2. Cutting Back on the Right to Provisional Ballots

Facts

In a decision that Ohio Governor Bob Taft believed could affect over 100,000 voters,¹¹² on September 17, 2004, Secretary Blackwell issued a directive restricting the ability of voters to use provisional ballots. The Election Protection Coalition testified that the narrow provisional ballot directive led to thousands of ballots from validly registered voters being thrown out because election officials with limited resources never told many of the voters in their jurisdictions where to cast a ballot on Election Day.¹¹³ While the Help America Vote Act provided that voters whose names do not appear on poll books are to sign affidavits certifying that they are in the correct jurisdiction and to be given provisional ballots, Secretary Blackwell considerably narrowed the definition of 'jurisdiction' to mean 'precinct.'¹¹⁴ Alleging that allowing voters to use provisional ballots outside their own precincts would be "a recipe for Election Day chaos," Secretary Blackwell required such ballots to be cast in the actual precincts of voters otherwise they would be discarded entirely.¹¹⁵ Mr. Blackwell's rationalization appears to have ignored the fact that in prior elections, Ohio was able to grant far broader rights to provisional ballots, and that other states that permitted voters to cast them from anywhere within their county did not face the chaos he feared.

Because of Secretary Blackwell's restrictive order, the Sandusky County Democratic Party filed a federal lawsuit to overturn it.¹¹⁶ The plaintiff's basis for the suit was that the order was discriminatory because lower-income people were more likely to move and, thus, appear at

¹¹²Gregory Korte & Jim Siegel, *Defiant Blackwell Rips Judge*, CINCINNATI ENQ., Oct. 22, 2004, at 1A.

¹¹³*Preserving Democracy - What Went Wrong in Ohio*, Judiciary Democratic Forum, (Dec. 8, 2004) (statement of Jon Greenbaum, Director, Voting Rights Project).

¹¹⁴James Dao & Kate Zernike, *Judge Rules for Democrats in Dispute over Ohio Voting*, N.Y. TIMES, Oct. 15, 2004, at A22.

¹¹⁵Andrew Welsh-Huggins, *Judge: New Blackwell Directive on Provisional Ballots Inadequate*, ASSOC. PRESS, Oct. 20, 2004.

¹¹⁶*Sandusky County Democratic Party v. Blackwell*, 340 F. Supp.2d 815 (N.D. Ohio), *aff'd*, 339 F. Supp.2d 975, *rev'd*, 387 F.3d 565 (6th Cir. 2004).

the wrong precinct.¹¹⁷ Furthermore, the order would have disenfranchised first-time voters, many of whom would not know where to vote.¹¹⁸

In his rulings in favor of the plaintiffs and against Secretary Blackwell, U.S. District Judge James Carr held that the blame lay squarely on Secretary Blackwell.¹¹⁹ The court was forced to issue two rulings ordering Secretary Blackwell to issue HAVA-compliant directives. Secretary Blackwell abided by neither judgment and instead proceeded with directives that would disenfranchise Ohio voters.

With respect to the speed of the case, the court noted that its urgency was the result of Secretary Blackwell failing to issue provisional voting guidelines for almost two years after the enactment of HAVA:

The exigencies requiring the relief being ordered herein are due to the failure of the defendant to fulfill his duty not only to this Court, as its injunction directed him to do, but more importantly, to his failure to do his duty as Secretary of State to ensure that the election laws are upheld and enforced. . . . The primary cause of the exigency is the defendant's failure to have issued Directive 2004-33 relating to provisional voting for nearly twenty-three months after HAVA's enactment. . . . Blackwell has never explained why he waited so long to do anything to bring Ohio's provisional election procedures into line with federal law.¹²⁰

The court then turned its attention to the substance of Secretary Blackwell's original and amended directives. In these directives, "Blackwell described not a single provision of federal law generally, much less HAVA in particular. . . . By failing to discuss HAVA, on the one hand, and describing only outmoded, no longer applicable procedures on the other, Blackwell . . . left Ohio's election officials more confused than they would have been if the directive had not issued."¹²¹ In addition, because the amended directive did not clearly state that persons who might not be eligible to vote must be informed of their right to vote provisionally, the court held that "Blackwell's proposed directive would disenfranchise all such individuals."¹²² The court believed that, by seeming to deprive voters and county election officials of valuable information regarding HAVA and provisional ballots, "Blackwell apparently seeks to accomplish the same

¹¹⁷James Dao & Kate Zernike, *Judge Rules for Democrats in Dispute over Ohio Voting*, N.Y. TIMES, Oct. 15, 2004, at A22.

¹¹⁸*See Playing with the Election Rules*, N.Y. TIMES, Sept. 20, 2004, at A28 (editorial).

¹¹⁹*Sandusky County Democratic Party*, 340 F. Supp.2d.

¹²⁰*Id.* at 816.

¹²¹*Id.* at 817.

¹²²*Id.* at 820.

result in Ohio in 2004 that occurred in Florida in 2000.”¹²³ Ultimately, the court was forced to require the Secretary, within a tight deadline, to issue specific guidelines pertaining to provisional ballots.¹²⁴

Instead of complying with this federal court order, Secretary Blackwell entirely disregarded the ruling and questioned the motives of the judge. He referred to Judge Carr as “a liberal judge . . . who wants to be co-secretary of state.”¹²⁵ At a speech before the Loveland Area Chamber of Commerce in Clermont County, Secretary Blackwell compared himself to Mohandas Gandhi, Martin Luther King, and the apostle Paul on the grounds that he would rather go to jail - as they did - than issue an order he believed was illegal.¹²⁶ He also claimed his office could not speak with Judge Carr about the case because the Judge was in Florida; Blackwell later admitted he did not mean the Judge actually was in Florida.¹²⁷ Additionally, a journalist reported seeing Judge Carr in his chambers the day the ruling was issued.¹²⁸ Secretary Blackwell appealed the judge’s decision to the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals, which overturned the lower court decision and authorized Mr. Blackwell’s more restrictive legal interpretation.

While Blackwell cited an October 12 resolution by the Election Assistance Commission as authority for his decision, EAC Chairman DeForest Soaries asked Blackwell in writing not to say that the resolution endorsed the Blackwell order.¹²⁹ Chairman Soaries further stated that Secretary Blackwell was the only secretary of state who actually misread the EAC’s ruling.¹³⁰ The EAC did not “agree that a person in the wrong precinct shouldn’t be given a provisional ballot. . . . The purpose of provisional ballots is to not turn anyone away from the polls. . . . We want as many votes to count as possible.”¹³¹

¹²³*Id.* at 819.

¹²⁴*Id.* at 823.

¹²⁵Paul Farhi, *In Fierce Contest for Ohio Vote, Secretary of State Feels Scrutiny*, WASH. POST, Oct. 27, 2004, at A14.

¹²⁶Gregory Korte & Jim Siegel, *Defiant Blackwell Rips Judge*, CINCINNATI ENQ., Oct. 22, 2004, at 1A.

¹²⁷James Drew & Mark Reiter, *Provisional Ballots: Blackwell Blasts Judge on Decision*, TOLEDO BLADE, Oct. 22, 2004, at A1.

¹²⁸*Id.*

¹²⁹Paul Farhi, *In Fierce Contest for Ohio Vote, Secretary of State Feels Scrutiny*, WASH. POST, Oct. 27, 2004, at A14.

¹³⁰*Id.*

¹³¹Darrel Rowland & Lee Leonard, *Federal Agency Distances Itself from Ohio Official*, COLUMBUS DISPATCH, Oct. 20, 2004, at 8A.

Many of Ohio's county boards of elections also disagreed with Blackwell's interpretation of the law and with his motivations.¹³² Franklin County Board Chairman William Anthony stated, "For him to come out with that decision so close to Election Day . . . I'm suspect of his motivations."¹³³ The Director of the Franklin County Board also disagreed with Blackwell and asserted that its precincts would have voters who insist they are in the correct precinct sign affidavits and submit provisional ballots.¹³⁴ Cuyahoga County directed people to the right precincts but still accepted provisional ballots from anyone who insisted on voting.¹³⁵ Cuyahoga County Board Chairman Bob Bennett, who also chairs the Ohio Republican Party, issued a statement saying the Board would not deny ballots to voters who wanted them:

The Cuyahoga County Board of Elections will not turn voters away. . . . We are simply trying to avoid confrontation at the ballot box over the validity of each ballot. Those decisions will be made by the board of elections according to state law.¹³⁶

In response, Mr. Blackwell's spokesperson threatened such election officials with removal from their positions.¹³⁷

In Hamilton County, election officials implemented Mr. Blackwell's directive and refused to count provisional ballots cast at the correct polling place even if they were cast at the wrong table in that polling place.¹³⁸ Some polling places contained multiple precincts that were located at different tables.¹³⁹ As a result, 1,110 provisional ballots were deemed invalid because people voted in the wrong precinct. In about 40 percent of these cases, voters found the correct polling places, which contained multiple precincts, but workers directed them to the wrong

¹³²Suzanne Hoholik & Mark Niquette, *Provisional Ballots: Election Directive Rattles Officials*, COLUMBUS DISPATCH, Oct. 7, 2004, at 1A.

¹³³*Id.*

¹³⁴*Id.* ("If the voter is in the precinct and insists that this is their precinct, then we have to, in my opinion, allow that person to sign an affidavit and vote provisional.") (quoting Matthew Damschroder, Director, Franklin County Board of Elections).

¹³⁵*Id.*

¹³⁶John McCarthy, *Ohio's Largest County to Defy Provisional Ballot Order*, ASSOC. PRESS, Oct. 5, 2004 (quoting Bob Bennett, Chairman, Cuyahoga County Board of Elections).

¹³⁷*Id.*

¹³⁸Tony Cook, *Final Ballots Offer No Changes*, CINCINNATI POST, Nov. 27, 2004.

¹³⁹*Id.*

table.¹⁴⁰ In other areas, precinct workers refused to give any voter a provisional ballot.¹⁴¹ Also, in at least one precinct, election judges told voters that they may validly cast their ballot in any precinct, leading to any number of disqualified provisional ballots.¹⁴² Similarly, in Stark County, the Election Board rejected provisional ballots cast at the wrong precinct in the right polling place. In earlier elections, a vote cast in Stark County in the wrong precinct at the proper polling location was counted.¹⁴³

Secretary of State Blackwell has refused to answer any of the questions concerning these matters posed to him by Ranking Member Conyers and 11 other Members of the Judiciary Committee on December 2, 2004.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁰Michael Powell & Peter Slevin, *Several Factors Contributed to 'Lost' Voters in Ohio*, WASH. POST, Dec. 15, 2004.

¹⁴¹E-mail from Cleveland-area election volunteer, on file with the House Judiciary Committee Democratic Staff.

¹⁴²Jon Craig, *Election Day Aftermath*, COLUMBUS DISPATCH, Nov. 25, 2004.

¹⁴³Moss v. Bush. No. 04-2088 ¶ 122 (Ohio Sup. Ct. filed Dec. 17, 2004).

¹⁴⁴See Letter from John Conyers, Jr., Jerrold Nadler, Tammy Baldwin, Melvin L. Watt, Linda Sanchez, Robert Wexler, Maxine Waters, Sheila Jackson Lee, Martin Meehan, Zoe Lofgren and Anthony Weiner to the Honorable J. Kenneth Blackwell, Ohio Secretary of State, (Dec. 2, 2004) (on file with the House Judiciary Committee Democratic Staff and at http://www.house.gov/judiciary_democrats/ohblackwelltr12204.pdf). Secretary Blackwell was asked, and has yet to respond to, the following:

- Have you directed Hamilton County and all other counties not to disqualify provisional ballots cast at the correct polling place simply because they were cast at the wrong precinct table?
- While many elections workers received your directive that voters may cast ballots only in their own precincts, some did not. How did you inform your workers, and the public, that their vote would not be counted if cast in the wrong precinct? How many votes were lost due to election workers telling voters they may vote at any precinct, in direct violation of your ruling?
- Your directive was exploited by those who intentionally misled voters about their correct polling place, and multiplied the number of provisional ballots found invalid. What steps have you or other officials in Ohio taken to investigate these criminal acts? Has anyone been referred for prosecutions? If so, what is the status of their cases?
- How many provisional ballots were filed in the presidential election in Ohio? How many were ultimately found to be valid and counted? What were the various reasons that these ballots were not counted, and how many ballots fall into each of these categories? Please

Analysis

Mr. Blackwell's decision to restrict the use of provisional ballots is one of the most critical in the election and could well have resulted in disenfranchisement of tens of thousands of voters. In a single polling place in Hamilton County, denying provisional ballots if a voter showed up at the wrong precinct cost more than 1,100 votes.

Although Mr. Blackwell's narrow interpretation was ultimately upheld by the Sixth Circuit, this was not until after a lower court found:

The Proposed Directive fails in many details to comply with HAVA by not instructing Ohio's election workers about their duties under HAVA. Among the crucial, but omitted details are: the mandatory obligation to inform voters of the right to vote provisionally and the duty to provide provisional ballots to all persons covered by the statute, and not just to persons whose names are not on the rolls.¹⁴⁵

In our judgment, Mr. Blackwell's restrictive interpretation violates the spirit, if not the letter, of HAVA. The decision seems particularly unjust given that Ohio had not experienced any notable difficulties giving provisional ballots on a broader basis in past elections, and other states which adopted broader constructions did not report the chaos and confusion that Mr. Blackwell claimed to be the rationale for his decision.

3. Cutting Back on the Right of Citizens to Register to Vote

Facts

On September 7, 2004, Secretary Blackwell issued a directive to county boards of elections mandating rejection of voter registration forms based on their paper weight. Specifically, he instructed the boards to reject voter registration forms not "printed on white, uncoated paper of not less than 80 lb. text weight."¹⁴⁶ Then the counties were instructed to follow a confusing procedure, treating the voter registration forms not on this minimum paperweight as an application for a new registration form.¹⁴⁷ Mr. Blackwell's issuance of this directive less than one month before Ohio's voter registration deadline resulted in confusion and chaos among the counties:

break down the foregoing by County if possible.

¹⁴⁵*Sandusky County Democratic Party*, 340 F. Supp.2d at 821.

¹⁴⁶Secretary of State J. Kenneth Blackwell, Directive No. 2004-31 (Sept. 7, 2004). According to the League of Women Voters, the weight order was the only of its kind in the nation. Jim Bebbington, *Blackwell Rulings Rile Voting Advocates*, DAYTON DAILY NEWS, Sept. 24, 2004, at 1B.

¹⁴⁷Secretary of State J. Kenneth Blackwell, Directive No. 2004-31.

- The Lake County Board of Elections Director, Jan Clair, who happens to be a Republican, stated that the weight order would “create more confusion than the paper’s worth. . . . It’s the weight of the vote I’m concerned about on Nov. 2 - that’s the important thing.”¹⁴⁸
- The Mahoning County Board of Elections Director, Michael Sciortino, said mailing high weight registration paper to voters was not a priority and might occur after the election because of how it might confuse voters.¹⁴⁹
- The Cuyahoga County Board of Elections Director, Michael Vu, said his Board would rather not comply with the weight order and asked state lawmakers to address it.¹⁵⁰ Secretary Blackwell gave permission for the Board to accept registration forms that were printed in newsprint in the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*.¹⁵¹ As Director Vu pointed out, his office does not “have a micrometer at each desk to check the weight of the paper.”¹⁵²
- Other counties such as Madison County followed Mr. Blackwell’s ruling and indicated that they sent letters and new forms to voters.¹⁵³
- The Franklin County Board of Elections was unlikely to comply with the weight directive, largely because it does not keep track of the weight of such forms.¹⁵⁴
- The Lorain County Board of Elections accepted voter registrations on any weight of paper.¹⁵⁵

¹⁴⁸Andrew Welsh-Huggins, *Some Election Boards Ignore New Order about Registration Paper*, ASSOC. PRESS, Sept. 30, 2004.

¹⁴⁹*Id.*

¹⁵⁰*Id.*

¹⁵¹Jim Bebbington, *Blackwell Rulings Rile Voting Advocates*, DAYTON DAILY NEWS, Sept. 24, 2004, at 1B.

¹⁵²*Id.*

¹⁵³*Id.*

¹⁵⁴Andrew Welsh-Huggins, *Some Election Boards Ignore New Order about Registration Paper*, ASSOC. PRESS, Sept. 30, 2004.

¹⁵⁵*Id.*

- The Montgomery County Board of Elections said the paper weight order was frustrating their ability to process registrations.¹⁵⁶ They attempted to comply by mailing a new form to potential voters who sent forms of incorrect weight, but a processing backlog of 4,000 forms prevented them from sending new forms by the October 4 deadline, such that some voters could have been disenfranchised.¹⁵⁷ Steve Harsman, the Deputy Director of the Board, says “there is just no reason to use 80-pound paper.”¹⁵⁸
- Finally, Secretary Blackwell was not following his own order. An Ohio lawyer, John Stopa, noted that voter registration forms obtained at Blackwell’s office were printed on 60-pound paper.¹⁵⁹ An election board official stated he obtained 70-pound weight forms from Blackwell’s office.¹⁶⁰

After several weeks of pressure from voting rights advocates, such as the League of Women Voters of Ohio and People for the American Way,¹⁶¹ Secretary Blackwell reversed his directive on September 28, 2004.¹⁶² Even his new order, however, was not drafted clearly enough. He did not withdraw the first directive, and the *New York Times* found the second directive to be “worded so inartfully that it could create confusion.”¹⁶³ As a matter of fact, the Delaware County Board of Elections posted a notice on its website stating it could not accept its own Voter Registration Forms and directed voters to request a new one by calling a number.¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁶Jim Bebbington, *Blackwell Rulings Rile Voting Advocates*, DAYTON DAILY NEWS, Sept. 24, 2004, at 1B.

¹⁵⁷*Id.*

¹⁵⁸*Id.*

¹⁵⁹Catherine Candisky, *Secretary of State Lifts Order on Voting Forms*, COLUMBUS DISPATCH, Sept. 30, 2004, at 1C.

¹⁶⁰*Id.*

¹⁶¹Catherine Candisky, *Blackwell Ends Paper Chase*, COLUMBUS DISPATCH, Sept. 29, 2004, at 1A.

¹⁶²*Id.*

¹⁶³*Playing with the Election Rules*, N.Y. TIMES, Sept. 30, 2004, at A28 (editorial).

¹⁶⁴See attachment to Letter from Rep. John Conyers, Jr., to the Honorable J. Kenneth Blackwell, Ohio Secretary of State (Dec. 3, 2004), available at http://www.house.gov/judiciary_democrats/ohblackwellfollowupltr12304.pdf.

Secretary of State Blackwell has refused to answer any of the questions concerning these matters posed to him by Ranking Member Conyers and 11 other Members of the Judiciary Committee on December 2, 2004.¹⁶⁵

Analysis

Secretary Blackwell's directive to reject registration applications based on paper weight, even though eventually rescinded, undoubtedly had a negative impact on registration figures. During the time period the directive was in place, it likely resulted in an untold number of voters not being registered in time for the 2004 election. In addition, even after the directive was reconsidered, it was done so in a confusing manner. For example, the directive continued to be posted on the Ohio Secretary of State's website,¹⁶⁶ and at least one county, Delaware County, continued to post the directive on its website as well.

Mr. Blackwell's initial directive appears to be inconsistent with the National Voter Registration Act, which put safeguards in place to ease voter registration, not impede it. There is perhaps no more certain indication of the disenfranchisement bias Secretary of State Blackwell brought to his job than this controversial ruling, which was widely reviled even by Republicans.

¹⁶⁵See Letter from John Conyers, Jr., Jerrold Nadler, Tammy Baldwin, Melvin L. Watt, Linda Sanchez, Robert Wexler, Maxine Waters, Sheila Jackson Lee, Martin Meehan, Zoe Lofgren and Anthony Weiner to the Honorable J. Kenneth Blackwell, Ohio Secretary of State ((Dec. 2, 2004) (on file with the House Judiciary Committee Democratic Staff and at http://www.house.gov/judiciary_democrats/ohblackwelltr12204.pdf). Secretary Blackwell was asked to respond to the following questions:

- How did you notify county boards of elections of your initial September 7 directive?
- How did you notify county boards of elections of your September 28 decision to revise that directive?
- Have you conducted an investigation to determine how many registration forms were rejected as a result of your September 7 directive? If so, how many?
- Have you conducted an investigation to determine how many voters who had their otherwise valid forms rejected as a result of your September 7 directive subsequently failed to re-register? If so, how many?
- Have you conducted an investigation to determine how many of those voters showed up who had their otherwise valid forms rejected to vote on election day and were turned away? If so, how many?

¹⁶⁶Ohio Secretary of State J. Kenneth Blackwell website, <http://www.sos.state.oh.us/sos/news/index.html>. The website also has a listing entitled, "Advisory 2004-06" issued on September 29, 2004 which reverses the September 7 directive.

4. Targeting New Minority Voter Registrants – *Caging*

Facts

The Ohio Republican Party attempted to engage in “caging,” whereby it sent registered letters to newly registered voters in minority and urban areas, and then sought to challenge 35,000 individuals who refused to sign for the letters or the mail otherwise came back as undeliverable (this includes voters who were homeless, serving abroad, or simply did not want to sign for something concerning the Republican Party). Mark Weaver, an attorney for the Ohio Republican Party, acknowledged the Party used this technique.¹⁶⁷ During a hearing before the Summit County Board of Elections, a challenger admitted that she had no knowledge to substantiate her claim that the voters she was challenging were out of compliance with Ohio’s election law.¹⁶⁸

MS. Barbara MILLER (Republican Challenger): That was my impression that these items that I signed were for people whose mail had been undeliverable for several times, and that they did not live at the residence.

MR. Russell PRY (Member, Summit County Board of Elections): Did you personally send any mail to Ms. Herrold?

MS. MILLER: No, I did not.

MR. PRY: Have you seen any mail that was returned to Ms. Herrold?

MS. MILLER: No, I have not.

MR. PRY: Do you have any personal knowledge as we stand here today that Ms. Herrold does not live at the address at 238 30th Street Northwest?

MS. MILLER: Only that which was my impression; that their mail had not been able to be delivered.

MR. PRY: And who gave you that impression?

MS. MILLER: Attorney Jim Simon.

MR. PRY: And what did --

MS. MILLER: He's an officer of the party.

¹⁶⁷Bill Sloat, *Judge Orders Halt to County Hearings Challenging Voters*, PLAIN DEALER, Oct. 30, 2004, at A1.

¹⁶⁸Hearing of the Summit County Board of Elections, Oct. 28, 2004, partial transcripts available at <http://www.mydd.com/story/2004/10/28/192844/76>.

MR. PRY: An officer of which party?

MS. MILLER: Republican party.

MR. PRY: Where did you complete this challenge form at?

MS. MILLER: My home.

MR. PRY: What did Mr. Simon tell you with respect to Ms. Herrold's residence?

MS. MILLER: That the mail had come back undeliverable several times from that residence.

MR. PRY: And you never saw the returned mail?

MS. MILLER: No, I did not.

MR. PRY: Now, you've indicated that you signed this based on some personal knowledge.

MR. HUTCHINSON: (Joseph F. Hutchinson, Jr. Summit County Board of Elections) No

MR. ARSHINKOFF: (Alex R. Arshinkoff, Summit County Board of Elections) Reason to believe. It says, "I have reason to believe." It says it on the form.

MR. JONES: It says, "I hereby declare under penalty of election falsification, that the statements above are true as I verily believe."

MR. ARSHINKOFF: It says here, "I have reason to believe."

MR. HUTCHINSON: It says what it says.

MR. ARSHINKOFF: You want her indicted, get her indicted.

MR. PRY: That may be where it goes next.

Among other things, the Republican Party arranged for the Sandusky County sheriff to visit the residences of 67 voters with wrong or non-existent addresses.¹⁶⁹

The caging tactics were so problematic that a federal district court in New Jersey and a panel of the Third Circuit found that the Republican Party was egregiously in violation of the 1982 and 1987 decrees that barred the party from targeting minority voters for challenges at the polls.¹⁷⁰ They found sufficient evidence that the Ohio Republican Party and the RNC conspired

¹⁶⁹*See id.*

¹⁷⁰DNC v. RNC, No. 04-4186, slip op. (3d Cir. 2004) (upholding DNC v. RNC, No. 81-cv-3876, slip op. (D.N.J. 2004)).

to be “disruptive” in minority-majority districts and enjoined the party from using the list.¹⁷¹ The Third Circuit granted a hearing en banc and therefore stayed the order and vacated the opinion.¹⁷²

The U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Ohio found the same activities to violate the Due Process Clause of the Constitution.¹⁷³ Most importantly, notice of the Republican-intended challenge and subsequent hearing was sent to the 35,000 voters far too late to be of any use to the challengee.¹⁷⁴ In fact, the notice was sent so late, that many did not receive it before the election at all, and the court found that ineffective notice must have been the intent:

The Defendants’ intended timing and manner of sending notice is not reasonably calculated to apprise Plaintiff Voters of the hearing regarding the challenge to their registrations, nor to give the them opportunity to present their objections, as demonstrated by the individual situations of Plaintiffs Miller and Haddix...it seems that Defendants intend to send the notice to an address which has already been demonstrated to be faulty.¹⁷⁵

The court also found that the challenge statute in general was not narrowly tailored enough justify the “severe” burden on voters.¹⁷⁶ While the state’s interest in preventing fraudulent voting was compelling, there were other ways to do that besides allowing partisan groups to arbitrarily challenge voters.¹⁷⁷

Analysis

Although the “caging” tactics targeting 35,000 new voters by the Ohio Republican Party were eventually struck down, it is likely they had a negative impact on the inclination of minorities to vote; although, it is difficult to develop a specific estimate.

¹⁷¹*Id.* at 5.

¹⁷²*DNC v. RNC*, No. 04-4186 (3d Cir. 2004) (granting en banc hearing and staying panel’s order enjoining use of caging list). While District Courts in Ohio granted preliminary injunctions to the same effect, the Sixth Circuit overturned their orders because the opinions did not rely on racial discrimination. Those cases both found constitutional violations from the presence of challengers generally. *See Summit County Democratic Central and Executive Committee v. Blackwell*, 388 F.3d 547 (6th Cir. 2004).

¹⁷³*Miller v. Blackwell*, 2004 WL 2827763 (S.D. Ohio 2004).

¹⁷⁴*Id.* at *4.

¹⁷⁵*Id.*

¹⁷⁶*Spencer v. Blackwell*, 2004 WL 2827758, (S.D. Ohio 2004).

¹⁷⁷*Id.* at *8.

The caging tactics were clearly both discriminatory and illegal. All three district court cases ruled in favor of the plaintiffs, finding the challenges to be politically and racially charged, and burdening the fundamental right to vote. As one court stated, "This Court recognizes that the right to vote is one of our most fundamental rights. Potential voter intimidation would severely burden the right to vote. Therefore, the character and magnitude of Plaintiffs' asserted injury is substantial."¹⁷⁸ It went on to note that the right to vote is paramount to any interest in challenging other people: "...Plaintiff's right to cast votes on election day is a fundamental right. The challengers, however, do not have a fundamental right to challenge other voters."¹⁷⁹ These decisions correctly overturned these caging and challenging activities because *they violated the right to equal protection, due process, and Ohioans' fundamental right to vote.*

Ralph Neas, President of the People for the American Way Foundation, emphasized the seriousness of these tactics when he testified that "the 35,000 people that were threatened with being challenged. That's not the spirit of democracy; that's the spirit of suppression. [The Republican Party] did everything to minimize the vote in the urban areas and to engage in voter suppression, and I hope the hearings really emphasize this. *I think that prosecution is something that should be considered with respect to what happened in Ohio.*"¹⁸⁰

5. Targeting Minority and Urban Voters for Legal Challenges

Facts

The Ohio Republican Party, which Secretary Blackwell helped lead as Chair of the Bush-Cheney campaign in Ohio, engaged in a massive campaign to challenge minority voters at the polls.¹⁸¹ The Republican Party lined up poll challengers for 30 of Ohio's 88 counties, and the vast majority were focused in minority and urban areas.¹⁸² In addition to intimidating minority voters, this scheme helped lead to increased delays and longer waits in voting lines in these areas. This was a particularly damaging outcome on a day of severe adverse weather in Ohio. As a federal court looking at these issues concluded:

¹⁷⁸*Id.* at 10 (internal citations omitted).

¹⁷⁹*Id.* at 12.

¹⁸⁰*Preserving Democracy – What Went Wrong in Ohio: Democratic Forum Before the House Comm. on the Judiciary* (Dec. 8, 2004) (statement of Ralph Neas) (emphasis added).

¹⁸¹See Tim Jones, *Court OK's GOP Bid to Challenge Voters*, CHICAGO TRIB., Nov. 2, 2004, at C14.

¹⁸²*Id.*

*if challenges are made with any frequency, the resultant distraction and delay could give rise to chaos and a level of voter frustration that would turn qualified electors away from the polls.*¹⁸³

Three separate courts issued opinions expressing serious concerns with Ohio's voter challenge processes. At the state level, Cuyahoga County Common Pleas Judge John O'Donnell found that Secretary Blackwell exceeded his authority in issuing a directive that let each political party have multiple challengers at each polling place.¹⁸⁴ While the Democratic Party registered only one challenger per polling place, the Republican Party had registered one challenger for each precinct (there are multiple precincts in many polling places).¹⁸⁵ Judge O'Donnell found the directive to be "unlawful, arbitrary, unreasonable and unconscionable, coming *four days after the deadline* for partisan challengers to register with their county boards of elections."¹⁸⁶ An attorney with the Ohio Attorney General's office, Jeffrey Hastings, admitted to Judge O'Donnell that Secretary Blackwell had changed his mind in first limiting challengers to one per polling place and then, after the October 22 challenger registration deadline, allowing multiple challengers.¹⁸⁷

Two federal district court judges also found the challenge procedure to be problematic and tantamount to voter disenfranchisement.¹⁸⁸ In one lawsuit, the plaintiffs were Donald and Marian Spencer, an elderly African-American couple who alleged the challenge statute harkened back to Jim Crow disenfranchisement. In her opinion rejecting the GOP challenger system, U.S. District Court Judge Susan Dlott wrote that "there exists an enormous risk of chaos, delay, intimidation and pandemonium inside the polls and in the lines out the door."¹⁸⁹ In the other district court case, *Summit County Democratic Central and Executive Committee, et. al. v.*

¹⁸³Mark Niquette, *Finally, It's Time to Vote*, COLUMBUS DISPATCH, Nov. 2, 2004, at 1A.

¹⁸⁴Donna Iacoboni, *Judge Cuts Number of Challengers at Polling Stations*, PLAIN DEALER, Oct. 31, 2004, at A1.

¹⁸⁵*Id.*

¹⁸⁶*Id.* (emphasis added).

¹⁸⁷*Id.*

¹⁸⁸See *Summit County Democratic Central and Executive Committee v. Blackwell*, 2004 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 22539 (N.D. Ohio 2004); *Spencer v. Blackwell*, 2004 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 22062 (S.D. Ohio 2004).

¹⁸⁹*Spencer*, 2004 U.S. Dist. LEXIS at *20. See also Mark Niquette, *Finally, It's Time to Vote*, COLUMBUS DISPATCH, Nov. 2, 2004, at 1A. In an instance of rare involvement, the Assistant Attorney General for the U.S. Department of Justice, Alex Acosta, sent Judge Susan Dlott an unsolicited letter arguing in favor of the challenge statute and against the plaintiffs. See Henry Weinstein, *The Race for the White House: Justice Department Joins Election Legal Fight in Ohio*, L.A. TIMES, Nov. 1, 2004, at A15.

Blackwell, Judge John R. Adams noted the risk that "the integrity of the election may be irreparably harmed."¹⁹⁰ "If challenges are made with any frequency," he wrote, "the resultant distraction and delay could give rise to chaos and a level of voter frustration that would turn qualified electors away from the polls."¹⁹¹

Judge Dlott also noted the racial disparity inherent in challenges, citing that only 14% of new voters in white areas would face challenges while up to 97% of new voters in black areas would face them.¹⁹² The Chair of the Hamilton County Board of Elections, Timothy Burke, was an official defendant in the lawsuit but testified the use of the challenges was unprecedented.¹⁹³ Chairman Burke stated that the Republican Party had planned for challengers at 251 of Hamilton County's 1013 precincts; 250 of the challenged precincts have significant black populations.¹⁹⁴

Both federal courts blocking the use of challengers highlighted that challengers were not needed because Ohio law already safeguarded elections from voter fraud by the use of election judges.¹⁹⁵ In particular, Ohio law mandates that four election judges staff each polling place and provides that the presiding judge of each group can make decisions regarding voter qualifications.¹⁹⁶

Although Secretary Blackwell reversed his position and issued a statement on October 29, 2004, excluding challengers from polling places, his position became less relevant when Jim Petro, Ohio's Attorney General, argued in favor of the challenges taking place and said the Secretary's new statement was unlawful.¹⁹⁷ Seeing the irony in these conflicting opinions, Judge

¹⁹⁰*Summit County Democratic Central and Executive Committee*, 2004 U.S. Dist. LEXIS at *25.

¹⁹¹*Id.*

¹⁹²*Spencer*, 2004 U.S. Dist. LEXIS at *5. See also Henry Weinstein, *Late Ruling Allows GOP to Challenge Ohio Voters*, L.A. TIMES, Nov. 2, 2004, at A1.

¹⁹³Henry Weinstein, *The Race for the White House: In Ohio Courts, It's Almost Like Florida in 2000*, L.A. TIMES, Oct. 30, 2004, at A20.

¹⁹⁴*Id.*

¹⁹⁵*Summit County Democratic Central and Executive Committee*, 2004 U.S. Dist. LEXIS at *21.

¹⁹⁶OHIO REV. CODE § 3501.22.

¹⁹⁷See Statement of Jim Petro, Attorney General of the State of Ohio, Election Issues (Oct. 29, 2004) (press release) ("Neither the Secretary of State nor I can negotiate away the legal rights of Ohio's citizens. Thus, I cannot submit to the federal courts the Secretary's unlawful proposal to ban all challengers for all parties, candidates or issues on Election day."). See also *Spencer*, 2004 U.S. Dist. LEXIS at *25-26.

Blott asked "how can the average election official or inexperienced challenger be expected to understand the challenge process if the two top election officials cannot?"¹⁹⁸

These two lower court rulings did not stand. The Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals reversed the two lower court opinions on a 2-1 vote.¹⁹⁹ The Supreme Court of the United States denied the applications to vacate the 6th Circuit's stays of the lower court rulings.²⁰⁰ While troubled about the "undoubtedly serious" accusation of voter intimidation, Justice John Paul Stevens said the full Court could not consider the case because there was insufficient time to properly review the filings and submissions.²⁰¹

Analysis

The decision by the Ohio Republican Party to utilize thousands of partisan challengers in the voting booths undoubtedly had an intimidating and negative impact on minority voters. While it is difficult to estimate how many voters were disenfranchised by the challenger program, *given the adverse weather conditions and the lack of trained pollworkers, the disruptions caused by challengers could easily have reduced minority turnout by tens of thousands of voters, if not more. It is noteworthy that these disruptions were predicted by Republican officials:*

Mark Weaver, a lawyer for the Ohio Republican Party, acknowledged, "[the challenges] won't be resolved until [Election Day], when all of these people are

¹⁹⁸See Henry Weinstein, *Late Ruling Allows GOP to Challenge Ohio Voters*, L.A. TIMES, Nov. 2, 2004, at A1.

¹⁹⁹See *Summit County Democratic Central and Executive Committee v. Heider; Spencer v. Pugh*, 388 F.3d 547 (6th Cir. 2004) (the 6th Circuit granted stays of the temporary restraining orders issued by the lower courts and thus permitted the vote challengers to enter the polls at the general election).

²⁰⁰*Spencer v. Pugh; Summit County Democratic Central and Executive Committee v. Heider*, 125 S. Ct. 305 (2004) (Stevens, J.). See also Adam Liptak, *Justice Lets Ohio Ruling on Monitors at Polls Stand*, N.Y. TIMES, Nov. 3, 2004, at 6.

²⁰¹*Spencer*, 2004 U.S. LEXIS at *2-3 ("The allegations of abuse made by the plaintiffs are undoubtedly serious - the threat of voter intimidation is not new to our electoral system - but on the record before me it is impossible to determine with any certainty the ultimate validity of the plaintiff's claims. Practical considerations, such as the difficulty of digesting all of the relevant filings and cases, and the challenge of properly reviewing all of the parties' submissions as a full Court in the limited timeframe available, weigh heavily against granting the extraordinary type of relief requested here."). See also *Summit County Democratic Central and Executive Committee*, 388 F.3d at 547; see also Tim Jones, *Court Ends Ohio GOP's Challenge of Voter Rolls*, Chicago Trib., Oct. 30, 2004.

*trying to vote. It can't help but create chaos, longer lines and frustration.*²⁰²
He reiterated that "[challengers at the polls] were "bound to slow things down.
*This will lead to long lines.*²⁰³

While the program of challenging voters was ultimately upheld, after a series of back and forth decisions, clearly this is an issue which harkens back to the "Jim Crow" era. As U.S. District Court Judge John R. Adams wrote in his Summit County opinion:

In light of these extraordinary circumstances, and the contentious nature of the imminent election, the Court cannot and must not turn a blind eye to the substantial likelihood that significant harm will result not only to voters, but also to the voting process itself, if appointed challengers are permitted at the polls on November 2. . . . The presence of appointed challengers at the polls could significantly impede the electoral process, and infringe on the rights of qualified voters.²⁰⁴

As a result, the Ohio challenger system deserves reconsideration by the legislature or further judicial appeal.

6. Denying Absentee Voters Who Never Got Their Ballots the Right to a Provisional Ballot

Facts

Secretary Blackwell also issued a ruling preventing the issuance of provisional ballots for voters who requested absentee ballots, even if they failed to receive them by the official deadline or did not receive them at all.²⁰⁵ Despite the fact that these errors occurred on the part of the Ohio government and not the voters, Secretary Blackwell determined they should not receive provisional ballots at the polls.

A lawsuit filed by a college student, Sara White, who never received her absentee ballot and was denied a provisional one, led to a ruling that other similar voters must be issued

²⁰²James Dao, *GOP Bid to Contest Registrations is Blocked*, N.Y. TIMES, Oct. 28, 2004, at A25 (quoting Mark R. Weaver).

²⁰³Lisa Abraham, *Most Challenges Halted*, AKRON BEACON JOURNAL, Oct. 28, 2004 (quoting Mark R. Weaver).

²⁰⁴*Summit County et. al. Democratic Central and Executive Committee, et. al. v. Blackwell*, 2004 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 22539, *24 (N.D. Ohio 2004).

²⁰⁵See PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY ET AL., ELECTION PROTECTION 2004, SHATTERING THE MYTH: AN INITIAL SNAPSHOT OF VOTER DISENFRANCHISEMENT IN THE 2004 ELECTIONS 7 (Dec. 2004).

provisional ballots.²⁰⁶ The court ordered Lucas County to start providing provisional ballots, and directed Secretary Blackwell to advise all Boards of Elections of the same within 30 minutes.²⁰⁷ The legal ruling overturning Mr. Blackwell's restrictive ruling on absentee ballots came late in the afternoon, and as a result, many voters intending to vote that day were prevented from doing so.

Analysis

Mr. Blackwell's decision to prevent those voters who requested absentee ballots, but did not receive them on a timely basis, from being able to vote, also likely disenfranchised many voters, particularly seniors who were turned away from the polls before the decision was known.

The federal court found that Mr. Blackwell's decision clearly violated HAVA: "HAVA is clear; that all those who appear at a polling place and assert their eligibility to vote irrespective of the fact that their eligibility may be subject to question by the people at the polling place or by the Board of Elections, shall be issued a provisional ballot."²⁰⁸ In addition, this restrictive directive also likely constituted violations of Article 5, Section 1 of the Ohio Constitution, granting every Ohio citizen the right to vote if he or she is otherwise qualified.

7. Denying Access to the News Media

Facts

Secretary Blackwell also sought to prevent the news media and exit poll takers from locating themselves within 100 feet of polling places.²⁰⁹ This would have been the first time in thirty years in which reporters were prevented from monitoring polls.²¹⁰ Media organizations challenged the barrier, leading to a U.S. Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit ruling that struck down Secretary Blackwell's decision.²¹¹ In its opinion, the court noted that "democracies die

²⁰⁶Mark Niquette, *Lawsuits Focus on Provisional Balloting*, COLUMBUS DISPATCH, Nov. 3, 2004; *see also* White v. Blackwell, No. 3:04 CV 7689, slip op. at 3-4 (N.D. Ohio Nov. 2, 2004).

²⁰⁷White, No. 3:04 CV 7689, slip op. at 4.

²⁰⁸*Id.* at 3-4.

²⁰⁹Dan Horn, *Even Rules Go Down to Wire*, CINCINNATI ENQ., Nov. 2, 2004, at 1A.

²¹⁰*Voting Issues Keep Courts Busy up to Last Minute*, PLAIN DEALER, Nov. 3, 2004, at S9.

²¹¹Beacon Journal Publ. Co. v. Blackwell, 389 F.3d 683 (6th Cir. 2004).

behind closed doors"²¹² and found that the district court's ruling had "interpreted and applied the statute overly broadly in such a way that the statute would be violative of the first amendment".

Analysis

*Mr. Blackwell's decision to prevent news media and exit polls from interviewing Ohio citizens after they voted constitutes a clear violation of the First Amendment's guarantee that state conduct shall not abridge "freedom . . . of the press."*²¹³ His decision also likely violated Ohio's own Constitution that provides: "Every citizen may freely speak, write, and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of the right; and no law shall be passed to restrain or abridge the liberty of speech, or of the press."²¹⁴ His decision does not appear to have had any negative impact on the vote, but potentially made it more difficult for the media to uncover voting irregularities, discrepancies, and disenfranchisement.

B. Election Day

1. County-Specific Issues

Warren County – Counting in Secret Because of a Terrorist Threat?

Facts

On election night, Warren County, a traditional Republican stronghold, locked down its administration building and barred reporters from observing the counting.²¹⁵ When that decision was questioned, County officials claimed they were responding to a terrorist threat that ranked a "10" on a scale of 1 to 10, and that this information was received from an FBI agent.²¹⁶ Despite repeated requests, County officials have declined to name that agent, however, and the FBI has stated that it had no information about a terror threat in Warren County.²¹⁷

²¹²*Id.* (quoting *Detroit Free Press v. Ashcroft*, 303 F.3d 681, 683 (6th Cir. 2002)).

²¹³*Id.* at 683.

²¹⁴OHIO CONST. art. 1, § 11.

²¹⁵Erica Solvig, *Warren County Still Counting*, CINCINNATI ENQUIRER, Nov. 3, 2004. See also *Moss v. Bush*, No. 04-2088 ¶ 124.

²¹⁶Erica Solvig, *Warren Co. Defends Lockdown Decision*, CINCINNATI ENQUIRER, Nov. 10, 2004. See also *Forum on Preserving Democracy – What Went Wrong in Ohio* (Dec. 8, 2004) (statement of Rep. John Conyers, Jr.).

²¹⁷*Id.*

Warren County officials have given conflicting accounts of when the decision was made to lock down the building.²¹⁸ While the County Commissioner has stated that the decision to lock down the building was made during an October 28 closed-door meeting, e-mailed memos – dated October 25 and 26 – indicate that preparations for the lockdown were already underway.²¹⁹ Statements also describe how ballots were left unguarded and unprotected in a warehouse on Election Day, and they were hastily moved after county officials received complaints.²²⁰

It is important to view the lockdown in the context of the aberrant results in Warren County. An analyst who has received all the vote data for 2000 and 2004 by precinct in several Ohio counties did a detailed analysis of the greatest increase in votes for President Bush by precinct, and the Bush-Kerry margin in Warren County.²²¹ The analyst revealed that Warren County first did a lockdown to count the votes, then apparently did another lockdown to recount the votes later, resulting in an even greater Bush margin and very unusual new patterns.²²²

Moreover, in the 2000 Presidential election, the Democratic Presidential candidate, Al Gore, stopped running television commercials and pulled resources out of Ohio weeks before the election. He won 28% of the vote in Warren County.²²³ In 2004, the Democratic Presidential candidate, John Kerry, fiercely contested Ohio and independent groups also put considerable resources into getting out the Democratic vote. Moreover, unlike in 2000, independent candidate

²¹⁸Erica Solvig, *No Changes in Final Warren Co. Vote Count, E-mails Released Monday Show Lockdown Pre-planned*, CINCINNATI ENQ., Nov. 16, 2004.

²¹⁹*Id.*

²²⁰*See Fitrakis et al., supra.*

²²¹Richard Hayes Phillips, Ph.D, *Warren County, Ohio: Most Successful Voter Registration Drive in American Political History, or Stuffing the Ballot Box*, THE FREE PRESS, Dec. 1, 2004.

²²²*Id.* The analyst concluded that: “George W. Bush’s big win in Warren County was due to one of two things – one of the most successful voter registration drives in American political history, or stuffing the ballot box. If the vote was legitimate, the records will show it. There will be a signature in a different handwriting for every one of the 16,803 newly registered voters, and for every one of the 95,512 ballots cast. If the vote was not legitimate, there will be a shortage of punch cards in the ballot box, or duplicate handwriting on the voter rolls, or fewer registered voters than reported.” *Id.*

²²³Ohio Secretary of State 2000 Presidential Vote Results, www.sos.state.oh.us/sos/results/2000/gen/pres.htm. Gore received 19,142 votes out of a total of 69,078 cast (27.71%). *Id.*

Ralph Nader was not on the Ohio ballot in 2004. Yet, the tallies reflect John Kerry receiving exactly the same percentage, 28 percent, in Warren County as Gore received.²²⁴

In support of his assertion that there was no wrongdoing in Warren County, Secretary Blackwell has referred to a Democratic election observer in Warren County, Jeff Ruppert, who has said he observed nothing inappropriate at the County administration building. While we have no reason to doubt Mr. Ruppert's truthful account of what he actually observed, a complete review of his statements shows numerous problems at the building. At the outset, Mr. Ruppert acknowledges that he was subject to the lockdown and had to present identification to even be admitted to the building.²²⁵ Once he gained admission, Mr. Ruppert said he did "have concerns over how provisional ballots were handled at polling places – which he said seemed to be inconsistent."²²⁶ He also points to a number of areas he observed that were centers of activity (ballots being transferred from vehicles, precinct captains accompanying ballots in elevators, and ballots being stored), but it clearly would have been impossible for Mr. Ruppert to observe all of these activities at the same time. Finally, considering that he left before the ballot count was completed,²²⁷ it is inaccurate to state with certainty that there were no problems in Warren County.

Secretary of State Blackwell has refused to answer any of the questions concerning these matters posed to him by Ranking Member Conyers and 11 other Members of the Judiciary Committee on December 2, 2004.²²⁸

²²⁴Ohio Secretary of State 2004 Presidential Vote Results, www.sos.state.oh.us/sos/results/2004/gen/pres.htm. Kerry received 25,399 votes out of 92,251 cast (27.53%). *Id.*

²²⁵Erica Solvig & Dan Horn, *Warren Co. Cites Terror for Lockdown*, CINCINNATI ENQ., Nov. 10, 2004, at 1A.

²²⁶Jim Bebbington & Lawrence Budd, *Validity of Votes Debated over Internet*, DAYTON DAILY NEWS, Nov. 10, 2004, at B4.

²²⁷*Id.*

²²⁸*See* Letter from John Conyers, Jr., Jerrold Nadler, Tammy Baldwin, Melvin L. Watt, Linda Sanchez, Robert Wexler, Maxine Waters, Sheila Jackson Lee, Martin Meehan, Zoe Lofgren and Anthony Weiner to the Honorable J. Kenneth Blackwell, Ohio Secretary of State, (Dec. 2, 2004) (on file with the House Judiciary Committee Democratic Staff and at http://www.house.gov/judiciary_democrats/ohblackwelltr12204.pdf). Secretary Blackwell was asked to respond to the following:

- Have you, in fact, conducted an investigation of the lockdown? What procedures have you or would you recommend be put in place to avoid a recurrence of this situation?
- Have you ascertained whether the County officials were advised of terrorist activity by an FBI agent and, if so, the identity of that agent?

Analysis

Given the total lack of explanation by Mr. Blackwell or Warren County officials, it is not implausible to assume that someone is hiding something. We do not know whether what happened is simply a miscommunication or mix up, where an election official misunderstood an FBI directive. If that were the case, it would seem to be an easy matter to dispel the confusion surrounding this episode. ***Given that no such explanation has been forthcoming and given the statistical anomalies in the Warren County results, it is impossible to rule out the possibility that some sort of manipulation of the tallies occurred on election night in the locked down facility. The disclosure that the decision to lock down the facility the Thursday before the election, rather than on election day would suggest the lockdown was a political decision, not a true security risk. If that was the case, it would be a violation of the constitutional guarantees of equal protection and due process, the Voting Rights Act, and Ohio right to vote. We believe it is the statutory duty for the Secretary of State to investigate to investigate irregularities of this nature.***

Mahoning County – Innumerable Flipped Votes and Extra Votes

Facts

We have received numerous reports of transfers of votes for Senator Kerry to votes for President Bush. Specifically, in Youngstown, the *Washington Post* reported that their investigation revealed 25 electronic machines transferred an unknown number of Kerry votes to the Bush column.²²⁹ Jeanne White, a veteran voter and manager at the Buckeye Review, an African American newspaper, stepped into the booth, pushed the button for Kerry – and watched her vote jump to the Bush column. “I saw what happened; I started screaming: ‘They’re cheating again and they’re starting early!’”²³⁰ The Election Protection Coalition also confirmed these voting “glitches” noting that a “voter reported “Every time I tried to vote for the Democratic Party Presidential vote the machine went blank. I had to keep trying, it took 5 times.”²³¹

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- If County officials were not advised of terrorist activity by an FBI agent, have you inquired as to why they misrepresented this fact? If the lockdown was not as a response to a terrorist threat, why did it take place? Did any manipulation of vote tallies occur?

²²⁹ See Powell & Selvin, *supra*.

²³⁰ *Id.*

²³¹ See PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY, ET AL., ELECTION PROTECTION 2004, SHATTERING THE MYTH: AN INITIAL SNAPSHOT OF VOTER DISENFRANCHISEMENT IN THE 2004 ELECTIONS 22 (Dec. 2004).

The voting machine in Youngstown experienced what election officials called "calibration problems."²³² Thomas McCabe, Deputy Director of the Mahoning County Board of Elections, stated that the problem "happens every election" and "[i]t's something we have to live with and we can fix it."²³³

There is also information, still being investigated, that in several precincts, there were more votes counted by machine than signatures in poll books (which includes absentee voters). This would mean that more people voted by machine at a precinct than actually appeared at that location. For example, in CMP 4C Precinct, there were 279 signatures and 280 machine votes. In BLV 1 Precinct, there were 396 signatures but 398 machine votes. In AUS 12 Precinct, there were 372 signatures but 376 machine votes. In POT 1 Precinct, there were 479 signatures but 482 machine votes, and in YGN 6F Precinct, there were 270 signatures but 273 machine votes. It would appear from these numbers that the machines counted more votes than voters.

Secretary of State Blackwell has refused to answer any of the questions concerning these matters posed to him by Ranking Member Conyers and 11 other Members of the Judiciary Committee on December 2, 2004.²³⁴

Analysis

Evidence strongly suggests many individuals voting in Mahoning County for Senator Kerry had their votes recorded for President Bush. ***Due to lack of cooperation from Secretary of State Blackwell, we have not been able to ascertain the number of votes that were impacted or whether the machines malfunctioned due to intentional manipulation or error.*** This determination would help us determine if the Voting Rights Act was also violated. Ascertaining the precise cause and culprit could help ensure that the error does not occur in the future. Secretary of State Blackwell's apparent failure to initiate any investigation into this serious computer error would seem inconsistent with his statutory duty to review these matters.

Butler County – The Strange Case of the Downballot Candidate Outperforming the Presidential Candidate

²³² *Id.*

²³³ *Id.*

²³⁴ See Letter from John Conyers, Jr., Jerrold Nadler, Tammy Baldwin, Melvin L. Watt, Linda Sanchez, Robert Wexler, Maxine Waters, Sheila Jackson Lee, Martin Meehan, Zoe Lofgren and Anthony Weiner to the Honorable J. Kenneth Blackwell, Ohio Secretary of State, (Dec. 2, 2004) (on file with the House Judiciary Committee Democratic Staff and at http://www.house.gov/judiciary_democrats/ohblackwelltr12204.pdf). Secretary Blackwell was asked the following question:

- Please let us know if you have conducted any investigation or inquiry of machine voting problems in the state, including the above described problems in Mahoning County, and the results of this investigation or inquiry.

In Butler County, a Democratic candidate for State Supreme Court, C. Ellen Connally, received 59,532 votes.²³⁵ In contrast, the Kerry-Edwards ticket received only 54,185 votes, 5,000 less than the State Supreme Court candidate.²³⁶ Additionally, the victorious Republican candidate for State Supreme Court received approximately 40,000 less votes than the Bush-Cheney ticket.²³⁷ Further, Connally received 10,000 or more votes in excess of Kerry's total number of votes in five counties and 5,000 more votes in excess of Kerry's total in ten others.²³⁸

According to media reports of Ohio judicial races, Republican judicial candidates were "awash in cash," with more than \$1.4 million in campaign funding, as well as additional independent expenditures made by the Ohio Chamber of Commerce.²³⁹

Secretary of State Blackwell has refused to answer any of the questions concerning these matters posed to him by Ranking Member Conyers and 11 other Members of the Judiciary Committee on December 2, 2004.²⁴⁰

²³⁵*Election Results*, CINCINNATI ENQUIRER, Nov. 4, 2004.

²³⁶*Id.*

²³⁷*Id.*

²³⁸Unofficial Results, Ohio Secretary of State website, Nov. 30, 2004. There are a number of peculiar results that appear to run counter to the established principle that downballot party candidates receive far less votes than the presidential candidate of the same party. These results also are counter to the statewide trend in Ohio, where Kerry received 48.5% of the vote to 46.6% for Connally. In Adams County, John Kerry barely received more votes than Connally, 4189 to 4010. In Auglaize County, Connolly received more votes than Kerry, 7312 to 5729. Similar results were tallied in Brown County, with Kerry receiving 7058 votes to Connally's 7407; in Clermont County, Connally received 29,464 to Kerry's 25,318; in Darke County, Connally received 8817 to Kerry's 6683; in Highland County, Connally received 6119 to Kerry's 6012; in Mercer County, Connally received 6607 to Kerry's 4924; in Miami County, Connally received 17,206 to Kerry's 17,039; in Putnam County, Connally received 4,785 votes to Kerry's 4,348.

²³⁹T.C. Brown, *Republicans Sweep in State High Court*, CLEVELAND PLAIN DEALER, Nov. 3, 2004.

²⁴⁰See Letter from John Conyers, Jr., Jerrold Nadler, Tammy Baldwin, Melvin L. Watt, Linda Sanchez, Robert Wexler, Maxine Waters, Sheila Jackson Lee, Martin Meehan, Zoe Lofgren and Anthony Weiner to the Honorable J. Kenneth Blackwell, Ohio Secretary of State, (Dec. 2, 2004) (on file with the House Judiciary Committee Democratic Staff and at http://www.house.gov/judiciary_democrats/ohblackwellltr12204.pdf). Secretary Blackwell was asked to respond to the following:

- Have you examined how an underfunded Democratic State Supreme Court candidate could receive so many more votes in Butler County than the Kerry-Edwards ticket? If so,

Analysis

It appears implausible that 5,000 voters waited in line to cast votes for an underfunded Democratic Supreme Court candidate and then declined to cast a vote for the most well-funded Democratic Presidential campaign in history. We have been able to ascertain no answer to the question of how an underfunded Democratic State Supreme Court candidate could receive such a disproportionately large number of votes in Butler County over the Kerry-Edwards ticket. This raises the possibility that thousands votes for Senator Kerry were lost, either through manipulation or mistake. The loss of these votes would likely violate constitutional protections of equal protection and due process; if manipulation is involved, that would also violate the Voting Rights Act and Ohio election law.²⁴¹ This anomaly calls for an investigation, which Mr. Blackwell has failed to initiate.

Cuyahoga County – Palm Beach County for Pat Buchanan-Redux?

Facts

It has been well documented that a flawed Palm Beach County ballot design in the 2000 Florida Presidential election may well have cost Al Gore thousands of votes, by misrecording such votes as votes for Pat Buchanan.²⁴² A similar problem may well have occurred in Cleveland in 2004.

Precincts in Cleveland have reported an incredibly high number of votes for third party candidates who have historically received only a handful of votes from these urban areas. For example, precinct 4F in the 4th Ward cast 290 votes for Kerry, 21 for Bush, and 215 for Constitution Party candidate Michael Peroutka.²⁴³ In 2000, the same precinct cast less than 8 voters for all third party candidates combined.²⁴⁴ This pattern is found in at least 10 precincts

could you provide us with the results of your examination? Is there any precedent in Ohio for a downballot candidate receiving on a percentage or absolute basis so many more votes that the presidential candidate of the same party in this or any other presidential election? Please let us know if any other County in Ohio registered such a disparity on a percentage or absolute basis.

²⁴¹The following provisions of Ohio Revised Code prohibit ballot tampering: § 3599.24 (destructive of property used in elections); § 3599.27 (tampering with voting machines or vote tabulators); § 3599.33 (fraudulent writing on ballots or election records); § 3599.34 (destruction or alteration of records).

²⁴²*Newspaper: Butterfly Ballot Cost Gore White House*, <http://www.CNN.com>; Mar. 11, 2001.

²⁴³Juan Gonzalez, *Ohio Tally Fit for Ukraine*, N.Y. DAILY NEWS, Nov. 30, 2004.

²⁴⁴*Id.*

throughout Cleveland in 2004, awarding hundreds of unlikely votes to the third party candidate.²⁴⁵ Notably, these precincts share more than a strong Democratic history; they share the use of a punch card ballot.²⁴⁶ This problem was created by the combination of polling sites for multiple precincts, coupled with incorrect information provided by poll workers.

In Cuyahoga County, each precinct rotates candidate ballot position.²⁴⁷ Therefore, each ballot must go into a machine calibrated for its own precinct in order for the voter's intent to be counted.²⁴⁸ In these anomalous precincts, ballots were fed into the wrong machine, switching Kerry votes into third party votes.²⁴⁹ This was done on the advice of poll workers who told voters that they could insert their ballots into any open machine—and machines were not clearly marked indicating that they would work only for their designated precinct.²⁵⁰

Secretary of State Blackwell has refused to answer any of the questions concerning these matters posed to him by Ranking Member Conyers and 11 other Members of the Judiciary Committee on December 2, 2004.²⁵¹

Analysis

²⁴⁵*Id.*

²⁴⁶*Id.*

²⁴⁷*Shared Voter Machines in Ohio Caused Problems, Paper Says*, ASSOC. PRESS, Dec. 11, 2004.

²⁴⁸*Id.*

²⁴⁹*Id.*

²⁵⁰*Id.*

²⁵¹Letter from John Conyers, Jr., Jerrold Nadler, Tammy Baldwin, Melvin L. Watt, Linda Sanchez, Robert Wexler, Maxine Waters, Sheila Jackson Lee, Martin Meehan, Zoe Lofgren and Anthony Weiner to the Honorable J. Kenneth Blackwell, Ohio Secretary of State (Dec. 2, 2004) (on file with the House Judiciary Committee Democratic Staff and at http://www.house.gov/judiciary_democrats/ohblackwelltr12204.pdf). Secretary Blackwell was asked the following:

- Have you investigated whether the punch card system used in Cuyahoga County led to voters accidentally voting for third party candidates instead of the Democratic candidate they intended? If so, what were the results? Has a third party candidate ever received such a high percentage of votes in these precincts?
- Have you found similar problems in other counties? Have you found similar problems with other voting methods?

It appears that hundreds, if not thousands, of votes intended to be cast for Senator Kerry were recorded as being for a third party candidate. At this point it is unclear whether these voting errors resulted from worker negligence and error or intentional manipulation. While Cuyahoga County election official Michael Vu said he would investigate,²⁵² there has been no further explanation about what will be done to remedy this situation, and Secretary of State Blackwell has refused to cooperate in our investigation or pursue his own inquiry. ***In any event, those voters whose votes were not properly counted suffered a violation of their constitutional protections of equal protection and due process; if intentional manipulation is involved, this would also implicate the Voting Rights Act and Ohio election law***²⁵³

Franklin County (Gahana) – How does a computer give George W. Bush nearly 4,000 extra votes?

Facts

On election day, a computerized voting machine in ward 1B in the Gahana precinct of Franklin County recorded a total of 4,258 votes for President Bush and 260 votes for Democratic challenger John Kerry.²⁵⁴ However, there are only 800 registered voters in that Gahana precinct, and only 638 people cast votes at the New Life Church polling site.²⁵⁵ It has since been discovered that a computer glitch resulted in the recording of 3,893 extra votes for President George W. Bush²⁵⁶ – the numbers were adjusted to show President Bush's true vote count at 365 votes and Senator Kerry's at 260 votes.²⁵⁷

Secretary of State Blackwell has refused to answer any of the questions concerning these matters posed to him by Ranking Member Conyers and 11 other Members of the Judiciary Committee on December 2, 2004.²⁵⁸

²⁵²*Id.*

²⁵³The following provisions of Ohio Revised Code prohibit ballot tampering: § 3599.24 (destructive of property used in elections); § 3599.27 (tampering with voting machines or vote tabulators); § 3599.33 (fraudulent writing on ballots or election records); § 3599.34 (destruction or alteration of records).

²⁵⁴Jim Woods, *In One Precinct, Bush's Tally Was Supersized by a Computer Glitch*, COLUMBUS DISPATCH, Nov. 5, 2004.

²⁵⁵*Id.*

²⁵⁶*Id.*

²⁵⁷*Glitch Gave Bush Extra Votes in Ohio*, ASSOC. PRESS, Nov. 5, 2004.

²⁵⁸See Letter from John Conyers, Jr., Jerrold Nadler, Tammy Baldwin, Melvin L. Watt, Linda Sanchez, Robert Wexler, Maxine Waters, Sheila Jackson Lee, Martin Meehan, Zoe Lofgren and Anthony Weiner to the Honorable J. Kenneth Blackwell, Ohio Secretary of State

Analysis

At this point it is unclear whether the computer glitch was intentional or not, as we have received no cooperation from Secretary Blackwell or other authorities in resolving the question. In order to resolve this issue for future elections, it must be determined how it was initially discovered that such a computer glitch did and could occur and what procedures were employed to alert other counties upon the discovery of the malfunction. Further, a determination should be made as to whether we can be absolutely certain that this particular malfunction did not occur in other counties in Ohio during the 2004 Presidential election, and what actions have been taken to ensure that this type of malfunction does not happen in the future.

Miami County – Where did nearly 20,000 extra votes for George W. Bush come from?

Facts

In Miami County, voter turnout was a highly suspect and improbable 98.55 percent.²⁵⁹ With 100% of the precincts reporting on Wednesday, November 3, 2004, President Bush received 20,807 votes, or 65.80% of the vote, and Senator Kerry received 10,724 votes, or 33.92% of the vote.²⁶⁰ Thus, Miami reported a total of 31,620 voters. Inexplicably, nearly 19,000 new ballots were added after all precincts reported, boosting President Bush's vote count to 33,039, or 65.77%, while Senator Kerry's vote percentage stayed exactly the same to three one-hundredths of a percentage point at 33.92 percent.²⁶¹ Roger Kearney of Rhombus Technologies, Ltd., the reporting company responsible for vote results of Miami County, stated

(Dec. 2, 2004) (on file with the House Judiciary Committee Democratic Staff and at http://www.house.gov/judiciary_democrats/ohblackwelltr12204.pdf). Secretary Blackwell was asked to respond to the following:

- How was it discovered that this computer glitch occurred?
- What procedures were employed to alert other counties upon the discovery of the malfunction?
- Can you be absolutely certain that this particular malfunction did not occur in other counties in Ohio during the 2004 Presidential election? How?
- What is being done to ensure that this type of malfunction does not happen again in the future?

²⁵⁹See Moss v. Bush, No. 04-2088 ¶ 118 (Ohio Sup. Ct. filed Dec. 17, 2004).

²⁶⁰Bob Fittrakis, *None Dare Call it Voter Suppression and Fraud*, THE FREE PRESS, Nov. 7, 2004.

²⁶¹Ohio Secretary of State 2004 Presidential Vote Results, www.sos.state.oh.us/sos/results/11-02-04.htm.

that the problem was not with his reporting and that the additional 19,000 votes were added before 100% of the precincts were in.²⁶²

Secretary of State Blackwell has refused to answer any of the questions concerning these matters posed to him by Ranking Member Conyers and 11 other Members of the Judiciary Committee on December 2, 2004.²⁶³

Analysis

Mr. Kearney's statement does not explain how the vote count could change for President Bush, but not for Senator Kerry, after 19,000 new votes were added to the roster. Thus, we are primarily concerned with identifying a valid explanation for the statistical anomaly that showed virtually identical ratios after the final 20-40% of the votes were counted. Specifically, we have received no explanation as to how the vote count in this particular county could have changed for President Bush, but not for Senator Kerry, after 19,000 new votes were added to the roster. ***The vote results in Miami constitute yet another significant anomaly in the tens of thousands range without any explanation or investigation by Secretary of State Blackwell, leading us to conclude that there is likely some vote error or vote manipulation. This could constitute a violation of constitutional guarantees of equal protection and due process and, if intentional, would likely violate the Voting Rights Act and Ohio election law.***²⁶⁴

Perry County – Discrepancy in Number of Votes and Voters

Facts

²⁶²Bob Fittrakis, *And So the Sorting and Discarding of Kerry Votes Begins*, THE FREE PRESS, Nov. 10, 2004.

²⁶³See Letter from John Conyers, Jr., Jerrold Nadler, Tammy Baldwin, Melvin L. Watt, Linda Sanchez, Robert Wexler, Maxine Waters, Sheila Jackson Lee, Martin Meehan, Zoe Lofgren and Anthony Weiner to the Honorable J. Kenneth Blackwell, Ohio Secretary of State (Dec. 2, 2004) (on file with the House Judiciary Committee Democratic Staff and at http://www.house.gov/judiciary_democrats/ohblackwelltr12204.pdf). Secretary Blackwell was asked for the following information:

- What is your explanation as to the statistical anomaly that showed virtually identical ratios after the final 20-40% of the vote came in? In your judgement, how could the vote count in this County have changed for President Bush, but not for Senator Kerry, after 19,000 new votes were added to the roster?
- Are you aware of any pending investigation into this matter?

²⁶⁴The following provisions of Ohio Revised Code prohibit ballot tampering: § 3599.24 (destructive of property used in elections); § 3599.27 (tampering with voting machines or vote tabulators); § 3599.33 (fraudulent writing on ballots or election records); § 3599.34 (destruction or alteration of records).

The House Judiciary Committee Democratic staff has received information indicating discrepancies in vote tabulations in Perry County. Similar discrepancies have been found in other counties. For example, in Trumbull County there are apparently more absentee votes than absentee voters according to a recent study.²⁶⁵ For example, the sign-in book for the Reading S precinct indicates that approximately 360 voters cast ballots in that precinct.²⁶⁶ In the same precinct, the sign-in book indicates that there were 33 absentee votes cast.²⁶⁷ In sum, this would appear to mean that fewer than 400 total votes were cast in that precinct. Yet, the precinct's official tallies indicate that 489 votes were cast.²⁶⁸ In addition, some voters' names have two ballot stub numbers listed next to their entries, creating the appearance that voters were allowed to cast more than one ballot.²⁶⁹

In another precinct in Perry County, W Lexington G AB, 350 voters are registered according to the County's initial tallies.²⁷⁰ Yet, 434 voters cast ballots.²⁷¹ As the tallies indicate, this would be an impossible 124% voter turnout.²⁷² The breakdown on election night was initially reported to be 174 votes for Bush, and 246 votes for Kerry.²⁷³ We are advised that the Perry County Board of Elections has since issued a correction claiming that, due to a computer error, some votes were counted twice.²⁷⁴ We are advised that the new tallies state that only 224 people voted, and the tally is 90 votes for Bush and 127 votes for Kerry.²⁷⁵ This would make it appear that virtually every ballot was counted twice, which seems improbable.

²⁶⁵NEW STUDY: *More Absentee Votes than Voters in Ohio*, SCOOP, DEC. 12, 2004 at <http://www.scoop.co.nz/mason/stories/WO0412/S00154.htm>

²⁶⁶Ohio Secretary of State 2004 Presidential Vote Results, www.sos.state.oh.us/sos/results/2004/gen/pres.htm. Kerry received 25,399 votes out of 92,251 cast (27.53%). *Id.*

²⁶⁷Sign-In Book, Reading S Precinct, Perry County Board of Elections, 11/02/04 General Election, copy on file with House Judiciary Committee Democratic Staff.

²⁶⁸*Id.*

²⁶⁹Copy of Signed Printout of Initial Perry County Voting Tallies, on file with the House Judiciary Committee Democratic Staff.

²⁷⁰*Id.*

²⁷¹*Id.*

²⁷²*Id.*

²⁷³*Id.*

²⁷⁴Staff Interview with Election Volunteer, Dec. 1, 2004.

²⁷⁵*Id.*

In Madison Township, Precinct AAS, a review of the poll books shows that 481 people signed in to vote on election day,²⁷⁶ yet the Perry County Board of Elections is reporting that 493 votes were cast in that precinct,²⁷⁷ a difference of 13 votes. The same discrepancy appears with respect to Monroe Township AAV. The poll books show that 384 people signed in on election day to vote,²⁷⁸ while the Perry County Board of Elections reports that 393 votes were cast,²⁷⁹ a difference of 9 votes.²⁸⁰

We have also received information that in at least three precincts, Pike West AAY, New Lexington I AB, and Redfield AAC, more signatures appear in the sign-in books than votes cast. This would indicate that votes may have been thrown out.²⁸¹

In Perry County, there appears to be an extraordinarily high level of 91% voter registration; yet, a substantial number of these voters have never voted and have no signature on file.²⁸² Of the voters that are registered in Perry County, an extraordinarily large number of voters are listed as having registered in 1977, a year in which there were no federal elections.²⁸³ Of these, an exceptional number are listed as having registered on the exact same day: in total, 3,100 voters apparently registered in Perry County on November 8, 1977.²⁸⁴

²⁷⁶Sign-In Book, Madison AAS Precinct 0026, Perry County Board of Elections, 11/02/04 General Election, copy on file with the House Judiciary Committee Democratic Staff.

²⁷⁷See Copy of Signed Printout of Initial Perry County Voting Tallies, *supra*.

²⁷⁸Copy of Sign-In Book, Monroe AAV Precinct 0030, Perry County Board of Elections, 11/02/04 General Election, copy on file with the House Judiciary Committee Democratic Staff.

²⁷⁹See Copy of Signed Printout of Initial Perry County Voting Tallies, *supra*.

²⁸⁰An election volunteer has also provided us with information on Hopewell East AAM and Coal Township AAE but we have not been able to obtain confirmation. The data we received indicates that in Hopewell East AAM, 339 people signed in to vote, but the Perry County Board of Elections reports that 355 votes were cast, a difference of 16 votes. Similarly, we received information that in Coal Township AAE, 84 people signed in to vote while the BOE reports 98 votes cast, a difference of 14 votes.

²⁸¹Staff Interview with Election Volunteer, Dec. 21, 2004.

²⁸²See Copy of Signed Printout of Initial Perry County Voting Tallies, *supra*.

²⁸³Spreadsheet of Ohio Secretary of State Voter Registration Database, on file with the House Judiciary Committee Democratic Staff.

²⁸⁴*Id.*

In addition, according to a Democratic staff count of the poll books, there are approximately 751 registered voters in Madison Township AAS,²⁸⁵ while the Perry County Board of Elections reports that there are 850 registered voters in that township.²⁸⁶

Secretary of State Blackwell has refused to answer any of the questions concerning these matters posed to him by Ranking Member Conyers and 11 other Members of the Judiciary Committee on December 2, 2004.²⁸⁷

Analysis

Clearly, there is an unexplained discrepancy between the actual vote tallies and the number of registered voters in various precincts as well as other statistical anomalies in the County. *Given the lack of any explanation to date, and an absence of willingness by Secretary Blackwell or any other authorities to explain or investigate these irregularities, it is not inconceivable that some sort of vote tampering has occurred. If so, that would likely constitute a denial of the constitutional guarantees of equal protection and due process, the Voting Rights Act, and Ohio election law.*²⁸⁸

²⁸⁵See Copy of Sign-In Book, Madison AAS Precinct 0026, *supra*.

²⁸⁶See Copy of Signed Printout of Initial Perry County Voting Tallies, *supra*.

²⁸⁷See Letter from John Conyers, Jr., Jerrold Nadler, Tammy Baldwin, Melvin L. Watt, Linda Sanchez, Robert Wexler, Maxine Waters, Sheila Jackson Lee, Martin Meehan, Zoe Lofgren and Anthony Weiner to the Honorable J. Kenneth Blackwell, Ohio Secretary of State (Dec. 2, 2004) (on file with the House Judiciary Committee Democratic Staff and at http://www.house.gov/judiciary_democrats/ohblackwellltr12204.pdf). Secretary Blackwell was asked to respond to the following:

- Why does it appear that there are more votes than voters in the Reading S precinct of Perry County?
- What is the explanation for the fluctuating results in the W Lexington AB precinct?
- Why does it appear that there are more votes than voters in the Monroe Township precinct AAV?

²⁸⁸The following provisions of Ohio Revised Code prohibit ballot tampering: § 3599.24 (destructive of property used in elections); § 3599.27 (tampering with voting machines or vote tabulators); §3599.33 (fraudulent writing on ballots or election records); §3599.34 (destruction or alteration of records).

Republicans in the State of Washington are currently citing such “mystery voters” as evidence of fraud. The State Republican Chairman has commented, “people ask me what fraud would look like? It would look like this.”²⁸⁹

2. Myriad Other Problems and Irregularities

We learned of literally thousands upon thousands of additional irregularities in Ohio. As a matter of fact, the Election Protection Commission has testified that to date, there have been over 3,300 incidents of voting irregularities entered for Ohio alone.²⁹⁰ The following is a brief highlight of some of the more egregious irregularities we have learned of during the course of our investigation:

a. Intimidation and Misinformation

Facts

In the course of our hearings we learned:

- The NAACP testified that it received over 200 calls regarding incidents of suspected voter intimidation or unusual election related activities, particularly actions taken by challengers who intimidated poll workers and voters. Other specific incidents involved a caller who reported that someone was going door-to-door telling people they were not registered to vote. A voter in Franklin County received information in the mail identified as being from the state that said he would have to vote by provisional ballot because he had moved; in fact, the voter had not moved and had lived at the address for 10-15 years. One polling place worker was only asking African American voters for their address. A new voter was told that there were vote challengers at her precinct. When she was voting, she was confused by the punch cards. She was afraid to ask poll workers for help for fear that she would be challenged. Vote challengers were demanding that voters provide ID, leading many people to leave. This egregious behavior should be curtailed by the state.²⁹¹
- In Franklin County, a worker at the Holiday Inn observed a team of 25 people who called themselves the “Texas Strike Force” using payphones to make intimidating calls to likely voters, targeting people recently in the prison system. The “Texas Strike Force” members paid their way to Ohio, but their hotel accommodations were paid for by the

²⁸⁹Chris McGann, *Rossi Given Fresh Hope as ‘Mystery Voters’ Grow*, SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER, Jan. 4, 2005, at http://seattlepi.nwsource.com/local/206446_governor04.html

²⁹⁰*Preserving Democracy - What Went Wrong in Ohio, Judiciary Democratic Forum* (Dec. 8, 2004) (statement of Jon Greenbaum, Director, the Voting Rights Project).

²⁹¹*Preserving Democracy - What Went Wrong in Ohio, Judiciary Democratic Forum*, (Dec. 8, 2004) (statement of Hilary Shelton, Director, Washington Bureau, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People).

Ohio Republican Party, whose headquarters is across the street. The hotel worker heard one caller threaten a likely voter with being reported to the FBI and returning to jail if he voted. Another hotel worker called the police, who came but did nothing.²⁹²

- Phone calls incorrectly informed voters that their polling place had changed.²⁹³
- The *Cleveland Plain Dealer* found that several Lake County residents received an official-looking letter on Board of Elections letterhead informing them that their polling place had changed or that they were not properly registered to vote.²⁹⁴
- On election day, a fake voter bulletin from Franklin County Board of Elections was posted at polling locations, and fliers were distributed in the inner city, telling Republicans to vote on Tuesday and Democrats to vote on Wednesday due to unexpected heavy voter registration.²⁹⁵
- In Cleveland, the *Washington Post* reported that unknown volunteers began showing up at voters' doors illegally offering to collect and deliver complete absentee ballots to the election office.²⁹⁶
- The Election Protection Coalition testified that in Franklin County, voters received fliers informing them that they could cast a ballot on November 3.²⁹⁷
- In Franklin County there were reports that about a dozen voters were contacted by someone claiming to be from the county board of elections, telling them their voting location was changed.²⁹⁸

²⁹²*Judiciary Democratic 2004 Election Forum* (Dec. 13, 2004) (statement of Prof. Robert Fittrakis); see also Fittrakis et al., *supra*.

²⁹³Jo Becker & David Finkel, *Now They're Registered, Now They're Not*, WASH. POST, Oct. 31, 2004, at A22.

²⁹⁴Grant Segall, *Voters Told to Ignore Hoax*, THE PLAIN DEALER, Oct. 29, 2004.

²⁹⁵Bob Fittrakis, *None Dare Call it Voter Suppression*, THE FREE PRESS, Nov. 7, 2004.

²⁹⁶See Becker & Finkel, *supra*.

²⁹⁷See *Judiciary Democratic Forum* (Dec. 8, 2004) (statement of Jon Greenbaum, Director, the Voting Rights Project).

²⁹⁸See *Judiciary Democratic 2004 Election Forum* (Dec. 13, 2004) (statement of Prof. Robert Fittrakis, Editor, The Free Press).

- “Door-hangers” telling African-American voters to go to the wrong precinct were distributed.²⁹⁹

Analysis

The use of intimidation and misinformation in Ohio on election day was widespread and pervasive and clearly suppressed the vote. The NAACP testified that they received over 200 complaints of such acts in Ohio, so it is likely the actual number of incidents ranged in the thousands, if not higher. It is difficult to estimate how many of these incidents actually resulted in lost votes.

These incidents of voter intimidation and misinformation clearly violate the Voting Rights Act, the Civil Rights Act of 1968, Equal Protection, Due Process and the Ohio right to vote. The fact that Secretary Blackwell did not initiate a single investigation into these many serious allegations may represent a violation of his statutory duty to investigate election irregularities. Cases of intimidation and misinformation such as we have seen in Ohio appear to have become a regular feature of our election landscape and would appear to warrant the development of a stronger investigative and law enforcement system than we have at present, at both the state and federal levels.³⁰⁰

b. Machine Irregularities

Facts

In the course of our hearings we learned:

- In Auglaize County, there were voting machine errors. In a letter dated October 21, 2004, Ken Nuss, former deputy director of the County Board of Elections, claimed that Joe McGinnis, a former employee of ES&S, the company that provides the voting systems in Auglaize County, had access to and used the main computer that is used to create the ballot and compile election results. Mr. McGinnis’s access to and use of the main computer was a violation of county board of election protocol. After calling attention to this irregularity in the voting system, Mr. Nuss was suspended and then resigned.³⁰¹
- In Cuyahoga County and Franklin County, there were voting machine errors with respect to absentee ballots. The arrows on the absentee ballots did not align with the correct

²⁹⁹E-mail from Cincinnati-area election volunteer, on file with the House Judiciary Committee Democratic Staff.

³⁰⁰GAO-04-1041R DOJ Activities to Address Past Voting Irregularities (Sept. 14, 2004)

³⁰¹Moss v. Bush, No. 04-2088 ¶ 98.

punch hole. This likely led to voters casting a vote for a candidate other than the candidate they intended to support.³⁰²

- In Mahoning County, one precinct in Youngstown recorded a negative 25 million votes.³⁰³
- In Mercer County, one voting machine showed that 289 people cast punch card ballots, but only 51 votes were recorded for president. The county's website appeared to show a similar anomaly, reporting that 51,818 people cast ballots but only 47,768 ballots were recorded in the presidential race, including 61 write-ins, meaning that approximately 4,000 votes, or nearly 7%, were not counted for a presidential candidate.³⁰⁴
- At our Washington, D.C. hearing, investigative journalist Bob Fittrakis highlighted malfunctions in Lucas County: "When the machines in Lucas County, which is a heavily Democratic county, when they are locked in the principal's office and nobody may vote at that site; when they're going wrong all day, and the [Lucas County Election Director Paula Hicks-Hudson] admits the test failed prior to that, and the software is provided, of course, by Diebold, whose CEO, Walden O'Dell, is a member of President Bush's Pioneer and Ranger team, has visited the Crawford ranch and wrote a letter promising to deliver the electoral votes of Ohio, one has to be somewhat suspect."³⁰⁵
- In Hamilton County, the *Washington Post* learned many absentee ballots did not include Kerry's name because workers accidentally removed Kerry when removing Ralph Nader's name from the ballots.³⁰⁶

Analysis

There is no doubt that there were a number of machine irregularities and glitches in the election, beyond the major discrepancies highlighted earlier in our report. However, it is difficult for us to quantify the number of votes that were altered or affected by these irregularities.

Given the lack of cooperation we have received from the Secretary of State's office, it is difficult for us to ascertain whether the glitches were the result of mistake, negligence, or

³⁰²*Id.* ¶ 102.

³⁰³*Id.* ¶ 114.

³⁰⁴*Id.* ¶ 115.

³⁰⁵ *Judiciary Democratic Forum* (Dec. 8, 2004) (testimony of Prof. Robert Fittrakis, Editor, *The Free Press* at 49-50).

³⁰⁶ *Kerry's Name Omitted from Some Ballots*, COLUMBUS DISPATCH, Oct. 19, 2004.

intentional misconduct. *Depending on the type of misconduct involved, these errors may constitute violations of the Voting Rights Act, Equal Protection and Due Process, and Ohio's right to vote. Moreover, it would appear that Secretary Blackwell's apparent failure to follow-up on these machine errors by way of an investigation would violate his duty to investigate election law irregularities.*

The role of voting machines and computers in our election represents an increasingly serious issue in our democracy. Our concerns are exacerbated by the fact that there are very few companies who manufacture and operate voting machines, and they tend to be controlled by executives who donate largely, if not exclusively, to the Republican Party and Republican candidates. *Issues such as the need for verifiable paper trails and greater accountability all warrant further investigation and possibly legislation.*

c. Registration Irregularities and Official Misconduct and Errors

Facts

In the course of our hearings we learned:

- A *Washington Post* investigation found that many longtime voters discovered their registrations had been purged.³⁰⁷
- Numerous voters were incorrectly listed on roster as felons, and thus not allowed to vote.³⁰⁸
- The NAACP testified to receiving over 1,000 calls related to voter registration issues, generally from individuals who were not on the voter rolls even though they had voted in previous elections, individuals with questions on how to register, and individuals with concerns about not receiving a voter registration card.³⁰⁹
- The Election Protection Coalition found that "Individuals frequently reported having "disappeared" from the voter rolls ... Many individuals expressed concerns that they had registered but never received confirmation or were not listed on the voter rolls at the precincts."³¹⁰

³⁰⁷See Powell & Slevin, *supra*.

³⁰⁸Bob Fittrakis, *None Dare Call it Voter Suppression*, THE FREE PRESS, Nov. 7, 2004.

³⁰⁹See *Judiciary Democratic Forum* (Dec. 8, 2004) (statement of Hilary Shelton, Director, Washington Bureau, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People).

³¹⁰See PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY ET AL., ELECTION PROTECTION 2004, SHATTERING THE MYTH: AN INITIAL SNAPSHOT OF VOTER DISENFRANCHISEMENT IN THE 2004 ELECTIONS 21.

- At our Columbus, Ohio hearing, several documented problems in Cuyahoga County were brought to our attention by the Greater Cleveland Voter Registration Coalition (GCVRC).³¹¹ GCVRC registered approximately 10,000 voters before the 2004 elections, yet when they tracked the registrations, 3.5% were either not entered at all or entered incorrectly, completely disenfranchising the applicants.³¹² While the board of Cuyahoga County was alerted to this problem as early as September, no corrective measures were taken.³¹³ Projected out county-wide, over 10,000 people were likely not correctly registered and lost their right to vote.³¹⁴ These registration problems led to provisional ballots being thrown out.³¹⁵
- The NAACP reported that many voters complained they were asked to show ID when they thought it was unnecessary or were unable to vote because they lacked proper ID. At several locations in Cuyahoga County, all voters were being asked for ID, not just new voters. A voter called to say that all voters are being asked for ID. The poll workers were checking the address of the voter against the address on the registration and if they did not match, the voter was being turned away, often without casting a provisional ballot. In still another case, a voter was challenged because the address on the ID did not match the registration address (but was in the same precinct).³¹⁶
- There were numerous cases where election workers sent voters to the wrong precinct.³¹⁷
- A voter stated that a polling place in Cleveland ran out of ballots, and put in an emergency

³¹¹See December 13, 2004 Update of Document Submitted to the Judiciary Committee Democrats on December 7, 2004: Election Irregularities in Cuyahoga County, Ohio, Greater Cleveland Voter Registration Coalition, *available at* www.house.gov/judiciary_democrats.

³¹²*Id.* at 1.

³¹³*Id.* Board of Elections Director Michael Vu was notified no less than seven times.

³¹⁴*Id.*

³¹⁵*Id.* at 2. GCVRC was able to track at least 463 rejected absentee ballots cast by voters who submitted registration forms but did not show up on the rolls correctly.

³¹⁶See *Judiciary Democratic Forum* (Dec. 8, 2004) (statement of Hilary Shelton, Director, Washington Bureau, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People).

³¹⁷Connie Mabin, *Buzzing Bees, Long Lines among Hurdles at Ohio Polls*, ASSOC. PRESS, Nov. 2, 2004.

request for ballots but did not receive them.³¹⁸

- The *Associated Press* reported that officials ticketed lawfully parked cars at the polling stations.³¹⁹
- Election protection volunteers received complaints about provisional ballots from voters, many of whom reported being denied the opportunity to vote by provisional ballot. Some polling places either ran out of provisional ballots or never had any at their location. For example: a voter registered to vote in September. When she went to the polling place in Cuyahoga County on Election Day, they said she was not registered and they refused to give her a provisional ballot.³²⁰
- In Franklin County, some voters, who were in line to vote, but outside of the doors to the polling place, were sent home at 7:30 p.m. when the polls closed.³²¹

Analysis

Just as we witnessed in the Florida presidential debacle four years ago, improper purging and other errors by election officials represent a very serious problem and have a particularly negative impact on minority voters. *The fact that the Greater Cleveland Voter Registration Coalition projects that in Cuyahoga County alone over 10,000 Ohio citizens lost their right to vote as a result of official registration errors and that the NAACP received more than 1,000 purging complaints on election day indicate that the overall number of voters who may have been disenfranchised as a result of official mistakes and wrongful purging is in the scores of thousands, if not more.* Congressional passage of HAVA's provisional ballot requirement was intended to mitigate errors such as this, but Secretary Blackwell's unduly narrow interpretation of this requirement, as well as weak rules for counting and checking provisional ballots, have made it far less likely that individuals whose registration was wrongfully purged or never entered would be able to receive a provisional ballot and have it counted.

Given the information we have, it is unclear whether improper purging and other registration errors which appear so prevalent in Ohio were the result of human mistake or intentional misconduct. *If it was intentional, a strong case can be made that it violated the Voting Rights Act, Equal Protection, Due Process, possibly the National Voter Registration*

³¹⁸See *Judiciary Democratic Forum* (Dec. 8, 2004) (statement of Hilary Shelton, Director, Washington Bureau, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People).

³¹⁹See Mabin, *supra*.

³²⁰See PEOPLE FOR THE AMERICAN WAY ET AL, ELECTION PROTECTION 2004, SHATTERING THE MYTH: AN INITIAL SNAPSHOT OF VOTER DISENFRANCHISEMENT IN THE 2004 ELECTIONS 22.

³²¹*Id.* at 23.

Act, as well as Ohio's right to vote law. The Secretary of State's failure to investigate these registration errors and other irregularities may also violate his duties to do so under Ohio law.

HAVA funds were supposed to be used to implement a fairer and more efficient registration system statewide. Unfortunately, full funding has been delayed, and most states, including Ohio, have received waivers from this federal requirement.

3. General Problems

a. Spoiled Ballots – *Hanging Chads Again?*

Facts

Ohio had a significant number of spoiled votes – approximately 93,000.³²² These are ballots in which either no presidential vote was recorded or multiple votes were indicated and therefore ignored. For example, someone may not have filled in his presidential choice dark enough for an optical scan machine to read, but did fill it in clearly enough to be a valid selection in a hand count.³²³ In addition, a punch card voter may not have punched completely through his choice, leaving a “chad” attached that could not be read by the tabulator. However, that same chad could be read in a hand count because Ohio law provides that hanging chads may be considered valid votes as long as two corners are detached.³²⁴

According to a *New York Times* investigation, “the problem [with spoiled ballots] was pronounced in minority areas, typically Kerry strongholds. In Cleveland ZIP codes where at least 85% of the population is black, precinct results show that one in 31 ballots registered no vote for president, more than twice the rate of largely white ZIP codes where one in 75 registered no vote for president. Election officials say that nearly 77,000 of the 96,000 [spoiled] ballots were punch cards.”³²⁵

One of the principal purposes of the recount in Ohio was to ascertain the intent of these 93,000 ballots. However, by manipulation or otherwise every county in Ohio but Coshocton County avoided completing a full hand recount. This means that the vast majority of these spoiled ballots will never be reviewed.

The problem was particularly acute in two precincts in Montgomery County which had an undervote rate of over 25% each – accounting for nearly 6,000 voters who stood in line to

³²²Scott Hiaasen, *Like Clinging Chads, Kerry Faithful Hang On*, PLAIN DEALER, Nov. 6, 2004.

³²³*Id.*

³²⁴OHIO REV. CODE § 3515.04.

³²⁵*See Dao et al.*, *supra*.

vote, but purportedly declined to vote for president.³²⁶ This is in stark contrast to the 2% of undervoting county-wide.³²⁷ Disturbingly, predominately Democratic precincts had 75% more undervotes than those that were predominately Republican.³²⁸

Secretary of State Blackwell has refused to answer any of the questions concerning these matters posed to him by Ranking Member Conyers and 11 other Members of the Judiciary Committee on December 2, 2004.³²⁹

Analysis

Given the high level of interest in the presidential election in 2004, it is logical to assume that many of the persons casting spoiled ballots intended to cast a vote for president, so this irregularity alone could account for tens of thousands of disenfranchised votes, with a disproportionate amount being minority voters and Kerry voters. One of the reasons Ohio has such a large number of ballots is that the state relies so heavily on the outdated and antiquated punch card system that proved to be error prone in Florida. Sixty-eight of the 88 Ohio counties

³²⁶Ken McCall & Jim Bebbington, *Two Precincts had High Undercounts, Analysis Shows*, DAYTON DAILY NEWS, Nov. 18, 2004.

³²⁷*Id.*

³²⁸*Id.*

³²⁹*See* Letter from John Conyers, Jr., Jerrold Nadler, Tammy Baldwin, Melvin L. Watt, Linda Sanchez, Robert Wexler, Maxine Waters, Sheila Jackson Lee, Martin Meehan, Zoe Lofgren and Anthony Weiner to the Honorable J. Kenneth Blackwell, Ohio Secretary of State, (Dec. 2, 2004) (on file with the House Judiciary Committee Democratic Staff and at http://www.house.gov/judiciary_democrats/ohblackwelltr12204.pdf). Secretary Blackwell was asked to respond to the following:

- How many of those spoiled ballots were of the punch card or optical scan format and could therefore be examined in a recount?
- Of those votes that have a paper trail, how many votes for president were undercounted, or showed no preference for president? How many were overcounted, or selected more than one candidate for president? How many other ballots had an indeterminate preference?
- Of the total 93,000 spoiled ballots, how many were from predominately Democratic precincts? How many were from minority-majority precincts?
- Are you taking steps to ensure that there will be a paper trail for all votes before the 2006 elections so that spoiled ballots can be individually re-examined?

still rely on the outdated punch card machines.³³⁰ Thus, at least in the critical swing state of Ohio the promise of HAVA funding to help states acquire better equipment so that more votes could count has not been met.

With regard to the severe undercount voting figures in Montgomery County, we have not received any cooperation from Secretary Blackwell in ascertaining how this occurred. This may have been due to some equipment or poll worker error or, in the worst case, manipulation.

b. Exit Polls Bolster Claims of Irregularities and Fraud

Facts

An exit poll serves as a predictor of the final vote results in an election. It is conducted by interviewing voters about their vote selections as they are leaving the polls. The process for conducting reliable exit polls was largely created in 1967 by CBS News pollster and statistician, Warren Mitofsky, now known as “a world recognized expert in exit polling in particular and public opinion polling in general.”³³¹ Former Mexican President Carlos Salinas credited Mr. Mitofsky’s work for contributing to the prevention of fraud and an increase in credibility in the 1994 election in Mexico.³³²

The exit poll data taken on November 2, 2004, was compiled by two well-respected firms – Mitofsky International³³³ and Edison Media Research. Joseph Lenski, who conducted the exit polls for Edison Media Research, trained in the field of exit polling under Mr. Mitofsky before starting his own firm.³³⁴ They conducted the 2004 exit polls under a contract from the National Election Pool (NEP), a consortium of six news and media organizations: the Associated Press, ABC, CNN, CBS, NBC, and Fox.

In this year’s election, the National Election Pool conducted two types of exit polls: 73,000 voters were interviewed in statewide polls, and an additional 13,000 voters were

³³⁰See Dao, *et al.*, *supra*.

³³¹Moss v. Bush, No. 04-2088 ¶ 66.

³³²*Id.* See also Tim Golden, *Election Near, Mexicans Question the Questioners*, N.Y. TIMES, Aug. 10, 2004, at A3.

³³³Mitofsky International’s website states “Mitofsky International is a survey research company founded by Warren J. Mitofsky in 1993. Its primary business is conducting exit polls for major elections around the world. It does this work exclusively for news organizations. Mitofsky has directed exit polls and quick counts since 1967 for almost 3,000 electoral contests in the United States, Mexico, Russia and the Phillipines.”
<http://www.mitofskyinternational.com/company.htm>.

³³⁴See <http://www.mitofskyinternational.com>.

interviewed for a national poll. The national poll's sample size was approximately six times larger than the sample normally used in high quality pre-election national polls. This poll size would normally yield a very small margin of error and would be very accurate.³³⁵ Furthermore, such a poll would normally result in a close congruence between exit poll and official results.³³⁶ The sample size for Ohio was 1,963 voters, which is quite large for statistical purposes and equivalent to the 2,000 person norm for most national polls.³³⁷ In addition, this year's poll numbers were designed to account for absentee votes after a large number of absentee votes contributed to the inaccurate projections of the Florida race in 2000. This year, Mitofsky and Edison began telephone surveys in key states before the election to screen for absentee voters and create an accurate estimate of their votes.³³⁸

While exit pollsters caution against using their results to predict election results,³³⁹ exit polls can be extremely accurate, with only small variations from the official outcomes in numerous elections. For example, in the three most recent national elections in Germany, exit polls differed from the final official vote counts by an average of only 0.26%.³⁴⁰ Their results have proven to be very accurate; correctly predicting the winner with no evidence of systematic skew of the data.³⁴¹ United States exit polls have also been precise. Brigham Young University students' exit poll results for Utah in this election indicated 70.8% for Bush and 26.5% for Kerry. The official results were 71.1% for Bush and 26.4% for Kerry.³⁴²

³³⁵Moss v. Bush, No. 04-2088 ¶ 70.

³³⁶*Id.*

³³⁷Freeman at 10.

³³⁸See Howard Kurtz, *Networks Vow Caution in Calling Election; TV Executives Institute Reforms to Avoid Repeat of Erroneous 2000 Pronouncement*, WASH. POST, Oct. 12, 2004, at A7.

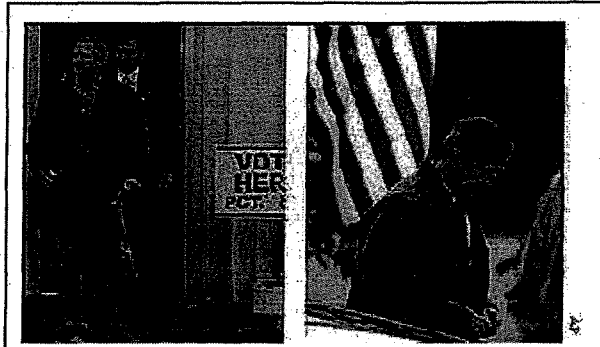
³³⁹*Id.* See also DAVID W. MOORE, *THE SUPERPOLLSTERS: HOW THEY MEASURE AND MANIPULATE PUBLIC OPINION IN AMERICA* 258 (Four Walls Eight Windows 2d ed. 1995) ("This caution in projecting winners is now a Mitofsky trademark, one which has served him well in most cases."). Mr. Moore is managing editor of the Gallup Poll.

³⁴⁰Freeman at 7.

³⁴¹*Id.*

³⁴²Freeman at 8.

In the Ohio election for 2004, early exit polls that were released just after noon on November 2 showed that Senator Kerry was leading President Bush by three percentage points.³⁴³ Shortly after midnight on November 3, exit poll data continued to indicate that 52.1% of Ohio voters selected Senator Kerry and 47.9% selected President Bush.³⁴⁴ These numbers, however, differed greatly from the final results of the election; in the official results, President Bush led Senator Kerry by 2.5 percentage points in Ohio.³⁴⁵



President Bush Votes in the 2004 Election

National poll data showed a similar shift from a clear advantage for Senator Kerry on Election Day to a victory for President Bush on the day after the election. Data that was provided by Edison/Mitofsky to the National Election Pool members at 4 p.m. on Election Day showed Senator Kerry leading 51% to 48%.³⁴⁶ These percentages held the same in the data released at 7:30 p.m. that day.³⁴⁷ By the time Senator Kerry conceded the election on Wednesday, November 3, the Edison/Mitofsky poll numbers had been aligned with reported vote counts. For the first time the poll numbers showed an advantage for President Bush with 51% to Senator Kerry's 48%.³⁴⁸

³⁴³See <http://www.zogby.com/search/ReadClips.dbm?ID=10454>.

³⁴⁴Steven F. Freeman, *Who Really Won the 2004 US Presidential Election? An Examination of Uncorrected Exit Poll Data*, Working Paper #04-10, Graduate Division, School of Arts & Sciences, Center for Organizational Dynamics, University of Pennsylvania, Nov. 12, 2004 (revised Nov. 23, 2004, additional grammatical changes Dec. 9, 2004), p.2, based on calculations by author of "uncorrected" exit poll data on CNN's web site at 12:21 am Nov. 3, 2004 (<http://www.cnn.com/ELECTION/2004/pages/results/states/OH/P/00/epolls.0.htm>) (see p. 4-5).

³⁴⁵See <http://serform.sos.state.oh.us/sos/boe/index.html>.

³⁴⁶United States General Exit Poll PRES04 - Horizontal Percentages, filtered for all respondents, based on 8349 interviews, weighted and created on 11/2/2004 at 3:59:05 PM.

³⁴⁷United States General Exit Polls PRES04 - Horizontal Percentages and PRES04 - Vertical Percentages, both filtered for all respondents, based on 11,027 interviews, weighted and created on 11/2/2004 at 7:33:46 PM.

³⁴⁸United States General Exit Polls PRES04 - Horizontal Percentages and PRES04 - Vertical Percentages, both filtered for all respondents, based on 13,660 interviews (just 2633 more interviews than were used in the 7:30 p.m. poll the night before), weighted and created on 11/3/2004 at 1:24:53 PM.

On December 3, 2004, Rep. Conyers requested the raw exit poll data from Mitofsky International.³⁴⁹ Mr. Mitofsky replied "The data are proprietary information gathered and held for the benefit of those news organizations, and I am not at liberty to release them."³⁵⁰ On December 21, 2004, as a follow-up, Rep. Conyers requested the data directly from the news wire and television companies that contracted with Mr. Mitofsky and Mr. Edison for the data.³⁵¹ Though the Congressman has not received a response to his letter, Edie Emery, a spokesperson for the NEP and a CNN employee, said the exit poll data was still being analyzed and that the NEP's board would decide how to release a full report in early 2005.³⁵² "To release any information now would be incomplete," she said.³⁵³ Furthermore, Jack Stokes, a spokesperson for the Associated Press said, "like Congressman Conyers, we believe the American people deserve answers. We want exit polling information to be made public as soon as it is available, as we intended. At this time, the data is still being evaluated for a final report to the National Election Pool."³⁵⁴

Analysis

Clearly something unusual is indicated by the differential between the exit poll information we have obtained and the final vote tallies in Ohio. It is rare, if not unprecedented, for election results to swing so dramatically from the exit poll predictions to the official results. Kerry was predicted to win Ohio by a differential of 4.2 percentage points. The official results showed Bush winning by 2.5 percentage points. The differential between the prediction for Kerry and the winning results for Bush represent a swing of 6.7 percentage points. According to University of Pennsylvania Professor Steven Freeman, this "exit poll discrepancy could not have been due to chance or random error."³⁵⁵ Professor Freeman has further concluded that statistical analysis shows a probability of 1 in 1,000 that the difference between

³⁴⁹Letter from the Honorable John Conyers, Jr., Ranking Member, U.S. House Comm. on the Judiciary, to Warren Mitofsky, Mitofsky International (Dec. 3, 2004).

³⁵⁰Letter from Warren Mitofsky to the Honorable John Conyers, Jr., Ranking Member, U.S. House Comm. on the Judiciary (Dec. 7, 2004).

³⁵¹Letters from the Honorable John Conyers, Jr., to Gail Berman, President, Fox; Anne Sweeny, President Disney-ABC Television Group; Jim Walton, President, CNN; Bob Wright, President, NBC; Thomas Curley, President, Associated Press; and Andrew Heyward, President, CBS (Dec. 21, 2004).

³⁵²*Michigan Congressman Seeks Poll Data*, ASSOC. PRESS, Dec. 22, 2004, available at <http://news.bostonherald.com/politics> and on the web sites of many other Associated Press subscribers.

³⁵³*Id.*

³⁵⁴*Id.*

³⁵⁵*See Freeman, supra* at 2.

Senator Kerry's share of the exit poll projection and the official count of the vote would be as much as the final 3.4% spread,³⁵⁶ a virtual impossibility.³⁵⁷ As a matter of fact, there are broad statistical variations of up to 9 percentage points between exit poll data and official results in Ohio and other key states in the 2004 election.³⁵⁸ In state after state, Senator Kerry's advantage in the exit poll results was lost by sizable margins.

The discrepancy between the exit polls and the official vote count must be due to an inaccurate poll or an inaccurate vote. Either there was unintentional error in the exit poll or the official vote count, willful manipulation of the exit poll or the official vote count, or other forms of fraud, manipulation or irregularities occurred in the electoral process. Pollsters Mitofsky and Lenski have intimated that their poll numbers deviated from the official results because a disproportionate number of Bush supporters refused to participate in their polls.³⁵⁹ However, Professor Freeman posits that part of the discrepancy is due to a miscount of the vote.³⁶⁰

As noted above, election polls are generally accurate and reliable. Pollsters are able to categorize their sources of error and develop extensive methodologies to limit those errors with each successive poll.³⁶¹ Political scientist Ken Warren noted claims, "... exit polling has become very sophisticated and reliable, not only because pollsters have embraced sound survey research techniques, but because they have learned through experience to make valid critical adjustment."³⁶² In fact, prominent survey researchers, political scientists and journalists "concur that exit polls are by far the most reliable" polls.³⁶³

Unfortunately, throughout American history various devices, schemes and legal structures have been used to shape the outcome of an election. Elections at every level of government have been skewed by tactics that deny voting rights, establish poll taxes, lose voter registrations, disqualify voters and disqualify ballots to ensure a certain outcome. The Florida

³⁵⁶Moss v. Bush, No. 04-2088 ¶ 73.

³⁵⁷See Freeman *supra* at 13.

³⁵⁸See Freeman *supra* at 2.

³⁵⁹See Steven F. Freeman, *Hypotheses for Explaining the Exit Poll-Official Count Discrepancy in the 2004 US Presidential Election (DRAFT)*, provided by author, Jan. 3, 2004, p. 3.

³⁶⁰*Id.*

³⁶¹*Id.* at 7.

³⁶²Mr. Mitofsky has worked on almost 3000 elections in his career and he has confirmed that the 2004 poll was conducted correctly. <http://www.mitofskyinternational.com>. See Freeman, *Hypotheses* at 6.

³⁶³Freeman, *Hypotheses* at 10.

election in 2000 provides ample evidence that our system is ripe with election irregularities that have profound impacts on our election outcomes.³⁶⁴

Elections are politically controlled, with extreme pressures for certain outcomes. In our system, victory can become more important than an accurate vote count. While pollsters are privately hired based on their accuracy and timely results, candidates and campaigns are primarily concerned with winning. When key election officials are also key campaign officials, as was the case in Florida in 2000 and in Ohio in 2004, the goal of providing an accurate vote tally gets into the murky waters of winning the political contest.³⁶⁵ But pollsters lose their legitimacy, and thus future contracts, if they are not accurate. Thus, “the systemic pressures on polling accuracy are much greater than they are on vote count accuracy.”³⁶⁶

While pollsters use feedback and detailed analysis to improve their results, are motivated towards accuracy, and face market competition if they fail to provide thorough, accurate and timely exit poll results, “there is little competition, feedback and motivation for accuracy in election processing.”³⁶⁷ Thus we do not dismiss these exit poll results, and their discrepancy with the official vote counts, as others might do. We believe they provide important evidence that something was amiss in the Ohio election.

Full, accurate and reliable statistical analysis cannot be completed until the raw data from the exit polls is released. The limited available “uncalibrated” or raw data indicates the broad discrepancies that are discussed above. However, it appears that the National Election Pool data was “calibrated” or corrected after the official results were publicized.³⁶⁸ It may be standard practice to recalibrate poll results to reflect the actual outcome “on the assumption that the [official] count is correct, and that any discrepancies must have been due to imbalanced

³⁶⁴ See Freeman, *Hypotheses* at 10-11 for discussion of lost, under-counted, over-counted and disqualified votes in that election.

³⁶⁵ The person empowered to determine the official vote count in Florida in 2000 was Florida Secretary of State Katherine Harris, who also served as ___ for the Bush/Cheney campaign in Florida that year. She was rewarded with strong GOP support for her successful congressional campaign in 2002 and 2004. As noted, the current Ohio Secretary of State Ken Blackwell, who was equally empowered to determine the official Ohio vote, was also chairman of the Bush/Cheney campaign in Ohio for the 2004 election over which he presided.

³⁶⁶ Freeman, *Hypotheses* at 11.

³⁶⁷ Freeman, *Hypotheses* at 14.

³⁶⁸ *Moss v. Bush*, No. 04-2088 ¶¶ 25, 71 (“the NEP ‘corrected’ its results by combining actual vote data with exit poll data to permit the exit poll results to conform to the reported ‘official’ results. In the process, any evidence of fraud as shown by a difference between the exit polls and the ‘official’ results was erased as the so-called exit poll results (as reported the day after the election on November 3, 2004) were forced to correspond to the ‘official’ results.”),

representation in their samples or some other polling error.”³⁶⁹ Thus data that was publicized on Election Day showing these large discrepancies is no longer publically available; only the recalibrated numbers are available on the Internet. An independent, detailed analysis of the early exit poll data is necessary to verify the actual outcome of the vote in Ohio, and thus restore complete legitimacy to this election.³⁷⁰ In any event, the discrepancies that we are able to identify place the entire Ohio election results under a cloud of uncertainty.

C. Post-Election

1. Confusion in Counting Provisional Ballots

Facts

Secretary Blackwell’s failure to issue standards for the counting of provisional ballots led to a chaotic and confusing result such that each of Ohio’s 88 counties could count legal ballots differently or not at all.³⁷¹ In turn, this fostered a situation where subsequent to the election, Cuyahoga County mandated that provisional ballots in yellow packets must be “rejected” if there is no “date of birth” on the packet. This ruling was issued despite the fact that the original “Provisional Verification Procedure” from Cuyahoga County stated, “Date of birth is not mandatory and should not reject a provisional ballot” and simply required that the voter’s name, address and a signature match the signature in the county’s database.³⁷² The People for the American Way Foundation sought a legal ruling ordering Secretary Blackwell and the county elections board to compare paper registration and electronic registration records.³⁷³ People For the American Way further asked the Board to notify each voter whose ballot was invalidated and how the invalidation could be challenged.³⁷⁴ Neither of these actions were taken.

³⁶⁹See Freeman *supra* at 3.

³⁷⁰See *Preserving Democracy - What Went Wrong in Ohio, Judiciary Democratic Forum* (Dec. 8, 2004) (testimony of Shawnta Walcott, Communications Director, Zogby International at 84) (“this election has produced unprecedented levels of suspicion regarding its outcome”). *Id.* at 86 (“We have received thousands of letters and phone calls regarding these irregularities, many of which center on early exit polling results that were uncharacteristically inaccurate in several battleground states; questionable practices at polling stations that may have resulted in votes not being counted accurately, and in Ohio, as with other swing states, the automated Diebold machines were particularly disturbing.”).

³⁷¹Mark Niquette, *Lawsuits Focus on Provisional Ballots*, COLUMBUS DISPATCH, Nov. 3, 2004, at 9A.

³⁷²Bob Fittrakis, *And So the Sorting and Discarding of Kerry Votes Begins*, THE FREE PRESS, Nov. 10, 2004.

³⁷³*Id.*

³⁷⁴*Id.*

In another case, while the state directed counties to ensure voters had been registered during the thirty days before the election,³⁷⁵ one college student who had been registered since 2000 and was living away from home was denied a provisional ballot.³⁷⁶

Analysis

Mr. Blackwell's failure to articulate clear and consistent standards for the counting of provisional ballots likely resulted in the loss of several thousand votes in Cuyahoga County alone, and untold more statewide. This is because the lack of guidance and the ultimate narrow and arbitrary review standards imposed in Cuyahoga County appear to have significantly contributed to the fact that in Cuyahoga County, 8,099 out of 24,472 provisional ballots, or approximately one third, were ruled invalid, the highest proportion in the state.³⁷⁷ This number is twice as high as the percentage of provisional ballots rejected in 2000.³⁷⁸

These series of events constitute a possible violation of the Voting Rights Act, as not only were legitimate votes apparently thrown out, they undoubtedly had a disproportionate impact on minority voters, concentrated in urban areas such as Cuyahoga County which had the highest shares of the state's provisional ballots. The actions may also violate Ohio's constitutional right to vote.

2. Justice Delayed is Justice Denied – *Recounts were Delayed Because of a Late Declaration of Results*

Facts

Ohio law requires the Secretary of State to provide county boards of elections with directives governing voting procedures, voting machine testing, and vote tallying.³⁷⁹ Prior to the election, Secretary Blackwell thus issued a directive providing that Ohio boards of elections would have to complete their official canvasses by December 1,³⁸⁰ almost one month after the date of the 2004 election. The directive further states that "no recount may be held prior to the

³⁷⁵*Id.*

³⁷⁶Carl Chancellor, *Citizens Tell Panel of Voting Troubles*, AKRON BEACON JOURNAL, Nov. 21, 2004, at B1.

³⁷⁷James Ewinger, *Blackwell Sued Over Cuyahoga Vote Tally*, PLAIN DEALER, Nov. 27, 2004, at B3.

³⁷⁸Diane Solov, *8,099 Cuyahoga Ballots Ruled Invalid*, PLAIN DEALER, Nov. 23, 2004.

³⁷⁹OHIO REV. CODE §§ 3501.05(U), 3506.16.

³⁸⁰Secretary of State J. Kenneth Blackwell, Directive No. 2004-43 (Oct. 25, 2004).

official canvass and certification of results,³⁸¹ so that county boards would have to wait until Secretary Blackwell decided to certify the results before proceeding with recounts.

Ohio law also sets deadlines for the conduct of recounts. First, applications for statewide recounts must be submitted within five days of the Secretary of State's declaration of results.³⁸² Second, such recounts must begin within ten days of the recount request.³⁸³ Secretary of State Blackwell gave county boards of election until December 1 to certify their returns and then waited to another five days, until December 6, to certify the results. As a consequence, recounts could not be sought until at least December 11, and were required to begin by December 16. The Green/Libertarian recount began on December 13, 2004. As a result, the recount was pending when the Secretary of State sent certificates to electors on December 7, and before the electoral college met on December 13. Because it appeared the Secretary of State had intentionally delayed certification to ensure that the recount could not be completed by these time periods, 11 Members of Congress, including Rep. Conyers, wrote to Gov. Taft asking that they delay or treat as provisional the December 13 meeting of the state's presidential electors.³⁸⁴

The counties completed their recounts on December 28, 2004, but due to a variety of irregularities and alleged legal violations in the recount, they remain embroiled in litigation as of the date of this report.

Analysis

The scenario created by Secretary Blackwell effectively precluded recounts from being concluded prior to the December 13 meeting of electors. *By setting the vote tally deadline so late and then delaying the declaration of results – it took a full 34 days after the November 2 election for the results to be certified – Secretary of State Blackwell insured that the time for completing recounts, therefore, was pushed to after the date of the Electoral College meeting.*³⁸⁵ *As a result of this intentional course of conduct, it appears that Mr. Blackwell has*

³⁸¹*Id.* at 4.

³⁸²OHIO REV. CODE ANN. § 3515.02.

³⁸³*Id.* § 3515.03.

³⁸⁴Letter from the Honorable John Conyers, Jr. *et al.*, to the Honorable Bob Taft, Governor of Ohio, the Honorable Larry Householder, Ohio Speaker of the House, & the Honorable Doug White, Ohio Senate President (Dec. 13, 2004).

³⁸⁵Anticipating the confluence of these deadlines, several plaintiffs, including two presidential candidates, filed a lawsuit asking that Secretary Blackwell be ordered to ensure that recounts could be completed by December 7 (when Ohio had planned to certify its results for the Electoral College). *See, e.g.,* Rios v. Blackwell, No. 3:04CV7724, 2004 WL 2668271, at *1 (N.D. Ohio). The federal court denied their request on the grounds that the presidential candidate plaintiffs, which consisted of Green Party candidate David Cobb and Libertarian Party candidate Michael Badnarik, were unlikely to win a recount. *Id.* at *2. It is unclear what the result of the

ensured that the controversies concerning the appointment of electors could not be resolved by December 7, 2004, thereby causing Ohio to lose the benefit of the electoral college safe harbor so that their appointment of electors is not necessarily binding on Congress. In addition, this diminishment of the recount law may violate the voters' right to equal protection and due process, as well as undermine the entire import of Ohio's recount law.

3. Triad GSI – Using a “Cheat Sheet” to Cheat the Voters in Hocking and Other Counties

Facts

Perhaps the most disturbing irregularity that we have learned of in connection with the recount concerns the activities and operations of Triad GSI, a voting machine company. On December 13, 2004, House Judiciary Committee Democratic-staff met with Ms. Sherole Eaton, Deputy Director of Elections for Hocking County. She explained that on Friday, December 10, 2004, Michael Barbian, Jr., a representative of Triad GSI, unilaterally sought and obtained access to the voting machinery and records in Hocking County, Ohio.

Ms. Eaton witnessed Mr. Barbian modify the Hocking County computer vote tabulator before the announcement of the Ohio recount. She further witnessed Barbian, upon the announcement that the Hocking County precinct was planned to be the subject of the initial Ohio test recount, make further alterations based on his knowledge of that information. She also has firsthand knowledge that Barbian advised election officials how to manipulate voting machinery to ensure that a preliminary hand recount matched the machine count.³⁸⁶

According to the affidavit, the Triad official sought access to the voting machinery based on the apparent pretext that he wanted to review some “legal questions” Ohio voting officials might receive as part of the recount process. At several times during his interaction with Hocking County voting machines, Mr. Barbian telephoned into Triad's offices to obtain programming information relating to the machinery and the precinct in question. It is now known that Triad officials have intervened in other counties in Ohio - Greene and Monroe, and perhaps others.

In fact, Mr. Barbian himself has admitted to altering tabulating software in Hocking, Lorain, Muskingum, Clark, Harrison and Guernsey counties.³⁸⁷ Todd Rapp, President of Triad, also has confirmed that these sorts of changes are standard procedure for his company.³⁸⁸

lawsuit would have been had a viable presidential candidate been a plaintiff.

³⁸⁶Eaton affidavit on file with House Judiciary Committee Democratic Staff.

³⁸⁷Preliminary Transcript, Interview of Michael Barbian by Lynda Byrket, on file with the House Judiciary Committee Democratic Staff.

³⁸⁸Preliminary Transcript, Footage of Hocking County Board Meeting, Dec. 20, 2004, on file with the House Judiciary Committee Democratic Staff.

First, during an interview, film maker Lynda Byrket asked Barbian, "you were just trying to help them so that they wouldn't have to do a full recount of the county, to try to avoid that?" Mr. Barbian answered, "Right." She further inquired: "did any of your counties have to do a full recount?" Mr. Barbian replied, "Not that I'm aware of."

Second, it appears that Mr. Barbian's activities were not the actions of a rogue computer programmer but the official policy of Triad. Rapp explained during a Hocking County Board of Elections meeting:

"The purpose was to train people on how to conduct their jobs and to help them identify problems when they conducted the recount. If they could not hand count the ballots correctly, they would know what they needed to look for in that hand count."³⁸⁹

Barbian noted that he had "provided [other counties] reports so they could review the information on their own."³⁹⁰

As one observer asked,

"Why do you feel it was necessary to point out to a team counting ballots the number of overvotes and undervotes when the purpose of the team is to in fact locate those votes and judge them?"³⁹¹

Barbian's response was,

"...it's just human error. The machine count is right...We're trying to give them as much information to help them out."³⁹²

In addition, Douglas W. Jones, a computer election expert from the University of Iowa, reviewed the Eaton Affidavit and concluded that it described behavior that was dangerous and unnecessary:

I have reviewed the Affidavit of Sherole L. Eaton ("the Eaton Affidavit"), the Deputy Director of the Hocking County Board of Election, as well as the letter of Congressman John Conyers to Kevin Brock, Special Agent in Charge with the FBI in Cincinnati, Ohio. In light of this information, and given my expertise and research on voting technology issues and the integrity of ballot counting systems, it is my professional opinion that the incident in Hocking County, Ohio, threatens

³⁸⁹*Id.*

³⁹⁰*Id.*

³⁹¹*Id.*

³⁹²*Id.*

the overall integrity of the recount of the presidential election in Ohio, and threatens the ability of the presidential candidates, their witnesses, and the counter-plaintiffs in the above-captioned action, to properly analyze, inspect, and assess the ballots and the related voting data from the 2004 presidential election in Ohio. It is my understanding that 41 of Ohio's 88 counties use Triad voting machines. As a result, the incident in Hocking County could compromise the statewide recount, and undermine the public's trust in the credibility and accuracy of the recount.³⁹³

We have received several additional reports of machine irregularities involving several other counties serviced by Triad,³⁹⁴ including a report that Triad was able to alter election software by remote access:

- In Union County, the hard drive on the vote tabulation machine, a Triad machine, had failed after the election and had been replaced. The old hard drive was returned to the Union County Board of Elections in response to a subpoena.
- The Directors of the Board of Elections in both Fulton and Henry County stated that the Triad company had reprogrammed the computer by remote dial-up to count only the presidential votes prior to the start of the recount.³⁹⁵
- In Monroe County, the 3% hand-count failed to match the machine count twice. Subsequent runs on that machine did not match each other nor the hand count. The Monroe County Board of Elections summoned a repairman from Triad to bring a new machine and the recount was suspended and reconvened for the following day. On the following day, a new machine was present at the Board of Elections office and the old machine was gone. The Board conducted a test run followed by the 3% hand-counted ballots. The results matched this time and the Board conducted the remainder of the recount by machine.
- In Harrison County, a representative of the Triad company reprogrammed and retested the tabulator machine and software prior to the start of the recount. The Harrison County tabulating computer is connected to a second computer which is linked to the Secretary of State's Office in Columbus. The Triad technician handled all ballots during the machine recount and performed all tabulation functions. The Harrison County Board of Elections kept voted ballots and unused ballots in a room open to direct public access during daytime hours when the courthouse is open. The Board had placed voted ballots in

³⁹³See affidavit of David W. Jones ¶ 12 (Dec. 15, 2004) (on file with House Judiciary Committee Democratic staff).

³⁹⁴Yost v. National Voting Rights Institute, No. C2-04-1139 (S.D. Ohio) (decl. of Lynne Serpe).

³⁹⁵Statement of Green Party County Coordinator, Henry County Recount, *available at* http://www.votecobb.org/recount/ohio_reports/counties/henry.php

unsealed transfer cases stored in an old wooden cabinet that, at one point, was said to be lockable and, at another point, was said to be unlockable.

On December 15, 2004, Rep. Conyers forwarded information concerning the irregularities alleged in the Eaton Affidavit to the FBI and local prosecutors in Ohio.³⁹⁶ He has not received a response to that letter. On December 22, 2004, Rep. Conyers forwarded a series of questions concerning this course of events to the President of Triad GSI and to Mr. Barbian.³⁹⁷ Counsel for Triad GSI has indicated that a response would be forthcoming later this week or shortly thereafter.

Analysis

Based on the above, including actual admissions and statements by Triad employees, it strongly appears that Triad and its employees engaged in a course of behavior to provide "cheat sheets" to those counting the ballots. The cheat sheets told them how many votes they should find for each candidate, and how many over and under votes they should calculate to match the machine count. In that way, they could avoid doing a full county-wide hand recount mandated by state law. If true, this would frustrate the entire purpose of the recount law – to randomly ascertain if the vote counting apparatus is operating fairly and effectively, and if not to conduct a full hand recount. By ensuring that election boards are in a position to conform their test recount results with the election night results, Triad's actions may well have prevented scores of counties from conducting a full and fair recount in compliance with equal protection, due process, and the first amendment.

In addition, the course of conduct outlined above would appear to violate numerous provisions of federal and state law. As noted above, 42 U.S.C. §1973 provides for criminal penalties for any person who, in any election for federal office, "knowingly and willfully deprives, defrauds, or attempts to defraud the residents of a State of a fair and impartially conducted election process, by . . . the procurement, casting, or tabulation of ballots that are known by the person to be materially false, fictitious, or fraudulent under the laws of the State in which the election is held." Section 1974 requires the retention and preservation of all voting records and papers for a period of 22 months from the date of a federal election and makes it a felony for any person to "willfully steal, destroy, conceal, mutilate, or alter" any such record.³⁹⁸

Ohio law further prohibits election machinery from being serviced, modified, or altered in any way subsequent to an election, unless it is so done in the presence of the full board of elections and other observers. Any handling of ballots for a subsequent recount must be done in

³⁹⁶Letter from the Honorable John Conyers, Jr., to Kevin R. Brook, FBI Special Agent in Charge, and Larry E. Beal, Hocking County Prosecutor (Dec. 15, 2004).

³⁹⁷Letter from the Rep. John Conyers, Jr., to Brett A. Rapp, President, Triad GSI, and Michael Barbian, Jr., Ohio Field Rep, Triad GSI (Dec. 22, 2004).

³⁹⁸Ohio law has a mirror provision which requires that all ballots be "carefully preserved" for 22 months.

the presence of the entire Board and any qualified witnesses.³⁹⁹ This would seem to operate as a *de facto* bar against altering voting machines by remote access. Containers in which ballots are kept may not be opened before all of the required participants in are attendance.⁴⁰⁰ It is critical to note that the fact that these "ballots" were not papers in a box is of no consequence in the inquiry as to whether state and federal laws were violated by Barbian's conduct: Ohio Revised Code defines a ballot as "the official election presentation of offices and candidates...and the means by which votes are recorded." OHIO REV. CODE § 3506.01(B) (West 2004). Therefore, for purposes of Ohio law, electronic records stored in the Board's computer are to be considered "ballots." Triad's interference with the computers and their software would seem to violate these requirements.

Further, any modification of the election machinery may only be done after full notice to the Secretary of State. Ohio Code and related regulations require that after the state certifies a voting system, changes that affect "(a) the method of recording voter intent; (b) voter privacy; (c) retention of the vote; or the (d) communication of voting records,"⁴⁰¹ must be done only after full notice to the Secretary of State. We are not aware that any such notice was given to the Secretary.

Finally, Secretary Blackwell's own directive, coupled with Ohio Revised Code § 3505.32, prohibits any handling of these ballots without bipartisan witnesses present. That section of the code provides that during a period of official canvassing, all interaction with ballots must be "in the presence of all of the members of the board and any other persons who are entitled to witness the official canvass." The Ohio Secretary of State issued orders that election officials are to treat all election materials as if the State were in a period of canvassing,⁴⁰² and that, "teams of one Democrat and one Republican must be present with ballots at all times of processing."⁴⁰³

Triad has sought to respond to these charges by arguing that Ohio law requires a Board of Elections to prevent the counting or tabulation of other races during a recount and limit these activities to those offices or issues for which a formal recount request has been filed.⁴⁰⁴ However, this requirement does not supercede the above requirements that election machinery only be serviced or otherwise altered in the presence of the full elections board and observers.

³⁹⁹OHIO REV. CODE § 3515.04.

⁴⁰⁰*Id.*

⁴⁰¹OHIO ADMIN. CODE § 111:3-4-01 (2004).

⁴⁰²Mehul Srivastava, *Greene County Elections Board Scrutinized; Office Containing Ballots Found Unlocked Overnight*, DAYTON DAILY NEWS, Dec. 12, 2004, at B1.

⁴⁰³Secretary of State J. Kenneth Blackwell, Absentee/Provisional Counting and Ballot Security, Directive 2004-48 (Oct. 29, 2004).

⁴⁰⁴OHIO REV. CODE § 3505.31.

There are at least two ways this recount process could have been conducted legally. First, recounters could have been given the full ballot and been simply instructed not to count the other races recorded. Second, the service company employees could have waited to alter the software program until the official recount began in the presence of the board and qualifying witnesses. Neither of these scenarios occurred in the present case.

In addition to these provisions imposing duties on the Board of Elections, there are numerous criminal penalties that can be incurred by those who actually tampered with the machines. These apply to persons who "tamper or attempt to tamper with ... or otherwise change or injure in any manner any marking device, automatic tabulating equipment or any appurtenances or accessories thereof,"⁴⁰⁵ "destroy any property used in the conduct of elections,"⁴⁰⁶ "unlawfully destroy or attempt to destroy the ballots, or permit such ballots or a ballot box or pollbook used at an election to be destroyed; or destroy [or] falsify,"⁴⁰⁷ and "willfully and with fraudulent intent make any mark or alteration on any ballot."⁴⁰⁸

It is noteworthy that the companies implicated in the misconduct outlined above, Triad and its affiliates, are the leading suppliers of voting machines involved in the counting of paper ballots and punch cards in the critical states of Ohio and Florida. ***Triad is controlled by the Rapp family, and its founder Brett A. Rapp has been a consistent contributor to Republican***

⁴⁰⁵*Id.* § 3599.27.

⁴⁰⁶*Id.* § 3599.24.

⁴⁰⁷*Id.* § 3599.34.

⁴⁰⁸*Id.* § 3599.33.

*causes.*⁴⁰⁹ In addition, a Triad affiliate, Psephos Corporation, supplied the notorious butterfly ballot used in Palm Beach County, Florida, in the 2000 presidential election.

4. Greene County – *Long Waits, the Unlocked Lockdown and Discarded Ballots*

We have received information indicating negligence and potential tampering with Greene County ballots and voting machines. On December 9, election observers interviewed the County Director of Elections, Carole Garman, and found substantial discrepancies in the number of voting machines per voter in low-income areas as compared to other areas.⁴¹⁰ Apparently, some consolidated precincts had almost the state imposed limit of 1,400 registered voters and others had only a few hundred voters.⁴¹¹ One of the precincts disproportionately affected included Central State University and Wilbur Force University, both historically black universities.⁴¹²

⁴⁰⁹Contributions of Brett A. Rapp

National Republican Congressional Committee

3/16/1998	\$250
2/15/1999	\$350
9/11/2000	\$350

Ohio State Central and Executive Committee

3/1/2001	\$200
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Bush-Cheney 2004

2/2/2004	\$500
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Republican National Committee

8/8/2003	\$250
2/3/2004	\$500

Source: WWW.FEC.GOV

⁴¹⁰Affidavit of Evelyn Roberson 1 (Dec. 12, 2004) (referring to observations on December 9, 2004) (on file with the Democratic staff); Affidavit of Joan Quinn (Dec. 13, 2004) (on file with the Democratic staff).

⁴¹¹Roberson Aff.

⁴¹²Roberson Aff. *See also* Staff Interview with Katrina Sumner, January 3, 2005. The staff has also obtained information concerning the improper rejection of voter registrations of Central State University students that is currently under investigation.

The next day, the observers returned to that office and requested voter signature books for copying.⁴¹³ Ms. Garman granted such access.⁴¹⁴ After leaving the office for three hours, the observers returned and had been advised that, under Ohio law, they were entitled to copies of the precinct books for a nominal fee, and requested such copies from Garman.⁴¹⁵ Garman did not concur with that view of Ohio law and telephoned the office of Secretary Blackwell, eventually reaching Pat Wolfe, the Election Administrator for the Secretary of State.⁴¹⁶ Garman then advised the observers that, per Blackwell, all voter records for the State of Ohio were "locked down" and they now were "not considered public records."⁴¹⁷ Garman subsequently physically removed the books from one observer's hands.⁴¹⁸ After attempting to persuade Garman to reverse this decision to no avail, the observers departed the office.⁴¹⁹

The observers returned the following day, a Saturday, at 10:15 am.⁴²⁰ While a number of cars were parked in the parking lot and the door to the office was unlocked, and there was no one in the office.⁴²¹ One light was on in the office that had not been on the previous night after the office was closed.⁴²² In the office, unsecured, were the poll books that had been taken from then observers the day before.⁴²³ There were also voting booths, ballot boxes apparently containing votes, and voting equipment, also unsecured.⁴²⁴ Shortly after the observers had left the office, a police officer arrived and later elections officials and members of the media.⁴²⁵ The officials were unable to offer any explanation for the unsecure office, other than negligence, and

⁴¹³*Id.*

⁴¹⁴*Id.*

⁴¹⁵*Id.* Also Sumner Interview, January 3.

⁴¹⁶*Id.*

⁴¹⁷*Id.*

⁴¹⁸*Id.*

⁴¹⁹*Id.*

⁴²⁰*Id.*

⁴²¹*Id.*

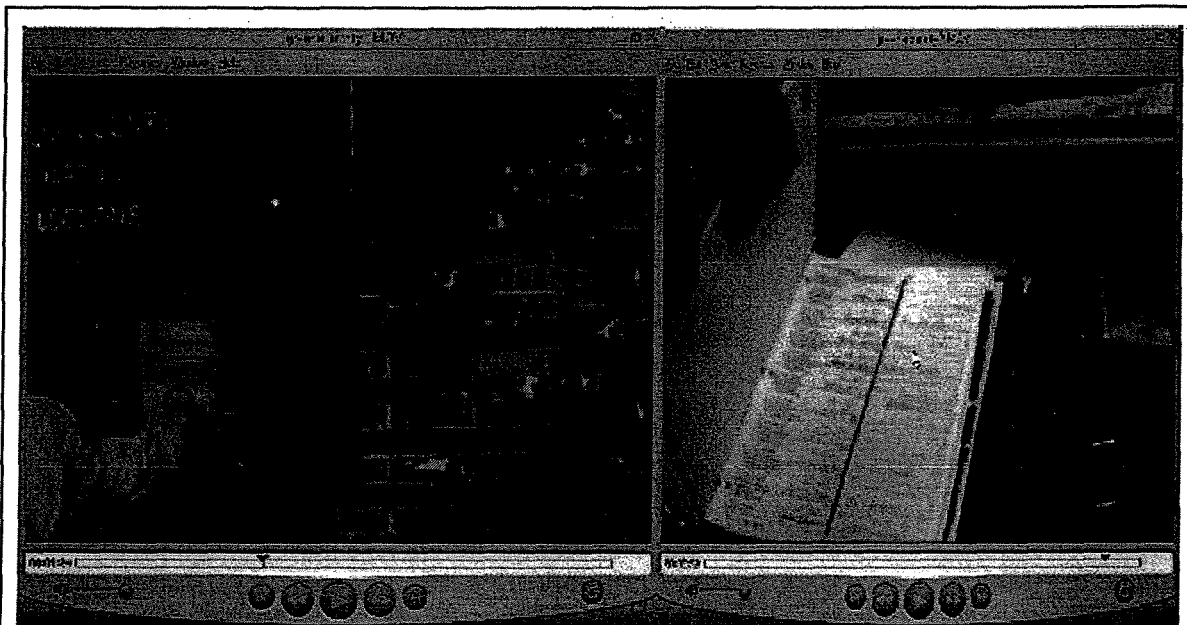
⁴²²Sumner interview, January 3.

⁴²³*Id.*

⁴²⁴*Id.* While the ballot boxes were sealed and padlocked, they could be removed from the office.

⁴²⁵*Id.*

said they would ask a technician (from the Triad company) to check out the machines on Monday.⁴²⁶



Front Door of Greene County Board of Elections Office Unlocked (L), and Poll Book "locked down" by Secretary Blackwell the Previous Day is Unsecured (R)

A number of other substantial irregularities in Greene County have come to our attention that were uncovered after the office was discovered to be unsecure. In the short period of time that observers were given to examine voting records, ballots were not counted for apparently erroneous reasons.⁴²⁷ In a number of cases, Greene County officials rejected ballots because the secrecy envelope for the ballot appeared to indicate that the voter had voted in the wrong precinct,⁴²⁸ notwithstanding the fact that a notation was made – apparently by an election worker – indicating the vote should count.⁴²⁹ The records appeared to indicate that, in some cases, voters were sent to the wrong precinct by election workers and, in others, were given the wrong

⁴²⁶*Id.* See discussion, *infra*, regarding Hocking County incident and Triad technician.

⁴²⁷Staff Interview with Katrina Sumner, Green Party coordinator for the Greene County Recount, December 31, 2001.

⁴²⁸See discussion, *infra*, regarding Secretary Blackwell's bizarre legal dictates pre-and post-election, including new restrictions on provisional balloting inconsistent with the law.

⁴²⁹Staff Interview, *supra*.

precinct's envelope for the ballot because election workers had run out of envelopes for the correct precinct.⁴³⁰

These records also appeared to indicate that some voters were purged from the voting rolls on the basis that they failed to vote in the previous election, while other voters who had not voted in several elections had not been purged.⁴³¹ On October 26, Secretary Blackwell issued a directive and provided it to Greene County officials regarding the "pre-challenging" process, where a voter's eligibility is challenged prior to the election, and sent an attached list of voters who were to be pre-challenged in Greene County, to the Board of Elections.⁴³² Notice was sent by the Board to these voters on the Friday before the election by registered mail, and was likely not received until Monday, advising such voters of their right to be present at a Monday hearing, where the voter's eligibility would be decided.⁴³³

Other irregularities appear in the official ballot counting charts prepared by election officials, including a number of precincts where the number of voters do not match the number of votes cast despite the fact that the charts indicate that those numbers "must match."⁴³⁴

We have also obtained evidence indicating that eligible voters did not have their ballots counted for invalid reasons.⁴³⁵ For example, an overseas military ballot was not counted because it was a photocopy rather than the original ballot; an 85 year old voter did not have his absentee vote counted because it did not have a stub attached; a disabled voter who indicated she marked her ballot with the assistance of election workers did not have her absentee vote counted because no stub was attached; an absentee voter with a properly postmarked ballot did not have his vote counted because it was received "too late," but before the initial certification of results; and provisional ballots that were not counted because an election official forgot to sign as a witness when the ballot was cast. Substantial numbers of provisional ballots appear to have been rejected because voters were purged in the last two years.

Analysis

⁴³⁰*Id.* A notation by an election worker clearly indicates that "we..donated green secrecy envelopes to another precinct to which they wrote their precinct number because they ran out of envelopes." (Emphasis added). A partial list of these voters is on file with staff. A number of voters are recorded as voting in precincts adjacent to the precinct in which they were registered.

⁴³¹*Id.*

⁴³²Secretary of State J. Kenneth Blackwell, Directive 2004-44 (Oct. 26, 2004) (on file with staff, including attachment).

⁴³³Staff Interview, *supra*.

⁴³⁴On file with staff.

⁴³⁵Copies of ballot envelopes on file with staff.

Numerous Ohio laws appear to have been broken in Greene County. First, it is a misdemeanor to deny the public access to election records.⁴³⁶ Ohio law clearly states that “No director of elections, deputy director of elections, or employee of the board of elections designated by the director or deputy director shall knowingly prevent or prohibit any person from inspecting, under reasonable regulations established and posted by the board of elections, the public records filed in the office of the board of elections.”⁴³⁷ Not only is this a crime, but grounds for dismissal from election duties – required whether the offender is an official or an employee.⁴³⁸ It does not appear that anyone has been prosecuted, and no one has been dismissed as required by statute.

Second, the complete lack of security on Friday night violates any number of Ohio laws requiring that ballots and machinery be kept absolutely secure. Section 3505.31 requires that ballots, pollbooks, poll lists, tally sheets and voting machines be kept tamper-proof and under seal.⁴³⁹ Ballots are to be held secure until a recount is properly conducted in front of witnesses, and ballots may not be handled by anyone except the board and its employees.⁴⁴⁰ Failure of these duties by board members and their employees, is a felony, as “No member, director or employee of a board of elections shall willfully or negligently violate or neglect to perform any duty imposed upon him by law, or willfully perform or neglect to perform it in such a way as to hinder the objects of the law.”⁴⁴¹ Again, it requires that the offender be dismissed, and again, it appears that those actions have not been taken in Greene County. It is important to note that this statute does not require any intent of wrongdoing – simple negligence is enough to invoke the statute and there is no explanation as to why it has not been enforced.

Third, Greene County’s operation seems to have several Constitutional problems, both federally and at the state level. The selective use of challenges and purges invokes the Equal Protection clause. We were unable to confirm any legitimate reason why some voters were challenged and then purged, and others were not. There are also Due Process concerns as those to be purged were not given sufficient notice to meaningfully participate in their scheduled hearings. And finally, these actions violate Ohio’s own constitution that guarantees the right to vote.

5. Other Recount Irregularities

⁴³⁶OHIO REV. CODE § 3599.161.

⁴³⁷*Id.*

⁴³⁸*Id.*

⁴³⁹*Id.* § 3505.31.

⁴⁴⁰*Id.* § 3515.04.

⁴⁴¹*Id.* § 3599.16.

We learned of numerous additional troubling recount irregularities in the course of our investigation. The groundwork for these problems was laid when the Secretary of State failed to issue specific standards for the recount.⁴⁴² In essence, Mr. Blackwell's directive on recount procedures permitted each county board of election to determine its own recount rules. Mr. Blackwell failed to issue such standards, notwithstanding the fact that election officials themselves had offered contrasting election recount procedures,⁴⁴³ including some counties who sought to unilaterally oppose doing any recount whatsoever.⁴⁴⁴

Some of the serious recount irregularities that we learned of in connection with our investigation include the following:⁴⁴⁵

a. Irregularities in Selecting the Initial 3% Hand Count – *Many County Boards of Elections Did Not Randomly Select the Precinct Samples*

In the course of our investigation we learned:

- Mr. Keith Cunningham, Director of the Allen County Board of Elections, explained that it would take considerably longer to carry out the recount if there were a random selection process employed. Instead, the Board pre-selected four precincts, totaling slightly more than the required three percent, for the recount. Democratic and Green Party witnesses raised objections but to no avail.
- The Clermont County Board of Elections selected the 3% precinct samples by choosing the thirteen precincts with lowest number of voters plus the next number of precincts that reached the total of 3% of the total votes cast in that county. This selection process eliminated larger and more diversified precincts. The staff of the Board admitted that small precincts

⁴⁴²Secretary of State J. Kenneth Blackwell, Directive No. 2004-58 (Dec. 7, 2004).

⁴⁴³See *Yost v. National Voting Rights Institute*, No. C2-04-1139 (S.D. Ohio) (Decl. of John C. Bonifaz).

⁴⁴⁴Keith Cunningham, Director of the Allen County Board of Elections, characterized as frivolous any lawsuits attempting to force recounts and considered mobilizing other counties to oppose them. Terry Kinney, *Election Official Calls Recount Lawsuit Frivolous, Insulting*, ASSOC. PRESS, Nov. 22, 2004. One board, the Delaware County Board of Elections, sought and obtained a temporary restraining order preventing two presidential candidates from forcing recounts. Mary Beth Lane, *Delaware County Court Blocks Recount*, COLUMBUS DISPATCH, Nov. 24, 2004, at 7B. They took these positions even though the Ohio recount statutes do not provide any specific authorizations for counties to stop recounts from taking place.

⁴⁴⁵See *Yost v. National Voting Rights Institute*, No. C2-04-1139 (S.D. Ohio) (Decl. of Lynne Serpe).

were chosen because fewer problems would be encountered in smaller precincts. A witness objected to this selection process, but to no avail.

- The Cuyahoga County Board of Elections decided to choose only precincts with 550 votes or more and from a cross-section of areas — one East side, one West side, one affluent, one non-affluent. This criterion left only eight percent of precincts available to be selected. In addition, witnesses observed that the ballots were not in a random order, and that they had been previously sorted. As the ballots were fed into the counting machines, there were long runs of votes for only one candidate and then long runs for another, which seemed statistically improbable.
- The total number of votes cast in Morrow County was 16,694. Three percent of this would be 501. The Morrow County Board of Elections selected the Harmony Township precinct for the initial hand count because it had 517 ballots cast. When observers complained this was not random, the Board responded that it had the right to select the precinct. During this discussion, an election official with the Board called the Secretary of State's office and reported that the Secretary of State's office stated that the Board was correct.
- The Hocking County Board of Elections met and Rod Hedges, a Republican Board member, stated that he believed the Board should select a precinct that was not heavily in favor of George W. Bush or John F. Kerry. The Board decided to consider only the precincts where the vote totals for Bush and Kerry were similar. An observer objected that this was not a random selection, but to no avail.
- Election officials in Medina County were aware of several "problem" districts, but instead chose to perform the manual 3% test recount on two precincts that had been part of a school levy recount the previous Monday. That meant that those ballots had been taken out of the standard "double lock" situation and had been handled several times since that Monday.
- The Board of Elections in Vinton County selected a precinct 3% manual recount test simply because its vote total was closest to 3% of the total votes cast in the county.
- The Summit County Board of Elections selected precincts randomly with the Director and Deputy Director of the Board of Elections and two other Board employees present, both of whom were IT specialists for the Board so that they could compute the three percent. The Board shuffled 475 precinct cards and then chose randomly from the pile. The Summit County Board of Elections conducted this selection without any recount witnesses present.

b. Irregularities in Applying the Full Hand-Count Requirement – *Counties Not Conducting Full Hand Count After 3% Hand and Machine Counts Did Not Match*

In the course of our investigation we learned:

- In Monroe County, the 3% hand-count failed to match the machine count twice. Subsequent runs on that machine matched neither each other nor the hand count. The Monroe County Board of Elections summoned a repairman from Triad to bring a new machine and the recount was suspended and reconvened for the following day. On the following day, a new machine was present at the Board of Elections office and the old machine was gone. The Board conducted a test deck run followed by the 3% hand-counted ballots. The results matched this time and the Board conducted the remainder of the recount by machine.
- In Fairfield County, the hand recount of the 3% test sample did not match the machine count, even after two attempts. The Board suspended the recount and stated that Secretary Blackwell recommended that the recount should begin again "from scratch." The Green recount observers were then told that it was 4:00 PM, the building was closed, and all had to leave. The Republican recount observers, however, were allowed to stay in a conference room for an additional ten minutes or so for a private discussion. When the Board reconvened a few days later, it announced that it would be conducting a machine count of the county's votes. When a Green Party observer objected, she was told by the Board that she was not allowed to speak.

c. Irregularities in the Treatment of Ballots – *Some Counties Marking Ballots and Some Counties Not Securely Storing Ballots*

In the course of our investigation we learned:

- In Washington County, the Board of Elections had, in the first count, excluded ballots which included no votes and overvotes. During the recount, the Board altered many such ballots to make them work. An observer protested this practice. An election official pulled a black marker from his right pocket near the beginning of the recount and stated that he was the mark-up man. He proceeded to do all of the marking of the ballots. Another election official assisted with the "band-aids". The observer noted that all the re-marking and band-aiding of ballots did reflect the will of the voter, with one exception. In the precinct Belpre 4A, a voter had both marked the oval and put an X through it for presidential candidate Michael Peroutka and had marked the oval for Bush. The election official put a band-aid over the Peroutka vote and put his own X on the Bush vote. The observer objected that it should be counted as an overvote. The Board ruled that the vote should count for Bush.

- In Lucas County, an observer witnessed the physical alteration of three ballots for the apparent reason of ensuring that the vote count produced by the optical scan machine would match the 3% hand count. At least one of the election officials stated that she did not want the hand count and machine count to be different because they did not want to do a complete hand count. The Board made the alterations to the ballot after determining the intent of the voters. Following a lunch break during the recount, the Board kept recount observers waiting while a technician from the Diebold company reprogrammed the machine.
- In Ashland County, ballots cast in the presidential election were stored by precinct in open cubicles along one wall in the employee lunchroom/meeting room, completely open and visible to anyone who enters the room. Piled on top of the cubicles were bags of Doritos, mugs, cleaning products, Glad Wrap and other miscellaneous items. Board of Election officials said the room was kept locked, except when used.
- In Coshocton County, the Board stored voted ballots mixed with blank, unused ballots in partially-opened boxes, unsealed at the time of observation and apparently never sealed after the election. While ballots were stored in a locked room, all Board employees had keys to the room.
- In Belmont County, the Deputy Director of Elections stated that her county had hired an independent programmer ("at great expense") to reprogram the counting machines so that they would only count votes for President during the recount.
- In Portage County, all ballot boxes were locked and reopened, locked and re-opened again -- always in plain sight -- and transported methodically from the visual inspection area to the tabulator room.

d. Irregularities in the Treatment of Witnesses at the Recount and their Access to Ballots

In the course of our investigation we learned:

- In Summit County, recount witnesses were threatened with expulsion if they spoke to counting teams. In some instances, they were expected to "observe" from up to 20 feet away, which prevented them from being able to actually observe recount.
- In Huron County, the punchcard tabulator test was observed only by Republican witnesses. This test was conducted the day before the Green Party witness was invited to observe the recount.

- In Putnam County, Board of Elections officials told observers that their Board would meet on December 15th to decide the start date. When the observer called back on the 15th, she was told the recount had already taken place.
- In Allen County, observers were not allowed to examine provisional ballots and absentee ballots during the recount. The Board told them that they must make an appointment at a later time working around the Board's schedule. The Board further stated that only the specific person who cast such a ballot is allowed to inquire whether his or her vote was counted.
- In Holmes County, observers asked to see the spoiled ballot pile, comprised of five ballots, but the Board denied access, stating that they were in a sealed envelope that could not be opened.
- In Licking County, the Board denied observers access to view provisional and absentee ballots.
- In Mahoning County, the Board denied observers access to view rejected absentee ballots.
- In Medina County, the Board denied observers access to view provisional ballot tallies, provisional ballots, and the actual machines and ballot booklets used.
- In Morgan County, 30 of 160 provisional and absentee ballots were not counted, and the Board denied observers access to view these ballots. The Board stated that these ballots were locked away and would be destroyed 60 days after the election.
- In Stark County, the Board denied an observer request to view the provisional ballots.
- In Warren County, the Board denied an observer request to view provisional and absentee ballots. The observer has requested that the Board have this decision reviewed by the county prosecutor and the Board is now awaiting the county prosecutor's decision.

Analysis

The Secretary of State's failure to issue specific standards for the recount was a major problem. It appears to have contributed to a lack of uniformity that may very well violate both the Due Process Clause and the Equal Protection Clause of the Constitution.⁴⁴⁶ As the U.S. Supreme Court held in 2000, "Having once granted the right to vote on equal terms, the State

⁴⁴⁶U.S. CONST. amends. V, XIV.

may not, by later arbitrary and disparate treatment, value one person's vote over that of another."⁴⁴⁷ As the Court articulated in that case, "It is obvious that the recount cannot be conducted in compliance with the requirements of equal protection and due process without substantial additional work. It would require not only the adoption (after opportunity for argument) of adequate statewide standards for determining what is a legal vote, and practicable procedures to implement them, but also orderly judicial review of any disputed matters that might arise."⁴⁴⁸ It may also have violated Ohio state law which charges the secretary of state with "[issuing] instructions by directives and advisories to members of the boards [of elections] as to the proper methods of conducting elections" and "[preparing] rules and instructions for the conduct of elections."⁴⁴⁹

In terms of the specific irregularities, they would seem to be inconsistent if not in outright violation of several aspects of Ohio's recount law. Those counties which did not randomly select the precinct samples appears to violate the Secretary of State's directive on this point.⁴⁵⁰ Those counties which did not conduct a full hand count after the 3% hand and machine counts did not match is inconsistent with Ohio's statutory right to have inconsistent results rechecked.⁴⁵¹ Those counties that allowed for irregular marking of ballots and which failed to secure and store ballots and machinery appear to have violated provisions of Ohio law mandating that candidates have the right to ensure that ballots are secure between the election and the official recount, that ballots may not be handled by anyone besides Board members and their staff, and may not be handled outside of the presence of the Board and qualifying witnesses.⁴⁵² Finally, those counties which prevented witnesses for candidates from observing the various aspects of the recount appear to have violated provisions of Ohio law providing that candidates have the right to observe all ballots.⁴⁵³

Recommendations

A. Electoral College Challenge

⁴⁴⁷Bush v. Gore, 531 U.S. 98, 104-05 (2000).

⁴⁴⁸*Id.* at 98, 110.

⁴⁴⁹OHIO REV. CODE ANN. § 3501.05(B)-(C).

⁴⁵⁰Secretary of State J. Kenneth Blackwell, Directive No. 2004-58 5 (Dec. 7, 2004).

⁴⁵¹OHIO REV. CODE § 3515.03-04; Secretary of State J. Kenneth Blackwell, Directive No. 2004-58 5-6 (Dec. 7, 2004).

⁴⁵²OHIO REV. CODE § 3515.04; Secretary of State J. Kenneth Blackwell, Directive No. 2004-58 5-6 (Dec. 7, 2004).

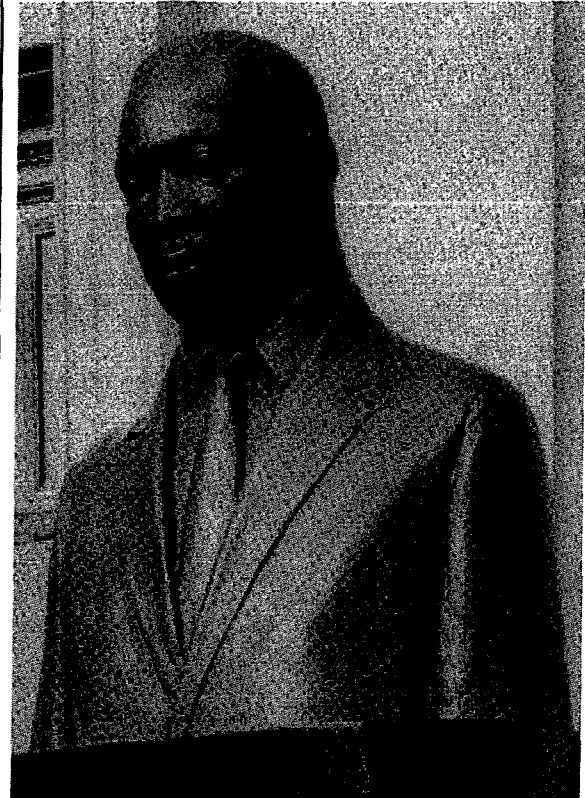
⁴⁵³OHIO REV. CODE § 3515.03-04; Secretary of State J. Kenneth Blackwell, Directive No. 2004-58 3 (Dec. 7, 2004).

We believe there are ample grounds for challenging the electors from Ohio as being unlawfully appointed.

We say this for several reasons. First, there is considerable doubt that all controversies regarding the appointment of the electors were lawfully resolved six days prior to the meeting of the electors (on December 7) in order for the state's electors to be binding on Congress as required by 3 U.S.C. Sec. 5. This is because, among other things, the Secretary of State appears to have intentionally delayed the initial certification of the electors until December 6, making it impossible for the recount (of which he was fully aware of) to be completed by December 7, let alone the December 13 meeting of the electors.

Second, there are numerous irrefutable instances where Ohio election law has been violated by the Secretary of State and others such that the election cannot be said to comply with Ohio law, and the electors cannot be considered lawfully certified under state law within the meaning of 3 U.S.C. Sec. 15. These violations of law are highlighted throughout this Report.

- The failure to provide adequate voting machinery would appear to violate both Ohio's Constitution, that provides all eligible adults the right to vote, and the Ohio Revised Code which requires the Boards of Elections to provide "for each precinct a polling place and provide adequate facilities at each polling place for conducting the election." Secretary of State Blackwell's failure to initiate any investigation into this pivotal irregularity notwithstanding his statutory duty to do so under Ohio Revised Code Sec. 3501.05, represents another likely violation of Ohio law.



"Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere."
Martin Luther King Jr., Letter from Birmingham Jail,
April 16, 1963

- The "caging" tactics targeting 35,000 new voters by the Ohio Republican Party for preelection legal challenge were found by three federal courts to be illegal as being politically and racially charged, and burdening the fundamental right to vote. The tactic would also appear to violate Ohioans' right to vote under the Ohio Constitution.
- Mr. Blackwell's decision to prevent news media and exit polls from interviewing Ohio citizens after they voted was found by a federal court of appeals to have violated the First Amendment's guarantee that state conduct shall not abridge "freedom...of the press". His

decision also likely violated Ohio's Constitution that provides: "Every citizen may freely speak, write, and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of the right; and no law shall be passed to restrain or abridge the liberty of speech, or of the press."

- Mr. Blackwell's decision to prevent those voters who requested absentee ballots, but did not receive them on a timely basis from being able to vote, was found by a federal court to violate HAVA. This restrictive directive also likely violated Article 5, Section 1 of the Ohio Constitution, granting every Ohio citizen the right to vote if he or she is otherwise qualified.
- Numerous incidents of voter intimidation and misinformation engaged in Ohio on election day likely violate the Voting Rights Act, the Civil Rights Act of 1968, and the Ohio right to vote. Mr. Blackwell's apparent failure to institute a single investigation into these acts likely represents a violation of his statutory duty to investigate election misconduct.
- The voting computer company Triad has essentially admitted that it engaged in a course of behavior during the recount in numerous counties to provide "cheat sheets" to those counting the ballots. By insuring that election boards were in a position to conform their test recount results with the election night results, Triad's actions may well have prevented scores of counties from conducting a full and fair recount. Triad's action appears to violate Ohio law prohibiting election machinery from being serviced, modified, or altered in any way subsequent to an election, unless it is done so in the presence of the full board of elections and other observers.
- Numerous Ohio laws appear to have been broken in Greene County, where after initially being granted access to poll books to conduct an audit, election observers had this access abruptly revoked under the orders of Secretary Blackwell, and arbitrary and capricious practices and counting procedures that disenfranchised hundreds of voters were identified. These practices violate Ohio law requirements preventing the denial of public access to election records; requiring that ballots and machinery be kept absolutely secure; and protecting the right to vote.
- The Secretary of State's failure to issue specific standards appears inconsistent with Ohio state law which charges the secretary of state with "[issuing] instructions by directives and advisories to members of the boards [of elections] as to the proper methods of conducting elections" and "[preparing] rules and instructions for the conduct of elections."
- There were numerous specific irregularities in the recount that are inconsistent with several aspects of Ohio's recount law. Those counties which did not randomly select the precinct samples violated the Secretary of State's directive on this point. Those counties which did not conduct a full hand count after the 3% hand and machine counts violated Ohio's statutory right to have inconsistent results rechecked. Those counties which allowed for irregular marking of ballots and which failed to secure and store ballots and

machinery appear to have violated provisions of Ohio law mandating that candidates have the right to ensure that ballots are secure between the election and the official recount, that ballots may not be handled by anyone besides Board members and their staff, and may not be handled outside of the presence of the Board and qualifying witnesses. Finally, those counties which prevented witnesses for candidates from observing the various aspects of the recount violated provisions of Ohio law providing that candidates have the right to observe all ballots.

Whether the cumulative effect of these legal violations would have altered the actual outcome is not known at this time. However, we do know that there are many serious and intentional violations which violate Ohio's own law, that the Secretary of State has done everything in his power to avoid accounting for such violations, and it is incumbent on Congress to protect the integrity of its own laws by recognizing the seriousness of these legal violations.

B. Need for Further Congressional Hearings

It is also clear the U.S. Congress needs to conduct additional and more vigorous hearings into the irregularities in the Ohio presidential election and around the country.

While we have conducted our own Democratic hearings and investigation, we have been handicapped by the fact that key participants in the election, such as Secretary of State Blackwell, have refused to cooperate in our hearings or respond to Mr. Conyers questions. While GAO officials are prepared to move forward with a wide ranging analysis of systemic problems in the 2004 elections, they are not planning to conduct the kind of specific investigation needed to get to the bottom of the range of problems evident in Ohio. As a result, it appears that the only means of obtaining his cooperation in any congressional investigation is under the threat of subpoena, which only the Majority may require.

Given the seriousness of the irregularities we have uncovered, and the importance of the federal elections, we recommend that the House and Senate form a joint, select committee to investigate the full gamut of irregularities across the board.

Among the issues which require further attention at Congressional hearings are the following:

- The misallocation of voting machines. Congress should examine the extent to which the lack of machines in certain areas led to unprecedented long lines that disenfranchised predominantly minority and Democratic voters.
- The decisions to restrict provisional ballots to actual precincts and to deny them to voters who did not receive absentee ballots. Congress should examine the extent to which the decisions departed from past Ohio law on provisional ballots, how many voters were impacted, and whether a broader construction would have led to any significant disruption at polling places.

- The use of partisan, pre-election "caging" tactics. Congress should examine to what extent caging is used and to what degree minority voters were targeted for intimidation and suppression.
- The use of voter suppression and intimidation tactics. Congress should investigate reports of intimidation and misinformation in violation of the Voting Rights Act, the Civil Rights Act of 1968, Equal Protection, Due Process and the Ohio right to vote.
- The use of partisan challengers. Congress should examine whether the use of such challengers is disruptive and intimidating to voters. Further, Congress should investigate whether the precinct judges, which are required by law, are sufficient to regulate voting practices.
- Voter purging and other registration errors. Congress should look at what methods of voter purging are used and whether they target minority groups.
- The prevalence of undervotes, in which ballots are cast but lack votes for president. Congress should further investigate whether undervotes are principally caused by punchcards and what reforms can be made to prevent them.
- The need for greater accountability in ballot counting. Congress should examine whether an audit capability for voting machines would enhance the ability to verify voter choices.
- The lack of national standards for issuing provisional ballots and conducting recounts. Congress should examine areas in which national standards would promote the guaranteed right to vote and would ensure that every vote counts.
- Restrictions on the use of government-granted power for political or personal gain. Congress should investigate the need for restricting the ability of state contractors and public officials involved in the administration of elections to participate in campaign activities.

C. Legislation

Our investigation has made it abundantly clear that Congress and the States must reform the election laws to address the many inequities that have come to light. At the very least, we must –

- Develop a fair and uniform system of processing provisional ballots, including training of poll workers and counting votes.
- Ensure that every voting machine has a verifiable audit trail, guidelines for which could be established by the Election Assistance Commission.
- Consider an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States to reaffirm the right to vote.

- Facilitate voter turnout through the establishment of a national election day holiday, the expansion of early voting, and the re-enfranchisement of former felons.
- Ensure full enforcement by the Justice Department of anti-voter intimidation laws, including prohibitions on voter suppression and caging.
- Establish national standards for voter registration, polling place opening hours, and ballot recounts.
- Establish an explicit private right of action for voter rights in the Help America Vote Act.
- Ensure that state and local election officials involved in the administration of elections do not use their offices for political gain.
- Ensure enough accessible voting machines and poll workers are available at all precincts such that waiting times are reasonable, including in lower-income and minority communities.
- Consistent with the First Amendment, restrict state contractors from participating in campaign activities.
- Develop and fund public campaigns to educate voters on voting rights, anti-voter intimidation laws, etc..
- Fully fund the Help America Vote Act.
- Clarify that provisional ballots are available to all citizens who request them, as long as they are in the appropriate County.

We recommend that House and Senate Members join together in reforming these laws and preserving our democracy.

U.S. House of Representatives
Committee on the Judiciary

Washington, DC 20515-6216

One Hundred Ninth Congress

January 5, 2005

The Honorable Richard Cheney
President of the Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

The Honorable William H. Frist, M.D.
United States Senate
461 Dirksen Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

The Honorable Harry Reid
United States Senate
528 Hart Senate Office Building
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The Honorable J. Dennis Hastert
House of Representatives
H232 The Capitol
Washington, D.C. 20515

The Honorable Tom Delay
House of Representatives
H107 The Capitol
Washington, D.C. 20515

The Honorable Nancy Pelosi
House of Representatives
H204 The Capitol
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Mr. President, Speaker Hastert, Senator Frist, Senator Reid, Ms. Pelosi, Mr. Delay:

We write because we believe there were numerous, serious election irregularities in the recent presidential election, which resulted in a significant disenfranchisement of voters. In particular, the massive and unprecedented extent of irregularities in Ohio raise grave doubts regarding whether it can be said the electors selected on December 13, 2004, were chosen in a manner that conforms to Ohio law, let alone federal requirements and constitutional standards. In this regard, we are attaching for your review and consideration an important and comprehensive Report regarding election law irregularities in Ohio prepared by the House Judiciary Committee Minority Staff.

As a result of these massive irregularities, we believe three important steps must be taken:

First, consistent with the requirements of the United States Constitution concerning the counting of electoral votes by Congress and Federal law implementing these requirements, some of us plan to challenge the presidential electors from the State of Ohio when Congress meets in joint session on January 6 at 1:00 P.M.

Second, Congress should engage in further hearings into the widespread irregularities reported in the recent presidential election. It is clear to us that the problems are serious enough to warrant the appointment of a joint Committee of the House of Representatives and the Senate to investigate and report back to the Members.

EXHIBIT 2

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January 5, 2005

Third, Congress needs to enact further voting and election reforms to restore our people's trust in our democracy and to make sure that these wide spread irregularities do not happen again.

There is no more important right in our democracy than the right to vote. We look forward to working with you on a bipartisan basis to strengthen and protect this right.

Sincerely,

John Conyers
Bill Richardson
Marianne Waters

Pat Sch
Sam Farr
Donald Payne
Clifford B. Watson
Elijah E. Cummings

Janette Hillman - Jay Daulton
Miguel A. Rivera

Stephen R. Hill
Jim McRost
Lynn C. Woolsey

Gloria H. Norton
Chela Fark
Barbara Lee
Patent Wake

Joe C. Serrano
Danny L. Davis

cc: Members, U.S. House of Representatives
Members, U.S. Senate

Dennis J. Kaminich

Wm. Lacy Clay

Shirley Jackson Lee

Barney Frank

SPECIAL REPORT

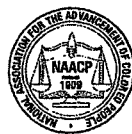
SHATTERING THE MYTH:

An Initial Snapshot of Voter
Disenfranchisement in
the 2004 Elections

EXHIBIT 3



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December 2004

ELECTION PROTECTION 2004

Shattering the Myth: An Initial Snapshot of Voter Disenfranchisement in the 2004 Elections

Acknowledgements

The Election Protection Coalition is a broad-based collaboration of national, state and local organizations. To date, the following national organizations have worked together on Election Protection-related efforts: People For the American Way Foundation, Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, the National Coalition on Black Civic Participation, the Voter Protection Project of America's Families United, American Federation of Labor – Congress of Industrial Organizations, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Advancement Project, the NAACP Legal Defense & Educational Fund, the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, the League of United Latin American Citizens, Unity '04, the National Bar Association, the National Council of La Raza, Labor Council for Latin American Advancement, Artists for a New South Africa, National Newspaper Publishers Association, National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials, the American Civil Liberties Union, Working Assets, Project Vote, Common Cause, USAction, Center for Community Change, League of Women Voters, True Majority, Electronic Frontier Foundation, California Voter Fund, Verified Voting Foundation, Computer Professionals for Social Responsibility, the National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium, the Gamaliel Foundation, the National Council of Churches, United Church of Christ, Unitarian Universalists, Union for Reform Judaism, Jim Wallace of Sojourners Magazine/Call to Renewal, National Latina/o Law Students Association, VoteWatch, the Native American Rights Fund, the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, the American Association of People with Disabilities, the Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund, Rock the Vote, the National Congress of American Indians, the UniverSoul Circus, the National Black Law Students Association, IMPACT 2004, Just Democracy, Demos, the Brennan Center, the American Constitution Society, the Public Interest Research Group, and the Southern Regional Council, among others.

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ELECTION PROTECTION 2004

Shattering the Myth: An Initial Snapshot of Voter Disenfranchisement in the 2004 Elections

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

OVERVIEW

The unprecedented voting rights mobilization undertaken by the Election Protection Coalition helped millions of Americans exercise their fundamental right to vote in 2004. In addition to its direct service to voters, the Election Protection Coalition successfully collected data on the myriad of problems inherent in our electoral system and has begun to create, for the first time, a comprehensive picture of the barriers that voters face as they go to the polls. Unfortunately, we have documented systemic problems that resulted in the widespread disenfranchisement of American voters. These unacceptable barriers to voting betray our nation's democratic principles and undermine the fairness of our elections. The rush of relief led by pundits and politicians that the presidential campaign did not extend into a long post-election legal contest must not be permitted to disguise the urgent need for systematic reforms at the national, state, and local levels.

This preliminary summary provides an initial view of the types of reports and problems experienced by the Election Protection Coalition during the 2004 Presidential Election Cycle. To date more than 39,000 complaints have been recorded in the Electronic Incident Reporting System (EIRS) database with thousands more still to be added. These problems must be analyzed, publicized, and remedied. The margin of victory in the Presidential election led to the popular misconception that the election went smoothly; this summary aims to address that misconception by highlighting the problems voters across the nation encountered and gives voice to the disturbingly large number of citizens who were unable to cast a ballot because of obstacles to the ballot box.

The complaints reviewed were captured in the Election Incident Reporting System (EIRS), a database of complaints and incidents recorded through the activities of the Election Protection Coalition. In 2005 Election Protection will release a comprehensive report of the data gathered through EIRS. We will work with both statistical and social science professionals to create a thorough analysis of the barriers Americans face throughout the voting process. In addition to the data collected through the Election Protection Program, the final report will reflect information obtained through the Freedom of Information Act and interviews and hearings with voters and election officials across the country.

ELECTION PROTECTION IN ACTION

Election Protection 2004 was a massive 18-month effort, involving hundreds of organizations and tens of thousands of citizens, to protect voting rights in traditionally disenfranchised communities across the nation. Election Protection mounted extensive field efforts in 17 states. The dramatic scale of this collaborative, non-partisan effort made it the largest ever voting rights mobilization, ten times larger than the legendary "Freedom Summer" of 1965 according to Julian Bond of the NAACP.

People For the American Way Foundation, the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, and the NAACP prepared this preliminary summary to highlight the extensive problems voters continue to face in exercising the franchise and shatter the myth that the 2004 Presidential election went smoothly.

Leaders of the Election Protection Coalition include: PFAW Foundation, the Lawyers' Committee, the National Coalition on Black Civic Participation, the NAACP, the Voter Protection Project of America's Families United, AFL-CIO, Advancement Project, Working Assets, ACORN, SEIU, LULAC, AFSCME, MALDEF, Wellstone Action, the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, the League of Women Voters, the National Council of La Raza, and Common Cause.

The scale of Election Protection 2004 was inspiring; the complexity of this multi-faceted undertaking made it extraordinarily comprehensive. Election Protection's multiple components included:

- Pre-election advocacy, including litigation, grassroots organizing and media
- Large-scale recruitment, training and deployment of 25,000 poll monitors, operating out of 56 field offices, to provide same-day assistance to voters in targeted precincts
- National toll-free Voters' Rights Hotline (1-866-Our Vote)
- Web sites, including www.ElectionProtection2004, www.mypollingplace.com, and www.ourvote.com
- GOTV and voters' rights public service announcements and paid radio spots featuring stars such as Angela Basset, Danny Glover and Chris Rock
- Extensive earned media coverage
- Preparations of state specific legal manuals and millions of Bills of Rights summarizing state and local electoral procedures
- Meeting with state and local election officials
- Legal command centers in over 30 states with trained attorney volunteers helping voters on and before Election Day overcome legal obstacles

Advocacy and Legal Activities

Long before Election Day, Election Protection cooperated with election officials to eliminate barriers to the ballot box, and where necessary, battled egregious decisions and tactics that increased the likelihood of widespread disenfranchisement. Through

litigation, grassroots organizing and earned media strategies, the Election Protection Coalition successfully resolved many challenges in voters' favor. For example, in Volusia County and Duval County, Florida, officials were forced to add early voting sites in response to complaints from minority voters. On an on-going basis Election Protection continues to seek prospective election reform through its legal efforts. Other pre-election examples include:

- We attempted to counter pre-election decisions from Secretaries of State and local election officials that affected voter registration procedures and potentially disenfranchised thousands of voters before they ever made it on to the registration rolls or into the voting booth. Some issues were peculiar to a state or locality. One example was Ohio Secretary of State Kenneth Blackwell's ridiculous assertion that registration applications be printed on 80-pound paper, before public outcry, led by local and national Election Protection partners, forced him to back down.
- In Waller County, Texas, we successfully sued the local district attorney when he threatened students from Prairie View A&M with prosecution if they registered as county residents. He publicly retreated from this position as a result of the lawsuit.
- In a flashback to the 2000 Presidential Election controversy over the flawed felon purge list, Election Protection lawyers were involved in efforts to force Florida Secretary Hood to eliminate the use by county election officials of yet another flawed felon list consisting of over 40,000 names. The advocacy of Election Protection partners, coupled with litigation and analysis by media organizations, led the state to scrap the list, resulting in the enfranchisement of tens of thousands of citizens throughout the state of Florida.
- In New Mexico, we supported Secretary of State Rebecca Virgil-Giron's successful battle against attempts by some county election officials to impose additional voting barriers on new registrants, many of whom were Hispanics, by requiring them to show ID unless they registered in their election official's offices. This was an inappropriate extension of the federal requirements of HAVA. Ultimately, this blatant violation of state law was overturned by the State Supreme Court in a lawsuit brought by Secretary Virgil-Giron.
- Election Protection lawyers and others continually challenged in the courts unfair directives issued by state and county election officials limiting the effectiveness of provisional ballots required under HAVA. Challenges were brought in a number of states including Florida, Ohio, Michigan, and Colorado, with mixed results.
- Election Protection lawyers also challenged Florida Secretary of State Glenda Hood's claim that registrants who failed to check the "citizenship" box on their application should be rejected, despite the fact that signing the form itself was a

clear declaration of citizenship. A lawsuit addressing this and similar requirements was dismissed on procedural grounds just before the election. An appeal and additional post-election court proceedings are continuing.

- Election Protection advocates successfully limited the disenfranchising impact of frivolous partisan challengers in Ohio. Election Protection was instrumental in successfully combating approximately 35,000 challenges to validly registered voters before Election Day. In addition to challenging pre-Election Day challengers, Election Protection objected to a directive of the Ohio Secretary of State requiring election officials to allow multiple partisan challengers in the polling place with mixed results.
- Election Protection lawyers successfully challenged the Ohio Secretary of State's directive refusing to allow voters who requested absentee ballots, including many who never received those ballots, to cast a provisional ballot at their polling place. In addition to violating the Help America Vote Act, this directive was particularly nefarious considering that many counties across the state were unable to send absentee ballots to voters in time for those ballots to be cast and counted.
- Election Protection advocates obtained legal opinions from the Iowa Attorney General's office 1) denouncing the Iowa election procedure that denied the right to vote in federal elections to citizens who failed to check a box on the registration form designating U.S. citizenship, even though these citizens signed an oath on their voter registration form declaring that they are U.S. citizens (and otherwise qualified to vote) and 2) calling for all boards of elections to count provisional ballots cast in an incorrect precinct as long as they were cast in the correct county.
- In Atkinson County, Georgia, Election Protection lawyers and advocates responded to discriminatory challenges to the citizenship qualifications of nearly 90% of that county's Latino voters. In response to the legal and activist pressure of Election Protection, the County Registrar rejected the challenges.

Election Day Mobilization

Despite Herculean pre-election efforts, significant challenges remained. The November 1st Barriers to Voting report by PFAW Foundation, Lawyers' Committee, and the NAACP and the pre-election activity of the Election Protection Coalition documented alarming trends on the eve of the election, including:

- Nationwide problems of absentee ballot errors and delays in processing
- Decisions likely to result in leaving thousands of provisional ballots uncounted
- Potential for long lines at polls that could discourage or prevent some people from voting

- A strategy by Republican Party officials to launch last-minute challenges to voter registrations by the tens of thousands in several states, a variation on the so-called "ballot integrity" strategies of the past
- An aggressive strategy to place extraordinary numbers of partisan challengers inside polling places to challenge individual voters as they try to cast their votes
- Anonymous flyers, fake letters and misleading phone calls giving voters false information about polling places and voting regulations, or falsely advising voters to vote by phone
- House-to-house voter scams wrongly informing voters that they can vote on a laptop, record their votes with a visitor or hand over their absentee ballots to fake election officials
- Numerous reports of voter registration workers assigning new registrants to political parties without their knowledge or consent, or of voter registrations being destroyed by private groups on the basis of political preference

Thus, as Election Protection volunteers participated in Election eve trainings, two things were very clear: that they would be called on to deal with county-wide problems and policies as well as assist individual voters who were threatened with disenfranchisement, and that their presence could serve as a vital deterrent, minimizing the potential abuses.

The volunteer mobilization that made Election Protection possible was awe-inspiring; it met, even exceeded in many cities, the extremely ambitious goals set at the beginning of the year. The non-partisan Election Protection coalition recruited, deployed, and managed more than 25,000 volunteers, including more than 8,000 lawyers and law students, in over 3,500 precincts and Hotline call centers around the country to provide same-day assistance to help ensure voters could cast votes that count. In the targeted precincts, volunteers distributed more than five million GOTV pieces of literature that included state-specific Voters' Bills of Rights.

Election Protection volunteers played a critical rôle on Election Day:

- Contacting county and local election officials to address machine failures or to get more machines at polling places
- Obtaining the correct precincts and polling places for displaced voters
- Helping to maintain an environment free from harassment and voter intimidation at polling places by:
 - contacting the local police when necessary to remove intimidating persons
 - encouraging the removal of police officers from polling places whose presence was intimidating voters
- Driving voters to their correct polling place
- Monitoring polling place lines and informing the local and county election officials of problems
- Working with poll workers to educate them on proper identification and provisional ballot requirements
- Dispelling myths about voters' rights, e.g., that a person can't vote if they have a traffic ticket

- Contacting local and county election officials about insufficient notice of polling place changes, and when necessary, creating signs and personally redirecting voters to the correct places
- Translating voting materials for voters
- Assisting elderly and voters with disabilities by:
 - personally carrying disabled voters from their car so they could vote
 - helping elderly voters to read and understand voting materials
- Reassuring voters while they stood in long lines
- Ensuring that polling places remained open until the last voters cast their vote

Volunteer lawyers and law students fielded more than 200,000 calls from voters through the national toll-free 1-866-OUR-VOTE Election Protection Voters' Hotline. Over 100,000 of those calls were on Election Day. Calls were routed to 20 call centers, from Baltimore to Anchorage, including national call centers in Washington, D.C., New York City, and San Francisco. PFAW Foundation's website, www.mypollingplace.com, helped more than three million voters on Election Day alone determine their voting location and preview the voting machinery they would use.

ELECTION PROTECTION: PROBLEMS DOCUMENTED

While we take comfort in Election Protection's successes, the massive deployment helped expose serious systemic failures. The myth that Election 2004 ran smoothly with limited irregularities is simply not true.

Although there are particularly alarming complaints in all categories, a large proportion of complaints documented in the EIRS database concern voter registration and absentee ballot problems. As documented in two recent joint reports published by PFAW Foundation and the NAACP, voter intimidation and suppression schemes continue to be prevalent nearly 40 years after the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Election Protection 2004's efforts documented the incredible barriers that continue to confront voters through misinformation campaigns and coordinated suppression tactics.

This report represents a preliminary analysis of the more than 39,000 complaints recorded to date in the Election Incident Reporting System (EIRS) database based on calls to the Voters' Hotline and reports filed by poll monitors in targeted Election Protection precincts. While this number represents many of the incidents collected by Election Protection, the database is incomplete. We continue to receive complaints and there are thousands still to be entered. It is important to note that each EIRS entry often reflects a problem that affects many, sometimes hundreds, of voters.

Election Protection targeted traditionally disenfranchised communities across the nation. We mounted extensive field efforts in 17 states: Florida, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Arizona, Michigan, Wisconsin, New Mexico, Illinois, Colorado, Minnesota, Nevada, Missouri, Texas, North Carolina, Louisiana, Georgia, and Arkansas. Therefore, the problems

surfaced by our volunteers and through our toll-free Hotline calls represent only the tip of the iceberg.

The top five currently-reported problems in the EIRS database are:

- Registration Processing
- Absentee Ballots
- Machine Errors
- Voter Suppression or Intimidation
- Provisional Ballots

More than ten thousand reports of registration problems: Complaints ranged from voters who registered by the registration deadline but did not show up on the voter lists to many reports of registration cards with incorrect information, including the location of polling places.

Thousands of complaints concerning absentee ballots: Voters complained about absentee ballots that did not arrive within the official deadlines, arrived far too late for the voters to use them, or simply never arrived. Most egregious was Ohio Secretary of State Kenneth Blackwell's decision to turn such voters away from the polls on Election Day without allowing them to vote with a provisional ballot. Election Protection lawyers filed suit, which was successful in forcing the state to require poll workers to provide provisional ballots to those voters.

Thousands of complaints concerning voting system errors: Many voters reported concerns that the machines did not accurately record their choice in the presidential and other races or did not record their votes at all. Without a voter-verified audit trail, voters could not confirm that their votes had been recorded as they intended.

More than a thousand complaints of voter suppression or intimidation: Complaints ranged from intimidating experiences at polling places to coordinated suppression tactics. For example:

- Police stationed outside a Cook County, Illinois, polling place were requesting photo ID and telling voters if they had been convicted of a felony that they could not vote.
- In Pima, Arizona, voters at multiple polls were confronted by an individual, wearing a black tee shirt with "US Constitution Enforcer" and a military-style belt that gave the appearance he was armed. He asked voters if they were citizens, accompanied by a cameraman who filmed the encounters.
- There were numerous incidents of intimidation by partisan challengers at predominately low income and minority precincts
- Voters repeatedly complained about misinformation campaigns via flyers or phone calls encouraging them to vote on a day other than November 2, 2004 or of false information regarding their right to vote. In Polk County,

Florida, for example, a voter received a call telling her to vote on November 3. Similar complaints were also reported in other counties throughout Florida. In Wisconsin and elsewhere voters received flyers that said:

- “If you already voted in any election this year, you can’t vote in the Presidential Election.”
- “If anybody in your family has ever been found guilty of anything you can’t vote in the Presidential Election.”
- “If you violate any of these laws, you can get 10 years in prison and your children will be taken away from you.”

More than a thousand complaints concerning provisional ballots: There was widespread confusion over the proper use of provisional ballots, and widely differing regulations from state to state—even from one polling place to the next—as to the use and ultimate recording of these ballots. Many voters reported that poll workers were either refusing to give out provisional ballots or simply unaware of the federal requirements to distribute provisional ballots. Notably, many voters who complained of not being listed on the voter registration list subsequently complained either about not being offered provisional ballots or of not knowing whether they would ultimately be counted.

Voters with disabilities and those in low-income areas and precincts with a high percentage of minority voters experienced other significant barriers to voting. Among the problems reported by voters and Election Protection poll monitors:

- **Long Lines:** We received numerous complaints of long lines and waits of up to ten hours to cast a ballot, especially in urban districts with too few voting stations. The lines inevitably led to untold numbers of voters who were disenfranchised because they could not afford to wait, and had to return to their jobs or their children before they had a chance to cast a vote. Further, reports of these long lines discouraged large numbers of voters from even attempting to cast their vote. Voters faced not only long lines, but also antiquated and faulty equipment and polling places with too few adequately trained poll workers or voting machines. In some minority communities there appeared to have been inequitable distribution of voting machines and Election Day resources that likely contributed to longer lines.
- **Disability Access and Disenfranchisement:** There were many reports of difficulties for voters with disabilities, from physical access to the voting booth to the denial of necessary materials and assistance in the voting process itself.
- **Inaccurate Guidance:** We received numerous reports of voter registration cards or other official materials directing voters to the wrong precinct, where they sometimes waited in line for hours only to find themselves directed to another long line at a different precinct.

- **Language Assistance:** We received complaints about not having ballots and voting materials in Spanish and other languages in violation of the Voting Rights Act or state and local election law.

LOOKING FORWARD: ELECTION PROTECTION AND AN AGENDA FOR CHANGE

It is critical that we not lose the tremendous momentum that Election Protection has built among volunteers, activists and citizens, nor lose the advantage of the public and media spotlight that is focused on election problems. PFAW Foundation, the Lawyers' Committee, and the NAACP will work with their allies to implement a multifaceted post-election strategy to identify, document, and find remedies to disenfranchisement. This document is an initial report on information collected by poll monitors, attorneys, and individual voters to begin to identify a comprehensive legal and legislative strategy for reform.

Among the areas of activity are:

- Documentation of voting irregularities and voter suppression efforts as well as systemic inequities regarding voting machines and related resources in communities of color, including comprehensive analysis of the Election Information Reporting System (EIRS) data, submission of public record requests, and public hearings in eight target states; and,
- Pursuit of remedial relief through litigation; organizing at the national, state, and local levels; and advocacy of a reform agenda.

Documentation of Voting Irregularities, Voter Suppression Incidents

Comprehensive Analysis and Report

This preliminary summary is the first step toward the publication of a comprehensive report documenting the variety and extent of problems as well as the scope of Election Protection efforts. We will work with both statistical and social science professionals to create a thorough analysis of the barriers Americans' face throughout the voting process. Sources for that report will include the Electronic Incident Recording System (EIRS) database as well as information obtained through the public information requests and hearings discussed below.

Public Records Requests

Election Protection is beginning an effort to request and examine public records relating to possible voting irregularities, including county-level information related to discrepancies between the number of registered voters and recorded ballots, as well as any directives on how absentee and provisional ballots would be evaluated, accepted, or rejected. Our initial requests reflected problems identified by volunteers on the ground as

well as media reports; we expect continuing analysis of the data will identify additional areas for research.

Another important research project will use public record requests and other methods to document and analyze what appear to be major inequities in the number of voting machines, ballots, staff, and voter education resources per capita in urban communities of color versus wealthier suburban communities. Documenting the extent of these inequities and the disenfranchisement they caused could provide the basis for legislative proposals as well as possible litigation.

Public Hearings

Election Protection is working with allied organizations to plan and conduct a series of public hearings in at least eight states (Ohio, Florida, Pennsylvania, Arizona, Michigan, New Mexico, Colorado and Texas), which will allow us to gather additional information on inequities, irregularities, and voter suppression efforts, and to keep voting problems and the people affected by them before the media. The first well-attended hearings were held in Columbus, Ohio, on November 13 and 15, and brought to light memorable first-person stories, such as authorities towing vehicles of voters standing in long lines, as well as reports from voting officials, such as a precinct worker who reported receiving half as many voting machines in 2004 as the precinct had in 2000 despite knowledge of dramatic increases in voter registration and expected turnout.

Remedies and Reform

Achieving the kind of fundamental electoral reforms necessary to ensure that every eligible voter has an opportunity to vote and to have that vote counted will require a systematic multi-year campaign that will include litigation, legislation, and mobilization of advocates for reform at the local, state, and national levels.

Legal Action

Election Protection lawyers are pursuing and exploring litigation on a variety of election issues. Currently pending, for example, is a lawsuit challenging the misapplication of the "50 foot-rule" in Palm Beach County, a challenge to Department of Homeland Security limitations on voter registration outside citizenship ceremonies, a lawsuit challenging arbitrary rules leading to the rejection of thousands of provisional ballots in Cuyahoga County, Ohio, and litigation challenging the rejection of thousands of voter registrations in Florida, including many that were rejected if voters did not check a citizenship box, even though the same form included a signed affirmation of citizenship. In Ohio, Florida, and elsewhere, we are actively exploring litigation on absentee ballot problems (we have already cooperated with the ACLU on a preliminary challenge in Florida around Election Day), failure to provide access or assistance to voters with disabilities, additional registration issues, problems in the casting and counting of provisional ballots, and long lines in minority communities.

Election Protection is also supporting the efforts of the Electronic Frontier Foundation and others to obtain backup data from DRE electronic voting machines in counties in

Florida, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New Mexico, which has already led to additional litigation.

We have applauded the federal Government Accountability Office's decision to investigate systemic voting problems as requested by several members of Congress, and we have urged GAO to continue to evaluate the performance of the Department of Justice in this area. (A September GAO analysis reported that DOJ lacked a consistent internal system for documenting and tracking reports of voting problems.)

Reform Agenda

In addition to pursuing remedies through litigation, Election Protection is developing a comprehensive agenda of necessary policy changes at the local, state, and national levels, as well as a plan of action to advance these reforms in the coming months and years.

This election cycle provided Election Protection an opportunity to observe and monitor the impact that the Help America Vote Act (HAVA) had on election administration at the national, state, and local level. While the Coalition will continue to work with policy makers to ensure that the protections HAVA requires are enforced, we will use our experience to illustrate the strengths and weaknesses in the Act.

As mentioned above, the Coalition engaged in unprecedented data collection providing a picture of voting irregularities that will serve as a record for election reform. Consequently, it is critical that efforts to reform our electoral system are not constrained by HAVA. While we continue to support existing legislative voter protections, we must start anew and develop policy and legislative recommendations that address the totality of obstacles that Americans face in their exercise of the fundamental right to vote.

Among our preliminary recommendations:

National recommendations

- Full funding for the Help America Vote Act (HAVA)
- Increased support for voter education campaigns
- Immediate development of the technical guidelines for voting systems by the Election Assistance Commission (EAC)
- Support for required voter verified audit trails for all voting systems
- Public hearings by Congress, the EAC and possibly the Federal Election Commission
- Support for a report by the General Accounting Office on voting irregularities throughout the country

State and County Recommendations

Develop an election reform agenda for suggested changes to local, county and state election procedures to be submitted to respective election officials and legislators where necessary. Probable areas of concern include:

- absentee ballots

- distribution of voting machines and access to Election Day resources in minority and low-income areas
- registration procedures and application processing
- recruitment and proper training of poll workers on numerous issues, including but not limited to provisional ballots and ID requirements
- accurate and centralized statewide voter registration lists
- identification requirements
- enforcement and improvement of anti-voter-intimidation laws
- removing election administration from the portfolio of partisan officials

A CLEAR STANDARD AND A MORAL IMPERATIVE

Thousands of Americans from all walks of life joined the multiracial, multiethnic Election Protection coalition to insist that every eligible American be guaranteed the right to vote and to have that vote counted. Those volunteers have gathered concrete evidence and deepened our understanding of the problems facing voters, from inadequate and inequitably distributed machines to incompetence or malfeasance by public officials, to outright voter intimidation schemes.

It is clear that our voting system falls short of our democratic ideals. Local standards vary, national standards are unevenly applied, and inequities and uncertainties abound. Procedures for registration are unnecessarily complicated and daunting for new voters; election workers and poll workers are too few and inadequately trained; same day remedies for voters are rare and difficult to implement; there are few quick remedies to resolve instances of voter intimidation and suppression; and in many areas a strong voter turnout simply overwhelms the system and leads to disenfranchisement of thousands of eligible voters.

Election Protection and its allies are working to advance meaningful reforms at the state, local and national levels. We must remove barriers to voting, bring ever-increasing numbers of voters to the polls and foster an atmosphere where attempts at voter intimidation are criminally prosecuted and universally condemned.

Our goal is simple and should be unquestioned in the United States of America: an electoral system that guarantees every citizen the right to vote and facilitates rather than frustrates every citizen's ability to cast a vote that is fairly and accurately counted. Achieving this goal is the responsibility of our public officials, and we will work to hold them accountable for meeting this standard.

ELECTION PROTECTION 2004: STATES AT-A-GLANCE

INTRODUCTION

The following reports describe problems encountered by voters in the 17 states in which the Election Protection Coalition mounted extensive ground operations. These states are Florida, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Arizona, Michigan, Wisconsin, New Mexico, Illinois, Colorado, Minnesota, Nevada, Missouri, Texas, North Carolina, Louisiana, Georgia, and Arkansas. The state-by-state reports summarize and provide examples of the more than 39,000 complaints recorded to date in the Electronic Incident Reporting System (EIRS) database as reported by voters and by Election Day volunteers in the field and on the Voters' Hotline.

This is a preliminary snapshot of complaints reported through the EIRS as of November 24, 2004. In 2005 Election Protection will release a comprehensive report of data gathered through the EIRS. We will work with both statistical and social science professionals to create a thorough analysis of the barriers Americans' face throughout the voting process, based on EIRS data, information gathered through public records requests, and interviews and hearings with voters and election officials across the country.

TIER 1 STATES

Florida Election Protection At-a-Glance

Florida Summary

Election Protection's "Election Incident Reporting System" contains reports of election problems in counties across Florida. As of November 24, 2004, the majority of reports were from voters, volunteers, and even some election officials in the following counties, in descending order of number of complaints received:

- Broward
- Palm Beach
- Miami-Dade
- Duval
- Hillsborough
- Orange
- Leon

Based on the EIRS database, voting problems encountered in Florida included:

- Election official failures to deliver absentee ballots to voters who requested them and confusion about what to do for those who had not received them;
- Improper requests for identification;
- Problems with early voting, including long lines at the early voting locations, inadequate staffing, and machine failures;
- Voter registration related problems;
- Confusion about how to implement provisional ballot requirements;
- Concerns about the accuracy and functioning of voting machines;
- Some poll workers who were, at best untrained, and at worst, actively dissuading voters from casting votes; and
- Lack of required assistance for disabled voters.

Pre-Election Day Legal Activities

Leading up to Election Day, critical decisions were made by the courts, Secretary of State Glenda Hood and Supervisors of Elections throughout the state that had a significant effect on the vote. These decisions included:

- A federal judge rejected on procedural grounds a claim on behalf of thousands of Florida voters that their failure to check off boxes on their voter registration forms for U.S. citizenship, felony status or mental capacity was immaterial in light of their having signed their registration forms affirming their citizenship, mental capacity and felony status. This ruling is still on appeal.
- The State of Florida initially ordered the implementation of a "potential felon" purge list to remove voters from the rolls, in a disturbing echo of the infamous 2000 purge, which removed thousands of eligible voters, primarily African-Americans, from the rolls. The state abandoned the plan after pressure from civil rights groups and news media investigations revealed that the 2004 list also included thousands of people who were eligible to vote, and heavily targeted African-Americans while virtually ignoring Hispanic voters.
- A number of other pre-election lawsuits were filed with mixed results. For example, a federal judge granted a temporary restraining order against the Department of Homeland Security and the City of Miami Beach, which had refused to allow non-partisan groups to register new citizens outside a citizenship ceremony. Lawsuits challenging Florida's rule requiring that voters cast provisional ballots only in the correct precinct were unsuccessful. A lawsuit challenging the state's failure to set forth rules providing for recounts in counties using electronic voting machines was successful, although a challenge to the rules ultimately promulgated has not succeeded.

Early voting in Florida also presented new challenges for the voting system and those in charge of it. The following is a snapshot:

- Pressure from members of the EP coalition led to Duval and Volusia counties opening additional early voting sites. Duval initially had only one such site. Other counties with a comparable number of registered voters had nine early voting sites. Duval County has the highest percentage of African American voters -- 26 percent -- among Florida's large counties.

- Florida began early voting on October 18, in part to address the issues that plagued its Election Day in 2000. But some of the same problems resurfaced almost immediately, including long lines, trouble verifying voter registration data, lost computer connections, and complaints about placing too few early voting sites in African American neighborhoods.

Summary of Complaints and Questions in the State

Below is a sampling of the types of questions and complaints recorded in the EIRS database from voters and volunteers in Florida.

Absentee Ballot Problems: EP volunteers helped voters with questions and complaints regarding the use of absentee ballots. There were voters (1) who had problems when they requested absentee ballots, (2) who did not receive absentee ballots in time to vote, or (3) who received ballots they did not request. A disproportionate number of these reports originated from Broward County. There were several cases of military voters not receiving their absentee ballots. Below are examples of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- Up to 15,000 voters did not receive their absentee ballots in the mail in Broward County. The county had to resend some ballots and other voters were not able to vote at all because they did not receive their ballots in time. [Broward]
- Voters reported that while the envelope on the absentee ballot said that it required 60 cents in postage, it really cost 83 cents. (This problem was later addressed by the county.) [Broward]

Voter Registration Problems and Questions: EP volunteers helped voters with problems related to voter registration. There were voters who thought they had registered but had not received cards in the mail, and voters who were not included on the list of registered voters. Many of the registration problems were reports from voters who had moved and were unclear about their registration status and proper polling place or voters who registered through third-party organizations. There were also many reports of lost registration cards and registration cards with incorrect information on polling places. Below are some examples of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- A voter in Broward County had recently moved from Dade County. He tried to change his voter registration on several occasions, but never received a card. On Election Day, he went to Dade to vote, but they said he was on the list for Broward County, but with no precinct. The voter was unable to vote. [Broward]
- Several University of South Florida students who signed a petition on increasing penalties for child molestation had their voter

registration changed to Republican without their knowing it.
[Hillsborough]

Voter Intimidation/Suppression: EP volunteers received complaints about suspected voter intimidation or unusual election-related activities. This category includes reports from voters who were prevented or discouraged from voting by election officials or third parties at the polls or by misleading information distributed in their community. We received several reports throughout Florida of police and sheriff presence at polling places that concerned voters. Below are some particularly troubling examples of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- There were numerous reports of misleading information.
 - Voters received calls telling them to vote on November 3.
[Polk; Palm Beach]
 - A voter reported that someone told her she had voted in the wrong location and that she would be arrested and fined.
[Orange]
 - A group was going around telling voters that they had until November 18th to vote. [Duval]
- Several voters of color reported that they were harassed and intimidated while trying to vote. An African-American male was searched for weapons when entering the polling place and no other voters appeared to receive the same treatment. [Alachua]

Provisional Ballot Problems: EP volunteers received complaints about provisional ballots from voters, ranging from inquiries into the provisional ballot system to workers unevenly applying or not understanding the new provisional ballot requirements. In some instances, voters requested provisional ballots and poll workers refused to provide them or provided them and then told the voter that “they wouldn’t count anyway.” Below is an example of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- Voters were denied the right to vote, even provisionally, because the voter’s address on the driver’s license did not match the address on the voter’s registration information. [Miami-Dade; Orange]

Voting Machine Problems: EP volunteers received reports about problems with voting machines. Voters complained that machines were not working properly, were not recording their intended votes or had completely shut down on Election Day. Paper ballots were used in some instances when machines broke down, but this was not standard practice. There were particular problems with voting machines during early voting. Below are some examples of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- During early voting and on Election Day, voters expressed concerns that the machines were not properly recording their choices for President. [Palm Beach; Miami-Dade; Broward; Pinellas]
- We also received reports about optical scanners not working properly and voters having to drop their ballots into a box to be scanned later in some cases. [Brevard; Leon]

Identification Problems: EP volunteers helped voters with problems and questions related to identification requirements. During early voting and on Election Day many voters, particularly in Hillsborough and Miami-Dade Counties, reported that voter ID requirements were not being implemented appropriately. Poll workers were misapplying identification procedures, turning voters away who met the state's identification mandates. EP volunteers helped clarify the voter ID and registration card requirements for voters.

Disabled Access and Assistance Problems: EP volunteers received questions and complaints related to disability access and assistance. These incidents highlight the range of issues around state and federal laws on disability access to voting, including polling place accessibility and personal assistance. Florida experienced not only uneven application of these laws, but some counties also seemed unprepared to deal with the long lines that occurred during early voting. With the long lines, EP volunteers received many reports related to the elderly and disabled leaving lines because they could not stand for long periods of time.

Criminal Status Related Problems: EP volunteers answered questions related to criminal status. There were voters with felony convictions who were unsure about their eligibility status, and those who had never been convicted of a felony who were identified as ineligible to vote. People were further confused because of efforts over the summer by the State of Florida to purge voter rolls of felons from a flawed felon list.

Student Status Related Problems: EP volunteers answered questions related to student status. Those helped were students with questions about registration and those having problems at the polling places. Below is a particularly troubling example of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- University of Southern Florida and University of Tampa college students were turned away at the polling place and denied provisional ballots. [Hillsborough]

Insufficient Number of Ballots: Voters reported insufficient provisional ballots in Hillsborough, Miami-Dade and Brevard County

Language Issues: EP volunteers received complaints about lack of assistance for voters with limited English skills.

Long Lines: EP volunteers received complaints about long lines. Long lines were evident in Florida from the start of early voting through Election Day. Of particular concern were reports of elderly and disabled voters waiting in long lines during hot weather and a lack of clarity on the part of poll workers about special accommodations that could be made for these voters. Many of the long lines appeared to be associated with inadequate or malfunctioning electronic voting machines and poll workers were not properly trained to address the problems.

Late Opening and Early Closing: EP volunteers received reports of polls opening late or closing early. We received reports during early voting and on Election Day. Fortunately, late poll openings did not appear to be widespread in Florida during the general election.

Polling Place Problems: EP volunteers helped voters with problems that arose at the polling place. There were voters who were trying to exercise their legal rights outside of polling places, or were concerned about paraphernalia and other materials near or within the polling places. This category also includes issues with polling places with multiple precincts with insufficient or no signage, and polling place canvassers.

Other Issues: Voters had other unique questions that did not directly fit into any of the above categories, including voters needing rides to the polls, voters not being allowed off work to vote, and employers encouraging voters to vote for one candidate over another.

Ohio Election Protection At-a-Glance

Ohio Summary

Election Protection's "Election Incident Reporting System" contains reports of election problems in counties across Ohio. As of November 24, 2004, the majority of reports were from voters, volunteers, and even some election officials in the following counties, in descending order of number of complaints received:

- Cuyahoga
- Franklin
- Hamilton
- Lucas
- Summit

Based on the EIRS database, voting problems encountered in Ohio included:

- Improper requests for, and non-uniform acceptance of, identification;
- Improper instructions on when to offer a provisional ballot;
- Long lines due in part to poorly trained poll workers, inadequate staffing or machines;
- Long-time voters showing up at the polls and finding themselves no longer listed;
- Non-uniform procedures for handling voter who requested, but did not receive, absentee ballots; and
- Inequitable distribution of voting materials (ballots or machines).

Pre-Election Day Legal Activities

Members of the Election Protection coalition and the Ohio Voter Protection Coalition met with election officials in all of our target counties prior to the Election Day to identify potential problems and were successful in resolving some issues that could have disenfranchised voters. Examples of such pre-election advocacy include:

- Preventing widespread challenges at the polling places through aggressive legal advocacy;
- Reversal of the state directive requiring voter registration applications be printed on 80 lb. paperweight;

- A state directive to county Boards of Elections to accept voter registration applications if the eligible voter did not check a simple box on the application;
- State instructions to county Boards of Elections to provide regular ballots to first-time voters who did not provide identification before voting in-person on Election Day if they could provide it then or give the last four digits of their social security number;
- Reversal of a state directive refusing to allow voters who requested absentee ballots, including many who never received their ballots, to cast a provisional ballot at their polling place.

Summary of Complaints and Questions in the State

Below is a sampling of the types of questions and complaints recorded in the EIRS database from voters and volunteers in Ohio.

Absentee Ballot Problems: EP volunteers helped voters with questions and complaints regarding the use of absentee ballots. Most often, individuals who had requested such ballots never received them or received them too late to send in to the county on time. Others reported receiving ballots they never requested. Below are some particularly troubling examples of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- A voter had requested an absentee ballot, but never received it. When the voter's mother went to the polling place, she was told that her daughter's absentee ballot had been received. The voter's mother told poll workers that this was impossible. [Hamilton]
- A voter who waited in line for over two hours was told that he had already voted absentee, but he said he did not. [Franklin]
- A voter requested an absentee ballot that arrived on November 1. The voter is in school several hundred miles away from the place where she is registered and was not able to deliver the ballot on time. [Hamilton]

Voter Registration Problems and Questions: EP volunteers helped voters with problems related to voter registration. Individuals frequently reported having "disappeared" from the voter rolls. Others had questions regarding how to register, how to determine if they were registered, and what to do if they had moved. Many individuals expressed concerns that they had registered but never received confirmation or were not listed on the voter rolls at their precincts.

Voter Intimidation/Suppression: EP volunteers received complaints about suspected voter intimidation or unusual election-related activities. Some voters reported being intimidated – and deterred from voting or from requesting assistance – by the presence of poll challengers. Other voters reported poll workers engaging in questionable practices, such as one poll worker who only asked African-American voters for their ID or another poll worker who called the police when an individual attempted to help a disabled voter cast his vote. Other voters reported misinformation campaigns. Below are some particularly troubling examples of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- A voter reported that someone was going door-to-door telling people they were not registered to vote. [Summit]
- A voter in Franklin County received information purporting to be from the county alerting him that since he moved, he would have to vote by provisional ballot. The voter had not moved and had lived at the address for 10-15 years [Franklin]

Provisional Ballot Problems: EP volunteers received complaints about provisional ballots from voters, many of whom reported being denied the opportunity to vote by provisional ballot. Some polling places either ran out of provisional ballots or never had any at their location. For example:

- A voter registered to vote in September. When she went to the polling place on Election Day, they said she was not registered and refused to give her a provisional ballot [Cuyahoga]

Voting Machine Problems: EP volunteers received reports about problems with voting machines, particularly in Cuyahoga and Franklin counties. There were multiple polling locations with an inadequate number of voting machines and/or with broken machines, which led to long lines and frustration for voters and poll workers alike. EP volunteers also received reports of machines not correctly recording votes. Below are particularly troubling examples of the kinds of complaints reported:

- A voter reported "Every time I tried to vote for the Democratic Party Presidential vote the machine went blank. I had to keep trying, it took 5 tries." [Mahoning]
- One entire polling place in Cuyahoga County had to "shut down" at 9:25am on Election Day because there were no working machines. It is unclear whether this polling place ever re-opened.

Disabled Access and Assistance Problems: EP volunteers received questions and complaints related to disability access and assistance. Voters asked EP volunteers how they could vote if they were disabled. Other voters reported problems, including

polling places inaccessible to voters in wheelchairs and poll workers who did not allow disabled voters to receive assistance.

Criminal Status Related Problems: EP volunteers answered questions related to criminal status. Most of these individuals wanted to know what the eligibility requirements were to have their voting rights restored after being convicted of a felony.

Ballot Related Problems: Voters contacted EP volunteers regarding ballot problems. Most of these problems were related to poll workers handling ballots improperly, for example by failing to seal the ballot envelope or failing to place them in the voting box.

Language Issues: EP volunteers received complaints about lack of accessibility for voters with limited English skills.

Long Lines: EP volunteers received complaints, especially from voters in Cuyahoga and Franklin counties, about long lines, some as long as 3-4 hours. The problem appeared to be caused by an insufficient number of voting booths for the record number of voters who turned out.

Polling Place Problems: EP volunteers helped voters with problems that arose at the polling place. In some cases, voters needed help identifying their proper polling location, and in other cases voters could not find their polling place due to inadequate signage. EP volunteers also received reports from voters who had witnessed improper polling place procedures.

- Some voters who were in line to vote, but outside of the doors to the polling place, were sent home at 7:30 when the polls closed.
[Franklin]

Pennsylvania Election Protection At-a-Glance

Pennsylvania Summary

Election Protection's "Election Incident Reporting System" contains reports of election problems in counties across Pennsylvania. As of November 24, 2004, the majority of reports were from voters, volunteers, and even some election officials in the following counties, in descending order of number of complaints received:

- Philadelphia
- Allegheny
- Montgomery
- Delaware
- Berks
- Lehigh
- Dauphin

Based on the complaints in the EIRS database, voting problems in Pennsylvania included:

- An inability to get absentee ballots to voters on time;
- Problems with voter registration in general, or with the state's voter registration rolls;
- Failure of poll workers to distribute or understand the legal issues regarding provisional ballots; and
- Problems with malfunctioning or broken voting machines.

Pre-Election Day Legal Activities

Leading up to Election Day, critical decisions were made by the legislature, the courts, Secretary of State Pedro Cortés and county Supervisors of Elections that had a significant effect upon the vote. These decisions included:

- On October 7, 2004 the legislature passed and the Governor signed SB 346 and SB 1222. SB 346 provided for a uniform statewide recount procedure, codified the requirement that a voter must cast a provisional ballot in the correct county for the ballot to be counted, and increased penalties for election workers who engage in willful voter fraud. SB 1222 gave force of law to standards promulgated on August 2, 2003 for what constituted a valid vote on ballots used in Pennsylvania.

- Federal law requires that polling places be accessible to elderly and physically disabled voters. If a polling place is not accessible, state and county governments are required to provide an alternative accessible means of casting a ballot. In September, in anticipation that many Pennsylvania polling places would not be accessible on Election Day, Secretary of State Cortés issued a directive for counties to provide at least one accessible site in the county where disabled voters could go to cast a ballot if they could not access their polling place.
- On October 22nd, the State Supreme Court of Pennsylvania affirmed a lower court ruling that Ralph Nader was not eligible to be listed on Pennsylvania ballots as a candidate for president. The lateness of this decision caused considerable problems with the issuance of absentee ballots. Many Pennsylvania counties waited until the decision to begin sending ballots. Because the deadline under Pennsylvania law for voters to return their absentee ballot was 5pm on October 29, there was a very small window for voters in those counties to return their ballots and have them counted for anything other than the Presidential race (for which there was a later deadline per federal law). Other counties mailed absentee ballots before a final decision – usually with Mr. Nader’s name listed on the ballot. Because Mr. Nader was ultimately disqualified, residents of those counties who voted for Mr. Nader had their Presidential vote, in effect, thrown out.

Summary of Complaints and Questions in the State

Below is a sampling of the types of questions and complaints recorded in the EIRS database from voters and volunteers in Pennsylvania.

Absentee Ballot Problems: EP volunteers helped voters with questions and complaints regarding the use of absentee ballots, mostly from voters who had requested such ballots but had never received them. Other voters reported receiving them too late in order to submit them before the deadline. Below is an example of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- A Pennsylvania voter working in Maryland reported that her county board had refused to “overnight” an absentee ballot to her when one still had not arrived just days before the election. Despite her offer to pay for Federal Express to deliver the ballot, the county refused, and she did not get her ballot until 9:30 p.m. the day it was due. She then had to take time off from work in order to drive back to Pennsylvania and cast her vote. [Allegheny]

Voter Registration Problems and Questions: EP volunteers helped voters with problems related to voter registration. Many voters complained that they had registered but never received their registration cards, or were informed that they were not on the rolls when they went to vote. In some cases, this related to voters who had updated their registrations after moving, while others had been voting at the same place, or had been registered at the same address, for years. Below is an example of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- A voter sent in her voter registration months earlier when she changed addresses, and even received a confirmation letter from her old county informing her that she was no longer registered. However, she never received a voter registration card from her new county, and when she called her local board of elections, an election official told her that she was not on their list but to simply keep calling back. As Election Day approached, she still had not received confirmation of her registration. [Delaware]

Voter Intimidation/Suppression: EP volunteers received complaints about suspected voter intimidation or unusual election-related activities, including allegations of harassment by election observers and poll workers. Below are some particularly troubling examples of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- A voter complained that a poll judge looked into the booth to "check and make sure people are doing it correctly." When the voter asked the judge not to do so, the judge made her leave without voting. Caller then got a police officer to escort her in and force the judge to allow her to vote. The judge was then rude to the police officer as well. [Philadelphia]
- An EP volunteer reported 3 separate incidents of a large SUV with white men parked in front of the polling site, idling & staring down voters and pretending to be from District Attorney's. When the EP volunteer confronted them, they admitted they were in fact republican attorneys from Tennessee. [Philadelphia]
- A voter reported that flyers were being passed out to University of Pennsylvania and Temple students saying that if they voted today, their financial aid would be in jeopardy. [Philadelphia]
- An individual reportedly observed people going around a neighborhood and handing out fake ballots – telling people that they no longer need to go to the polls on Election Day. [Philadelphia]

- One voter reported being told by a county election worker that if she had not voted within the previous year, then she would not be allowed to vote in the November election. [Dauphin]

Provisional Ballot Problems: EP volunteers received complaints about provisional ballots from voters, many of whom reported being denied the opportunity to vote by provisional ballot. In conjunction with the difficulties that a large number of voters faced regarding their registration, many also faced difficulties in obtaining provisional ballots when they were told that their names did not appear on the registration rolls. In other cases, provisional ballots were not treated properly. Other voters reported being told that supplies were insufficient, or that the provisional ballots would not count. Below are some examples of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- A voter had changed her name and address and re-registered to vote. However, when she went to her polling place, she was informed by an election official that she was not on the registration roll at either her old or new polling place. The official told her that the polling place did not have any provisional ballots to give her. [Allegheny]
- When a voter went to her polling place, she was told that her name was not on the registration roll. She then requested a provisional ballot but made a mistake when filling it out. When she tried to return the ballot in exchange for a new one, she was denied because the polling place did not have enough provisional ballots. She was told to simply correct her mistake on the ballot and initial it. [Allegheny]

Voting Machine Problems: EP volunteers received reports about problems with voting machines – including voting machines malfunctioning or being out of service on Election Day. Below is a particularly troubling example of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- A report came in of voting machines that were preventing people from casting votes for candidates from different parties. The malfunction reportedly required voters to vote on straight party tickets. Poll workers were trying to separate out Democratic and Republican voters before they entered the booth. [Delaware]

Identification Problems: EP volunteers helped voters with problems and questions related to identification requirements, with many reporting that they were required to show ID unnecessarily. Below is a particularly troubling example of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- A report came in that poll workers were asking African American voters for ID – even though they were not first time voters – but were not requiring ID from white voters. [Lancaster]

Disabled Access and Assistance Problems: EP volunteers received questions and complaints related to disability access and assistance. Many reports came in regarding lack of accessibility, including many complaints of polling places that weren't accessible to wheelchair-bound voters. Below is a particularly troubling example of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- One individual reportedly witnessed an election official refusing a wheelchair bound woman's request to have her daughter help her vote. Allegedly, the official told the woman she had to get up out of her wheelchair in the booth and vote herself. [Delaware]

Language Issues: EP volunteers received complaints about lack of assistance for voters with limited English skills. Voters reported problems with getting properly translated voting materials or assistance at the polls.

Long Lines: EP volunteers received complaints about long lines. The problem appeared to be caused by an insufficient number of voting booths for the number of voters who turned out.

Arizona Election Protection At-a-Glance

Arizona Summary

Election Protection's "Election Incident Reporting System" contains reports of election problems in counties across Arizona. As of November 24, 2004, the majority of reports were from voters, volunteers, and even some election officials in the following counties, in descending order of number of complaints received:

- Maricopa
- Pima
- Yavapai

Based on the EIRS database, voting problems encountered in Arizona included:

- Inability to get absentee ballots;
- Problems with registration; and
- Incidents of voter intimidation.

Summary of Complaints and Questions in the State

Below is a sampling of the types of questions and complaints recorded in the EIRS database from voters and volunteers in Arizona.

Absentee Ballot Problems: EP volunteers helped voters with questions and complaints regarding the use of absentee ballots. Several voters reported having received inadequate or confusing instructions as to how the ballots should be marked or how much postage should be applied. Others reported being mistakenly marked as absentee voters at the polls or encountering trouble when attempting to vote at the polls after having requested an absentee ballot. Below are some particularly troubling examples of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- A voter reported that, when he went to vote on Election Day, he was informed that he had requested an absentee ballot. He denied ever doing so and was told that if he wanted to vote, he would have to do so via provisional ballot. The EP hotline received several calls of this type [Pima; Maricopa]
- A voter reported that she had received an absentee ballot but preferred to vote in person on Election Day. She was informed by an election official that she could bring the ballot to her polling place and "spoil" it in person and then cast her vote. She reported that when she arrived at her polling place, an election official

handed her a provisional ballot and didn't take her absentee ballot, saying, "we don't care" and telling her to keep it. [Pima]

Voter Registration Problems and Questions: EP volunteers helped voters with problems related to voter registration. Several voters reported finding that they weren't on the rolls after having registered through outside registration efforts not run by county election officials. Others reported being removed from the rolls when they had not requested registration changes or removals. Below are some troubling examples of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- A voter reported that he arrived at the polling place he has used for the last 12 years and was told that his name was not listed on the rolls. He noted that his son, who had moved out of state and reregistered elsewhere, was still listed as registered to vote in that county. The voter suspected that election officials had mistakenly removed him from the rolls instead of his son. He was denied a regular ballot, and had to vote via a provisional ballot. [Maricopa]
- A woman reported having filled out voter registration forms with her husband in September at a rally where Elizabeth Edwards spoke. When she contacted the County, she was told that there was no record of either of them registering to vote. The woman reported that one of the individuals with whom she spoke asked her how she had registered and when she told him she was told "that's no big loss- you registered for the wrong party anyway." [Maricopa]

Voter Intimidation/Suppression: EP volunteers received complaints about suspected voter intimidation or unusual election-related activities. Intimidation tactics included questioning citizenship, and several reports came in of apparent attempts at suppressing the Latino vote. Below are some particularly troubling examples of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- A voter reported that an individual was traveling to various polling places and confronting minority voters and asking them if they were citizens. He was asking to see their ID and had a cameraman with him who filmed the encounters. The individual wore a black tee shirt with "US Constitution Enforcer" written on it and a military style belt that gave the appearance that he was armed. [Pima]
- A complainant reported that a poll watcher affiliated with the National Council of La Raza entered a polling place in order to make sure that Spanish language ballots were available. An election official reportedly claimed that he didn't have time to tell him and asked what gave him the authority to ask. The two got into

...a heated exchange and when the NCLR member left, the election official allegedly complained that he had "all these damned Mexicans lining up to vote and that they were taking away all of our rights." [Pima]

Provisional Ballot Problems: EP volunteers received complaints about provisional ballots from voters, many of whom reported being denied the opportunity to vote by provisional ballot. Most often, otherwise eligible voters were forced to accept provisional ballots without their status or claims of eligibility being investigated further. Many voters also reported being very uneasy with provisional ballots after claims were repeatedly made by officials that they were not likely to be counted. Below are some examples of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- A voter registered to vote and had a receipt along with a confirmation number for registering. When she went to vote, she was told that she was not on the registry but could cast a provisional ballot, although she was told that it "probably wouldn't count." [Maricopa]
- A voter reported not appearing on the registration rolls, even though she had registered. She was sure that she was in the correct precinct, but rather than seeking to verify her correct precinct, the poll workers simply told her to cast a provisional ballot. She feared this would nullify her vote if she was in fact in the wrong precinct. [Pima]

Voting Machine Problems: EP volunteers received reports about problems with voting machines. Most reports detailed problems with optical scanning machines that rejected or failed to read ballots or were simply not working.

Identification Problems: EP volunteers helped voters with problems and questions related to identification requirements. Many voters complained that they were asked to show ID when they thought it was unnecessary or were unable to vote because they lacked proper ID.

Language Issues: EP volunteers received complaints about lack of accessibility for voters with limited English skills. Most often, the reports regarded a lack of Spanish-language election materials, poll workers or translators.

Long Lines: EP volunteers received complaints about long lines – in some cases entailing a 3-4 hour wait. The problem appeared to be caused by an insufficient number of voting booths for the number of voters who turned out.

Other Problems: Voters had other unique questions that did not directly fit into any of the above categories. For example:

- Several reports came in of voters being told that they were not allowed to enter their polling places while carrying the EP-issued "Voter's Bill of Rights." [Maricopa; Pima]

Illinois Election Protection At-a-Glance

Illinois Summary

Election Protection's "Election Incident Reporting System" contains reports of election problems in counties across Illinois. As of November 24, 2004, the majority of reports were from voters, volunteers, and even some election officials in the following counties, in descending order of number of complaints received:

- Cook County
- Du Page County
- Will County
- Kane County
- Lake County

Based on the EIRS database, voting problems encountered in Illinois included:

- Absentee ballot related problems;
- Registration problems;
- Machine problems;
- Identification problems
- Intimidation; and
- General Ballot problems.

Summary of Complaints in the State

Below is a sampling of the types of questions and complaints recorded in the EIRS database from voters and volunteers in Illinois.

Absentee Ballot Problems: EP volunteers helped voters with questions and complaints regarding the use of absentee ballots. In several cases, voters – mainly college students – requested absentee ballots, but they never received the ballots, at least not in time to vote in this election. Below are some examples of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- A voter reported that she and other university students had applied for absentee ballots but never received them. The voter called the Cook County Clerk on Oct. 31, Nov 1 and Nov 2. The voter was instructed that voting in Chicago was the only possibility. The voter was unable to return home in time. [Cook]

- A voter registered in Cook County, Dec. 2003. The voter is in college now and too far away from home, so voter mailed an application for an absentee ballot. Confirmation was delivered by Oct. 25, 2004. On Oct. 28th the voter called the Cook County Clerk's office, but the office said that it had not received the application. [Cook]

Voter Registration Problems and Questions: EP volunteers helped voters with problems related to voter registration. Most problems involved voters who had registered to vote, either through an organization or through other means, but who never received their voter registration card and so were not sure if they could vote or where to go to vote. In some cases, these voters sought registration verification assistance from EP volunteers; in other cases, voters went to vote and were told they were not registered. Other voters had problems that arose from having moved or changed their name since the last election.

Voter Intimidation/Suppression: EP volunteers received complaints about suspected voter intimidation or unusual election-related activities. These problems were evident in Cook County and elsewhere in Illinois. Voters reported several incidents involving police officers who were at the polls asking for ID, among other things. Voters also reported poll workers giving out misinformation or following suspect procedures. Below are some particularly troubling examples of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- A police officer outside the polling center (1) asked for photo ID and (2) told voters that they could not vote if they had ever been convicted of a felony. [Cook]
- A voter reported that election officials told him he was able to vote for the president, but that there was no need to vote for judges at the local judicial level. He said the same thing happened to his daughter. [Kane]
- A white poll worker reportedly said to a line of all-black voters: ""I was having a pleasant day until you all walked in."" The election official couldn't find their names on the list. They waited approximately 30 minutes. [Cook]

Provisional Ballot Problems: EP volunteers received complaints about provisional ballots from voters, many of whom reported being denied the opportunity to vote by provisional ballot. In some cases, poll workers would not give individuals provisional ballots because their name did not appear on the voting rolls, even though the voters claimed to have registered. In another case, a Cook County poll worker told a man that everyone who voted by provisional ballot had to go to the Board of Elections within 48 hours and show ID, even if they also showed ID when voting.

Voting Machine Problems: EP volunteers received reports about problems with

voting machines, including machines malfunctioning or not working at all. Some voters reported machines not being able to read ballots and the ballots being placed in "a box." Other voters had problems with machines that either indicated an "overvote" or an "undervote." In several of these cases, voters stated that even if the machine initially indicated an "undervote," the vote was still cast, meaning that they were only able to cast incomplete votes.

Identification Problems: EP volunteers helped voters with problems and questions related to identification requirements. The major issues were voters not having a current address on their driver's license and poll workers asking all voters to present two forms of ID. In several cases, when voters could not produce the ID, they were not allowed to vote. Below are some examples of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- A voter was told he could not vote (even provisionally) because his driver's license lists his old address. He is properly registered at his new address, but living with parents, so he has no utility bills in his name. He pays bank, credit card and cell phone bills online. [Cook]
- A voter was asked for two forms of ID and was informed that if she hadn't voted in March, her vote would be contested. [Cook]

Disabled Access and Assistance Problems: EP volunteers received questions and complaints related to disability access and assistance. Some voters reported polling places that were not accessible to wheelchairs. Others reported encountering problems when they tried to get assistance. Below is a particularly troubling example of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- A daughter expressed concerns on behalf of her parents. The father had cataracts and could not see well. The poll worker stopped his wife from helping him, saying "Middle Eastern men force their women to vote in a particular way" and it was "against the rules; you can't help people out like that." The parents had always helped each other vote in the past [Cook]

Ballot Related Problems: Voters contacted EP volunteers regarding ballot problems. One polling place ran out of ballots, and the poll workers told voters to go home. Some voters were given an incorrect ballot that did not list the candidates for local offices. Some voters had trouble punching all of the way through their ballots, which poll workers told them not to worry about. Other voters expressed concerns about abnormalities that they feared would prevent their ballots from being counted. Below are some examples of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- One voter reported that her ballot was rejected as "spoiled" twice; she was concerned that her vote won't count. This was a punch card ballot. The voter had to go because she was late for work.

Also, the person in front of and behind her had similar problems.

[Cook]

- A voter, who was one of the first people in line, reported ballot concerns. When his ballot was placed into the machine, it came out as "damaged." They gave him another ballot with the same result. Every person after him had the same problem. The poll workers put the ballots in a cardboard box. [Cook]

Long Lines: EP volunteers received complaints about long lines. The problem appeared to be caused by an insufficient number of voting booths for the number of voters who turned out. Some voters experienced long lines due to an insufficient number of poll workers and/or the lack of organization on the part of poll workers. Some voters were not able to wait in long lines and were unable to vote. Below is an example of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- A voter reported that it took 45 minutes to vote. Only one person was voting at a time even though there were 5 booths. There was one poll worker doing everything: checking names and monitoring. Four other workers at the polling place were not doing anything. [Cook]

Michigan Election Protection At-a-Glance

Michigan Summary

Election Protection's "Election Incident Reporting System" contains reports of election problems in counties across Michigan. As of November 24, 2004, the majority of reports were from voters, volunteers, and even some election officials in the following counties, in descending order of number of complaints received:

- Wayne
- Oakland
- Genesee

Based on the EIRS database, voting problems encountered in Michigan included:

- Failure to properly process registration applications;
- Long lines due in part to inadequate staffing;
- Machine failures;
- Voter intimidation and misinformation campaigns;
- Improper instructions on when to offer a provisional ballot; and
- Election official failures to deliver absentee ballots to voters who requested them and confusion about what to do for those who had not received them.

Summary of Complaints and Questions in the State

Below is a sampling of the types of questions and complaints recorded in the EIRS database from voters and volunteers in Michigan.

Absentee Ballot Problems: EP volunteers helped voters with questions and complaints regarding the use of absentee ballots. There were voters who had problems when they requested absentee ballots, voters who did not receive absentee ballots in time to vote or at all, and even those who discovered that their absentee ballot had been returned by someone else. Below are some examples of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- A voter's mother requested an absentee ballot in October on behalf of her son in the military (Coast Guard). Each time she requested a ballot she was told the request was not received. The son understood that he could not vote, but was outraged. [Wayne]

- A voter requested an absentee ballot 3-4 weeks ago before the election, but didn't receive it in Kentucky until 11/1 (postmarked 10/27). The Board of Elections informed her that the ballot would not count if not received by 10 PM on Election night. [Saginaw]

Voter Registration Problems and Questions: EP volunteers helped voters with problems related to voter registration. There were voters who thought they had registered but had not received cards in the mail, and voters who were not included on the list of registered voters. Many of the registration problems were reports from voters who had moved and were unclear about their registration status and proper polling place. There were also reports about voters registering with third party organizations who never received their registration cards.

Voter Intimidation/Suppression: EP volunteers received complaints about suspected voter intimidation or unusual election-related activities. Some voters reported being intimidated – and deterred from voting or from requesting assistance – by the presence of poll challengers. Below are some particularly troubling examples of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- One Republican poll challenger was reported by several voters to be intimidating poll workers and voters by standing too close to poll workers, writing down things and calling out on his phone. He was described as very aggressive in his actions. Voters called police who threatened to arrest challenger, but he chose to leave at that point. [Wayne]
- Republican challengers were physically blocking access to polls with cars and bodies. [Kalamazoo]
- Reports came in of intimidation from police offices at polling places. [Wayne]
- A notice was hung on the front door of a voter's home advising "Your polling place is: Garfield Edison School, Ward 3, Precinct 17, 301 E McClellan." Voter realized this was misinformation and went to Doyle Ryder School to vote because for years he has voted at precinct 32". [Genesee]

Provisional Ballot Problems: EP volunteers received complaints about provisional ballots from voters, many of whom reported being denied the opportunity to vote by provisional ballot. Complaints and inquiries came in about poll workers unevenly applying or not understanding the new provisional ballot requirements. In some instances, voters requested provisional ballots and poll workers refused to provide them or provided them and then told the voter that "they wouldn't count anyway." Below are some particularly troubling examples of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- It was reported that in one polling place the voter list was not complete, but ended at the letter s. Thus, all the people whose names began with T-Z had to use provisional ballots. [Wayne]
- A voter's registration could not be found. The poll worker said that the ballot would not count if the voter could not provide the exact date of registration. [Oakland]

Voting Machine Problems: EP volunteers received reports about problems with voting machines. Reports came in regarding machines not working properly, ballots being improperly handled or possibly not counted at all, or complete malfunctions voting machines at polling places. In a few instances, polling places opened late when the machines were not working properly. Below are some particularly troubling examples of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- A first time voter was denied the opportunity to vote. He had difficulty with the lever used to close the booth and when he asked a question, he was told to use the lever to close it. However, closing it caused him to cast a blank ballot. Then he was told to leave because there were no provisions for his mistakes. [Warren]
- A voter complained about a jammed voting machine scanner. She said poll workers instructed her to drop her ballot into a bin with those that were already scanned. They were told they could wait until the repair person came but they had already waited over 1 hour and 20 minutes. [Oakland]
- A voter reported that a Scantron tabulator was broken and people were getting ballots & voting but votes were not being counted on site. Poll workers told EP volunteers they would count the votes later. Scantron was down for 2 hrs. [Wayne]
- Election Protection worker reported that when the optical scan receptacle for taking the ballots jammed, the election judge came to the front of the building and announced "polls closed." The EP volunteer called city clerk's office, but no additional help was available. [Genesee]

Identification Problems: EP volunteers helped voters with problems and questions related to identification requirements. Complaints came in from voters who found poll workers misapplying identification procedures and turning voters away who met the state's identification procedures.

Disabled Access and Assistance Problems: EP volunteers received questions and complaints related to disability access and assistance. The issues of disability access were primarily related to polling places that could not accommodate disabled voters,

either through providing no assistance, or inadequate assistance when it was available at all. Below are some examples of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- Voter reported that the wheelchair lift was not available for use. Handicapped registrants had to be carried up a set of stairs to reach the polling location. Although a key was found for the lift, it would not work. [Wayne]
- EP volunteers assisted a woman in a wheelchair up 2 flights of stairs to vote. [Wayne]

Criminal Status Related Problems: EP volunteers answered questions related to criminal status. Reports came in from people with felony convictions unsure about whether they were eligible to vote. Because Michigan election law allows ex-offenders to vote while on probation, there was confusion over whether those recently released could vote.

Student Status Related Problems: EP volunteers answered questions related to student status. There were complaints about student registration issues and first-time student voters being denied the right to vote. There was a lot confusion over the requirement that first-time voters who registered by mail in Michigan must vote in person, and could not vote absentee.

Long Lines: EP volunteers received complaints about long lines, in some instances even before the polls opened on Election Day. Many of the long lines appeared to be associated with the inadequate number or malfunctioning of machines in polling locations where poll workers were not properly trained to address the problems.

Polling Place Problems: EP volunteers helped voters with problems that arose at the polling place. There were voters who had questions about where to vote and voters who reported that their polling places had been changed, despite having a voter registration card with another polling place location indicated. We received reports from voters who were forced to wait in multiple lines at polling places to vote because they were originally in the wrong precinct line. A range of other issues included improper procedures by poll workers and improper campaigning near the polling place. Below are some particularly troubling examples of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- Voter was in line to vote in precinct 6 but was told after waiting in line that she was in the wrong precinct. Voter had to go to the end of the line in precinct 5, then after waiting had to go to the end of the line in precinct 8 after being told she was in the wrong line. The clerks kept telling the voter the wrong precinct. The voter waited in line one and one half hours. [Oakland]

- Voter received a letter stating that she was to vote at Trix Elementary, but officials at Trix told her to vote at Genesis. [Wayne]

- Voter reported that poll worker told voter that she could vote a straight ticket and that she could also vote for an individual candidate of another party, thus spoiling her ballot. [Oakland]

- Poll workers did not stamp the list (book) as voters' applications were matched and accepted. Republican challengers observed this and phoned it in. They remarked that ""this could allow people to vote a second time."" After a DNC volunteer requested for the 4th time that they stamp the book, the workers went through the application slips and stamped the book accordingly. They did not complete the book, however. [Wayne]

- Voters reported that the county clerk phone line was not working to check whether individuals not on the list at the polling place were in the system. Election workers could not get through so voters were forced to vote by provisional ballots. [Wayne]

Other Issues: Voters had other unique questions that did not directly fit into any of the above categories. For example:

- Supervisors were not allowing staff to go vote. Michigan law allows 3 hours to do so. [Taylor]

New Mexico Election Protection At-a-Glance

New Mexico Summary

Election Protection's "Election Incident Reporting System" contains reports of election problems in counties across New Mexico. As of November 24, 2004, the majority of reports were from voters, volunteers, and even some election officials in the following counties, in descending order:

- Bernalillo
- Santa Fe
- Dona Ana
- Rio Arriba

Based on the EIRS database, voting problems encountered in New Mexico included:

- Significant numbers of voters complained about either not receiving an absentee ballot or having received one they did not request;
- Long-time voters who were not on the voter rolls or those who found that their polling place changed;
- Problems with voting machines;
- Confusion over when to vote by provisional ballot; and
- General polling place problems and confusion about basic voting rules.

Summary of Complaints and Questions in the State

Below is a sampling of the types of questions and complaints recorded in the EIRS database from voters and volunteers in New Mexico.

Absentee Ballot Problems: EP volunteers received complaints from voters who did not receive absentee ballots in time to vote or received ballots they did not request. We also received the following reports:

- A voter brought a completed absentee ballot into the polling place to turn in. The poll worker incorrectly told the voter to vote provisionally. The Democratic Party challenger in the polling place told the voter to take the ballot to the county clerk's office. The voter left to do so and according to the EP poll monitor, the poll worker then admitted that that was another option that they should have mentioned. (In fact, NM law states that absentee ballots are to be returned to the county clerk's office and not the polling place.) In other cases absentee ballots were accepted at the polling place

and voters were not told to take those ballots to the county clerk's office. [Bernalillo]

- A first time voter in New Mexico never filed an absentee ballot but was listed as absentee on voter rolls. He was told to vote provisionally by a poll worker. [Santa Fe]

Voter Registration Problems and Questions: EP volunteers received complaints from long time voters and new voters who were not on the voter rolls at their respective polling places.

Voting Machine Problems: EP volunteers received reports about machines malfunctioning. While several of the voters, in the end, were able to vote they still expressed concerns that their vote would not count and that other voters would not notice the problems.

- A voter reported that he used an electronic voting machine, and after selecting a Democratic candidate, noticed that the Republican light actually lit up. He had to select the Democratic candidate again to cancel it out, and then select it again to make the correct selection. He had to do this for almost all the people he voted for. [Bernalillo]
- An EP volunteer reported that while he was helping an elderly man with voting he witnessed that when the Democrat Presidential candidate was selected, the Libertarian candidate would be highlighted. The poll worker instructed on how to correct and the vote was corrected, but the same irregularities were reported in other area precincts during early voting with touch screens. [Bernalillo]

Provisional Ballot Problems: EP volunteers helped numerous voters who were having problems voting by provisional ballot. These incidents range from inquiries into the provisional ballot system to workers unevenly applying or not understanding the new provisional ballot requirements. Most of the calls came from Bernalillo County.

- County Clerk's office was treating emergency paper ballot and provisional ballot the same way. This was an issue with people who wanted absentee ballots and did not receive one. [Santa Fe]
- There were insufficient provisional ballots all day long, lack of affidavits and envelopes at one polling place. [Rio Arriba]

Wisconsin Election Protection At-a-Glance

Wisconsin Summary

Election Protection's "Election Incident Reporting System" contained reports of election problems from across Wisconsin. As of November 24, 2004, the majority of reports were from voters and volunteers in the following counties, in descending order of number of complaints received:

- Milwaukee
- Dane
- Racine
- Waukesha
- Kenosha

Based on the complaints in the EIRS database, voting problems encountered in Wisconsin included:

- Voter intimidation or suppression;
- Failures to deliver absentee ballots to voters who requested them;
- Access for voters with disabilities;
- Voting machine errors; and
- Inadequate staffing of polling places, which, in many cases, led to long lines.

Summary of Complaints and Questions in the State

Below is a sampling of the types of questions and complaints recorded in the EIRS database from voters in Wisconsin.

Absentee Ballot Problems: EP volunteers helped voters with questions about obtaining absentee ballots. Also, EP volunteers received complaints regarding absentee ballots, most often from individuals who had requested an absentee ballot but never received one or did not receive one in time to return it by Election Day. One Milwaukee voter reported having received three absentee ballots in the mail.

Voter Registration Problems and Questions: EP volunteers helped individuals with questions or problems related to registering to vote. Many voters reported that they had not received confirmation of their registration. Since Wisconsin allows same-day voter registration, many of these issues were easily resolved as voters were allowed to register on Election Day.

Voter Intimidation/Suppression: EP volunteers received complaints about suspected voter intimidation or unusual election-related activities. Some voters reported being intimidated – and deterred from voting or from requesting assistance – by the presence of poll challengers. Other voters reported poll workers engaging in

questionable practices. Other voters reported misinformation campaigns. Below are some particularly troubling examples of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- A voter claimed that a police officer entered a polling location and announced that he would arrest anyone who had an outstanding warrant. An attorney informed the officer that such action was illegal and the officer reportedly responded that he knew it was, but thought it was a good idea anyway. [Rock]
- One individual reported that her sister, who is on W-2, was told by her case manager that if she voted for John Kerry, she would stop receiving her checks. [Milwaukee]
- Individuals reported seeing flyers, purportedly from an organization called the Milwaukee Black Voters League, posted in minority districts warning residents that if they had already voted this year, they cannot vote in the presidential election; that anyone convicted of any offense, however minor, is ineligible to vote; that any family member having been convicted of anything would disqualify a voter; and that any violation of these warnings would result in ten years in prison and a voter's children being taken away. [Milwaukee]
- A voter reported hearing that people were being told that they could not vote if they had outstanding parking tickets. [Milwaukee]

Disabled Access and Assistance Problems: EP volunteers answered Wisconsin voters' questions regarding their rights to assistance and curbside voting at the polls. EP volunteers also received some complaints related to polling place access for those with disabilities.

Long Lines: EP volunteers received complaints about long lines. Many polling places were understaffed, leading to waits as long as 3 hours for some voters.

Voting Machine Problems: Some voters reported that voting machines were either not working or malfunctioning.

- One EP volunteer reported a discrepancy between a ward's machine vote totals and the ward's count of actual votes. The machine had recorded 982 votes, while the ward books showed 971 votes. [Milwaukee]
- Voters reported ballot-counting machines' counters not advancing when a new ballot was passed through the machine. [Milwaukee]

Colorado Election Protection At-a-Glance

Colorado Summary

Election Protection's "Election Incident Reporting System" contains reports of election problems in counties across Colorado. As of November 24, 2004, the majority of reports were from voters, volunteers, and even some election officials in the following counties, in descending order of number of complaints received:

- Denver
- El Paso
- Adams
- Pueblo
- Jefferson
- Arapahoe
- Boulder

Based on the EIRS database, voting problems encountered in Colorado included:

- Registration related problems;
- Lack of education about identification requirements;
- Confusion about how to implement provisional ballot requirements;
- Poll workers who are, at best untrained, and at worst, actively dissuading voters from casting votes;
- Voter confusion caused by multiple precincts being located at one polling place.

Summary of Complaints and Questions in the State

Below is a sampling of the types of questions and complaints recorded in the EIRS database from voters and volunteers in Colorado.

Absentee Ballot Problems: EP volunteers helped voters with questions and complaints regarding the use of absentee ballots. Many reports came in from voters who had not yet received their absentee ballots or received them too late to get them to the County Clerk's office in time to be counted on Election Day. Over half of the absentee ballot related problems came from Denver. Below are some particularly troubling examples of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- Several Denver County voters received their absentee ballots late as a result of an error on the part of the County. An EP volunteer

spoke to a County official who said that the problem was fixed and that ballots were sent. The official also reported that this error affected approximately 24,000 absentee applications. [Denver]

- A voter in Denver did not receive an absentee ballot and was told by a person at elections office that that was "too bad." [Denver]

Voter Registration Problems and Questions: EP volunteers helped voters with problems related to voter registration. Registration related problems were by far the biggest problem reported in Colorado. Some voters had moved and wondered how they could vote. Many voters reported that they had thought they had registered, but did not receive their cards in the mail. Below are some examples of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- A voter who moved from Denver County to Arapahoe County tried to vote in his new jurisdiction. The election judge denied him the opportunity to vote. An EP volunteer told the voter to go back in and demand emergency registration. [Arapahoe]

Voter Intimidation/Suppression: EP volunteers received complaints about suspected voter intimidation or unusual election-related activities. Issues here focused primarily on misinformation to voters. Below is a troubling example of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- Two voters reported similar incidents. Phone messages were left on their machine stating that their polling places had changed. Both voters, one in Adams County and the other in Denver County, knew their polling place and that the calls were false [Adams; Denver]

Provisional Ballot Problems: EP volunteers received complaints about provisional ballots from voters, many of whom reported being denied the opportunity to vote by provisional ballot. As with many of the other states, there was confusion among poll workers in Colorado about the implementation of the provisional ballot provisions in the law. This confusion led to voters either not being allowed to vote by provisional ballot or voters who should have been allowed to vote with regular ballots being given provisional ballots. Below are some particularly troubling examples of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- In Arapahoe County, EP volunteers received a report that election judges were not giving out provisional ballots. [Arapahoe]
- In Denver at the Catholic Charities polling place, EP volunteers confronted an election judge who was calling the Elections Commission every time someone requested a provisional ballot. EP volunteers told the judge that the law does not require such

phone calls. The election judge became angry, saying that he was told to call the Elections Commission and that if the voters had registered properly in the first place they wouldn't be having these problems. [Denver]

Voting Machine Problems: EP volunteers received reports about problems with voting machines. Colorado has several counties that have some form of electronic voting machines. These machines experienced some problems, including optical scanner machines that did not work and voting machines that broke down. Voters also expressed concerns about the lack of a paper trail that made them feel uncomfortable. Below are some particularly troubling examples of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- An election judge reported that the computers were down and approximately 150 voters were turned away and told to go to other polling places. The complainant was concerned because many in line were blue collar workers with limited time to vote. They were not offering backup paper ballots or provisional ballots at the time the problem was reported. After over an hour, they went to a paper system and started to let people vote at the polling place again. The computer system that went down was one used for the purpose of finding the voters' name, identifying the type of ballot they should receive and marking them off as having voted. [Larimer]
- A voter attempted to cast a ballot and the machine malfunctioned. When the voter brought the problem to the attention of a poll worker, he tended to the machine in a way that zeroed out the vote. The official said the machine had been acting up all day, but that it was still in service because they only had two machines. They allowed this particular voter to cast a provisional ballot but left the machine in service. When an EP volunteer called the county, the county told our volunteer they would remove and replace the machine, and that a certified technician was coming to do that. [Arapahoe]

Identification Problems: EP volunteers helped voters with problems and questions related to identification requirements. Below is an example of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- A voter with an expired license was not allowed to vote. EP volunteers gave him the alternative identification he could bring with him, and he was able to go back and vote. [Pueblo]

Disability Access and Assistance Problems: EP volunteers received questions and complaints related to disability access and assistance. Most often, reports detailed a lack of adequate assistance. Some reports detailed that polling places offered no

assistance whatsoever to disabled voters. Below are some particularly troubling examples of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- A disabled voter had to manage two flights of stairs to get to polling place only to find out that the polling place had been moved to another location. They had previously voted at this location. [Denver]
- A voter brought a disabled voter with him to vote. When they arrived at the polling place, they found that the handicapped entrance was blocked. The voter and poll watcher had to request that the door be opened. (Denver)

Criminal Status Related Problems: EP volunteers answered questions related to criminal status. Colorado law says that if you have served out your felony conviction and any associated parole, and have re-registered, that you may vote. In most cases, individuals wanted to know if they were eligible to vote based on their felony status.

Student Status Related Problems: EP volunteers answered questions related to student status. Colorado's incidents in this area were reported in Boulder and Larimer counties.

Ballot Related Problems: Voters contacted EP volunteers regarding ballot problems. This category of problems includes concerns raised by voters regarding marking procedures and assistance from election judges, as well as ballot supplies. Below are some examples of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- A report came in that poll workers had pencils out on the table for voters, even though the instructions said to only use pen to fill out the ballots. The poll workers removed the pencils, but the complainant was concerned that voters had already used them and their ballots could be invalidated. [Boulder]
- During early voting, a voter reported going to vote only to find a ballot for his area was not available. The voter was told he could vote by provisional ballot. [Jefferson]

Language Issues: EP volunteers received complaints about lack of assistance for voters with limited English skills. Some jurisdictions in Colorado require that Spanish language ballots be available to those who request them.

Long Lines: EP volunteers received complaints about long lines. The problem appeared to be caused by an insufficient number of voting booths for the number of voters who turned out.

Late Opening and Early Closing: EP volunteers received reports of polls opening late or closing early.

Polling Place Problems: EP volunteers helped voters with problems that arose at the polling place. Some of the polling place problems came from confusion when there were multiple precincts voting at one polling place. Below are some examples of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- At one polling place in Denver, three separate precincts were voting, but only two elections judges were available. The third judge, for the third precinct, had not shown up. The other two elections judges were left to help the people from the third precinct, creating long lines and additional confusion. [Denver]
- At the Remington Elementary polling place in Denver, the appropriate signage regarding provisional ballots was not posted, so the EP volunteer did it. In addition, the polling place had multiple precincts, but one of the precinct signs had been removed. [Denver]

Other Problems: Voters had other unique questions that did not directly fit into any of the above categories. For example:

- Voters wanted to know the rules around taking time off of work to vote. [Denver]

TIER 2 STATES

Missouri Election Protection At-a-Glance

Missouri Summary

Election Protection's "Election Incident Reporting System" contains reports of election problems in counties across Missouri. As of November 24, 2004, the majority of reports were from voters, volunteers, and even some election officials in Jackson and St. Louis counties.

It appears the following were the major problems encountered in Missouri:

- An inability to get absentee ballots to voters on time;
- Problems with the state's voter registration system and registration rolls;
- Failure of poll workers to distribute provisional ballots or understand the legal issues regarding such ballots;
- Suspected incidents of voter intimidation; and
- Confusion regarding proper voting procedures for punch card ballots.

Summary of Complaints and Questions in the State

Below is a sampling of the types of questions and complaints recorded in the EIRS database from voters and volunteers in Missouri.

Absentee Ballot Problems: EP volunteers helped voters with questions and complaints regarding the use of absentee ballots, mainly from voters who had requested such ballots but never received them. Other voters reported discrepancies between absentee ballot requests and the records kept by the county. Below is an example of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- A voter arrived at her polling place only to be informed that she had already submitted an absentee ballot, which she had not done. Officials were reportedly encountering this problem frequently, where individuals who had *not* requested absentee ballots were listed as having done so, while people who *had* requested such ballots were listed as not having done so. EP volunteers received multiple reports of this type of problem. [St. Louis]

Voter Registration Problems: EP volunteers helped voters with problems related to voter registration, generally from individuals who had registered but never received a registration card and did not appear on the voter rolls. Others reportedly found errors in their voter file when they went to register to vote. Below are some troubling examples of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- A Jackson County voter, who has been residing and registered to vote at the same address for 30 years, had problems voting. Even though she has voted consistently over the years and has been called for jury duty at least 8 times, she was turned away when she went to her polling place. She was informed that her name did not appear on the registration rolls. [Jackson]
- A voter's address was listed incorrectly on the registration rolls. Her address was listed as "221" rather than the correct "211" address. She was told that she was therefore unable to vote and was not offered the option of casting a provisional ballot. [Boone]

Voter Intimidation/Suppression: EP volunteers received complaints about suspected voter intimidation or unusual election-related activities. Below are some particularly troubling examples of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- A report came in of black voters in a predominantly white neighborhood being challenged by Republican challengers who requested proof of ID, residence, and signature. The challengers reportedly did not make similar demands on white voters. At the same polling place, when black voters asked questions of election officials, the officials reportedly refused to answer, telling them "it's very simple," while providing white voters with any requested information or assistance. [St. Louis]
- An individual in Jackson County reported that three men in military-looking uniforms were standing within 25 feet of the entrance to a polling place. They were reportedly making partisan, racist and derogatory statements to voters. The individual complained to an election judge, who went out to see the men, but reportedly took no action. [Jackson]

Provisional Ballot Problems: EP volunteers received complaints about provisional ballots from voters, many of whom reported being denied the opportunity to vote by provisional ballot. Below is a particularly troubling example of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- Even with appropriate ID, a St. Charles County voter was told that she could not vote without her voter ID# and that the phone number needed to get her ID# was busy, so she could not vote. She

was not offered a provisional ballot. She even reported seeing a sign in the polling place stating that provisional ballots would not be counted. [St. Charles]

Identification Problems: EP volunteers helped voters with problems and questions related to identification requirements, mainly from individuals who had been turned away from the polls for lacking the proper identification.

Disabled Access and Assistance Problems: EP volunteers received questions and complaints related to disability access and assistance. In most cases, EP volunteers talked with individuals seeking assistance for disabled voters, or individuals reporting polling places that were inaccessible to such voters, especially voters in wheelchairs.

Ballot Related Problems: Voters contacted EP volunteers regarding ballot problems. Below is an example of the kinds of concerns EP volunteers heard from voters:

- Several voters from around the state expressed concerns regarding the process for voting via punch card ballots. Voters were confused and wanted to know how, when voting on a straight party line ticket, they were to vote for individual candidates, such as those running for nonpartisan positions. Many feared that voting for individual candidates would corrupt their ballots. [St. Charles; St. Louis; Ray; Jackson]

Late Opening and Early Closing: EP volunteers received reports of polls opening late or closing early. Below is a particularly troubling example of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- A voter arrived at her polling place at 6:45 am to find that it was not ready. She waited until 7:30 am, but when the polling place was still not ready, she left without voting. [St. Louis]

Other: Voters had other unique questions that did not directly fit into any of the above categories. Some voters reported encountering several problems that covered more than one of the categories. For example:

- A voter reported arriving at his voting place at 6am but had to wait at least another half an hour for the poll to open. When it did, there was only one election worker on hand. When he finally got a chance to vote, he noticed that the ballot did not contain a listing of the Republican judges and, after he voted, poll workers began issuing a different set of ballots. The voter fears that his vote may not count. [St. Louis]

Nevada Election Protection At-a-Glance

Nevada Summary

Election Protection's "Election Incident Reporting System" contains reports of election problems in counties across Nevada. As of November 24, 2004, the majority of reports were from voters, volunteers, and even some election officials in Clark and Washoe counties.

Based on complaints in the EIRS database, voting problems encountered in Nevada included:

- Problems with voter registration by an outside group that led to an unknown number of voters not being registered to vote;
- Receipt of absentee ballots;
- Implementation of the felony voter statutes;
- Confusion about how to implement provisional ballot requirements;
- Voter intimidation; and
- Poll workers who were, at best, untrained and, at worst, actively dissuading voters from casting votes.

Summary of Complaints and Questions in the State

Below is a sampling of the types of questions and complaints recorded in the EIRS database from voters and volunteers in Nevada.

Absentee Ballot Related Problems: Some Nevada voters reported requesting absentee ballots but not receiving them on time or at all. For example:

- A voter, who attends school in Los Angeles, requested an absentee ballot. She spoke with the Office of Registrar in Nevada and was told that she would have the ballot by the Friday before the election at latest. She never got it and so was unable to vote. [Washoe]

Registration Related Problems: EP volunteers received complaints from voters who had registered to vote but whose names did not appear on the voter rolls. Many of these problems may have stemmed from an incident where a firm, Sproul Associates, reportedly registered voters and threw out all of the Democratic registrants.

Voter Intimidation and Suppression: EP volunteers received reports of voter intimidation and voter suppression campaigns. Voters filed complaints about uniformed and armed police officers stationed outside polling places. Several also reported receiving fraudulent flyers saying their polling place had changed. Some other troubling examples include:

- One voter reported witnessing poll workers only asking minorities to show identification. Then, people without ID were sent to another table, where they were told they were in the wrong precinct and turned away. [Clark]
- Another voter reported receiving a call, purportedly from the "Democratic Party," saying that, due to unexpectedly high voter turnout, Democrats would vote on Wednesday, November 3. [Clark]

Criminal Status Related Problem: EP volunteers answered questions regarding getting the right to vote restored after a felony conviction. Some individuals who had previously been convicted of a felony believed their voting rights had been restored, but then had to submit additional paperwork, even after having received a voter registration card.

Provisional Ballot Problem: EP volunteers received complaints about the implementation of provisional ballot requirements. As we have seen with other states, there were cases of a poll worker telling voters that their provisional ballots would not be counted. NV law allows voters to cast a provisional ballot for federal candidates if their name is not on the voter registration list.

- A Clark County voter, who had registered by mail more than a month and a half before the election but received no confirmation, was not on the rolls at his polling place. The polling place officials would not give him a provisional ballot, and told him he had to go across town to another location. They told him he could vote at the precinct, but "it wouldn't count." The voter had his registration application receipt and identification.

Long Lines: As in other places, some voters in Nevada reported lines as long as three hours, which discouraged some individuals from voting. The problems of long lines usually occur because of an inadequate number of voting machines or inadequate staffing. For example:

- A voter went to his precinct and had to wait more than three hours to vote. He expressed concern about his wife's ability to get access to polls this afternoon because of childcare issues. The lines were expected to be as long in the afternoon and evening. At this polling

place, there were two districts voting – and the other district's line was only five minutes long. [Washoe]

Other Polling Place Problem: Many voters reported confusion about which polling place they were supposed to vote at. Other voters reported inappropriate procedures at the polling places.

North Carolina Election Protection At-a-Glance

North Carolina Summary

Election Protection's "Election Incident Reporting System" contains reports of election problems in counties across North Carolina. As of November 24, 2004, the majority of reports were from voters, volunteers, and even some election officials in the following counties, in descending order of number of complaints received:

- Wake
- Mecklenburg
- Durham
- Forsyth

Based on the EIRS database, voting problems encountered in North Carolina included:

- Registration related problems;
- Malfunctioning optical scan machines;
- Voter intimidation;
- Accessibility for disabled persons; and
- Confusion by poll workers on how to implement voting laws, particularly provisional balloting.

Summary of Complaints and Questions in the State

Below is a sampling of the types of questions and complaints recorded in the EIRS database from voters and volunteers in North Carolina.

Absentee Ballot Related Problems: EP volunteers received complaints from voters who did not receive their absentee ballots in time or at all. Other voters expressed concerns that the outer envelope for the absentee ballots included the voter's party affiliation. One particularly troubling example is below:

- One voter requested an absentee ballot from Forsyth County online in early September 2004. She got a request for additional information from the county in September, and she turned that in shortly thereafter, around the third week in September. She was supposedly sent a ballot on September 29, but she did not receive it. She requested a second ballot October 26, but did not receive it until Election Day, and thus could not send it in time. [Forsyth]

Registration Related Problems: Some voters experienced problems having their voter registrations processed correctly. Often, individuals registered to vote but did not appear on the voter rolls. In particular, voters who had moved and reregistered experienced problems. Below are some examples of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- A poll worker at the Christus Victor Lutheran Church in Durham County called wanting to make note of the fact that there were a large number of voters who moved and reregistered but their names were not on the list. They were being told to vote with provisional ballots. [Durham]
- In Mecklenburg County, a voter registered to vote in person on or about October 4 and received a letter dated October 12 from the Board of Elections stating that her faxed registration could not be processed until they received a signed form delivered to the County Board 20 days before the election. She called the office many times to have them clarify and fix this because she did not fax her registration. [Mecklenburg]

Voter Intimidation/Suppression: Individuals reported incidents of voter intimidation and suppression to EP volunteers. Uniformed police at polling places had a chilling effect on some voters. Other voters reported misinformation campaigns that could result in disenfranchisement. Below are some particularly troubling examples:

- One report states that there were individuals two to three blocks from a polling place stopping passers-by and telling them if they are delinquent on child support or have other legal problems, it is illegal for them to vote and they may get in trouble if they try to vote. [Durham]
- One voter informed EP volunteers that he had arrived home to see flyers on every door in the neighborhood. The flyer said that the polling place was changed to Lake Rim Fire Department, a different location than the polling place listed on the voter's registration card. Election Protection called county Board of Elections, and the election official stated that they did not put the flyers on the door and that the correct polling place was the one on the registration card. [Cumberland]

Machine Problems: Voters in North Carolina reported problems with voting technology at polling places. Voters encountered optical scan machines that jammed, tore ballots, and whose counters did not register an additional vote after voters scanned their ballot. Voters also received ballot receipts that said the vote had not been recorded, but poll workers told the voters not to worry about it.

Disability Access Problems: Some voters with disabilities complained that their polling locations did not accommodate them properly. By law, disabled voters must be provided ways to vote, through curbside voting and/or through accessible polling places. For example:

- One individual reported having trouble when she asked to help her aunt and uncle vote. Her aunt and uncle are disabled; the uncle cannot see and her aunt cannot read. She was reportedly told by a poll worker that the worker would contact the Republican Party to make sure the votes were not counted since she should not have been allowed to help her aunt or uncle vote. [Graham]
- Other voters reported that poll workers would not bring ballots out to curbside voters or that curbside voters had to wait far longer to vote than regular voters. [Durham; Granville; Burke; Wake; Guilford; Forsyth; Gaston]

Provisional Ballot Problems: EP volunteers received complaints about the implementation of provisional ballot requirements. In some cases, voters were not offered provisional ballots when they did not appear on the voting rolls, and in other cases voters reported being given provisional ballots when they should have been able to cast a regular ballot.

Ballot-Related Problems: Some voters registered complaints about confusing or incomplete ballots. Some voters were confused about voting a straight party ticket, as it was unclear if the ballot would be thrown out as an "overvote" if the voter filled in the arrow for straight party ticket and also filled in the arrows for individual candidates. There was also confusion about whether voting the straight party ticket was sufficient to cast a vote for president. Other voters reported receiving ballots on which some candidates for local offices were not listed.

Long Lines: Some voters complained about long lines at the polls and in some cases having to wait up to three hours to vote. Long line issues usually result when there is inadequate staffing or an inadequate number of voting machines.

Arkansas Election Protection At-a-Glance

Arkansas Summary

Election Protection's "Election Incident Reporting System" contains reports of election problems in multiple counties in Arkansas. As of November 24, 2004, the majority of reports were from voters and volunteers in Pulaski and Jefferson counties.

Based on the EIRS database, voting problems encountered in Arkansas included:

- Registration related problems;
- Absentee ballot related problems; and
- Incidents of voter intimidation.

Summary of Complaints and Questions in the State

Below is a sampling of the types of questions and complaints recorded in the EIRS database from voters and volunteers in Arkansas.

Voter Registration Problems: EP volunteers helped individuals with questions or problems related to registering to vote. Many voters reported that they had not received confirmation of their registration or found that they been removed from the registration rolls.

- A voter reported that, together with her husband, she had gone to vote and that neither her nor her husband's name was listed on the voting registry. Both had voter registration cards that showed that they were at the correct polling place. [Pulaski]
- A voter reported that, in preparation for a voter registration drive, he went to the local government office to pick up voter registration forms. A worker at the office gave him the forms but reportedly told him that the applications would have to have been received by May 2004 in order to count for the November election. [Shelby]

Voter Intimidation/Suppression: The EP hotline received reports from individuals reporting incidents of suspected intimidation or unfair polling practices. Below are examples of the kinds of incident reports received by EP volunteers:

- A voter reported that first-time voters, after standing in line to vote, were being sent to the end of the line and that some were being told that if they were Democrats, they had to vote the following day (i.e. November 3rd). [Pulaski]

- A voter reported that poll workers were only asking black voters for identification. The caller, who is herself black, reported that she personally knew one of the poll workers and was still asked for ID, while white voters in front of her were not asked to produce identification. [Little River]

Absentee Ballots Problems: EP volunteers helped voters with questions or problems regarding absentee ballots, generally from people who had requested but never received such ballots.

Provisional Ballot Problems: EP volunteers received complaints from individuals with problems or questions regarding the use of provisional ballots.

- Several voters reported that polling places did not have any provisional ballots on hand and did not get any until hours after the polling places had opened. [Pulaski]
- A voter's wife went to vote at their County polling place for early voting, and noticed that her spouse was not on the list of registered voters. They inquired, and were told he was not on their list and that he must still be registered at his prior county. The husband drove to his old County where he was told that his registration had been rolled over to his new county. Poll workers refused to let him vote a provisional ballot. [Carroll]

Other Problems: EP volunteers helped voters with other voting related problems not categorized above. For example:

- A voter reported that election officials were handing out three different ballots early in the morning on Election Day and one of those ballots did not have the candidates for alderman on it. An official corrected the mistake but those who had voted early were not allowed to recast ballots and, therefore, not allowed to vote for this race. [Pulaski]

Minnesota Election Protection At-a-Glance

Minnesota Summary

Election Protection's "Election Incident Reporting System" contains reports of election problems in counties across Minnesota. As of November 24, 2004, the majority of reports were from voters and volunteers in Hennepin and Ramsey counties.

Based on complaints in the EIRS database, voting problems encountered in Minnesota included:

- Confusion about identification requirements;
- Incidents of voter intimidation; and
- Issues related to same-day voter registration.

Summary of Complaints and Questions in the State

Below is a sampling of the types of questions and complaints recorded in the EIRS database from voters and volunteers in Minnesota.

Voter Registration/Identification Issues: EP volunteers helped voters with problems related to voter registration. Minnesota allows for same-day registration and the majority of the calls came from voters reporting that they were unable to register for lack of proper identification. Some examples of the types of incidents reported to EP are below:

- One student reported that she showed an out-of-state ID and a valid fee statement with her current voting address to poll workers and was not allowed to vote. EP attorneys intervened and had a county official call the polling place and explain that a fee statement with a current address and the voter's name was acceptable identification. [Hennepin]
- One voter reported that poll workers were requiring ID from registered voters, and asking Republican challengers if the ID was OK. [Hennepin]
- An individual tried to register at polls. She had several forms of picture ID, but none were a MN driver's license or ID card. She also had several bills in her name at her current address, sent within the last 30 days. The election judge told her this was insufficient to register, so the voter then asked her neighbor to vouch for her. The election judge still refused to register her. Voter challenged election judge's refusal to accept that attempt to

vouch for her and was told to leave immediately. Eventually, the county auditor intervened, and the individual was allowed to vote. [Stearns]

Voter Intimidation/Suppression: EP volunteers received complaints about suspected voter intimidation or unusual election-related incidents. Some voters reported being intimidated – and deterred from voting or from requesting assistance – by the presence of poll challengers. Other voters reported misinformation campaigns. Below are some particularly troubling examples of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- A voter reported that Republican challengers were confronting student voters and saying that their names appeared on a list of people who had already voted in another jurisdiction. [Rice]
- A voter reported that, on Election Day, he received a phone call asking if he was going to vote and providing information as to the location of the voter's polling place, which did not match the polling place information he received from the local Board of Elections. [Ramsey]
- A voter reported witnessing Native American voters being challenged, especially when they used identification that showed that they received public assistance. [St. Louis]
- EP received a report that a person acting as a Vietnamese translator was directing Vietnamese voters to vote for Bush. [Hennepin]

Voting Machine Problems: Some voters contacted EP with concerns that their ballots would not be counted because ballot-scanning machines at the polling places were broken or had counters that did not advance when a new ballot was scanned.

Other Problems: Voters also filed complaints about a handful of other miscellaneous problems. For example:

- Poll workers at one polling place told the translator that she could not assist people in voting. EP attorneys intervened and, eventually, the translator was able to assist people who requested her help. [Hennepin]
- One voter expressed concerns about the privacy of her ballot. She reported that the voting area had ten booths, but she had to fill out her ballot at a very visible spot at a large table. Someone made a comment about her choice for president. [Hennepin]

TIER 3 STATES

Texas Election Protection At-a-Glance

Texas Summary

Election Protection's "Election Incident Reporting System" contains reports of election problems in counties across Texas. As of November 24, 2004, the majority of reports were from voters, volunteers, and even some election officials in the following counties, in descending order of number of complaints received:

- Harris
- Dallas
- Tarrant
- Bexar
- Travis
- Fort Bend

Based on the EIRS database, voting problems encountered in Texas included:

- Confusion about how to implement provisional ballot requirements;
- A significant number of Harris County voters not receiving absentee ballots;
- Problems in Harris and Travis counties with e-Slate voting machines;
- Identification requirements;
- Voter intimidation; and
- Confusion among voters about straight party voting.

Summary of Complaints and Questions in the State

Below is a sampling of the types of questions and complaints recorded in the EIRS database from voters and volunteers in Texas.

Absentee Ballot Problems: EP volunteers helped voters with questions and complaints regarding the use of absentee ballots. Absentee ballots were due in to the elections office by Election Day. Most of the complaints related to absentee ballots were from voters who did not receive their ballots. Below is a troubling example of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- A voter in Harris County requested an absentee ballot on-line in early October. As of October 28, the voter had not received the ballot. The voter called Harris County, and they said she would receive it by October 30. On October 31, the voter still had not received the ballot and called the County Clerk's office back – at which point they said they were very sorry, but there was nothing they could do. [Harris]

Voter Registration Problems and Questions: EP volunteers helped voters with problems related to voter registration. Often, voters had registered to vote, but hadn't received their cards and were wondering if they would still be able to vote. Other voters had moved, but were not sure if they were still registered. Some voters wanted to know if their registration was still valid if they hadn't voted in several years. Below are some examples of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- One voter submitted a registration form that she printed from a Christian radio station's web site on October 2. The voter did not receive a voter certificate. The voter did not know if she could vote, or where to go to vote. [Harris]
- A voter attempted to vote, but her name was not on the rolls, so she cast a provisional ballot. Subsequently, she verified her voter status and wanted to cancel her provisional ballot and cast a regular ballot. A county election official told her it would be too complicated to cancel. EP volunteers told her to go back to the county official's office and demand that the provisional vote be canceled and that she be permitted to vote a regular ballot. She was eventually able to vote. [Denton]

Voter Intimidation/Suppression: EP volunteers received complaints about suspected voter intimidation or suppression. The most common form of voter intimidation or suppression was misinformation. Other types of intimidation or suppression reported included actions taken by officials that voters viewed as threatening. Below are some particularly troubling examples of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- During early voting at the Power Center in Harris County, a voter observed Harris County police officers yelling at the 200 or more people in line that they had to show ID and that anyone with a warrant would go to jail. People left the line, including the voter who reported the situation. [Harris]
- An African-American voter went to her polling place with her mother. At the time they arrived, they were the only black voters present. The poll workers were asking all voters for registration

cards or ID and then asking voters if they had moved. She and her mother were subjected to more questions as the workers appeared not to believe the responses. They took her license to check against other records. Reportedly, this did not happen to other voters. She was eventually able to vote. [Travis]

Provisional Ballot Problems: EP volunteers received complaints about provisional ballots from voters, many of whom reported being denied the opportunity to vote by provisional ballot. In Texas, there were complaints of precincts running out of provisional ballots and poll workers not appropriately implementing the provisional ballot laws. For example:

- A voter requested a provisional ballot in Bexar County and the election judge was reluctant to give it to him because it would be “too much paperwork” and “wouldn’t count anyway.” [Bexar]
- A newly registered voter, who is a new citizen, went to vote on Election Day in Bexar County. He was not found on the voting rolls. The judge at the polling site would not give him or the other people in line with similar circumstances a provisional ballot. The judge was calling downtown every time someone requested a provisional ballot. He was eventually allowed a provisional ballot, but the judge wrote “wrong precinct” on the envelope. [Bexar]

Voting Machine Problems: EP volunteers received reports about problems with voting machines. Several counties in Texas used electronic voting machines and there was some confusion among voters about how to use these machines. Also there were reports of idle machines and other machines breaking down, causing long lines in some jurisdictions. Below are particularly troubling examples of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- There were several reports of voters having problems having their votes recorded properly. Upon reviewing their votes after voting the straight Democratic Party ticket, they found that the vote for President was for Bush and not for Kerry. This was happening on e-Slate machines in Travis and Harris Counties during early voting. [Travis; Harris]
- At an early voting site in Harris County, only four or five of 20 machines were being used and the machines were very slow, which caused some voters to leave altogether. [Harris]

Identification Problems: EP volunteers helped voters with problems and questions related to identification requirements. Many voters asked EP volunteers for information on the identification requirements in Texas. Voters also reported problems with poll workers being confused about or incorrectly implementing identification

requirements. Below are particularly troubling examples of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- One voter saw a sign at her early voting polling place in Hays County that said registration card and photo ID were needed to vote. The workers weren't asking for ID, but the voter was concerned that the sign would discourage people from voting. (TX law allow persons to vote without their voter registration card if they have a photo ID.) [Hays]
- In Galveston County, during early voting, a voter was turned away because she did not have a voter's registration card. She had photo ID and was not a first-time voter. [Galveston]

Disability Access and Assistance Problems: EP volunteers received questions and complaints related to disability access and assistance. The issues of disability access primarily involved inaccessible polling places and polling places that provided inadequate or no assistance to disabled voters. Below are some particularly troubling examples of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- A physically-handicapped voter from Arlington, Texas went to three separate early voting sites and found that none of them were accessible for his van. [Tarrant]
- During early voting, a severely disabled voter who was in his 80's was transported with other nursing home residents to vote. They arrived at a polling place where there was no curbside service. The van then went to another polling place, where they were told there was a very long wait for curbside service. By this time, the voter was tired and asked to go home. At this point, his only option for voting was to vote "far away" at his normal polling place. [Tarrant]

Criminal Status Related Problems: EP volunteers answered questions related to getting voting rights restored after a felony conviction. In Texas, those convicted of felonies can vote if they have fulfilled all aspects of their sentence, including parole, and have re-registered to vote.

Student Status Related Problems: EP volunteers answered questions related to student status. Most questions came from voters unsure if they could vote at their home or at their student address, and some complaints were recorded regarding suspected student disenfranchisement. Below is an example of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- One voter's son, a student attending school in another Texas jurisdiction, was denied the right to vote because he was told he was not on the voter rolls. He had a voter registration card showing

that he was registered to vote in that jurisdiction. Volunteers advised the voter to instruct her son to go back with all his paperwork and to vote with a regular ballot. [Travis]

Ballot Related Problems: Voters contacted EP volunteers about ballot problems. In Texas, many of the problems were associated with voting a straight party ticket. Also, there were some reports of incomplete or unusable ballots. Below are some particularly troubling examples of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- A voter from Fort Bend County was given a ballot by an election worker that had already been marked. The poll worker acted as if he had not noticed. The voter complained and, after an extended wait, was eventually given a clean ballot. [Fort Bend]
- There were reports of ballots being incomplete – not including candidates or ballot measures. [Harris]

Language Issues: EP volunteers received complaints about lack of accessibility for voters with limited English skills. Some jurisdictions in Texas are required to provide voting materials in a second language. Below is a particularly troubling example of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- A woman's Persian-speaking mother, who understands some English, didn't understand how the voting machine works. When the mother asked for assistance, she was shown the Spanish video. The election judge refused to allow the daughter to help her mother saying that it was against the law for the woman, or anyone else, to assist her mother in the voting booth. (TX law allows for anyone to assist voters who cannot understand English as long as they are not their employer, agent of their employer, or officer or agent of their union.) [Harris]

Long Lines: EP volunteers received complaints about long lines. The problem appeared to be caused by an insufficient number of voting booths for the number of voters who turned out. Many of the long lines were reported during the early voting period.

Polling Place Problems: EP volunteers helped voters with problems that arose at the polling place. Many problems related to inadequate staffing and unhelpful poll workers. Some of the issues were reported during Texas's early voting period. Below are some particularly troubling examples of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- In Tarrant County, a poll worker reported that the number they were calling at the county to check individuals' registration status was always busy. At this polling place, poll workers could not check a person's status on the computer because they did not have

the CD containing the voter list. Virtually everyone was getting a provisional ballot – increasing the likelihood that the supply would run out. [Tarrant]

- A report came in that voters from Precinct 809 were coming to Precinct 323. Both Precinct 809 and Precinct 323 used to be at the same location. This year, they were separated. Precinct 809 had eight poll workers for only 200 total voters, while Precinct 323 had only three poll workers for “many more voters.” [Harris]

Other: Voters had other kinds of questions that do not fit into any of the above categories. For example:

- One voter reported that his employer would not let him off work to vote. We advised him that Texas law allowed employees two hours off work if polls were not open for two hours outside the voter’s normal work hours. [Harris]

Georgia Election Protection At-a-Glance

Georgia Summary

Election Protection's "Election Incident Reporting System" contains reports of election problems in counties across Georgia. As of November 24, 2004, the majority of reports were from voters, volunteers, and even some election officials in the following counties, in descending order of number of complaints received:

- Clayton
- DeKalb
- Fulton

Based on the EIRS database, voting problems encountered in Georgia included:

- Voters who registered in voter registration drives who did not appear on voter lists;
- Machine problems;
- Confusion over voter identification requirements;
- Confusion over provisional ballot requirements;
- Long lines and long waits to vote at polling places; and
- Inadequate notice of polling place changes.

Summary of Complaints in the State

Below is a sampling of the types of questions and complaints recorded in the EIRS database from voters and volunteers in Georgia.

Voter Registration Problems and Questions: EP volunteers helped voters with problems related to voter registration, especially in Clayton, DeKalb, and Fulton counties. Many people reported that they had thought they had registered, but did not appear on voter lists or in the Secretary of State's database. Some of these voters had registered through the Department of Motor Vehicles, others through their high school, and others through independent voter registration drives. Some had received voter registration cards in the mail, but still were not on the lists or in the database.

Other voters experienced problems with their voter registrations having been purged. For instance, one voter received a voter registration card in the mail in June 2004 but was told she had been purged from the rolls. Other voters reported being placed on the "inactive voter" list and either denied the opportunity to vote or directed to cast provisional ballots.

Provisional Ballot Problems: EP volunteers received complaints about provisional ballots from voters, many of whom reported being denied the opportunity to vote by provisional ballot. As with many of the other states, there was confusion among poll workers in Georgia about the implementation of provisional ballot requirements. This confusion led to voters either not being allowed to vote by provisional ballot or to voters having to take extreme measures in order to obtain the provisional ballots. Also, in some cases, polling places did not have provisional ballots available. Below are some examples of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- A voter in DeKalb County reported registering at the DMV but did not show up on the voter rolls. Poll workers refused to give her a provisional ballot. She insisted that she needed a provisional ballot, and they gave her a telephone number to call to get "authorization." Another voter in Clayton County was told to go to the county courthouse to receive authorization that she was eligible to vote and cast a provisional ballot there. [DeKalb; Clayton]
- An EP volunteer reported that when she arrived at the polling place she was covering, there were no provisional ballots. When she called the county office, she was told she would have to go downtown to get the ballots herself. She went downtown and the officials there were very rude, but did eventually bring provisional ballots to the polling place. [Dougherty]

Identification Problems: EP volunteers helped voters with problems and questions related to identification requirements. In Georgia, only first-time voters who registered by mail and who did not include a copy of an acceptable form of identification with their registration application must show ID at the polls. Poll workers at several polling places were requiring that all voters show ID, and there was confusion among voters and poll workers over what was acceptable identification.

Long Lines: EP volunteers received complaints about long lines, especially in Clayton County. Long lines and excessive waits often arose because polling places had too few workers or machines or both. Voters were particularly inconvenienced when they waited for long periods to vote, only to be told that they were at the wrong polling place or denied a provisional ballot when they were eligible. Below are some particularly troubling examples of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- Some precincts in Fulton County had only four booths at polling places, resulting in long lines. An EP volunteer was told by a poll worker that "there weren't more booths because Secretary of State believes blacks don't vote." [Fulton]

- A voter in Clayton County waited 3 hours to vote. When he went to work after voting his boss told him to go home because he should have made other arrangements. [Clayton]

Late Poll Openings: EP volunteers received reports of polls opening late or closing early. Below is a particularly troubling example of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- Polls in Hancock County, GA opened at least 3 hours late. The Republican Party sought and received a mandamus order in GA Supreme Court to close polls on time at 7 p.m. even though GA law allows polls to close late if necessary. [Hancock]

Polling Place Problems: EP volunteers helped voters with problems that arose at the polling place. Many voters complained that they had not been informed their polling place had changed. In some cases, old polling places did not have adequate signage directing voters to their new polling places. Combined with long lines, this was particularly discouraging to voters. Below are some examples of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- A voter in Clayton County received her voter registration card in June which listed her polling place as "Pt. South." She waited in line there for two hours and then was told that her location had been changed to Callaway Headquarters. She had also checked the County's website recently and it was still listing Pt. South. [Clayton]
- A voter in DeKalb County had her designated polling place changed without notice. Meanwhile, her husband's polling place remained the same. The voter lives in same house as her husband, and they had not moved since they registered. [DeKalb]

Louisiana Election Protection At-a-Glance

Louisiana Summary

Election Protection's "Election Incident Reporting System" contains reports of election problems in parishes across Louisiana. As of November 24, 2004, the majority of reports were from voters, volunteers, and even some election officials in Orleans County.

Based on the EIRS database, the voting problems encountered in Louisiana included:

- Incomplete registration rolls at the polling place;
- Machines malfunctioning or broken;
- Confusion by voters and poll workers regarding provisional ballots, including not enough provisional ballots available;
- Long lines, in many cases over 2 hours and in some cases over 7 hours long; and
- Confusion over correct polling place and other polling place practices.

Summary of Complaints in the State

Below is a sampling of the types of questions and complaints recorded in the EIRS database from voters and volunteers in Louisiana.

Voter Registration Problems and Questions: EP volunteers helped voters with problems related to voter registration. Some voters reported that they were not on the registration rolls at their polling place even though they had registered on time, and in some cases had actually received a voter registration card. In these cases, the response from the poll workers varied. Sometimes, the voter was allowed to vote after filling out an affidavit; some voters were given provisional ballots; and some were told they could not vote at all.

Provisional Ballot Problems: EP volunteers received complaints about provisional ballots from voters, many of whom reported being denied the opportunity to vote by provisional ballot. Many voters who found that their names did not appear on the registration rolls reported difficulties in obtaining provisional ballots. In some cases, poll workers did not offer provisional ballots to voters whose names did not appear on the rolls. In other cases, polling places simply did not have any provisional ballots to offer voters. In still other cases, voters were offered provisional ballots, but these ballots did not include the presidential candidates. There were also many reports from around the

state of voters being denied provisional ballots on the grounds that the polling places had run out of them.

Voting Machine Problems: EP volunteers received reports about problems with voting machines. Some polling places had no functioning machines at some points in the day. At other polling places, broken machines meant an insufficient number of functioning machines and long lines for voters. Below is an example of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- In one polling place in Orleans County, all three machines were down from 6am to 9am. The voter reported that at least 49 people were unable to vote. [Orleans]

Identification Problems: EP volunteers helped voters with problems and questions related to identification requirements. Many reported that they were required to show ID unnecessarily, including those who were not first time voters.

Long Lines: EP volunteers received complaints about long lines, including reports of voters leaving the polls before they voted due to the wait. The problem appeared to be caused by an insufficient number of voting booths for the number of voters who turned out. Below are some particularly troubling examples of the kinds of complaints EP volunteers received:

- One Election Protection worker reported that 85 students at Xavier University signed a complaint form that stated they had to wait over seven hours in line to vote. [Orleans]
- One voter reported that, after waiting in line, she was told she was in the wrong polling place. After waiting in a long line for the second time at the polling place she was directed to, she was told the first polling place was the correct one. [Orleans]

Polling Place Problems: EP volunteers helped voters with problems that arose at the polling place. Some voters reported poll workers following inappropriate procedures at the polling place. One voter reported that even though he was on the voter registration rolls at the poll and had a driver's license, he was not able to vote because he didn't have his voter registration card. (note: LA law allows for persons to vote without their registration card if they have photo ID.) Other complaints involved rude and overwhelmed poll workers, such as one case where the poll worker yelled at a line of voters, "Haven't you ever voted before?"

