

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

By [Prof Michael Keefer](#)

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.

Michael Keefer is an Associate Professor of English at the University of Guelph, and a past president of the Association of Canadian College and University Teachers of English. His publications include Lunar Perspectives: Field Notes from the Culture Wars (Toronto: House of Anansi Press).

1. The Openness of New Voting Technologies to Fraud

Brady, Henry E., Justin Buchler, Matt Jarvis, John McNulty. *Counting All the Votes: The Performance of Voting Technology in the United States*. 57 pp. Department of Political Science, Survey Research Center, and Institute of Government Studies, University of California, Berkeley (September 2001), <http://www.ucdata.berkeley.edu> .

Coleridge, Greg. "Closing the Circle: The Corporatization of Elections." *The Free Press* (17 November 2004), <http://www.freepress.org/departments/display/19/2004/875> .

Collier, James M., and Kenneth F. Collier. *Votescam: The Stealing of America*. Victoria House Press, 1992. ISBN 0963416308.

Collier, Victoria. "Computerized Election Fraud in America: A Brief History." *Votescam* (25 October 2003), <http://www.votescam.com/abriefhistory.php> .

"Company Defends Electronic Voting System." *Associated Press, The New York Times* (25 July 2003), available (thanks to W. R. Mebane) at <http://www.macht.arts.cornell.edu/wrm1/gov317/diebold/AP-Electronic-Voting-Flaws.25jul2003.html> .

Conover, Bev. "Computerized voting systems cannot be made secure." *Online Journal* (20 October 2003), <http://www.onlinejournal.com/evoting/102003Conover/102003conover.html> .

— —. "Voting: When low-tech beats high-tech." *Online Journal* (25 June 2004), <http://www.onlinejournal.com/evoting/062504Conover/062504conover.html> .

Diebold, Inc. "Technical Response to the Johns Hopkins Study on Voting Systems." 25 July 2003, available (thanks to W. R. Mebane) at <http://www.macht.arts.cornell.edu/wrm1/gov317/diebold/technical.25jul2003.htm> .

Equal Justice Foundation. *Vote Fraud and Election Issues*. Last updated 27 September 2004. <http://www.ejfi.org/Voting/Voting.htm#fraud> .

"Groups Question Voting Machines' Accuracy." *Associated Press* (30 October 2003), available (thanks to W. R. Mebane) at <http://macht.arts.cornell.edu/wrm1/gov/diebold/AP-Election-Worries.30oct.2003.html> .

Halpert, Oscar. "Bev Harris was among the first to raise concerns about touch-screen machines." *Verifiedvoting.org* (1 June 2004), <http://www.verifiedvoting.org/article.php?id=2277> .

Harris, Bev. *Black Box Voting: Ballot Tampering in the 21st Century*. Renton, WA: Talion Publishing/Black Box Voting, 2003. ISBN 1890916900. Free internet version available at <http://www.blackboxvoting.org> .

— —. "Inside a U.S. Election Vote Counting Program." *Scoop* (8 July 2003), <http://www.scoop.co.nz/mason/stories/HL0307/S00065.htm> ; *Truthout* (July 2003), http://www.truthout.org/docs_03/voting.shtml .

— —. "Bald-Faced Lies About Black Box Voting Machines and The Truth About the Rob-Georgia File." *Scoop* (10 July 2003), <http://www.scoop.co.nz/mason/stories/HL0307/S00078.htm> .

— —. "Internal Memos: Diebold Doing End-Runs Around Certification." *Scoop* (12 September 2003), <http://www.scoop.co.nz/mason/stories/HL0309/S00150.htm> .

Internet Policy Institute. *Report of the National Workshop on Internet Voting: Issues and Research Agenda*. March 2001. 62 pp. Sponsored by the National Science Foundation. Conducted in cooperation with the University of Maryland and hosted by the Freedom Forum. <http://www.nsf-voterprt.pdf> .

Jones, Douglas W. "Problems with Voting Systems and the Applicable Standards." Testimony before the U.S. House of Representatives' Committee on Science, Washington D.C (22 May 2001), <http://www.cs.uiowa.edu/~jones/voting> .

—. “Auditing elections.” *Communications of the ACM* 47.10 (October 2004): 46-50, <http://www.portal.acm.org/citation.cfm?id=0922594.1022622> .

Kohno, Tadayoshi, Adam Stubblefield, Aviel D. Rubin, and Dan S. Wallach. “Analysis of an Electronic Voting System.” *IEEE Symposium on Security and Privacy*, Oakland CA, May 2004. <http://avirubin.com/vote/analysis/index.html> .

Kocher, Paul, and Bruce Schneier. “Insider Risks in Elections.” *Inside Risks* 169, CACM 47, 7 (July 2004), <http://www.csl.sri.com/users/neumann/insiderisks04.html> .

Konrad, Rachel. “Electronic Voting Firm Drops Legal Case.” *Associated Press* (2 December 2003), available (thanks to W. R. Mebane) at <http://macht.arts.cornell.edu/wrm1/gov317/diebold/mherald.diebold.02dec2003.html>

Landes, Lynn. “Mission impossible: Federal observers & voting machines.” *Online Journal* (26 November 2002), <http://www.onlinejournal.com/evoting/112602Landes/112602landes.html> .

—. “Voting machines violate Constitution: Who will launch legal challenge?” *Online Journal* (15 April 2003), <http://www.onlinejournal.com/evoting/041503Landes/041503landes.html> .

—. “Offshore company captures online military vote.” *Online Journal* (21 July 2003), <http://www.onlinejournal.com/evoting/072103Landes/072103landes.html> .

—. “Internet Voting—The End of Democracy?” 27 August 2003. <http://www.ecotalk.org/InternetVoting.htm> ; *Online Journal* (4 September 2003), <http://www.onlinejournal.com/evoting/090403Landes/090403landes.html> .

—. “Republicans and Brits will count California’s recall votes.” *Online Journal* (6 October 2003), <http://www.onlinejournal.com/evoting/100603Landes/100603landes.html> .

—. “NIST ignores scientific method for voting technology.” *Online Journal* (16 December 2003), <http://www.onlinejournal.com/evoting/121603Landes/121603landes.html> .

Mebane, Walter R., and Jasjeet S. Sekhon. “Robust Estimation and Outlier Detection for Overdispersed Multinomial Models of Count Data.” *American Journal of Political Science* 48 (April 2004): 391-400, <http://www.elections.fas.harvard.edu/index.html> .

—, Jasjeet S. Sekhon and Jonathan Wand. “Detecting and Correcting Election Irregularities.” Working Paper, 9 October 2003, <http://wand.stanford.edu/elections> .

Mercuri, Rebecca. *Electronic Vote Tabulation: Checks and Balances*. Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Computer and Information Systems, School of Engineering and Applied Science, University of Pennsylvania, 2001. Available from <http://www.umi.com> (Thesis # 3003665).

—. *Electronic Voting*. <http://www.notablessoftware.com/evote.html> .

—, and Peter G. Neumann. “Verification for Electronic Balloting Systems.” Chapter 3 of *Secure Electronic Voting*, ed. Dimitris Gritzalis. Advances in Information Security, vol. 7. Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2002. ISBN 1402073011.

Norr, Henry. “The Risks of Touch-Screen Balloting.” *San Francisco Chronicle* (4 December

- 2000),
<http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?file=/chronicle/archive/2000/12/04/BU91811.DTL> .
- Rubin, Aviel. "Testimony, U.S. Election Assistance Commission. Dr. Aviel Rubin, Professor of Computer Science, May 5, 2004." <http://avirubin.com/vote> .
- Saltman, Roy G. *Accuracy, Integrity, and Security in Computerized Vote-Tallying*. NBS Special Publication 500-158. Institute for Computer Sciences and Technology, National Bureau of Standards. Gaithersburg, MD 20899, August 1988.
<http://www.itl.nist.gov/lab/specpubs/500-158.htm> .
- Schneier, Bruce. *Applied Cryptography*. 2nd edition. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1996. ISBN 0471128457 (Paper: 0471117099).
- . "Voting and Technology." *Crypto-Gram Newsletter* (15 December 2000),
<http://www.schneier.com/crypto-gram-0012.html> .
- Schwartz, John. "Report Raises Electronic Vote Security Issues." *The New York Times* (25 September 2003), available (thanks to W. R. Mebane) at
<http://macht.arts.cornell.edu/wrm1/gov317/diebold/25VOTE.25sep2003.html> .
- . "File Sharing Pits Copyright Against Free Speech." *The New York Times* (3 November 2003), available (thanks to W. R. Mebane) at
<http://macht.arts.cornell.edu/wr,1/gov317/diebold/03secure.03nov2003.html> .
- Sludge, C. D. "Sludge Report #154: Bigger Than Watergate! How to Rig an Election in the United States." *Scoop* (8 July 2003),
<http://www.scoop.co.nz/mason/stories/HL0307/S00064.htm> .
- Thompson, Alastair. "Diebold Internal Mail Confirms U.S. Vote Count Vulnerabilities." *Scoop* (12 September 2003), <http://www.scoop.co.nz/mason/stories/HL0309/S00106.htm> .
- Thompson, Ken. "Reflections on Trusting Trust." *Communications of the ACM* 27.8 (August 1984): 761-63. <http://www.acm.org/classics/sep95> .
- Wand, Jonathan N. A., Jasjeet S. Sekhon, and Walter R. Mebane, Jr. "A Comparative Analysis of Multinomial Voting Irregularities: Canada 2000." *Proceedings of the American Statistical Society* (2001), <http://wand.stanford.edu/elections/canada/parliament> .
- Williams, Britain J. "Security in the Georgia Voting System." 23 April 2003, available at
<http://macht.arts.cornell.edu/wrm1/gov317/diebold/index.html> .
- Zetter, Kim. "Time to Recall E-Vote Machines?" *Wired News* (6 October 2003),
http://www.wired.com/news/politics/0,1283,60713,00.html?tw=wn_story_related .
- . "Aussies Do It Right: E-Voting." *Wired News* (3 November 2003),
<http://www.wired.com/news/ebiz/0,1272,61045,00.html> .
- . "E-Voting Undermined By Sloppiness." *Wired News* (17 December 2003),
http://www.wired.com/news/evote/0,2645,61637,00.html?tw=wn_story_related .
- . "E-Vote Still Flawed, Experts Say." *Wired News* (29 January 2004),

<http://www.wired.com/news/business/0,1367,62109.00,html> .

2. Allegations and Evidence of Fraud in Recent U.S. Elections

Collier, James M., and Kenneth F. Collier. *Votescam: The Stealing of America*. Victoria House Press, 1992. ISBN 0963416308.

Collier, Victoria. "Your stolen vote—the missing piece of the puzzle." May 2000; republished by *Online Journal* (8 February 2001),
<http://www.onlinejournal.com/evoting/020801Collier/020801collier.html> .

———. "Computerized Election Fraud in America: A Brief History." *VoteScam* (25 October 2003), <http://www.votescam.com/abriefhistory.php> .

Conover, Bev. "Once again, the media try to con the people into believing Bush won." *Online Journal* (5 April 2001),
<http://www.onlinejournal.com/evoting/040501Conover/040501conover.html> .

———. "Florida's 'fixed it' farce." *Online Journal* (11 May 2001),
<http://www.onlinejournal.com/evoting/051101Conover/051101conover.html> .

Conyers, John Jr., and Democratic Investigative Staff, House Committee on the Judiciary. *How to Make Over One Million Votes Disappear: Electoral Sleight of Hand in the 2000 Presidential Election. A Fifty-State Report Prepared for Rep. John Conyers, Jr. (Ranking Member, House Committee on the Judiciary; Dean, Congressional Black Caucus)*. 122 pp. Washington, DC: U.S. House of Representatives, August 20, 2001.
<http://www.electionreport.pdf> .

Equal Justice Foundation. *Vote Fraud and Election Issues*. Last updated 27 September 2004.
<http://www.ejfi.org/Voting/Voting.htm#fraud> .

Gumbel, Andrew. "All the President's votes? A quiet revolution is taking place in U.S. politics. By the time it's over, the integrity of elections will be in the unchallenged, unscrutinised control of a few large—and pro-Republican—corporations. Andrew Gumbel wonders if democracy in America can survive." *The Independent* (13 October 2003),
<http://www.news.independent.co.uk/world/americas/story.jsp?story=452972> ; also available at *Common Dreams News Center*, <http://www.commondreams.org/headlines03/103301.htm> .

Harris, Bev. *Black Box Voting: Ballot Tampering in the 21st Century*. Renton, WA: Talion Publishing/Black Box Voting, 2003. ISBN 1890916900. Free internet version available at <http://www.blackboxvoting.org> .

———. "Bald-Faced Lies About Black Box Voting Machines and The Truth About the Rob-Georgia File." *Scoop* (10 July 2003),
<http://www.scopp.co.nz/mason/stories/HL0307/S00078.htm> .

Landes, Lynn. "2002 elections: Republican voting machines, election irregularities, and 'way-off' polling results." *Online Journal* (8 November 2002),
<http://www.onlinejournal.com/evoting/110802Landes/110802landes.html> .

———. *Election Fraud and Irregularities—BY YEAR*.

<http://www.ecotalk.org/VotingMachineErrors.htm> .

Mercuri, Rebecca. "Florida 2002: Sluggish Systems, Vanishing Votes." *Inside Risks* 149, CACM 45, 11 (November 2002), <http://www.csl.sri.com/users/neumann/insiderisks.html#149>

Shafer, Jack. "Defending the Projectionists." *Slate* (15 November 2000), <http://slate.msn.com/id/1006506> .

Zetter, Kim. "Did E-Vote Firm Patch Election?" *Wired News* (13 October 2003), http://www.wired.com/news/politics/0,1283,60563,00.html?tw=wn_story_related .

3. Advance Warnings of Fraud in the 2004 Presidential Election

Allen, David. "Inside An E-Voting Whitewash Conference Call." *Scoop* (23 August 2003), <http://www.scoop.co.nz/mason/stories/HL0308/S00175.htm> .

Boyle, Alan. "E-voting firm reports computer break-in." *MSNBC* (29 December 2003), <http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/3825143> .

CalTech/MIT Voting Technology Project. "Immediate Steps to Avoid Lost Votes in the 2004 Presidential Election: Recommendations for the Election Assistance Commission." July 2004. <http://www.vote.caltech.edu/Reports/index.html> .

"Electronic Frontier Foundation and Stanford Law Clinic Sue Electronic Voting Machine Company: Student Publishers and ISP Aim to Stop Diebold's Abusive Copyright Claims." Electronic Frontier Foundation Media Release (3 November 2003), http://www.eff.org/legal/ISP_liability/OPG_v_Diebold/20031103_eff_pr.php .

Fitrakis, Bob. "Diebold, electronic voting and the vast right-wing conspiracy." *The Free Press* (24 February 2004), <http://www.freepress.org/columns/display/3/2004/834> .

— . "Death of a patriot: no more." *The Free Press* (17 March 2004), <http://www.freepress.org/columns/display/3/2004/853> .

— . "E-Voting: The new battle hymn of the republic." *Online Journal* (11 September 2004), <http://www.onlinejournal.com/evoting/091104Fitrakis/091104fitrakis.html> .

— , and Harvey Wasserman. "Diebold's Political Machine." *MotherJones.com* (5 March 2004), http://www.motherjones.com/commentary/columns/2004/03/03_200.html .

— , and Harvey Wasserman. "Twelve ways Bush is now stealing the Ohio vote." *The Free Press* (27 October 2004), <http://www.freepress.org/departments/display/19/2004/810> .

Fox, Pimm. "Worrying About Election Day." *Computerworld* (27 September 2004), <http://www.keepmedia.com/pubs/Computerworld/2004/09/27/596859> .

Gillmor, Dan. "Flawed Vote Could Give IT A Black Eve." *Computerworld* (1 November 2004), <http://www.keepmedia.com/pubs/Computerworld/2004/11/01/641469> .

Goodman, Amy, et al. "Will Bush Backers Manipulate Votes to Deliver GW Another Election?"

Democracy Now! (4 September 2003), available at *Common Dreams News Center*, <http://www.commondreams.org/headlines03/0904-10.htm> .

Gumbel, Andrew. "Mock the vote." *Los Angeles City Beat* (29 October 2003), available at <http://www.wesjones.com/mockthevote.htm> .

— . "All the President's votes? A quiet revolution is taking place in U.S. politics. By the time it's over, the integrity of elections will be in the unchallenged, unscrutinised control of a few large—and pro-Republican—corporations. Andrew Gumbel wonders if democracy in America can survive." *The Independent* (13 October 2003), <http://www.news.independent.co.uk/world/americas/story.jsp?story=452972> ; also available at *Common Dreams News Center*, <http://www.commondreams.org/headlines03/1033-01.htm> .

— . "Portrait of a Country on the Verge of a Nervous Breakdown." *The Independent* (24 October 2004), also available at *Common Dreams News Center*, <http://www.commondreams.org/headlines04/1024-01.htm> .

Hales, Paul. "'Civil disobedience' campaign targets Diebold: Students threaten freedom to manipulate elections." *The Inquirer* (22 October 2003), <http://www.theinquirer.net/?article==12261> .

Harris, Bev. "Voting industry insiders hold secret meeting to hire PR firm to sell electronic voting to public." *Online Journal* (26 August 2003), <http://www.onlinejournal.com/evoting/082604Harris/082604harris.html> .

Hartmann, Thom. "If You Want to Win an Election, Just Control the Voting Machines." *Common Dreams News Center* (31 January 2003). <http://www.commondreams.org/views03/0131-01.htm> ; *Scoop* (31 January 2003), <http://www.scoop.co.nz/mason/stories/HL0302/S00009.htm> ; *Online Journal* (6 February 2003), <http://www.onlinejournal.com/evoting/020603Hartmann/020603hartmann.html> .

— . "A Winning Machine." *AlterNet* (4 February 2003), <http://www.alternet.org/story/15103> .

— . "Now your vote is the property of a private corporation." *SmirkingChimp.com* (11 March 2003), <http://www.smirkingchimp.com/print.php?sid=10536> ; *Online Journal* (13 March 2003), <http://www.onlinejournal.com/evoting/031303Hartmann/031303hartmann.html> .

— . "The Theft of Your Vote is Just a Chip Away." *AlterNet* (30 July 2003), <http://www.alternet.org/story/16474> .

Heichler, Elizabeth. "Criticism of Electronic Voting Machines' Security is Mounting." *Computerworld* (15 December 2003), <http://www.keepmedia.com/pubs/Computerworld/2003/12/15/335119?from=search> .

"How George W. Bush Won the 2004 Presidential Election." *Infernal Press* (25 June 2003), <http://www.infernalpress.com/Columns/election.html> ; *Centre for Research on Globalization* (15 July 2003), <http://www.globalresearch.ca/articles/INF307A.html> .

Jones, Douglas W. "E-voting: Are our defenses adequate to defend citizens rights?" Paper

presented to the *International Telecommunications Union Workshop on Challenges, Perspectives and Standardization Issues in E-government*, Geneva, Switzerland (6 June 2003), <http://www.cs.uiowa.edu/~jones/voting/geneva> .

— . “The Diebold AccuVote TS Should be Decertified.” *ESENEX Security Symposium*, Washington DC (6 August 2003), <http://www.cs.uiowa.edu/~jones/voting/dieboldusenix.html>

— . “Recommendations for the Conduct of Elections in Miami-Dade County Using the ES&S iVotronic System.” 13 May 2004, revised 7 June 2004. <http://www.csuiowa/~jones/voting> .

— , David L. Dill, Peter G. Neumann, Aviel Rubin, Dan Wallach. “To the concerned citizens and elected officials of the State of Ohio.” 26 February 2004, <http://www.cs.uiowa.edu/~jones/voting> .

“Journalist [Lynn Landes] seeks temporary restraining orders against use of voting machines & absentee ballots.” *Online Journal* (18 October 2004), <http://www.onlinejournal.com/evoting/101804NewsFlash/101804newsflash.html> .

King, Martin Luther III, and Greg Palast. “Jim Crow Revived in Cyberspace.” *The Baltimore Sun* (8 May 2003); also available at <http://www.gregpalast.com/detail.cfm?artid=222&row=1>

Landes, Lynn. “Voting machine fiasco: SAIC, VoteHere and Diebold.” *Online Journal* (20 August 2003), <http://www.onlinejournal.com/evoting/082003Landes/082003landes.html> .

— . *Voting Systems Orgs and Companies*. <http://www.ecotalk.org/VotingMachineCompanies.htm> .

— . “Democrats send mixed signals in voting technology debate.” *Online Journal* (29 January 2004), <http://www.onlinejournal.com/evoting/012904Landes/012904landes.html> .

— . “Questions mount over New Hampshire’s primary.” *Online Journal* (11 February 2004), <http://www.onlinejournal.com/evoting/021104Landes/021104landes.html> .

— . “Faking democracy: Americans don’t vote, machines do, & ballot printers can’t fix that.” *Online Journal* (2 April 2004), <http://www.onlinejournal.com/evoting/040704Landes/040704landes.html> .

— . “Two voting companies and two brothers will count 80 percent of U.S. election using both scanners & touchscreens.” *Online Journal* (28 April 2004), <http://www.onlinejournal.com/evoting/042804Landes/042804landes.html> .

— . “Federal commission nixes talk of paper-only elections; stacks panels with proponents of paperless touchscreens.” *Online Journal* (12 May 2004), <http://www.onlinejournal.com/evoting/051204Landes/051204landes.html> .

— . “Could the Associated Press rig the election?” *Online Journal* (23 October 2004), <http://www.onlinejournal.com/evoting/102304Landes/102304landes.html> .

— . “If this election is stolen, will it be by enough to stop a recount?” *Online Journal* (31 October 2004), <http://www.onlinejournal.com/evoting/103104Landes/103104landes.html> .

Leopold, Jason. "Electronic voting minus paper trails makes it easy to rig elections." *Online Journal* (4 September 2003), <http://www.onlinejournal.com/evoting/090403Leopard/090403leopard.html> .

Machlis, Sharon. "A Voter's Paper Trail." *Computerworld* (5 July 2004), <http://www.keepmedia.com/pubs/Computerworld/2004/07/05/505110> .

Mercuri, Rebecca. Press Release (24 September 2002): "MIT vs. Mercuri. Rebecca Mercuri rebuts recent MIT/CalTech voting systems analysis and calls for moratorium on new electronic balloting equipment purchases." <http://www.notablessoftware.com/Papers/MITvsMercuri.html> .

Moore, Steve. "E-Democracy: Stealing the Election in 2004." *Global Outlook* 8 (Summer 2004); *Centre for Research on Globalization* (11 July 2004), <http://www.globalresearch.ca/articles/MOO407A.html> .

"On Election Day 2004, How Will You Know If Your Vote Is Properly Counted? Answer: You Won't. NJ Rep. Rush Holt Introduces Legislation to Require All Voting Machines To Produce A Paper Trail." *OpEdNews* (n.d.), <http://www.opednews.com/holt%20paper%20balloy%20bill.htm> .

Palast, Greg. "Florida Computers Snatch Thousands of Votes from Kerry." *Truthout* (26 October 2004), http://www.truthout.org/docs_04/102904X.shtml ; also published under the title "Florida's Computers Have Already Counted Thousands of Votes for George W. Bush." *Common Dreams News Center* (28 October 2004), <http://www.commondreams.org/head;ines04/1028-02.htm> .

— —. "Electoral Fraud, Ethnic Cleansing of Voter Rolls, An Election Spoiled Rotten." *TomPaine.com* (1 November 2004), <http://www.tompaine.com> ; *Centre for Research on Globalization* (4 November 2004), <http://www.globalresearch.ca/articles/PAL411A.html> .

Pitt, William Rivers. "Desperate Measures." *Truthout* (20 October 2004), http://www.truthout.org/docs_04/102004A.shtml .

Plissner, Martin. "Exit polls to protect the vote." *The New York Times* (17 October 2004), <http://www.nytimes.com/2004/10/17/weekinreview/plis.html> ; also available at *Bellacio.org* (7 November 2004), http://bellacio.org/en/article.php3?id_article=4196 .

Redman, Colleen. "Voting machine voodoo: Democracy at risk." *Online Journal* (19 November 2003), <http://www.onlinejournal.com/evoting/111903Redman/111903redman.html> .

Roberts, Paul. "Dean, Other Dems Sound Off on E-voting Security." *Computerworld* (2 August 2004), <http://www.keepmedia.com/pubs/Computerworld/2004/08/02/518749> .

Schulte, Brigid. "Maryland Voting System's Security Challenged: Electronic Cheating Too Easy, Study Shows." *The Washington Post* (25 July 2003), available (thanks to W. R. Mebane) at <http://macht.arts.cornell.edu/wrm1/gov317/diebold/A42928-2003jul24> .

— —. "Maryland Plans Fixes After Vote System is Faulted." *The Washington Post* (25 September 2003), available (thanks to W. R. Mebane) at <http://www.macht.arts.cornell.edu/wrm1/gov317/diebold/A60825-2003Sep24> .

Slashdot file of stories (dating from July 2003 to October 2004) about electronic voting machines, Diebold Incorporated, and free speech issues. The file includes the following stories:

“Maryland Tests Voting Machines, Declares Success” (posted 22 October 2004)

“Diebold Rejected in Copyright Takedown Attempt” (posted 10 October 2004)

“Chimp Can Hack Diebold Electronic Voting System” (posted 24 September 2004)

“More Diebold E-Voting Vulnerabilities” (posted 22 September 2004)

“California AG Says He’ll Sue Diebold” (posted 7 September 2004)

“No Secret Ballot for Military Personnel?” (posted 4 September 2004)

“Vote Tabulator Security Hole Exposed” (posted 30 August 2004)

“Australian Voting Software Goes Closed Source” (posted 4 August 2004)

“Diebold Sued (Again) Over Shoddy Voting Machines” (posted 12 July 2004)

“Who’s Blocking Verified E-Voting?” (posted 11 June 2004)

“Feds to Open BlackBoxVoting User Logs?” (posted 19 May 2004)

“Indian Voting Machines Compared with Diebold” (posted 14 May 2004)

“California County Sues State Over E-Vote Ban” (posted 9 May 2004)

“Evoting in the News” (posted 7 May 2004)

“CA Secretary of State Bans Diebold Machines” (posted 1 May 2004)

<http://slashdot.org/search.p?query=diebold&op=stories&author=tid=§ion=&sort=1> .

Sludge, C. D. “Sludge #156: SAIC Connected to E-Voting Whitewash.” *Scoop* (23 August 2003), <http://www.scoop.co.nz/mason/stories/HL0308/S00173.htm> .

— . “Sludge Report #157: The ITAA, The Election Center, & Doug Lewis.” *Scoop* (23 August 2003), <http://www.scoop.co.nz/mason/stories/HL0308/S00174.htm> .

Sperry, Mac. “Stopping the vote theft—urgent—drop all else.” *Online Journal* (25 October 2003), <http://www.onlinejournal.com/evoting/102503Sperry/102503sperry.html> .

Stroh, Michael. "Defects detected in voting machines: Hopkins researchers say Maryland's electronic terminals are vulnerable to hackers." *The Baltimore Sun* (24 July 2003), available (thanks to W. R. Mebane) at <http://macht.arts.cornell.edu/wrm1/gov317/diebold/A42928-2003jul24> .

Verton, Dan. "E-vote at Risk." *Computerworld* (18 October 2004), <http://www.keepmedia.com/pubs/Computerworld/2004/10/18/622389> .

Zeller, Tom. "Ready or Not (and Maybe Not), Electronic Voting Goes National." *The New York Times* (19 September 2004); *Truthout* (20 September 2004), http://www.truthout.org/docs_04/092004L.shtml .

4. Allegations and Evidence of Fraud in the 2004 Presidential Election

"Academia still fixated on November 2." *Associated Press* (19 November 2004), <http://www.cnn.com/2004/ALLPOLITICS/11/19/election.aftermath.ap/index.html> .

Adams, Brandon. *An Examination of the 2004 Elections*. 7 November 2004, updated 10 November 2004. This site includes the following items:

"President Bush given greater preference than Republican Senate candidate in all but two counties in Florida"

"Total Votes Cast Outnumber Voter Turnout in Florida"

"Floridan Votes, Sorted by Voting Technology"

"Floridan Votes, Sorted by Machine Vendor"

"Floridan Votes, Sorted by Voting Machine Model"

"Percentage of Candidate's Votes Contributed by Model." <http://www.electionexamination.blogspot.com> .

Azulay, Jessica. "Amid Charges of Vote Suppression, Activists Look for Larger Fraud." *ZNet* (13 November 2004), <http://www.zmag.org/content/showarticle.cfm?SectionID=90&ItemID=6638> .

"Berkeley Researchers Report 'Unexplained Discrepancy' in FLA Vote Totals. Study released Thursday indicates the probability is that electronic voting machines may have awarded 130,000-260,000 or more in excess votes to Bush in Florida." *Buzzflash* (18 November 2004), <http://www.buzzflash.com/analysis/04/11/ana04028.html> .

Bernstein, David S. "Questioning Ohio: No controversy this time? Think again." *The Boston Phoenix* (12-18 November 2004), http://www.bostonphoenix.com/boston/news_features/other_stories/multi-page/documents/04256171.asp .

Buchanan, Wyatt. "If It's Too Bad to be True, It May Not be Voter Fraud. Most statistical enigmas in recent election have logical explanations, despite Web rants." *San Francisco Chronicle* (11 November 2004); also available at

<http://www.verifiedvoting.org/article.php?id=5239> .

Burns, Margie. "Dirty work at Philly polls." *OpEdNews* (15 November 2004), http://www.opednews.com/burns_111504_philly_polls.htm .

Byrne, John. "Kerry seen as presidential victor in early exit polls." *The Blue Lemur* (2 November 2004, 3:15 p.m.), <http://www.bluelemur.com/index.php?p=386> .

———. "Odds of Bush gaining by 4 percent in all exit polling states 1 in 50,000; Evoting/paper variance not found to be significant." *The Blue Lemur* (8 November 2004), <http://www.bluelemur.com/index.php?p=405> .

CalTech/MIT Voting Technology Project. "Voting Machines and the Underestimate of the Bush Vote." Version 2 (11 November 2004), available at <http://www.verifiedvoting.org/article.php?id=5243> .

Cannon, Joseph. "The empire strikes back: Data and disinformation." *Cannonfire* (12 November 2004), <http://www.cannonfire.blogspot.com/2004/11/empire-strikes-back-data-and.html> .

———. "Full court press on vote fraud." *Cannonfire* (24 November 2004), <http://cannonfire.blogspot.com/2004/11/full-court-press-on-vote-fraud.html> .

Cardinale, Matthew. "A Genealogy of Votergate Media Coverage 2004: Through the Eyes of Googlenews." *OpEdNews* (10 November 2004), http://www.opednews.com/cardinale_111004_votergate_media.htm .

'caro'. "Reconstructing the Crime." *Radio Left* (12 November 2004), <http://blog.radioleft.com/blog/-archives/2004/11/12/181769.html> .

Chin, Larry. "The Stolen Election of 2004: welcome back to hell." *Online Journal* (5 November 2004), <http://www.onlinejournal.com/evoting/110504Chin/110504chin.html> ; *Centre for Research on Globalization* (5 November 2004), <http://www.globalresearch.ca/articles/CHI411B.html> .

Cohen, Ariella. "Voter Suppression Challenged by Ohioans, Allies." *The New Standard* (25 November 2004), http://newstandardnews.net/content/?action=show_item&itemid=1249 .

Cohn, Marjorie. "Litigating the Election." *Truthout* (22 November 2004), http://www.truthout.org/docs_04/112204A.shtml .

"Computer error at voting machine gives Bush 3,893 extra votes." *Akron Beacon Journal* (5 November 2004), <http://www.ohio.com/mlid/beaconjournal/news/state/10103910.htm?1c> .

"Computer glitch still baffles county clerk." *News-Dispatch* (4 November 2004), <http://www.michigancitym.com/articles/2004/11/04/news02.txt> .

"Computer May Have Lost 4,500 N.C. Votes." *Guardian Unlimited* (4 November 2004), <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uslatest/story/0,1282,-459634,4,00.html> .

Conover, Bev. "We Wuz Robbed... Again!" *Online Journal* (12 November 2004), <http://www.onlinejournal.com/Commentary/111204Conover/111204conover.html> .

“Conservatives rail against MSNBC’s Olbermann for reporting election irregularities.” *Media Matters for America* (16 November 2004), <http://www.mediamatters.org/items/printable/200411160006> .

Conyers, John Jr., Jerrold Nadler, Robert Wexler (Members of the Congress of the United States, House of Representatives). “Letter to GAO Comptroller Walker Requesting Investigation of Voting Machines and Technologies Used in 2004 Election.” 5 November 2004. <http://www.house.gov/conyers> .

Conyers, John Jr., Jerrold Nadler, Robert Wexler, Robert C. Scott, Melvin Watt, Rush Holt (Members of the Congress of the United States, House of Representatives). “Follow-up Letter to GAO Comptroller Walker Requesting Investigation of Voting Machines and Technologies Used in 2004 Election.” 8 November 2004. <http://www.house.gov/conyers> .

Corn, David. “Going Down the Stolen Election Road?” *The Nation* (10 November 2004), available at *Alternet*, <http://www.alternet.org/election04/20458> .

“Countinghouse blues: Too many votes.” *6 News Omaha: WOWT.com* (n.d.), <http://www.wowt.com/news/headlines/1161971.html> .

Crampton, Thomas. “Global monitors find faults.” *International Herald Tribune* (3 November 2004), http://www.ihf.com/bin/print_ipub.php?file=articles/2004/11/02/news/observe.html .

‘DavidAdmin.’ “Answers to Boston Globe’s Dismissal of Voter Fraud Story.” *ReDefeatBush* (11 November 2004), <http://www.redefeatbush.com/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=284> .

DeHart, Sara S. “Something is Rotten in Denmark: Exit poll data in former Soviet Republic of Georgia vs. USA.” *Online Journal* (17 November 2004), <http://www.onlinejournal.com/evoting/111704DeHart/111704dehart.html> .

‘DemFromCT’. “On Voting Irregularities And Election Integrity.” *dailyKOS* (13 November 2004), <http://www.dailykos.com/story/2004/11/13/235655/22> .

Dingus, Doug. “How Electronic Voting Impacts the Trustworthiness of our Elections.” *OpEdNews* (26 November 2004), http://www.opednews.com/dingusDoug_112604_electronic_voting.htm .

Dodge, David. “Response to MIT/Caltech.” *Ustogether.org* (13 November 2004), http://ustogether.org/election04/dodge/MIT_Caltech_rebutal_11-13-04.htm .

Dopp, Kathy. “Surprising Pattern of Florida’s Election Results.” *Ustogether.org* (3 November 2004, with later updates), http://www.ustogether.org/Florida_Election.htm . For further analysis and graphic representation of Kathy Dopp’s data, see <http://www.ustogether.org/election04/FloridaDataStats.htm> , and <http://www.rubberbug.com/temp/Florida2004chart.htm> .

Drobny, Sheldon. “Votergate 2004: We Don’t Need Paper to Prove Fraud, But We Do Need Money and Leadership, NOW.” *OpEdNews* (9 November 2004), http://www.opednews.com/drobny_110904_election_investigation.htm ; Centre for Research on Globalization (10 November 2004), <http://www.globalresearch.ca/articles/DRO411A.html> .

Election Problem Reports. "Stolen Election Library—With Hundreds of Links." *National Ballot Integrity Project* (17 November 2004), <http://www.ballotintegrity.org/DCForumID1/174.html> .

Engberg, Eric. "Blogging as Typing, Not Journalism." *CBS News* (8 November 2004), <http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2004/11/08/opinion/main654285.shtml> .

Evans, Shaula. "Republican Election Theft Clearinghouse [Updated 11/12]." *BOPNews* (12 November 2004), <http://www.bopnews.com/archives/002328.html> .

——. "Outside eye: Dems Abroad Election Fraud Report." *BOPNews* (12 November 2004), <http://www.bopnews.com/archives/002420.html#2420> .

"Exit Polls vs. Actual Results."

http://www.bandsagainstbush.org/cgi-bin/archives/exit_polls.gif ; also at <http://www.bandsagainstbush.org/cgi-bin/archives/000117.html> .

Farrell, Maureen. "Another Rigged Election? The Elephant in the Voting Booth." *Buzzflash* (9 November 2004), <http://www.buzzflash.com/farrell/04/11/far04038.html> .

——. "Election Angst Update: Clark Kent Vs the Media Wimps." *Buzzflash* (23 November 2004), <http://www.buzzflah.com/farrell/04/11/far04040.html> .

Fertik, Bob. "Stolen Election 2004: Wednesday Update." 24 November 2004, <http://blog democrats.com/node/871/print> .

Fitrakis, Bob. "Did Kerry Concede Too Soon?" *The Free Press* (5 November 2004), <http://www.freepress.org/columns/display/3/2004/981> ; *Centre for Research on Globalization* (6 November 2004), <http://www.globalresearch.ca/articles/FIT411A.html> .

——. "None dare call it voter suppression and fraud." *The Free Press* (7 November 2004), <http://www.freepress.org/columns/display/3/2004/983> .

——. "And so the sorting and discarding of Kerry votes begins." *The Free Press* (10 November 2004), <http://www.freepress.org/columns/display/3/2004/985> .

——. "Document reveals Columbus. Ohio voters waited hours as election officials held back election machines." *The Free Press* (16 November 2004), <http://wwwfreepress.org/columns/display/3/2004/990> .

——. "How the Ohio election was rigged for Bush." *The Free Press* (22 November 2004), <http://www.freepress.org/columns/display/3/2004/995> .

——, and Harvey Wasserman. "Hearings on Ohio Voting Put 2004 Election in Doubt." *The Free Press* (18 November 2004), <http://www.freepress.org/departments/display/19/2004/886> .

——. "More Ohio voter suppression testimony prompts upcoming legal filing for statewide recount." *The Free Press* (20 November 2004). <http://www.freepress.org/departments/display/19/2004/894> .

——. "How a Republican election supervisor manipulated the 2004 central Ohio vote, in black and white." *The Free Press* (23 November 2004),

<http://www.freepress.org/departments/display/19/2004/917> .

— —. “New Ohio voter transcripts feed floodtide of doubt about Republican election manipulation.” *The Free Press* (25 November 2004), <http://www.freepress.org/departments/display/19/2004/930> .

Fordahl, Matthew, et al. “Electronic Voting Machine Woes Reported.” *Abc27.com* (2 November 2004), <http://www.whtm.com/news/stories/1104/184856.html> .

Freeman, Alan. “No one cheated (but they could have).” *The Globe and Mail* (20 November 2004): F2, <http://www.theglobeandmail.com> .

Freeman, Steven F., PhD. “The Unexplained Exit Poll Discrepancy.” [First Draft] *Buzzflash* (11 November 2004), <http://www.buzzflash.com/alerts/04/11/ale04090.html> .

— —. “The Unexplained Exit Poll Discrepancy: Part I.” Working Paper #04-10, Center for Organizational Dynamics, Graduate Division, School of Arts and Sciences, University of Pennsylvania. 21 November, 2004, <http://www.buzzflash.com/alerts/04/11/ale04090.html> ; also available at *Scoop* (23 November 2004), <http://www.scoop.co.nz/mason/stories/HL0411/S00305.htm> .

Friedberg, Lilian. “An Open Letter to the *New York Times* (and by implication) the Rest of the US Media Who are Trying to Whitewash the 2004 Presidential Election Scandal.” *OpEdNews* (15 November 2004), http://www.opednews.com/friedberg_111504_media_whitewash.htm .

Gagliano, Richard A. “A Petition to Congress requesting an investigation into the Presidential Election of 2004.” <http://www.petitiononline.com/cgi-bin/mlk?http://www.dtmagazine.com> .

Galen, Rich. “Exit Polls Miss Election Goals.” *CNS News* (22 November 2004), <http://www.cnsnews.com/ViewCommentary.asp?Page=%5Ccommentary%5Carchive%200411%5CCOM20041122a.html> .

“Glitch causes Franklin Co. recount.” *Indianapolis Star* (11 November 2004), <http://www.indystar.com/articles/3/193880-4433-102.html> .

Goldstein, Ritt. “US Election: Democracy in Question.” *Inter Press Service* (18 November 2004), available at *Common Dreams News Center*, <http://www.commondreams.org/headlines04/1118-11.htm> .

Goodman, Amy. “The Ohio Factor: Did Homeland Security and the FBI Interfere With the Vote Count?” [Interview with Erica Solvig.] *Democracy Now!* (10 November 2004), <http://www.democracynow.org/article.pl?sid=04/11/10/1536254> .

— —. “Dave Cobb Discusses the Ohio Recount.” [Interview with Dave Cobb, Green Party presidential candidate.] *Democracy Now!* (19 November 2004), also available at *Scoop*, <http://www.scoop.co.nz/mason/stories/HL0411/S00262.htm> .

“GOP Wants to End Exit Polls: A Buzzflash News Analysis.” *Buzzflash* (10 November 2004), <http://www.buzzflash.com/analysis/04/11/ana04027.html> . Includes the text of Doug Halonen, “GOP Wants News Organizations to Abandon Exit Polls, *TVWeek*,” <http://www.tvweek.com/news.cms?news/d=6674%OD> .

“Green and Libertarian Presidential Candidates to Demand Ohio Recount.” Green Party News Release (11 November 2004), http://www.gp.org/press/pr_11_11_04.html .

Guina, Greg. “Suspicious stir belief that presidential election was hijacked.” *Vermont Guardian* (11 November 2004), <http://www.vermontguardian.com/national/0904/votingfraud.shtml> .

Gwin, Harold. “Democrats’ leader decries voting glitches.” *Youngstown Vindicator* (2 November 2004), <http://www.vindy.com/basic/news/288078640794824.php> .

Hargrove, Thomas. “Election commission: Voting problems widespread.” *Scripps Howard News Service* (23 November 2004), <http://www.knoxstudio.com/shns/story.cfm?pk=MISCOUNT-REACT-11-23-04&cat=PP> .

Harris, Bev. “The Tampering of Electronic Voting Systems on November 2nd.” *BlackBoxVoting* (7 November 2004), <http://www.blackboxvoting.org> ; *Centre for Research on Globalization* (8 November 2004), <http://www.globalresearch.ca/articles/HAR411A.html> .

— —. “Vote Fraud, Volusia County on Lockdown. County election records just got put on lockdown: Dueling lawyers, election officials gnashing teeth, Votergate.tv film crew catching it all.” *Scoop* (16 November 2004), <http://www.scoop.co.nz/mason/stories/HL0411/S00246.htm> .

— —. “Dems Pocket \$52 Million, CNN Ignores Evidence, and Officials Stonewall... What Vote Fraud?” *BreakForNews.com* (24 November 2004), <http://www.breakfornews.com/articles/WhatVoteFraud.htm> .

Harrison, Ann. “The Ghost Votes in the Machine: Voting Snafus Across the Nation.” *Counterpunch* (3 November 2004), <http://www.counterpunch.org/harrison11032004.html> .

Hartmann, Thom. “The Ultimate Felony Against Democracy.” *Common Dreams News Center* (4 November 2004), <http://www.commondreams.org/views04/1104-38.htm> .

— —. “Evidence Mounts that the Vote May Have Been Hacked.” *Common Dreams News Center* (6 November 2004), <http://www.commondreams.org/views04/1106-30.htm> .

— —. “Restoring Trust in the Vote.” *Common Dreams News Center* (15 November 2004), <http://www.commondreams.org/views04/1115-24.htm> .

— —. “‘Stinking Evidence’ of Possible Election Fraud Found in Florida.” *Scoop* (19 November 2004), <http://www.scoop.co.nz/mason/stories/HL0411/S00258.htm> .

Hasty, Michael. “When fascism comes....” *Online Journal* (20 November 2004), <http://www.onlinejournal.com/commentary/112004Hasty/112004hasty.html> .

Herrin, Chuck, CISSP, CISA, MCSE, CEH. “How to Hack the Vote: The Short Version.” *Chuckherrin.com: Computer Security Stuff* (10 November 2004, revised 22 November 2004), <http://www.chuckherrin.com/hackthevote.htm> .

Hout, Michael, Laura Mangels, Jennifer Carlson, Rachel Best; with the assistance of the UC Berkeley Quantitative Methods Research Team. “The Effect of Electronic Voting Machines on Change in Support for Bush in the 2004 Florida Elections.” Working Paper, *UC Data (Data*

Archive & Technical Assistance), UC Berkeley Survey Research Center (18 November 2004), <http://www.ucdata.berkeley.edu> .

'Hunter'. "Ohio Provisional Ballots, Recounts, and Fraud [UPDATED]." *dailyKOS* (5 November 2004), <http://www.dailykos.com/story/2004/11/4/224812/643> .

Hutchinson, Earl Ofari. "The Painful Truth." *Alternet* (15 November 2004), <http://www.alternet.org/columnists/story/20504> .

"ignatzmouse". "Unofficial Audit of NC Election: Comprehensive Case for Fraud." *Democratic Underground* (12 November 2004), http://www.democraticunderground.com/discuss/duboard.php?az=show_mesg&forum=203&topic_id=45003&mesg_id=45003 .

"Judge Denies Demand for Ohio Recount." *Associated Press* (24 November 2004), http://news.yahoo.com/news?tmpl=story&u=/ap/20041124/ap_on_re_us/ohio_vote_4 .

Jurkowitz, Mark. "Media Accused of Ignoring Election Irregularities." *The Boston Globe* (17 November 2004), available at *Common Dreams News Center*, <http://www.commondreams.org/headlines04/1117-01.htm> .

Keefer, Michael. "Footprints of Electoral Fraud: The November 2 Exit Poll Scam." *Centre for Research on Globalization* (5 November 2004), <http://www.globalresearch.ca/articles/KEE411A.html> ; *Autonomy & Solidarity* (5 November 2004), http://www.auto_sol.tao.ca . Other observers have provided graphic confirmation from CNN's screens of the alterations of exit poll percentages noted in this article. See "Why Did CNN Change Their Exit Poll Data for Ohio After 1:00 a.m.?" *Buzzflash* (3 November 2004), <http://www.buzzflash.com/analysis/04/11/ana04025.html> ; and "Proof CNN is tampering with the election to cover the fraud." *DemocraticUnderground* (3 November 2004), http://www.democraticunderground.com/discuss/duboard.php?az=show_mesg&forum=132&topic_id=1290765&mesg_id=1295180&page= .

"Kerry/Edwards Campaign Participates in Ohio Recount." U.S. Democratic Party Press Release, *Scoop* (22 November 2004), <http://www.scoop.co.nz/mason/stories/W00411/S00261.htm> .

Klein, Rick. "Internet buzz on vote fraud is dismissed." *The Boston Globe* (10 November 2004), http://www.boston.com/news/nation/articles/2004/11/10/internet_buzz_on_vote_fraud_is_dismissed?pg=2 .

Kleinberg, Eliot. "Broward machines count backward." *Palm Beach Post* (5 November 2004), http://www.palmbeachpost.com/politics/content/news/epaper/2004/11/05/a29a_BROWVOTE_1105.html .

Konrad, Rachel. "State settles electronic voting suit against Diebold for \$2.6M." *The Sacramento Bee* (12 November 2004), http://www.sacbee.com/state_wire/story/11380251p-12294653c.html .

—. "Conspiracy Theorists Still Question Bush's Victory." *Associated Press, The Miami Herald* (21 November 2004), available at <http://www.verifiedvoting.org/article.php?id=5327>

Kucinich, Dennis. "A Note on the Presidential Election in Ohio." *Common Dreams News Center* (10 November 2004), <http://www.commondreams.org/views04/1110-31.htm> .

Kuhn, David Paul. "Online Liberals: We Wuz Robbed." *CBS News* (10 November 2004), <http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2004/11/10/politics/main655005.shtml> .

Levy, Steven. "Black Box Voting Blues. Electronic ballot technology makes things easy. But some computer-security experts warn of the possibility of stolen elections." *Newsweek* (3 November 2004), <http://msnbc.com/id/3339650> .

Liddle, Elizabeth. "2004 Presidential Florida by County by Voting Machine Type Election Analysis." *Ustogether.org* (c. 12 November 2004), http://ustogether.org/election04/Little_Analysis.html .

Lindorff, Dave. "Double Standards on Exit Polls: Hypocrisy Sans Irony." *Counterpunch* (24 November, 2004), <http://www.counterpunch.org/lindorff11232004.html> .

Madsen, Wayne. "Grand Theft Election: Karl Rove's turd droppings all over this one." *Online Journal* (5 November 2004), <http://www.onlinejournal.com/evoting/110504Madsen/110504madsen.html> ; *Centre for Research on Globalization* (5 November 2004), <http://www.globalresearch.ca/articles/MAD411A.html> .

———. "Saudis, Enron money helped to pay for US rigged election." *Online Journal* (25 November 2004), http://www.onlinejournal.com/special_Reports/112504Madsen/112504madsen.html .

"Major bugs found in Diebold systems." *The Washington Times* (12 November 2004), <http://www.washingtontimes.com/upi-breaking/20041112-112037-7263r.htm> .

Manjoo, Farhad. "Was the election stolen? The system is clearly broken. But there is no evidence that Bush won because of voter fraud." *Salon.com* (10 November 2004), http://www.salon.com/tech/feature/2004/11/10/voting/index_np.html .

Marcus, Jacqueline. "Voting: Is It All for Nada?" *Common Dreams News Center* (15 November 2004), <http://www.commondreams.org/views04/1115-33.htm> .

Margasak, Larry. "GAO to Investigate Voting Irregularities." *Associated Press, Yahoo!News* (25 November 2004), http://story.news.yahoo.com/news?tmpl=story2&u=/ap/2004/1125/10_on_el_ge/voting_investigation .

Maxwell, John. "A Lobotomy for Democracy." *Jamaica Observer* (7 November 2004), available at *Autonomy & Solidarity* (8 November 2004), http://auto_sol.tao.ca/node/view/990?PHPSESSID=67dcd93a21b5e80b2ac3a259df156ee1 .

McCarthy, John. "Machine Error Gives Bush Thousands of Extra Ohio Votes." *Associated Press* (5 November 2004); also available at *Common Dreams News Center*, <http://www.commondreams.org/headlines04//1105-23.htm> .

— . “Ohio glitch favored Bush.” *Associated Press* (6 November 2004), available (thanks to B. Adams) at <http://www.electionsexamination.blogspot.com> .

Meacher, Michael. “Did Dubya rig the election?” *New Statesman* (29 November 2004), http://www.newstatesman.com/site.php3?newTemplate=NSArticle_NS&newDisplayURN=200411290018 .

Mebane, Walter R. “Letter Sent to the Editor of *Common Dreams* Regarding ‘Evidence Mounts That The Vote May Have Been Hacked,’ by Thom Hartmann.” 8 November 2004, <http://macht.arts.cornell.edu/wrm1/commondreams/commondreams.html> .

— . “Letter Sent to Kathy Dopp (organizer of *ustotogether.org*) Regarding the Responses to My Letter that were Posted at *ustotogether.org* (12 November 2004), <http://www.macht.arts.cornell.edu/wrm1/ustotogether/ustotogether.html> .

“Media Largely Ignored Berkeley Study on Florida Voting Irregularities.” *Media Matters for America* (22 November 2004), <http://mediamatters.org/items/200411220005> .

Mitteldorf, Josh. “Response to the VTP [CalTech/MIT Voting Technology Project] criticism of the study by Dopp/Little.” (c.13 November 2004), <http://ustotogether.org/election04/mitteldorf/MITCaltechctp-response.htm> .

Morano, Marc. “Left Wing Claims Exit Polls Were Accurate, Bush Stole Election.” *Crosswalk* (n.d.), <http://www.crosswalk.com/news/1296007.html> .

Morin, Richard. “Surveying the Damage: Exit Polls Can’t Always Predict Winners, So Don’t Expect Them To.” *The Washington Post* (20 November 2004), <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A64906-2004Nov20.html?sub=AR> .

Mulligan, Buck. “Florida numbers vs. 2000—something is wrong.” *dailyKOS* (3 November 2004), <http://www.dailykos.com/story/11/3/52213/1921> .

‘Mystery Pollster’ (Mark Blumenthal). “Exit Polls: The NEP [National Election Pool] Report.” *Mystery Pollster* (5 November 2004), http://www.mysterypollster.com/main/2004/u/exit_polls_the_.html .

“National Election Pool (ABC, AP, CBS, CNN, Fox News, NBC News), Conducted by Edison/Mitofsky.” <http://www.exit-poll.net> .

Newberry, Stirling. “The Voters Are Restless: Election Fraud Story circulates the internet.” *BOPNews* (n.d.), <http://www.bopnews.com/archives/002403.html#2403> .

— . “Not ‘Was It Stolen’, but ‘Was it Stealable’.” *BOPNews* (11 November 2004), <http://www.bopnews.com/archives/002412.html> .

‘noddicators’. “Miami County, Ohio. Fraud or incredible coincidences?” *Democratic Underground* (6 November 2004), http://www.democraticunderground.com/discuss/duboard.php?az=view_all&address=203x26390 .

Olberrmann, Keith. “Did Your Vote Count? The Plot Thickens.” With Richard Engel, Jim Miklaszewski. *Countdown*, *MSNBC* (8 November 2004). Complete transcript and video

stream available at *Centre for Research on Globalization* under the title “November 2nd: Voter Fraud and Homeland Security Terror Threat ‘Advisories’ in Ohio and Florida: Fraud on a massive scale is now corroborated by Network TV.”
<http://www.globalresearch.ca/articles/MNB411A.html> .

— . “Zogby Vs. Mitofsky.” *Bloggerman* (24 November 2004),
<http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/6210240> .

Otter, Faun. “Vote Fraud—Exit Polls Vs Actuals.” *Scoop* (4 November 2004),
<http://www.scoop.co.nz/mason/stories/HL0411/S00072.htm> .

Palast, Greg. “Kerry won... Here are the facts.” *TomPaine.com* (4 November 2004),
http://www.tompaine.com/articles/kerry_won_.php ; *CommonDreams.org* (4 November 2004),
<http://www.commondreams.org/views04/1104-36.htm> ; *Centre for Research on Globalization* (4 November 2004),
<http://www.globalresearch.ca/articles/PAL411B.html> ; *Online Journal* (5 November 2004),
<http://www.onlinejournal.com/evoting/110504Palast/110504palast.html> .

— . “Kerry Won Ohio: Just Count the Ballots at the Back of the Bus.” *In These Times* (12 November 2004),
<http://www.gregpalast.com/detail.cfm?artid=393&row=0> ; also published as “Most voters in Ohio chose Kerry; here’s how the votes vanished.” *OpEdNews* (15 November 2004),
http://www.opednews.com/palast_111504_ohio_chose_kerry.htm .

— . “Why Kerry Conceded Though He Had the Most Votes.” *Salon.com* (16 November 2004),
<http://www.gregpalast.com/detail.cfm?artid=395&row=0> .

“Palm Beach County Logs 88,000 More Votes Than Voters.” *The Washington Dispatch* (5 November 2004),
<http://www.washingtondispatch.com/spectrum/archives/000715.html> .

Parry, Robert. “Evidence of a Second Bush Coup?” *Consortium News* (6 November 2004),
<http://www.consortiumnews.com/2004/110604.html> .

— . “Explaining Ourselves.” *Consortium News* (10 November 2004),
<http://www.consortiumnews.com/2004/111004-htm> .

— . “Big Media, Some Nerve.” *Consortium News* (13 November 2004),
<http://www.consortiumnews.com/2004/111304.html> .

— . “Big Media’s Democracy Double Standards.” *Consortium News* (23 November 2004),
<http://www.consortiumnews.com/2004/112304.html> .

Parry, Sam. “Bush’s ‘Incredible’ Vote Tallies.” *Consortium News* (9 November 2004),
<http://www.consortiumnews.com/2004/110904.html> ; *Centre for Research on Globalization* (9 November 2004),
<http://www.globalresearch.ca/articles/PAR411B.html> .

— . “Washington Post’s Sloppy Analysis.” *Consortium News* (12 November 2004),
<http://www.consortiumnews.com/2004/111204.html> .

Partridge, Ernest. “Is This the Smoking Gun That Proves the Election was Stolen?” *The Crisis Papers blog* (9 November 2004),
<http://www.crisispapers.org/features/ep-blogs.htm> .

Paterson, James, Ph.D. *The Theft of the 2004 US Election*. 16 pp.

<http://www.freewebs.com/stolenelection/index.htm> .

Paulos, John Allen. "Errors in exit polls still a puzzle to many." *Philadelphia Inquirer* (24 November 2004), available at *November 2nd Truth* (25 November 2004), <http://nov2truth.org/article.php?story=20041125002114235> .

Penenberg, Adam L. "Calling the Election: A Primer." *Wired News* (2 November 2004), <http://www.wired.com/news/politics/0,1283,65557,00.html> .

Penn, Thomas. "Can we trust the vote count anywhere? In any race? In any election?" *Online Journal* (14 November 2002), <http://www.onlinejournal.com/evoting/111402Penn/111402penn.html> .

Peterson, Evan Augustine III, J.D. "E-Voting Machine 'Error' in Ohio Gives Bush Thousands of Extra Votes." *OpEdNews* (7 November 2004), http://www.opednews.com/peterson_110704_error.htm .

Philips, Richard Hayes, Ph.D. Precinct-by precinct analysis of electoral fraud in Cleveland. Quoted in its entirety in Bob Fertik, "Widespread Election Fraud in Cleveland?" *Democrats.com/unity* (22 November 2004), <http://blog.democrats.com/node/812> .

— . "Stealing Votes in Columbus." *The Free Press* (23 November 2004), <http://www.freepress.org/departments/display/19/2004/914> .

Pitt, William Rivers. "Worse Than 2000: Tuesday's Electoral Disaster." *Truthout* (8 November 2004), http://www.truthout.org/docs_04/110804A.shtml .

— . "Saving Your Right to Vote." *Truthout* (22 November 2004), http://www.truthout.org/docs_04/112304Z.html .

Plissner, Martin. "In Defense of Exit Polls: You just don't know how to use them." *Slate* (4 November 2004), <http://slate.msn.com/id/2109186> .

"Presidential Votes Miscast on E-Voting Machines Across the Country." *Kansas City infoZine* (2 November 2004), <http://www.infozine.com/news/stories/op/storiesView/sid/4154> .

Quirk, Kevin. "Something amiss in Ohio." *Online Journal* (5 November 2004), <http://www.onlinejournal.com/evoting/110504Quirk/110504quirk.html> .

Reid, Chip. "Internet theories on election abound: Even Democratic Party officials discount claims of unfair practices." *NBC News* (11 November 2004), <http://msnbc.msn.com/id/6463505> .

Rockwell, Teed. "93,136 EXTRA Votes Found in ONE Ohio County." *Rense.com* (19 November 2004), <http://www.rense.com/general59/one.htm> .

Roig-Franzia, Manuel, and Dan Keating. "Latest Conspiracy Theory—Kerry Won—Hits the Ether." *The Washington Post* (11 November 2004), <http://www.washingtonpost.com/ac2/wp-dyn/A41106-2004Nov10?language=printer> .

Rosenfeld, Steven. "The Perfect Election Day Crime." *TomPaine.com* (12 November 2004), http://www.tompaine.com/articles/the_perfect_election_day_crime.php .

Royle, Andy, et al. "Urban vs. rural voting patterns in Florida—comments by Andy Royle and others." 4 November 2004, http://synapse.princeton.edu/~sam/royle_florida.html .

Sekhon, Jasjeet S. "The 2004 Florida Optical Voting Machine Controversy: A Causal Analysis Using Matching." 14 November 2004, <http://elections.fas.harvard.edu/index.html> .

Shafer, Jack. "Updated Late Afternoon Numbers. Mucho flattering to Kerry; plus Nader makes an appearance." *Slate* (2 November 2004, 4:28 p.m. PT), <http://slate.msn.com/id/2109053/#Post1> .

——. "Exit Zone. The official excuses for the bad exit poll numbers don't cut it." *Slate* (5 November 2004), <http://www.slate.com/Default.aspx?id=2109310> .

Shane, Cory. "Should America Trust the Results of the Election?" *The Washington Dispatch* (2 November 2004), http://www.washingtondispatch.com/article_10500.shtml .

Shea, Colin. "I Smell a Rat." *Zogby International* (15 November 2004); also available at *Common Dreams News Center* (16 November 2004), <http://www.commondreams.org/views04/1115-20.htm> .

Shepard, Scott. "Electronic Votes Touch Off Doubts." *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* (6 December 2003); also available at *Common Dreams News Center*, <http://www.commondreams.org/headlines03/1206-01.htm> .

Simon, Jonathan. (Introduction by Alastair Thompson, *Scoop* Co-Editor.) "47 State Exit Poll Analysis Confirms Swing Anomaly." *Scoop* (11 November 2004), <http://www.opednews.com/votergate2004.htm> .

Sludge, D. W. "Sludge Report #164-Vote Fraud 2004-WTF!!!" *Scoop* (9 November 2004), <http://www.scoop.co.nz/mason/stories/HL0411/S00124.htm#13> .

Smith, Sam. "It's the Internet's Fault Again: Stupid journalist tricks." *Scoop* (15 November 2004), <http://scoop.co.nz/mason/stories/HL0411/S00168.htm> .

——. "Watching the Count: Blame It On the Blogs." *Scoop* (15 November 2004), <http://www.scoop.co.nz/mason/stories/HL0411/S00175.htm> .

——. "Watching the Count: Counter-Journalism Debate." *Scoop* (23 November 2004). <http://www.scoop.co.nz/mason/stories/HL0411/S00296.htm> .

Solarbus. *A Stolen Election? Documenting what could be the highest crime in the history of our country*. [List of Readings] *Solarbus.org*, <http://www.solarbus.org/stealyourelection/index.html> .

——. "713 pages of Diebold internal memos leaked." *Solarbus.org* (24 November 2004), <http://www.solarbus.org/stealyourelection/index.html> .

Solnit, David. "Massive Vote Suppression and Corruption in Ohio." *Centre for Research on Globalization* (3 November 2004), <http://www.globalresearch.ca/articles/SOL411A.html> .

Solomon, Ian H. "Did Lawyer-Observers on Election Day Miss Fraud Incidents?" *Hartford Courant* (14 November 2004),

<http://www.nashuatelegraph.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=/20041114/OPINION04/11114009/-1/opinion> .

Solvig, Erica, and Dan Horn. "Warren Co. defends lockdown decision; FBI denies warning officials of any special threat." *The Cincinnati Enquirer* (10 November 2004), http://www.enquirer.com/editions/2004/11/10/loc_warrenvote10.html .

Stapp, Katherine. "U.S. Election: Unease Over E-Voting." *Verifiedvoting.org* (16 November 2004), <http://www.verifiedvoting.org/article.php?id=5263> .

Strashny, Alex. "Working Paper: The lack of effect of electronic voting machines on change in support for Bush in the 2004 Florida elections." *Institute for Mathematical Behavioral Sciences*, University of California, Irvine, available at *Verifiedvoting.org* (21 November 2004), <http://verifiedvoting.org/article.php?id=5347> .

Swanson, David. "Media Black Out on Vote Fraud Allegations: Votes Aren't the Only Thing Missing in Ohio." *Counterpunch* (8 November 2004), <http://www.counterpunch.com/swanson11082004.html> .

Take Back the Media, and People to People TV. *Electile Disfunction: Take Back Your Right to Vote*. DVD (for release 13 December 2004), available from *Buzzflash*, <http://www.buzzflash.com/premiums/04/11/pre04073.html> .

'TennisGuy2004'. "Comparison of Exit Poll Data from 2000 and 2004 Election—Pass it On." *Democratic Underground* (18 November 2004), http://www.democraticunderground.com/discyuss/duboard.php?az=show_mesg&forum=203&topic_id=62147&mesg_id=62226&page= .

'The Squanderer.' "Did Bush Lose... Again?" 16 November 2004, <http://www.thesquanderer.com/votingmachines.html> .

Thompson, Alastair. "Complete US Exit Poll Data Confirms Net Suspicions: Full 51 State Early Exit Poll Data Released For The First Time." *Scoop* (17 November 2004), <http://www.scoop.co.nz/mason/stories/HL0411/S00227.ht.#ftnote> .

—, and Ed Shalom. "Scoop Images: 2004 Exit Poll 'Red Shift' As Seen In Vote Numbers." *Scoop* (19 November 2004), <http://www.scoop.co.nz/mason/stories/HL0411/S00264.htm> .

Thoreau, Jackson. "Never say Die-bold: So you don't think the Bush campaign stole this election? Think again." *Online Journal* (5 November 2004), <http://www.onlinejournal.com/evoting/110505Thoreau/110505thoreau.html> .

—, "How You Can Help Fight the Vote Fraud That Stole the 2004 Election." *OpEdNews* (13 November 2004), http://www.opednews.com/thoreau_111304_help_fight.htm .

'TruthIsAll.' "Spot the Difference—Exit Poll Variations Swing States Vs Non Swing States," "To Believe That Bush Won the Election, You Must Also Believe..." *Scoop* (9 November 2004), <http://www.scoop.co.nz/mason/stories/HL0411/S00124.htm#13> .

—, "There should be limits to freedom. A dictatorship would be better. Who cares what you think? Here are 100 Exit Poll Links: Be forewarned. Only a few know what they are talking about." *Democratic Underground* (19 November 2004),

http://www.democraticunderground.com/discuss/duboard.php?az=view_all&address=203x65001 .

— . “One Out of 4.5 Billion! Those are the odds that Kerry’s EXIT poll percentage would EXCEED his ACTUAL reported vote percentage BY MORE THAN THE MARGIN OF ERROR in 16 out of 51 States by chance alone.” *Democratic Underground* (26 November 2004), http://www.democraticunderground.com/discuss/duboard.php?az=view_all&address=203x79760 .

“2004 U.S. Election controversies and irregularities.” *Wikipedia* (12 November 2004), http://www.wikipedia.org/wiki/2004_U.S._Election_controversies_and_irregularities#Evidence_of_electronic_voting_bias .

Urie, Heath. “Activists protest electronic voting: Opponents of the technology gather at the Capitol and question exit-poll data.” *The Denver Post* (21 November 2004), <http://www.denverpost.com/Stories/0,1413,36~53~2549008,00.html> .

Vasquez, Betsy R. “Think Kerry Is Not Involved in This Fight? Think Again.” *The Moderate Independent* (10 November 2004), <http://www.moderateindependent.com/v2i21election.htm> .

Verified Voting Foundation. “Our Position on Fraud in the 2004 Presidential Election.” *Verifiedvoting.org* (15 November 2004), <http://www.verifiedvoting.org/article.php?id=5249> .

Verton, Dan. “Officials Defend System, Despite Early E-voting Problems.” *Computerworld* (1 November 2004), <http://www.keepmedia.com/pubs/Computerworld/2004/11/01/641499> .

—, and Patrick Thibodeau. “Electronic Voting Systems Pass Their Big Test-Maybe.” *Computerworld* (8 November 2004), <http://www.keepmedia.com/pubs/Computerworld/2004/11/08/644061> .

“Volusia County lawsuit alleges irregularities in Nov 2, 2004 election.” *BlackBoxVoting.org*, <http://www.blackboxvoting.org/#lawsuit> .

“Voting-Machine Woes in Carteret [North Carolina] Have Officials Looking for Answers.” *Associated Press* (23 November 2004), <http://www.verifiedvoting.org/article.php?id=5342> .

Wade, Anthony. “Keith Olbermann Plays Hardball, Breaks Votergate Story on National, Mainstream Media.” *OpEdNews* (8 November 2004), http://www.opednews.com/wade_110904_olbermann.htm .

— . “Diversionary New Tactics, Votergate 2004.” *OpEdNews* (9 November 2004), <http://www.opednews.com/bloganthonywade.htm> .

— . “Pimping for Bush, NY *Daily News* Sells Out Its Readers and the Country, Continuing the Votergate 2004 Cover-up.” *OpEdNews* (16 November 2004), http://www.opednews.com/wade_111604_pimping.htm .

Waldman, Alan. “Was It Hacked?” *Orlando Weekly* (18 November 2004), <http://www.orlandoweekly.com/news/Story.asp?ID=4688> .

Wand, Jonathan. “Evaluating the Impact of Voting Technology on the Tabulation of Voter

Preferences: The 2004 Presidential Election in Florida." Working Paper, Version 0.2, 15 November 2004, <http://wand.stanford.edu/elections/usFL2004> .

Webb, Cynthia L. "Bloggers Let Poll Cat Out of the Bag." *The Washington Post* (3 November 2004), <http://media.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A21932-2004Nov3.html> .

Weissman, Steve. "Who Counts in Ohio?" *Truthout* (11 November 2004), http://www.truthout.org/docs_04/111104A.shtml .

Welsh, Ian. "Thinking about Vote Fraud." *BOPNews* (9 November 2004), <http://www.bopnews.com/archives/002357.html#2357> .

Whitney, Mike. "Sour grapes or voter fraud?" *SmirkingChimp.com* (4 November 2004), <http://www.smirkingchimp.com/article.php?sid=18549> .

— —. "The Ohio mandate." *SmirkingChimp.com* (7 November 2004), <http://www.smirkingchimp.com/article.php?sid=18588> .

Williams, Mark. "Ohio Provisional Ballots Seem Legitimate." *Associated Press* (17 November 2004), available at *Truthout* (18 November 2004), http://www.truthout.org/docs_04/111804V.shtml .

Zeller, Tom, Jr. "Vote Fraud Theories, Spread by Blogs, Are Quickly Buried." *The New York Times* (12 November 2004), <http://www.nytimes.com/2004/11/12/politics/12theory.html?ei=5006&en=b09c80ele3bbf1d0&ex=1100840400%02%22ner=ALTAVISTA1&pagewanted=print&position=> .

Zerbisias, Antonia. "Webb Abuzz With Vote-Rigging Tales." *The Toronto Star* (14 November 2004), also available at *Common Dreams News Center* (16 November 2004), <http://www.commondreams.org/views04/1114-22.htm> .

Zweifel, Dave. "Integrity of Voting System Paramount." *Capital Times*, Madison, Wisconsin (17 November 2004), available at *Common Dreams New Center*, <http://www.commondreams.org/views04/1117-22htm> .

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

(a) Venezuela

Barone, Michael. "Exit Polls in Venezuela." *USNews.com* (20 August 2004), http://www.usnews.com/usnews/opinion/baroneweb/mb_040820.htm .

Carter, Jimmy. "President Jimmy Carter: Venezuela Election Trip Report, Aug 13-18, 2004." *The Carter Center*, <http://cartercenter.org/doc1801.htm> .

Del Valle Marcano, Vanessa Carolina. "Experts consulted by *The Wall Street Journal* ratify that patterns and ceilings are normal." *Vheadline.com* (21 August 2004), http://www.vheadline.com/printer_news.asp?id=22538 .

Hardy, Charles. "Charles Hardy: Penn, Schoen & Berland ... *US News & World Report*." *Vheadline* (1 September 2004), http://www.vheadline.com/printer_news.asp?id=22625 .

Gindin, Jonah. "Subverting Democracy." *Venezuelanalysis.com* (14 August 2004), also available at *Znet*,
http://www.zmag.org/content/print_article.cfm?itemID=6045§ionID=45 .

—. "Venezuela's Opposition Resorts to Phony Exit Polls." *Venezuelanalysis.com* (15 August 2004), <http://www.venezuelanalysis.com/articles.php?artno=1248> .

Giordano, Al. "Penn & Schoen's Inaccurate and Dishonest 'Exit Poll' on Chávez Vote: Maneuver by U.S. Political Consultants Violated Venezuelan Law and Professional Ethics Codes." *The Narco News Bulletin* (19 August 2004),
<http://www.narconews.com?Issue34/article1046.html> .

Golinger-Moncada, Eva. "New York Lawyer Eva Golinger: 15A Testimonial from Ground Zero Caracas." *Vheadline* (19 August 2004),
http://www.vheadline.com/printer_news.asp?id=22506 .

O'Donoghue, Patrick J. "Opposition Sumate claims electronic switch of final results to favor government." *Vheadline* (17 August 2004),
http://www.vheadline.com/printer_news.asp?id=22477 .

Podur, Justin. "The Calm Before the?" *Znet* (15 August 2004),
<http://www.zmag.org/content/showarticle.cfm?SectionID=45&ItemID=6048> .

Rosnick, David. "Polling and the Ballot: The Venezuelan Referendum." *Center for Economic and Policy Research* (19 August 2004),
http://www.cepr.net/publications/venezuelan_referendum.htm .

Satanovsky, Alex. "Opposition leaders and their endangered parrots of the commercial media, are deservingly the laughing stocks of authentic journalists worldwide." *Vheadline* (22 August 2004), http://www.vheadline.com/printer_news.asp?id=22552 .

Selsky, Andrew. "U.S. polling firm lands in middle of Venezuelan referendum dispute." *Venezuela Information Office* (19 August 2004),
<http://www.rethinkvenezuela.com/news/08-19-04ap.html> .

Smith, Ron. "UK's *Independent* Newspaper Falsifies Venezuelan Election Results!" *The Narcosphere* (15 August 2004),
<http://narcosphere.narconews.com/story/2004/8/15/205259/595#1> .

Stinard, Philip. "Governor Enrique Mendoza: Greenberg's man for the Venezuelan Presidency." *Vheadline* (4 July 2004), http://www.vheadline.com/printer_news.asp?id=21881
.

—. "*The Washington Post*: A Venezuelan Monitor." *Vheadline* (30 July 2004),
http://www.vheadline.com/printer_news.asp?id=22217 .

—. "PPT [Patria Para Todos] denounces opposition plan to sabotage referendum results via 'exit polls'." *Vheadline* (10 August 2004),
http://www.vheadline.com/printer_news.asp?id=22360 .

"Súmate." [Súmate is a Venezuelan opposition group funded by the U.S. National Endowment for Democracy to promote a campaign for a recall referendum on President

Chávez; this file includes Jeremy Bigwood's FOIA request to the CIA for information on the group.] <http://www.venezuelafoia.info/NED/SUMATE/SUMATE%20index.htm> .

"*The Providence Journal*: Reason to be skeptical about Venezuela's referendum." *Vheadline* (19 August 2004), <http://www.vheadline.com/readnews.asp?id=22511> .

"The Venezuela Recall: Answering all that is answerable." *Vheadline* (31 August 2004), http://www.vheadline.com/printer_news.asp?id=22620 .

(b) Ukraine

Aslund, Anders. "Ukraine's Future and U.S. Interests." Testimony before the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on International Relations, Subcommittee on Europe." *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace* (12 May 2004), <http://www.carnegieendowment.org/publications/index.cfm?fa=view&id=1533> .

—. "Ukraine At A Crossroads." *The Washington Post* (29 September 2004), available at the *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, <http://www.carnegieendowment.org/publications/index.cfm?fa=view&id=15893> .

—. "Ukraine's Voters do not need Moscow's advice." *The Financial Times* (11 November 2004), available at the *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, <http://www.carnegieendowment.org/publications/index.cfm?fa=view&id=16120> .

Chin, Larry. "Cold War Crisis in the Ukraine: Control of Oil: Key Grand Chessboard 'Pivot' at Stake." *Centre for Research in Globalization* (26 November 2004), <http://www.globalresearch.ca/articles/CHI411D.html> .

Chossudovsky, Michel. *War and Globalization: The Truth Behind September 11*. Shanty Bay, ON: Global Outlook, 2002. ISBN 0-973110902.

—. "IMF Sponsored 'Democracy' in The Ukraine." *Centre for Research in Globalization* (28 November 2004), <http://www.globalresearch.ca/articles/CHO411D.html> .

"Eurasia Foundation Grantees Pave the Way to Democratic Elections in Ukraine. A Eurasia Foundation Grantee Profile." *Eurasia Foundation*, <http://www.eurasia.org/success%20Stories/article-elect.html> .

Finn, Peter. "Partial Vote Results Show a Tight Race in Ukraine Runoff." *The Washington Post* (22 November 2004), <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A2478-2004Nov21.html> .

Foulner, Martin. "Ukraine is part of a wider US pattern." *The Glasgow Herald* (26 November 2004), available at the *Centre for Research in Globalization* (27 November 2004), <http://www.globalresearch.ca/articles/TR411A.html> .

Holley, David. "Ukraine: Russia-Backed Candidate Declared Winner." *Los Angeles Times* (24 November 2004), http://www.latimes.com/news/nationworld/world/la-112404ukraine_lat.0,2214793.story?coll=la-home-headlines .

"In quotes: World concern at Ukraine election." *BBC News* (23 November 2004), <http://www.news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4034013.stm> > .

Kubiniec, John. "Election Fraud in Ukraine Presidential Vote." *Freedom House* (22 November 2004), <http://www.freedomhouse.org/media/pressrel/112204.htm> .

Kuzio, Taras. "Post-Election Blues in the Yanukovych Camp." *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, Vol. 1, issue 124 (10 November 2004), available at *Talkaboutnetwork* (15 November 2004), <http://www.talkaboutculture.com/group/soc.culture.ukrainian/messages/119741.html>

Laughland, John. "How the US and Britain are intervening in Ukraine's elections." *The Spectator* (5 November 2004), available at the *Centre for Research on Globalization* (25 November 2004), <http://www.globalresearch.ca/articles/LAU411A.html> .

— . "The revolution televised: The western media's view of Ukraine's election is hopelessly biased." *The Guardian* (27 November 2004), <http://www.guardian.co.uk/comment/story/0,3604,1360811,00.html> .

"McCain Statement on Elections in Ukraine." *International Republican Institute* (23 November 2004), <http://www.iri.org/11-23-04-McCain.asp> .

"New EU-Ukraine oil pipeline completed." *EU Business* (20 August 2001), <http://www.eubusiness.com/imported/2001/08/55762> .

Oliker, Olga. "Ukraine and the Caspian: An Opportunity for the United States." Issue Paper 198, *RAND Center for Russia and Eurasia* (2000), <http://www.rand.org/publications/1P/1P198> .

"Opposition pulls out of election talks." *The Guardian* (30 November 2004), <http://www.guardian.co.uk/ukraine/story/0,15569,1362804,00.html> .

"Planned Coup d'État in the Ukraine." *Itar-Tass* (26 November 2004), available at the *Centre for Research in Globalization*, <http://www.globalresearch.ca/articles/TAS411A.html> .

Popeski, Ron. "Ukraine exit poll shows liberal winner." *Reuters* (21 November 2004), <http://www.reuters.co.uk/newsPackageArticle.jhtml?type=worldNews&storyID=625014§ion=news> .

"Press Release." [Exit Polls in the March 2002 Election to be conducted by the Kiev Institute of Sociology, SOCIS Company, and the Social Monitoring Center, coordinated by the Democratic Initiatives Foundation.] <http://www.def.org.ua/ep/en/pr> .

Traynor, Ian. "US campaign behind the turmoil in Kiev." *The Guardian* (26 November 2004), available at the *Centre for Research in Globalization* (28 November 2004), <http://www.globalresearch.ca/articles/TRA411A.html> .

"Ukraine." *Centre for Public Opinion and Democracy*, The University of British Columbia. <http://www.cpod.ub.ca/tracker/index.cfm?fuseaction=viewitem&itemID=2591> .

"Ukraine cities defy poll result." *BBC News* (22 November 2004), <http://www.news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4033475.stm> .

“Ukraine Crisis: A Western circus with Yushchenko, the clown.” *Pravda* (25 November 2004), http://english.opravda.ru/printed.html?news_id=14639 .

“Ukraine: 2nd Round of Presidential Election.” *British Helsinki Human Rights Group*, <http://www.bhhrg.org/CountryReport.asp?CountryID=22&ReportID=230> .

Vasovic, Aleksandar. “Ukraine’s Early Results, Exit Polls Differ.” *Associated Press* (21 November 2004), available at *Findlaw*, http://news.corporate.findlaw.com/ap_stories/i/1103/11-21-2004/20041121220016_16.html .

Woronowycz, Roman. “U.S. expresses strong support of Odessa-Brody oil pipeline.” *Ukraine Weekly* (8 June 2003), <http://www.ukrweekly.com/Archive/2003/230808.shtml> .

The original source of this article is Global Research
Copyright © [Prof Michael Keefer](#), Global Research, 2012

[Comment on Global Research Articles on our Facebook page](#)

[Become a Member of Global Research](#)

Articles by: [Prof Michael Keefer](#)

Disclaimer: The contents of this article are of sole responsibility of the author(s). The Centre for Research on Globalization will not be responsible for any inaccurate or incorrect statement in this article. The Centre of Research on Globalization grants permission to cross-post Global Research articles on community internet sites as long the source and copyright are acknowledged together with a hyperlink to the original Global Research article. For publication of Global Research articles in print or other forms including commercial internet sites, contact: publications@globalresearch.ca
www.globalresearch.ca contains copyrighted material the use of which has not always been specifically authorized by the copyright owner. We are making such material available to our readers under the provisions of "fair use" in an effort to advance a better understanding of political, economic and social issues. The material on this site is distributed without profit to those who have expressed a prior interest in receiving it for research and educational purposes. If you wish to use copyrighted material for purposes other than "fair use" you must request permission from the copyright owner.

For media inquiries: publications@globalresearch.ca