

Evidence of Fraud in the 2004 U.S. Presidential Election: A Reader

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Global Research, November 05, 2012

Region: [USA](#)

In-depth Report: [Election Fraud in America](#)

The following article was published by Global Research one month after the November 2, 2004 elections

www.globalresearch.ca 5 December 2004

The original URL of this article is:

<http://globalresearch.ca/articles/KEE412A.html>

This Reading List, a substantially expanded version of previous lists published on 11 and 15 November, has been prepared with the aim of making a wide range of readings on the subject of the integrity—or the lack of integrity—of the recent U.S. presidential election readily available. It is being published as a companion-piece to my article [“The Stolen U.S. Presidential Election: A Comparative Analysis.”](#)

I have sought to facilitate analytical use of the materials in this revised and expanded list by dividing them into five subject-sections:

1. The Openness of New Voting Technologies to Fraud;
2. Allegations and Evidence of Fraud in Recent U.S. Elections;
3. Advance Warnings of Fraud in the 2004 Presidential Election;
4. Allegations and Evidence of Fraud in the 2004 Presidential Election: The Developing Controversy.
5. Appendix: Selected Articles on the 2004 Presidential Recall Referendum in Venezuela and the 2004 Presidential Election (Second Round) in Ukraine.

Section 1 includes writings by computer scientists who have specialized in issues of electronic security, by statisticians who have studied questions of the detection of electoral fraud, and by journalists and activists who have assembled and critically analyzed the opinions of experts.

Section 2 provides some historical context for the present situation by offering a selection of writings in which the evidence of electoral fraud in recent U.S. elections is documented and analyzed.

Section 3 shows how insistently computer scientists, investigative journalists and activists warned during the past two years about the dangers to democracy posed by electronic voting machines which remove the possibility of electoral recounts and audits—and how, despite their warnings, the U.S. entered the 2004 presidential elections equipped with voting-machine systems most of which were demonstrably open both to back-door manipulation and to hacking at the voting tabulator level.

Section 4 lists a wide variety of different texts. These include, most obviously, reports and analyses focusing on specific aspects of the voting and its aftermath, and studies that allege (and in my opinion cumulatively demonstrate) the theft of the presidential election by the Bush-Cheney Republicans and their corporate allies. But I have made a point also of listing writings by scholars who find no compelling grounds for suspecting large-scale or systematic electoral fraud. (See, with respect to the Florida vote tallies, Mebane [8 and 12 Nov. 2004], Sekhon [14 Nov. 2004], Wand, and Strashny—and, on the other side of the debate, Dodge, Dopp, Liddle, Mitteldorf, and Hout.) I have also listed articles by journalists, often writing in mainstream outlets, who have dismissed allegations of electoral fraud as the result of over-hasty or ill-informed analysis, as an expression of conspiracy-theory paranoia, or as mere sour grapes. (See, for example, Corn, A. Freeman, Klein, Manjoo, Morano, Reid, Roig-Franzia & Keating, and Zeller. Critics of the mainstream media coverage include Friedberg, R. Parry [13 Nov. 2004], S. Parry [12 Nov. 2004], Smith and Wade.)

Section 5 seeks to facilitate comparisons between the U.S. election and recent presidential elections in Venezuela and Ukraine in which, as in the U.S., divergences between exit poll results and official vote tallies prompted charges of election-rigging

The issues are complex, at some points hotly disputed, and in urgent need of further inquiry and analysis. I would maintain, nonetheless, that the evidence points with cumulative force to the conclusion that the official vote tallies in the U.S. presidential election of November 2, 2004 (listed by The New York Times at <http://www.nytimes.com/ref/elections2004/2004President.html>), were produced by a massive and sustained project of electoral fraud.

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5. Appendix: Selected Articles on the 2004 Presidential Recall Referendum in Venezuela and the 2004 Presidential Election (Second Round) in Ukraine

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