

CHRONOLOGY OF GOP INTIMIDATION OF MINORITY VOTERS

Over the past 20 years, there have been repeated efforts by the Republican Party and Republican candidates to harass and intimidate minority voters in an effort to reduce the numbers of African-American, Latino and other ethnic citizens voting.

2004: FLORIDA ELECTION OFFICIALS SOUGHT TO PURGE AFRICAN-AMERICANS FROM VOTER ROLLS.

“Florida election officials used a flawed method to come up with a listing of people believed to be convicted felons, a list that they are recommending be used to purge voter registration rolls, state officials acknowledged yesterday. As a result, voters identifying themselves as Hispanic are almost completely absent from that list. Of nearly 48,000 Florida residents on the felon list, only 61 are Hispanic. By contrast, more than 22,000 are African-American... Anita Earls, one of the lawyers for plaintiffs in the civil rights suit, said state officials had not given them the kind of access to data that might have uncovered the flaw.” [NYT, 7/10/04]

2004: MICHIGAN REPUBLICAN LAWMAKER SAYS GOP NEEDS TO “SUPPRESS” THE DETROIT VOTERS.

Michigan State Representative, John Pappageorge, told members of the Oakland County Republican party that the GOP would do poorly in this year’s elections if it failed to “suppress the Detroit vote.” Pappageorge’s comments were a thinly veiled mandate to suppress African American voter turnout in a city where 83% of the population is Black and overwhelmingly votes Democratic. [Detroit Free Press, 7/16/04; AP, 7/21/04; Washington Post, 8/26/04]

2004: Native Americans Were Told “To Go Home” In June Primary.

Poll workers demanded identification from Native Americans in South Dakota’s June primary, and they illegally turned away Native American voters from the polls when they did not have it. The state’s elections auditor sent out a memo to state poll workers stating that all voters must have IDs, but did not widely disseminate information that said that voters could sign an affidavit in lieu of showing identification. State Democrats say that the actions by poll workers were an extension of a wider move by the GOP controlled state legislature to suppress Native American turnout. The law requiring voters to show identification was passed last year. One South Dakotan voter turned away from the poll was told by an elections worker that “if she didn’t have a photo ID, she could just turn around and home.” [Argus Leader, 6/11/04]

2004: REPUBLICANS WILL PLACE VOTE CHALLENGERS IN AFRICAN AMERICAN PRECINCTS.

Kentucky’s Jefferson County Republican Party announced that it will place Republican vote challengers in predominantly African American precincts during the November 2004 elections, reiterating their 2003 attempt to suppress voter turnout. In 2003, county Republicans placed challengers at 18 polling places in predominantly black districts. However, even Republicans have taken offense this year, and a dozen Republicans including two African Americans joined together to protest their party’s actions. [AP, 7/30/04; Courier-Journal, 8/3/04]

2004: ARMED, PLAIN CLOTHES POLICE OFFICERS INTIMIDATED ELDERLY BLACK VOTERS IN ORLANDO.

Plain clothes police officers, revealing their side arms, made house calls to elderly, black voters who voted in Orlando's mayoral race in March 2003. The voters were in large part campaign workers or volunteers that helped to organize and get out the vote, mainly using absentee ballots, for African-American Mayor Buddy Dyer. Dyer won with just under 51% of the vote. His challenger, Ken Mulvaney and other defeated candidate alleged that Dyer aide, Ezzie Thomas, the 73-year old head of the Orlando League of Voters, filled out multiple absentee ballots on behalf of black voters. These actions came in spite of the fact that in May 2003 the Florida Dept of Law Enforcement had concluded "that there was no basis to support the allegations of election fraud." [Bob Herbert Column, New York Times, 8/16/04, 8/20/04; AP, 7/17/04]

2004: SECRETARY OF STATE STRUCK OVER 2,000 ELIGIBLE VOTERS FROM VOTING ROLLS, 62% WERE DEMOCRATES, MORE THAN HALF WERE BLACK.

An analysis by the Miami Herald found that the Florida Division of Elections had improperly included 2,119 voters who were on a list of more than 47,000 felons potentially ineligible to vote in the November 2004 elections. Florida law requires convicted felons to request clemency in order to regain their right to vote. Of the 2,119 people on the list, 62% were registered Democrats, almost half were Black and less than 20% were Republican. Only sixty-one Hispanics were included on the list of over 47,000 felons though they comprise 11% of the prison population, a politically significant fact for the November elections since Hispanics in Florida vote overwhelmingly Republican while Blacks vote Democrat. [Miami Herald, 7/2/04; Sarasota Herald-Tribune, 7/7/04, 7/8/04; New York Times, 7/10/04]

2004: GOP LEADERS ARE PUSHING VOTER INITIATIVE FORCING STATE AND LOCAL OFFICIALS TO TARGET LATINO IMMIGRANTS.

Honorary Chair of the Colorado Bush re-election team, Tom Tancredo, and several prominent Arizona Republicans are promoting a ballot initiative, called the "Protect Arizona Now." The initiative would require that would-be voters present a birth certificate, naturalization documents, US passport, tribal ID, or a driver's license that includes citizenship status information in order to register to vote in Arizona. Proposition 200 would institute criminal penalties for public employees that failed to comply with the reporting requirements. The "Senior Advisors" to the initiative campaign are GOP legislators Randy Graf, the House Republican Whip, and Russell Pearce, the House Appropriations Committee Chairman. [Protect Arizona Now initiative, AZ Secretary of State, filed 7/7/03; Protect Arizona Now, www.protectarizonanow.com, filed 7/7/03; Bush-Cheney '04, News Release, 2/28/04; FAIR, Press Release, 6/3/04]

2004: REPUBLICAN SENATOR INTRODUCES LEGISLATION THAT COULD INTIMIDATE IMMIGRANTS AND SURPRESS VOTING.

Senator Pete Domenici has proposed an amendment to the federal Help America Vote Act of 2002. The introduced federal legislation would require more first-time voters to show identification before voting, if registered through a third party. These grass-root voter registration groups have helped register more than 1 million New Mexicans in the past year. According to the Albuquerque Journal, Domenici's amendment to the HAVA would "take effect immediately and retroactively cover all people who registered since that provision of HAVA took effect at the Jan. 1, of 2003". Critics accuse the Republicans in the voter identification fight of trying to keep people from voting by hassling and intimidating new voters unfamiliar with their civil rights. An attorney for the Democratic Party in New Mexico, John Boyd, stated, "The problem developing here is a problem of obstructing people from voting by imposing ID requirements on them that many people won't be able to comply with." [Albuquerque Journal, 9/22/04]

2004: REPUBLICAN SECRETARY OF STATE STIRS VOTER FEARS WITH

WARNINGS OF TERRORIST THREATS.

Many of Minnesota's local election officials were outraged over what they saw as an attempt by Republican Secretary of State Mary Kiffmeyer, to discourage voting with excessively dire warnings and stereotyping descriptions that could single out voters from specific religious, racial or ethnic groups for harassment. Kiffmeyer gave local election officials fliers warning voters to watch for unattended packages, vehicles 'riding low on springs' and 'homicide bombers.' The fliers suggested that bombers may have a 'shaved head or short hair,' 'smell of unusual herbal/flower water or perfume,' wear baggy clothes or appear to be whispering to themselves, the flier warned. Kiffmeyer said the language of the bulletin was taken from Minnesota's homeland security agency, which developed it with federal guidance. [NY Times, 10/06/04; Emphasis Added]

2004: RNC Funded Company That Trashed Voter Registration Forms of Democrats

According to the Las Vegas CBS affiliate: "Voter's Outreach of America" aka "America Votes" is responsible for ripping up democratic voter registrations in Nevada. According to the investigative report, hundreds and perhaps thousands of individuals who think they are registered to vote actually are not. The organization has reportedly left Nevada and gone to Oregon. Full transcript of story attached... Well, the company [Voter's Outreach for America, aka America Votes] has been largely, if not entirely funded by the Republican National Committee. We should also point out that similar complaints have been received in Reno, where the registrar there has asked the FBI to investigate. It's a complicated story and we'll have a lot more tonight and I think in the days ahead." [KLAS Las Vegas Channel 8, 4pm news, Oct. 12, 2004]

2003: MEN WITH CLIPBOARDS POSING AS LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS SYSTEMATICALLY TARGETED BLACK VOTERS IN PHILADELPHIA

In Philadelphia, Tom Lindenfeld, who ran a counter intimidation campaign for Democratic candidate John Street, found that voters in predominantly African American communities were systematically challenged by men carrying clipboards. These individuals drove a fleet of 300 sedans with magnetic signs designed to look like law enforcement insignia. ["GOP Deploys," *The American Prospect*, 2/04]

2003: TEXAS COUNTY TRIES TO BAR BLACK COLLEGE STUDENTS FROM VOTING LOCALLY.

Waller County's District Attorney, in a November 2003 letter to the county's elections administrator that contradicts Texas state law, alleged that college students did not have a right to vote from their campuses addresses. Waller County is home to Prairie View A&M University, a predominantly black campus whose 7,000 students represent a politically significant voting-block. Waller County has repeatedly tried to suppress the student vote. Ten years ago black students were accused of voting fraud and twenty-six years ago a federal court ordered Waller County to allow college students to vote. [Houston Chronicle, 12/10/03; 1/19/04]

2003: GOP Placed Vote Challengers Only In Black Precincts

Jefferson County Republicans placed challengers in 59 voting precincts in predominately Black neighborhoods. The challengers have the authority to question anyone they believe is not registered, not who they claim to be, or not a resident in the precinct, although most of the challengers themselves live in communities outside of the targeted precincts. Challenged voters must sign an affidavit swearing they are valid voters, and anyone refusing will not be permitted to vote unless an election officer intervenes on their behalf. The Kentucky Republican Party also announced that it had assembled a "ballot security task force" comprised of more than 100 attorneys on hand to respond to their precinct worker's allegations of voter fraud. The county GOP chairman denied that the racial makeup of the precincts was a factor in their

selection and claimed that the precincts were either chosen randomly or because the GOP had trouble locating registered voters to serve as election workers. [[Courier-Journal](#), 10/23/03; 10/26/03; [AP](#), 10/23/03]

2002: ARKANSAS POLL WATCHERS ENGAGE IN AFRICAN AMERICAN VOTER INTIMIDATION

Cadre of Republicans in Democratic Pine Bluff Allegedly Harassed Black Voters Exclusively. On October 23, 2002, five Republican poll watchers, including two staff members of Senator Tim Hutchison's office, were present at the courthouse in Pine Bluff, Arkansas—a heavily Democratic area—for the first day of early voting. They allegedly focused exclusively on African Americans, asking them for identification and taking photographs. They claimed to be “targeting anybody who does not have an ID to prove who they say they are.” Trey Ashcraft, chairperson of the Jefferson County Democratic Party and the Jefferson County Election Commission, said the tactics caused some frustrated black voters to not vote. They are trying to intimidate African-American voters into not voting.” Guy Cecil, a Democrat coordinating national efforts with Arkansas' campaigns, said, “They were literally going up to them and saying, ‘Before you vote, I want to see your identification.’” Cecil said that under Arkansas law poll watchers could not confront voters. Local law enforcement officials escorted the poll watchers out, but they later returned. [[New York Times](#), 10/23/02; [Arkansas Democrat-Gazette](#), 10/22/02; [Associated Press](#), 10/22/02]

2002: RNC CREATES LAWYERS' GROUP TO PROMOTE “BALLOT SECURITY & INTEGRITY”

The newly-created Republican National Lawyer Association (RNLA) convened in San Antonio, Texas in August, 2002, to “teach Republicans from all over the U.S. about preserving and protecting the integrity of elections.” They touted the event as a “landmark political forum” focusing on pre-election, election day, and post-election topics. On their Web site, they tout that “almost 200 lawyers from over 20 states attended.” Their efforts, “at the request of” the RNC and “various” state parties, involve “conducting and organizing ballot integrity training across the country”. The group is “sending its members out to targeted districts and areas where voter fraud is a concern or has historically been a problem to make sure that ALL registered and qualified voters have an opportunity to cast a ballot and that individuals not registered or qualified should not be permitted to vote.” The group's president, Craig Burkhardt, urges that the Republican lawyers engage in “targeted, effective advocacy.” The RNLA web site lists several hundred attorneys affiliated with the Republican Party, including 84 from across the country who specialize in election law. [“Landmark Election Law Seminar Draws GOP Leaders,” PR Newswire, 9/10/02; Republican National Lawyer Association Web site, [www.rnla.org](#)]

2002: GOP TRIED TO MAKE VOTER FRAUD AN ISSUE IN ALL 50 STATES

As their so-called “Ballot Integrity Programs” have come under significant scrutiny, Republicans know that they have to create a problem in order to justify their use. This year, they've alleged voter fraud in every single state in the United States. The AP reported, “The Republican National Committee has been raising the question of possible fraud in every state.” As officials began to look at the RNC's claims of voter fraud, they're beginning to discover that the allegations have much more to do with providing political cover than they do in making factual allegations. “(The Connecticut Secretary of State) said the data provided by the Republican National Committee (alleging election fraud) was “highly flawed” since more than half of the people named never even voted in Connecticut in 2000. “It appears that the RNC has made allegations that were completely unfounded,” she said. “And I hope this was not an attempt to distract voting officials or discourage voters from participating on Election Day.” [[Associated Press](#), 10/16/02; [New Haven Register](#), 10/22/02]

2002: NEW JERSEY REPUBLICANS DRAFT PLAN TO INTIMIDATE HISPANICS WITH CADRE OF "LATINO LAWYERS"

At an October 28, 2002 hearing in Newark, New Jersey federal court, state Democrats alleged that the state GOP's Election Day plan to intimidate Latino voters violated a twenty year-old consent decree. In that decree, Republicans pledged they would not intimidate minority voters after a controversy involving a 1981 "ballot security task force". Democrats provided evidence of an email soliciting "Latino Lawyers & Others," described as an "aggressive campaign" to "ensure ballot fairness." The email was allegedly sent by a staff member of Republican Senate candidate Doug Forrester. Zulima Farber, arguing for the state Democratic Party, said the email suggested a plan to suppress the New Jersey Latino vote. The GOP has countered that the Democrats' attacks are "completely without merit" but acknowledged they plan to post about 70 attorneys in heavily Democratic districts to "make sure nonregistered voters are not allowed to cast ballots." Forrester's election lawyer, Bill Baroni, also notes that the email was not initially addressed to Latino lawyers. Another hearing has been scheduled. [[New Jersey Star-Ledger](#), 10/29/02]

2002: WHITE HOUSE, GOP "ENGINEERED AND FUELED" LOUISIANA RUNOFF CAMPAIGN.

The [New York Times](#) reported, "[Louisiana GOP candidate Suzie Haik] Terrell, whose campaign was engineered and fueled by the White House, had the momentum going into today's runoff election. ... the Republicans did their best to suppress the black vote so crucial to Ms. Landrieu's fortunes." [[New York Times](#), 12/8/02]

2002: MISINFORMATION FLIERS POSTED IN PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECTS FALSIFIED ELECTION DAY.

The [Times-Picayune](#) reported, "One of the most blatant attempts to keep African-Americans from voting was an unsigned pamphlet that the Landrieu campaign said was circulated in New Orleans public housing complexes just before the runoff. The document said: 'Vote!!! Bad Weather? No problem!!! If the weather is uncomfortable on election day (Saturday December 7th) Remember you can wait and cast your ballot on Tuesday December 10th.'" Anyone who waited past Saturday, however, missed the chance to vote." [[Times-Picayune \(New Orleans\)](#), 12/12/02]

2002: LOUISIANA GOP PAID FOR SIGNS TO DISCOURAGE AFRICAN AMERICANS FROM VOTING.

The Louisiana Republican Party admitted to paying for signs aimed at discouraging African-Americans from voting. The signs said: "Mary, if you don't respect us, don't expect us." According to the [New York Times](#), "The Republicans paid black youths \$75 today to hold the signs aloft on street corners in black neighborhoods." [[Times-Picayune \(New Orleans\)](#), 12/12/02; [New York Times](#), 12/8/02]

2002: GOP Contributor Floods Louisiana Airways with Misleading Election Ads

Republicans in Louisiana attempted to confuse black voters in Louisiana one week before the November election by airing a radio ad featuring the voice of a black woman begging Black voters to oppose Democratic candidates because of Democratic Sen. Mary Landrieu. "This week she's in Louisiana hoping to rev up the black vote for the Democrats," the ad says according to a transcript provided by Democrats. "Well, on behalf of thousands of poor black mothers here in Washington, D.C., we pray that you tell her and other Democrats 'No, not until the Democrats show the children of D.C. some respect and let them go to the same schools their children do.'" This ad, along with a similar newspaper spots and 20,000 prerecorded phone calls, carried disclaimers from a group calling itself "D.C. Parents for Choice;"

however, in reality the money for ad was supplied by Indianapolis insurance executive Pat Rooney, a major GOP financial contributor with no ties to DC. The ad's claim that Landrieu was "in Louisiana hoping to rev up the Black vote" was also inaccurate, as Landrieu was in Washington during the time in question. [Shreveport Times, 11/14/03]

2002: REPUBLICAN POLL WATCHERS EJECTED FOR VOTER INTIMIDATION.

The Brownsville Herald reports, "Two poll watchers representing Republican U.S. Senate candidate John Cornyn have been removed from their polling places amid further accusations of voter intimidation in Hidalgo County. The decision to eject the two GOP workers, one watching early voting in McAllen and the other in Edinburg, was initially made by early voting supervisors Thursday and confirmed Friday by Teresa Navarro, Hidalgo County's elections administrator. ... In an alleged incident at the Palmer Pavilion in McAllen, a voter reported [ejected GOP poll watcher Joseph] Hopkins to an early voting supervisor for making a 'racist remark.' The voter, who knew Hopkins, asked what he was doing there. Hopkins is said to have jokingly replied, 'I'm just a poll watcher but I do not see many Poles. I just see a lot of Mexicans.' In the other alleged incident, at an early voting station within the Elections Department office in Edinburg, poll watcher [Laura] Mason was reported for 'repeatedly talking to and harassing' voters. An elderly Hispanic voter was said to have been reduced to tears after being 'confronted' by Mason." [Brownsville Herald, 11/3/02]

2002: ATTACK ADS FUNDED BY NATIONAL REPUBLICAN PARTY DETER VOTERS

The *Associated Press* reports, "In the 2nd District, where freshman Republican Rep. Rob Simmons faces Democrat Joseph Courtney, a UConn poll released Sunday found Simmons' lead among likely voters had dwindled from 22 percentage points in mid-September to 5 points. Dautrich said some of the momentum in Courtney's campaign likely came from public discussions of negative campaigning. Courtney has complained about mailings from the national Republican Party that say seniors cannot trust him, as well as anonymous recorded phone calls that accuse the Democrat of being soft on crime. 'We've reached a new low in the 2nd District with underhanded campaign tactics,' Courtney said. '(Republicans) are desperate to cling to power and hold on to this seat.'" [Associated Press, 11/3/02]

2002: REPUBLICAN PARTY OF NEW MEXICO SENT FALSE MAILER TO VOTERS.

The Republican Party of New Mexico sent mailers targeting Democratic congressional candidate John Arthur Smith and promoting Smith's opponent, Republican Steve Pearce with false information. The mailer said "Notice to Voters. Do not vote using the Straight Party Button on your polling machine. This button cancels out any individual votes you cast. In the past election, this button deprived many candidates of the votes they earned from people like you." Denise Lamb of the Bureau of Elections said "its despicable that people would try to misinform voters to win an election." [Las Cruces Sun News, 11/30/02]

2002: GOP CONGRESSMEN ISSUED POLL WATCHER PACKET WITH WRONG INFORMATION.

According to a Lebanon Daily News editorial, "[Rep. George] Gekas, a Harrisburg Republican, has distributed among county officials and volunteers an 18-page manual that includes a section about 'challenging a voter.' That's right: Gekas volunteers aren't just going to challenge absentee ballots, but are going to try to block some people who show up at the polls from casting votes. Even more worrisome is the legal advice that 'challenging a voter' offers to GOP volunteers. The Gekas pamphlet contains some legal errors that may encourage Republican volunteers to lodge false and misleading protests against voters' rights. ... The Gekas poll-watching strategy constitutes an embarrassment for the GOP. Republicans seem determined to frighten voters rather than compete in the arena of ideas. Gekas and his

allies should disavow their planned attempt to discourage people from exercising the federal franchise. They would do better to welcome voters to the polls.” [Editorial, Lebanon Daily News, 11/5/02]

2002: MAILER CIRCULATED TOWARD AFRICAN AMERICANS SPREAD FALSE VOTING INFORMATION

In Baltimore, MD an unsigned flier circulated in African-American neighborhoods spread false information aimed at suppressing voter turnout. The flier read: “URGENT NOTICE. Come out to vote on November 6th. Before you come to vote make sure you pay your parking tickets, motor vehicle tickets, overdue rent and most important any warrants.” [Baltimore Sun, 11/4/02]

2002: Mysterious Early Morning Phone Calls Claim to be from “Democrats”

The Montgomery Advertiser reports, “Democratic 3rd District congressional candidate Joe Turnham of Auburn blamed Republican opponent Mike Rogers of Anniston for early morning automated phone calls that are waking and angering potential voters. He said the automated caller says the call is made on behalf of the Turnham campaign, but the campaign has not paid for any such calls... ‘It is obvious the other campaign is doing it. It is obviously a dirty trick,’ said [State Democratic Party Chairman Redding] Pitt, who appeared with Turnham at a news conference. He said he would ask the Public Service Commission to trace what he called ‘clearly harassing phone calls.’ David Blackburn of the Williams community near Anniston said he had received several anti-Turnham phone calls at odd hours, but the automated tape did not identify its sponsor. Blackburn, who works nights at the Anniston Army Depot, said one call awakened him and his wife at about 7 a.m., and his wife got another between 2:30 a.m. and 3 a.m... He said he called the local Republican headquarters and was told the Rogers campaign probably had commissioned the calls... Turnham said if elected to Congress he would sponsor legislation to require that such calls include identification.” [Montgomery Advertiser, 10/31/02]

2002: GOP Used False Automated Calls To Depress Turnout

The Manchester Journal Inquirer reports, “Outraged by automated telephone calls that condemn him as ‘soft on crime,’ Democratic congressional candidate Joseph D. Courtney is pointing a finger at his opponent, U.S. Rep. Robert R. Simmons, R-2nd District... The calls were ‘blocked,’ so that even recipients with caller-identification devices on their telephones couldn’t tell where they came from. In the recorded calls, a woman who calls herself ‘Laura’ claims Courtney ‘voted to continue allowing the early release of criminals from prison’ and ‘voted against a three-year minimum sentence for drug dealers caught selling drugs in or near a daycare facility.’ Courtney campaign spokesman Matthew Farrauto decried the recordings as ‘subversive’ and ‘sneaky,’ claiming Simmons and his backers were behind them... He also called the claims ‘ridiculous’ given Courtney’s reputation with local police departments and his family background. He said Courtney’s parents were FBI employees... ‘There’s a pattern here of deception,’ Farrauto said. ‘They’ve been throwing out allegations left and right, and we’ve refuted a number of them.’ Last week, Courtney and the AARP criticized Simmons for an NRCC flier that they said misconstrued Courtney’s position on issues affecting senior citizens. In September, Courtney condemned radio and television ads backing Simmons run by the Sixty Plus Association and United Seniors Association, both of which receive funds from the pharmaceutical industry.” [Manchester Journal Inquirer, 10/28/02]

2002: Attack Ads Faced By National Republican Party Deter Voters in Connecticut

The Associated Press reports, “In the 2nd District, where freshman Republican Rep. Rob Simmons faces Democrat Joseph Courtney, a UConn poll released Sunday found Simmons’ lead among likely voters had dwindled from 22 percentage points in mid-September to 5 points. Dautrich said some of the momentum

in Courtney's campaign likely came from public discussions of negative campaigning. Courtney has complained about mailings from the national Republican Party that say seniors cannot trust him, as well as anonymous recorded phone calls that accuse the Democrat of being soft on crime. 'We've reached a new low in the 2nd District with underhanded campaign tactics,' Courtney said. '(Republicans) are desperate to cling to power and hold on to this seat.'" [[Associated Press](#), 11/3/02]

2002: Harassing GOP Calls in Indiana Discouraged Voting

The [Kokomo Tribune](#) reports, "Paul Epperson just wants the calls to stop. For the past week or longer, an unidentified group has been leaving recorded messages on his cell phone's voice mail... At first, he decided he was mad at Thompson for leaving the messages. 'Without even listening to the messages, I was like, you're bothering me with these calls,' Epperson said. But his perception of the calls was altered after he actually listened to one all the way through. As it turns out, the calls weren't coming from someone trying to get Epperson to vote for Thompson, but against her. 'It's funny to realize it's the opposition painting that picture [instead of Thompson],' he said. 'I'd be curious to know how many people were turned off by the message right away, without listening to it. It was just so annoying to me, I was at the point of not voting.'..."[[Kokomo Tribune](#), 10/29/02]

2002: GOP Calls In Iowa Are Designed To Lower Turnout

The [Associated Press](#) reports, "Iowa Democrats accused Republicans on Thursday of running a covert voter-suppression effort aimed at driving down turnout in next week's election. Iowa Democratic Chairwoman Sheila McGuire Riggs held a news conference to play tape recordings of attack telephone calls made to Democratic households, attacks she said are designed to dissuade party faithful from voting. 'They are targeted into Democratic homes, hoping to keep Democrats home,' said Riggs. 'Republicans should stop trying to suppress voter turnout.' The messages were left on the answering machines of Democratic activists in the 2nd and 4th Districts, where campaigns are competitive... Riggs said the telephone campaign being conducted by Republicans was clearly targeting Democratic activists, because only Democratic homes are being contacted. She contrasted the effort with a drive by her party to encourage voter turnout. 'We are simply making the process more convenient and our Republicans counterparts are deliberately trying to interfere with the process,' said Riggs." [[Associated Press](#), 10/31/02]

2002: Republicans Mised Voters About When to File Absentee BallotsOP

The [Associated Press](#) reports, "The chairman of the state Democratic Party asked U.S. Attorney General John Ashcroft on Saturday to launch an investigation into possible dirty tricks... Bob Poe said he received 'a disturbing phone call' on Friday afternoon from someone urging him to cast his absentee ballot on Nov. 10 - five days after Election Day. The caller said he was from Bill McBride's gubernatorial campaign. 'When I questioned the caller about the . . . election date, he was adamant that I wasn't to cast my absentee ballot until November 10th,' Poe wrote. Poe said he asked the caller the name of his company, and the man replied "'California' and then something I couldn't understand.' When Poe asked again, the caller said he was calling from 'CSS.' Poe, who plans to vote absentee, said he asked to speak with the caller's supervisor and was disconnected. He said background noise led him to believe the call was made from a call center. McBride campaign officials said they were alarmed by the report, noting that they were not conducting live phone calls from call centers... 'This is apparently something that is very, very troubling, a coordinated effort to get Democratic absentee ballot holders to cast their ballots in such a way that it would be null and void,' Poe said." [[Associated Press](#), 10/26/02]

2002: GOP Drafted Plan to Intimidate Hispanics with Cadre of "Latino Lawyers"

At an October 28, 2002 hearing in Newark, New Jersey federal court, state Democrats alleged that the state GOP's Election Day plan to intimidate Latino voters violated a twenty year-old consent decree. In that decree, Republicans pledged they would not intimidate minority voters after a controversy involving a 1981 "ballot security task force". Democrats provided evidence of an email soliciting "Latino Lawyers & Others," described as an "aggressive campaign" to "ensure ballot fairness." The email was allegedly sent by a staff member of Republican Senate candidate Doug Forrester. Zulima Farber, arguing for the state Democratic Party, said the email suggested a plan to suppress the New Jersey Latino vote. The GOP has countered that the Democrats' attacks are "completely without merit" but acknowledged they plan to post about 70 attorneys in heavily Democratic districts to "make sure nonregistered voters are not allowed to cast ballots." Forrester's election lawyer, Bill Baroni, also notes that the email was not initially addressed to Latino lawyers. Another hearing has been scheduled. [[New Jersey Star-Ledger](#), 10/29/02]

2002: Misleading GOP Phone Calls In New Jersey Aimed to Depress Voter Turnout

"Phones have been ringing all week at some homes in the 5th Congressional District with a barrage of anonymous recordings attacking Democratic House candidate Anne Summers. But Summers says that because the first few seconds of the message sound like a plug for her, many homeowners hang up before realizing the calls are actually being made to benefit her Republican opponent, state Assemblyman Scott Garrett of Sussex County. The annoyed residents have been mistakenly taking out their frustrations on Summers, the Democrat says. ... Haworth resident Sherwood Rudin said he has been getting the calls two to four times a day for the past week. Because much of the message was muffled, he said he assumed from the introduction that it was a call from the Summers campaign." [[Bergen Record](#), 11/2/02]

2002: Republican Party of New Mexico Sent False Mailer to Voters

The Republican Party of New Mexico sent mailers that incorrectly discouraged citizens from voting a straight party ticket in order to benefit GOP candidates. The mailer said, "Notice to Voters. Do not vote using the Straight Party Button on your polling machine. This button cancels out any individual votes you cast. In the past election, this button deprived many candidates of the votes they earned from people like you." In New Mexico voters are able to "cast a straight party ticket and then vote for individual candidates of the other party," the [Las Cruces Sun News](#) reported. Denise Lamb of the Bureau of Elections said, "its despicable that people would try to misinform voters to win an election." [[Las Cruces Sun News](#), 11/30/02]

2002: Election Officials Blasted "Despicable" Republican Efforts to Confuse Voters

"The state Bureau of Elections has criticized claims by the Republican Party of New Mexico that pushing the straight party button will cancel out individual votes for another party. The claim appears as a notice on several Republican mailers targeting Democratic congressional candidate John Arthur Smith and promoting Smith's opponent, Republican Steve Pearce. It says: 'Notice to Voters. Do not vote using the Straight Party Button on your polling machine. This button cancels out any individual votes you cast. In the past election, this button deprived many candidates of the votes they earned from people like you.' Denise Lamb of the Bureau of Elections said the notice seems to be intended to mislead voters into thinking that a vote for a candidate of one party will be eliminated if they vote a straight ticket for the other party. ... While it is not a violation of any state election law, Lamb also called the apparent tactic to mislead voters 'more than unfortunate, its despicable that people would try to misinform voters to win an election.'" [[Las Cruces Sun-News](#), 11/2/02]

2002: GOP Congressman Issued Poll Watcher Packet with Wrong Information

According to a [Lebanon Daily News](#) editorial, "[Rep. George] Gekas, a Harrisburg Republican, has distributed among county officials and volunteers an 18-page manual that includes a section about

‘challenging a voter.’ That’s right: Gekas volunteers aren’t just going to challenge absentee ballots, but are going to try to block some people who show up at the polls from casting votes. Even more worrisome is the legal advice that ‘challenging a voter’ offers to GOP volunteers. The Gekas pamphlet contains some legal errors that may encourage Republican volunteers to lodge false and misleading protests against voters’ rights. ... The Gekas poll-watching strategy constitutes an embarrassment for the GOP. Republicans seem determined to frighten voters rather than compete in the arena of ideas. Gekas and his allies should disavow their planned attempt to discourage people from exercising the federal franchise. They would do better to welcome voters to the polls.” [Editorial, [Lebanon Daily News](#), 11/5/02]

2002: Republicans Call for Federal Agents to be Posted at Native Americans Polling Places To Discourage Voting

There is a great deal of mistrust of federal agents in Indian Country. Knowing that tribal members are intimidated by federal law enforcement agents, and even though the Voting Rights Act would be violated by any use of federal agents that would have the effect of discouraging voters, the South Dakota Republican Party called for agents to be posted at Native American polling places, even though the Republican Attorney General insisted that there was no evidence of widespread voter fraud. "I'm still only aware of two cases where criminal law may have been violated, and you've heard about those," said (Attorney General Mark) Barnett. "I just don't want the suggestion out there that there is widespread fraud when we don't have any evidence of that." [[Argus Leader](#), 10/20/02; [Associated Press](#), 10/22/02]

2001: NEW JERSEY: TWO THOUSAND POSTCARDS SENT TO REGISTERED DEMOCRATS IN HISPANIC AND BLACK VOTING DISTRICTS

Suspicious Entity Paid for Mailing, Threatened Fines and Imprisonment. On the eve of Election Day 2001, over 2,000 voters in the predominantly Hispanic and African American voting districts of Passaic, New Jersey, received postcards that threatened fines and imprisonment for voter fraud. The postcards also warned that armed law enforcement officers would be at the polls. The mailing was allegedly “paid for the Democrats for Democracy,” an unknown and unregistered entity. In a press conference, Democratic officials denounced the mailing as a clear intimidation tactic. [[New York Times](#), 11/6/01]

2000: REPUBLICANS ACCUSED OF VOTER INTIMIDATION IN FORT WORTH, TEXAS

Republicans Intimidate Elderly African-American Voters Casting Mail-In Ballots. In October 2000, Republicans targeted a recorded phone message to older African-American voters in southeast Fort Worth that said they may be violating the law if they are assisted in filling out their mail-in ballot. According to Tarrant County Election Administrator Robert Parten, the law allows elderly voters to ask for assistance. The recording was made by Geoffrey Mitchell, a campaign worker for Republican Congressional candidate Bryndan Wright. U.S. Justice Department officials launched an investigation into alleged voter intimidation in southeast Fort Worth. [[Dallas Morning News](#), 10/18/00; [Fort Worth Star-Telegram](#), 10/21/00]

Leaflets Distributed in Predominantly Black Fort Worth Neighborhoods Accused Precinct Workers of Stealing Votes. In October 2000, the U.S. Justice Department launched an investigation of possible voter intimidation in some mostly black Fort Worth neighborhoods, after a complaint that Democratic precinct workers were threatened with leaflets inside newspapers and in mailboxes accusing them of stealing votes. Tarrant County Democratic Party Chairman Art Brender said that Republican congressional candidate Bryndan Wright was behind the publication. The leaflets were reportedly distributed in the neighborhoods of Polytechnic, Stop Six, Morningside, and South Side and alleged that

Democratic workers coerced elderly voters into allowing them to cast their absentee ballots. According to Fort Worth Mayor Pro Tem Ralph McCloud, the leaflets were an attempt to keep black voters away from the polls. [[Dallas Morning News](#), 9/7/00, 10/18/00]

2000: GOP CHARGED WITH VOTER INTIMIDATION BY NEW MEXICO ELECTION OFFICIAL

New Mexico Republicans Planned to Offer a Reward for Reporting Voter Fraud in Predominantly Latino Counties. In October 2000, a top election official in New Mexico charged Republican Party activists with trying to intimidate voters, after a flier offering a \$20,000 reward to those reporting voter fraud was leaked to her office. Republican leaders claimed that they had considered, but later decided against, offering the reward as part of an effort to fight voter fraud in predominantly Democratic counties. Those counties are also predominantly Latino. According to Denise Lamb, the state's election chief, the reward was "bounty" designed to intimidate voters. Lamb referred the matter to the U.S. Justice Department because it reminded her of efforts to intimidate Latino voters in previous elections in New Mexico and California. New Mexico Republican Party Chair John Dendahl said the flier was part of an anti-fraud effort for election day, which included establishing a toll-free number for citizens to report "improprieties." [[Los Angeles Times](#), 10/18/00]

2000: GEORGIA GOP URGED STATEWIDE POLL-WATCHERS TO CARRY CAMERAS

Democratic Party of Georgia Charged That Presence of Cameras Discouraged African Americans From Voting. Prior to the November 2000 presidential election, the Georgia GOP Web site instructed poll-watchers to carry cameras. The Democratic Party of Georgia accused the state GOP of trying to intimidate African American voters. Democratic Party state chair David Worley called the tactic an "attempt to dampen turnout by discouraging blacks from voting." The state GOP countered that the cameras were intended to detect actual or alleged voter fraud by Democrats and were not intended to depress African American turnout. [[Augusta Chronicle](#), 10/31/00]

2000: REPUBLICAN POLLWATCHERS PROMPT DOJ INVESTIGATION

Republican Lawyers and Off-Duty Police Officers Dispatched to Intimidate Black Voters. During the November 2000 presidential election, the Michigan Republican Party allegedly sent lawyers and off-duty police officers to predominantly African-American communities to repeatedly harass, intimidate and question voters. Michigan Democrats publicized the state GOP's actions and demanded that the tactics cease. As a result of the outcry, the Department of Justice began an investigation. [[Michigan Democratic Party](#), 11/2/00]

1999: REPUBLICAN GOV. PROPOSED PROGRAM TO REQUIRE VOTER IDENTIFICATION AT POLLS

GOP Governor Sought to Require Voter Identification at Polls. In 1999, Virginia GOP Governor James Gilmore proposed testing a pilot program in 10 localities requiring voters to show identification at the polls. Democrats decry that tactic as emblematic of the pre-civil rights era. The General Assembly, after much prodding from Republicans, adopted legislation to implement the plan. However, the Virginia Supreme Court blocked the plan before Election Day. [[Washington Post](#), 11/25/99; [Richmond Times Dispatch](#), 5/10/99]

1998: GOP TRAINED "BALLOT SECURITY" TEAMS TO TARGET MINORITY

PRECINCTS IN HOUSTON

Harris County, Texas GOP Distributed Outline Listing “Excuses” for Voter Fraud. In March 1998, the Harris County Republican Party (Houston) announced plans for “the most comprehensive ballot security program in Harris Country Republican Party history.” In October 1998, the Party trained “ballot security” teams to focus on minority precincts in Houston, distributing a two-page outline listing “excuses” for voter fraud, including “It is a form of affirmative action,” and “You don’t understand my people.” GOP County Chair Gary Polland defended the program as an effort “to prevent illegal voting.” [[Houston Chronicle](#), 10/31/98]

1998: TEXAS REPUBLICAN PARTY CONDUCTS “BALLOT SECURITY” TRAINING SESSIONS.

In August and September 1998, the Republican Party of Texas conducted “ballot security” training sessions throughout Texas. And in July 1998, the El Paso County Republican Party held a “ballot security” training session for poll watchers “to ensure there is no coercion or misinformation” of “Democrats wanting to vote for Governor Bush.” [[Houston Chronicle](#), 10/31/98]

1998: GOP OFFICIALS INTRODUCE NATIONWIDE PLAN TO LIMIT ACCESS TO BALLOT BOX

Republican Party Again Pushing Ballot Security Measures. At the Republican National Committee's winter meeting in Palm Beach, California, Republican Party officials introduced a plan for all state parties to place poll-watchers at key precincts on election day, and discussed a variety of congressional legislative initiatives to limit access to the ballot box. RNC officials distributed to state parties’ executive directors a 17-page poll-watching plan that called on Republicans in each state to fight vote tampering by hiring poll watchers and challengers to target precincts. [[Los Angeles Times](#), 1/18/98]

Secret Memo Outlined GOP Legislative Proposals, Including Requiring Photo IDs and Proof of Citizenship. At the Palm Springs meeting, the Republican Party disseminated a secret 17-page memo regarding plans for poll watching and discussed a variety of legislative proposals that the GOP congress might try to adopt. In 1997, Republicans in Congress held hearings on several bills to tighten registration and voting rules. The proposals include measures to require photo IDs, Social Security numbers and proof of citizenship for all voters, as well as ending registration by mail and purging from voting records people who do not vote in several consecutive federal elections. [[Los Angeles Times](#), 1/18/98]

GOP Tried to Consolidate Ballot Suppression Ideas into Comprehensive Bill. Two conservative California Republican Representatives, House Oversight chairman Bill Thomas and Chris Cox have agreed to meld the measures into a single bill, according to a spokesman for Thomas. Provisions included: pilot programs in five states that would have forced all voters to present proof of citizenship at their polling place; allowing voter registration officials to check the Social Security numbers of potential voters. The bill was defeated on March 30, 1998; House Republicans later attempted to revive aspects of the bill, without success. [[Los Angeles Times](#), 1/18/98; CQ Breaking News, 3/18/98, 3/23/98, 3/31/98; CQ Bill Track, 3/30/98]

1998: REPUBLICANS PROPOSE PILOT PROGRAM TO TEST CITIZENSHIP STATUS OF VOTERS

Republicans Tried to Pass Pilot Voter Suppression Bill Through House. Shortly after the House voted to end its investigation into the Dornan-Sanchez election, Republican leaders quickly brought a

proposal to a vote that would establish a pilot program in five states to test the citizenship status of voters. The bill required a two-thirds majority to pass, and failed on a vote of 210 yes votes to 200 no votes. [New York Times, 2/27/98]

1998: GOP ATTORNEY GENERAL USES PRIVATE EYES TO INVESTIGATE VOTERS

Republican New York Attorney General Hired Private Investigators to Query Eligibility of Voters.

In 1998, after narrowly losing his reelection bid, Republican New York Attorney General Dennis Vacco assembled a makeshift team of private investigators and staff members to query the eligibility of thousands of New York City voters. A cross-section of City Council members charged Vacco with voter intimidation. Vacco had been rebuffed in an initial attempt to use city police officers to canvass various neighborhoods. [Newsday, 12/12/98]

1998: GOP OFFICIALS PLANNED TO VIDEOTAPE VOTERS AT POLLING PLACES

In 1998, local GOP officials in North Carolina and Georgia had plans to videotape voters at polling places. Wade Henderson, director of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, said videotaping “served no useful purpose other than to discourage people to turn out to vote.” The Justice Department sent out letters making it clear that “videotaping minority voters at or near the polls could constitute a violation of the Voting Rights Act.” [Associated Press, 11/3/98]

1997: REPUBLICAN CONGRESSMAN INTRODUCES “BALLOT SECURITY ACT OF 1997”

In 1997, GOP Congressman Billy Tauzin introduced the “Ballot Security Act of 1997” to require individuals applying to register to vote in elections for Federal office to produce proof of citizenship. The legislation would have also permitted states to require individuals to produce a photographic identification in order to vote in an election for Federal office. The bill was referred to the Committee on House Oversight, but never reached the floor of the House of Representatives. [H.R. 1139, 4/29/97]

1997: GOP DONOR OFFERED REWARD FOR INFO. LEADING TO ARRESTS FOR VOTER FRAUD

In the general election for Mayor of Houston, in which the Democratic nominee was African American, signs suddenly appeared in African American neighborhoods, days before the election, offering rewards for information leading to the arrest and conviction of anyone found guilty of voter fraud. The intimidation project was traced back to a GOP donor with strong ties to the GOP nominee for mayor. After the scheme was exposed and publicized, the signs disappeared. [Houston Chronicle, 12/7/97]

1997: GOP ACCUSED SANCHEZ OF STEALING ELECTION THROUGH MINORITY VOTE FRAUD

Having lost at the ballot box in 1996, the GOP tried to steal a House seat by challenging the validity of votes cast by minorities. Republicans investigated Rep. Loretta Sanchez's (D-CA) victory over Bob Dornan for nearly a year. Dornan claimed that hundreds of ballots cast by Hispanic Americans were invalid, and alleged a coordinated attempt to encourage recent immigrants to register and vote before they were eligible. House Oversight Committee Chairman Bill Thomas repeatedly refused to conclude his probe of the election, despite a lack of evidence. **The probe ultimately concluded without finding any basis for overturning the election.** [AP Online, 9/1/97; Roll Call, 9/1/97]

1993: DEPT OF JUSTICE SUED GOP, HELMS CAMPAIGN FOR VIOLATING CIVIL

RIGHTS ACT

In early 1993, the U.S. Department of Justice sued the North Carolina Republican Party, the Jesse Helms campaign and others, charging that the voter intimidation program violated the Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act. The case was settled with a consent decree barring the North Carolina Republican Party from engaging in any ballot security program directed at qualified voters in which the racial minority status of such voters is a factor in the decision to target them. [[Los Angeles Times](#), 11/13/93; [Sacramento Observer](#), 12/24/93]

1990: REPUBLICAN PARTY MAILED BULLETINS THAT MISLED VOTERS; COURT RULED RNC VIOLATED EARLIER COURT ORDER

In the days before the 1990 general election, the North Carolina Republican Party mailed “Voter Registration Bulletins” to more than 150,000 persons registered to vote in predominantly African-American and Democratic precincts and another 44,000 “Bulletins” exclusively to African-American voters. The “Bulletins” informed voters (falsely) that, upon entering the polls, they would be asked to state their period of residence and that any voter who had not lived in the precinct for 30 days would not be allowed to vote (again false). The “Bulletin” concluded with the warning:

“It is a federal crime, punishable by up to five years in jail, to knowingly give false information about your name, residence, or period of residence to an election official.”

The DNC went back to the New Jersey federal court. The court found that the RNC was not directly involved, but that the RNC had violated the 1982 order by not including, in ballot security materials mailed to state parties, any guidance as to what activity would be considered unlawful under the order. The court ordered the RNC to include such guidance in all of its ballot security materials. [[Washington Post](#), 11/10/90; [Associated Press](#), 11/4/90]

1988: GOP HIRED ARMED GUARDS TO INTIMIDATE VOTERS

In 1988 GOP officials in Orange County California hired security guards dressed in police-style uniforms to intimidate Hispanic voters on election day in a closely contested state assembly race. The controversy erupted after uniformed guards showed up at 7 a.m. carrying signs in Spanish and English warning non-citizens not to vote. Guards were present at 20 polling places in heavily Latino areas of the 72nd Assembly District. [[Los Angeles Times](#), 11/22/88]

The California Republican Party admitted to hiring the guards, allegedly to watch for fraud at the ballot box. In 1989, the county registrar agreed to pay a \$20,000 settlement to plaintiffs and retrain poll workers. [[Los Angeles Times](#), 12/5/89]

1986: RNC USED ANONYMOUS MAIL INTENDED TO SUPPRESS AFRICAN-AMERICAN VOTE IN LOUISIANA

In 1986, the RNC hired Precise Data Services, Inc., a direct mail firm, to send anonymous mail to precincts in Louisiana in which Ronald Reagan received less than 20% of the vote in 1986. These precincts were predominantly or exclusively black precincts. The envelopes mailed by Precise Data Services, Inc. were marked “Do Not Forward.” The returned envelopes were then sent to local headquarters of the Republican Party for purging purposes. The local Republican Party officials delivered signed affidavits and the names from the returned envelopes to the local Registrar of Voter headquarters for purging. The affidavit stated that an investigation had occurred and that the investigators were registered voters. As it turns out the investigators were not registered and no investigation had

occurred. Judge Lee of the Louisiana District C court determined that, “this was an insidious scheme by the Republican Party to remove blacks from the voting rolls.” He found the Republican Party in violation of the 15th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution along with the Louisiana State Constitution. [Louisiana Civil Suit #142,389, Cathy Long vs. James V. Gremillion, 10/14/86]

After the court blocked the challenges to the voter rolls, the DNC then went back to the New Jersey federal court and charged that the Louisiana program violated the 1982 order. Court proceedings revealed RNC documents stating that **the purpose of the program was “to keep the black vote down considerably.”** The court made public a memo from Kris Wolfe, the RNC Midwest political director, wrote to Lanny Griffith, RNC southern political director that said, “I know this race is really important to you. I would guess that this program will eliminate at least 60-80,000 folks from the rolls . . . If it's a close race . . . which I'm assuming it is, this could keep the black vote down considerably.” The GOP also planned the use of off-duty police to monitor polling places. [Washington Post, 10/25/86]

The case was settled by expanding the 1982 order to forbid the RNC from assisting or participating in any ballot security program, other than normal poll watching activities, without getting prior court clearance from the New Jersey federal court. [Washington Post, 10/25/86; Chicago Tribune 10/24/86]

1986: GOP TRIED TO DISCOURAGE ELDERLY AND MINORITIES FROM VOTING

The Tennessee Democratic Party executive committee and others filed suit before the 1986 elections to stop a GOP program which, the Democrats charged, was aimed at discouraging elderly, rural and African-American citizens from voting. [www.pfaw.org]

1981: RNC TASK FORCE HIRED ARMED BALLOT WATCHERS TO INTIMIDATE MINORITIES

In September 1981, the Republican National Committee and New Jersey Republican Party, through an organization they called the “National Ballot Security Task Force,” sent nearly 34,000 letters to voters in predominantly African American and Hispanic districts. The “Task Force” then used the names on letters that were returned undelivered to compile challenge lists, with more than 7,000 names. The RNC and New Jersey state party then asked that the names be removed from the registration rolls. [Associated Press, 11/11/81; 11/8/81]

Election officials refused to remove the names, but on election day, the GOP “Task Force” posted signs warning that read, “Warning: This area is being patrolled by the National Ballot Security Task Force. It is a crime to falsify a ballot or to violate election laws.” The NJ state party and the National RNC collaborated and spent \$90,000 to hire off-duty sheriffs and police officers who wore “arm-bands”, some armed, to “monitor” polling places against “irregularities.” [United Press International, 12/23/81; 11/12/81, National Journal, 11/14/81]

The Democratic National Committee and New Jersey Democratic Party sued the RNC and the New Jersey GOP for \$10 million in federal court in N.J. The suit was settled in 1982 with a consent order that forbids the RNC from undertaking any ballot security activities in a polling place or election district where race or ethnic composition is a factor in the decision to conduct such activities, and where a purpose or significant effect is to deter qualified voters from voting. The conduct of activities disproportionately in precincts with substantial minority population is automatically considered evidence of such a factor and purpose. This order remains in effect today, with certain additions and changes. [United Press International, 12/23/81]

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