

EXHIBIT P



Conducted by



Edison/Mitofsky

YOUR ANSWERS ARE

CONFIDENTIAL

Please check only ONE response for each question.

VERSION 2

[A] Are you:

- 1 Male
- 2 Female

[B] Are you:

- 1 White
- 2 Black
- 3 Hispanic/Latino
- 4 Asian
- 5 Other

[C] In today's election for president, did you just vote for:

- 1 John Kerry (Dem)
- 2 George W. Bush (Rep)
- 9 Other: Who? _____
- 0 Did not vote for president

[D] When did you finally decide for whom to vote in the presidential election?

- 1 Just today
- 2 In the last three days
- 3 Sometime last week
- 4 During the last month
- 5 Before that

[E] In today's election for U.S. senator, did you just vote for:

- 1 Eric Fingerhut (Dem)
- 2 George Voinovich (Rep)
- 9 Other: Who? _____
- 0 Did not vote for U.S. senator

[F] Which ONE issue mattered most in deciding how you voted for president? (Check only one)

- 7 Health care
- 6 Moral values
- 5 Economy/Jobs
- 4 Terrorism
- 3 Iraq
- 2 Education
- 1 Taxes

[G] To which age group do you belong?

- 1 18-24
- 2 25-29
- 3 30-39
- 4 40-44
- 5 45-49
- 6 50-59
- 7 60-64
- 8 65-74
- 9 75 or over

[H] How did you vote on Issue 1, defining marriage only as a union between a man and a woman?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 0 Did not vote on Issue 1

[I] In today's election for U.S. House of Representatives, did you just vote for:

- 1 The Democratic candidate
- 2 The Republican candidate
- 9 Other: Who? _____
- 0 Did not vote for U.S. House

[J] Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as president?

- 1 Strongly approve
- 2 Somewhat approve
- 3 Somewhat disapprove
- 4 Strongly disapprove

[K] Which ONE candidate quality mattered most in deciding how you voted for president? (Check only one)

- 7 He has clear stands on the issues
- 6 He will bring about needed change
- 5 He is intelligent
- 4 He is a strong leader
- 3 He is honest and trustworthy
- 2 He has strong religious faith
- 1 He cares about people like me

[L] Are you of Hispanic or Latino descent?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

PLEASE TURN THE QUESTIONNAIRE OVER

[M] Compared to four years ago, is the country:

- 1 Safer from terrorism
- 2 Less safe from terrorism

[N] Do you or does someone in your household belong to a labor union?

- 1 Yes, I do
- 2 Yes, someone else does
- 3 Yes, I do and someone else does
- 4 No one does

[O] How do you feel about the U.S. decision to go to war with Iraq?

- 1 Strongly approve
- 2 Somewhat approve
- 3 Somewhat disapprove
- 4 Strongly disapprove

[P] How do you think things are going for the U.S. in Iraq now?

- 1 Very well
- 2 Somewhat well
- 3 Somewhat badly
- 4 Very badly

[Q] Compared to four years ago, is your family's financial situation:

- 1 Better today
- 2 Worse today
- 3 About the same

[R] If these were the only two presidential candidates on the ballot today, for whom would you have voted?

- 1 John Kerry (Dem)
- 2 George W. Bush (Rep)
- 3 Would not have voted for president

[S] Have you ever served in the U.S. military?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

[T] Are you currently married?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

[U] Do you have any children under 18 living in your household?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

[V] What was the last grade of school you completed?

- 1 Did not complete high school
- 2 High school graduate
- 3 Some college or associate degree
- 4 College graduate
- 5 Postgraduate study

[W] Is this the first time you have ever voted?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

[X] Are you:

- 1 Protestant
- 2 Catholic
- 3 Mormon/LDS
- 4 Other Christian
- 5 Jewish
- 6 Muslim
- 7 Something else
- 8 None

[Y] Would you describe yourself as a born-again or evangelical Christian?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

[Z] How often do you attend religious services?

- 1 More than once a week
- 2 Once a week
- 3 A few times a month
- 4 A few times a year
- 5 Never

[AA] No matter how you voted today, do you usually think of yourself as a:

- 1 Democrat
- 2 Republican
- 3 Independent
- 4 Something else

[AB] On most political matters, do you consider yourself:

- 1 Liberal
- 2 Moderate
- 3 Conservative

[AC] 2003 total family income:

- 1 Under \$15,000
- 2 \$15,000-\$29,999
- 3 \$30,000-\$49,999
- 4 \$50,000-\$74,999
- 5 \$75,000-\$99,999
- 6 \$100,000-\$149,999
- 7 \$150,000-\$199,999
- 8 \$200,000 or more

[AD] What type of telephone service is there in your home that you could use or be reached on? (Check only one)

- 1 Both regular land-line and cell phone service
- 2 Only regular, land-line phone service
- 3 Only cell phone service
- 4 No telephone service at home

Please fold questionnaire and put it in the box. Thank you.



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VERSION 3

[A] Are you:

- 1 Male
- 2 Female

[B] Are you:

- 1 White
- 2 Black
- 3 Hispanic/Latino
- 4 Asian
- 5 Other

[C] In today's election for president, did you just vote for:

- 1 John Kerry (Dem)
- 2 George W. Bush (Rep)
- 9 Other: Who? _____
- 0 Did not vote for president

[D] Was your vote for president mainly:

- 1 For your candidate
- 2 Against his opponent

[E] In today's election for U.S. senator, did you just vote for:

- 1 Eric Fingerhut (Dem)
- 2 George Voinovich (Rep)
- 9 Other: Who? _____
- 0 Did not vote for U.S. senator

[F] Are you currently married?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

[G] Do you or does someone else in your household own a gun?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

[H] If these were the only two presidential candidates on the ballot today, for whom would you have voted?

- 1 John Kerry (Dem)
- 2 George W. Bush (Rep)
- 3 Would not have voted for president

[I] Are you of Hispanic or Latino descent?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

[J] To which age group do you belong?

- 1 18-24
- 2 25-29
- 3 30-39
- 4 40-44
- 5 45-49
- 6 50-59
- 7 60-64
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- 9 75 or over

[K] How did you vote on Issue 1, defining marriage only as a union between a man and a woman?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 0 Did not vote on Issue 1

[L] In today's election for U.S. House of Representatives, did you just vote for:

- 1 The Democratic candidate
- 2 The Republican candidate
- 9 Other: Who? _____
- 0 Did not vote for U.S. House

[M] Which comes closest to your feelings about the Bush administration:

- 4 Enthusiastic
- 3 Satisfied, but not enthusiastic
- 2 Dissatisfied, but not angry
- 1 Angry

[N] Did either of these candidates for president attack the other unfairly?

- 1 Only John Kerry did
- 2 Only George W. Bush did
- 3 Both did
- 4 Neither did

[O] Do you consider the war in Iraq:

- 1 Part of the war on terrorism
- 2 Separate from the war on terrorism

PLEASE TURN THE QUESTIONNAIRE OVER

[P] Did anyone call you or talk to you in person on behalf of either major presidential campaign about coming out to vote?

- 1 Yes, for John Kerry
- 2 Yes, for George W. Bush
- 3 Yes, for both Kerry and Bush
- 4 No, I was not contacted

[Q] In general, does John Kerry mostly:

- 1 Say what he believes
- 2 Say what he thinks people want to hear

[R] In general, does George W. Bush pay more attention to the interests of:

- 1 Ordinary Americans
- 2 Large corporations

[S] Are you gay, lesbian or bisexual?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

[T] How concerned are you about the availability and cost of health care?

- 1 Very concerned
- 2 Somewhat concerned
- 3 Not very concerned
- 4 Not at all concerned

[U] Which comes closest to your position? Abortion should be:

- 1 Legal in all cases
- 2 Legal in most cases
- 3 Illegal in most cases
- 4 Illegal in all cases

[V] How confident are you that votes in your state will be counted accurately?

- 1 Very confident
- 2 Somewhat confident
- 3 Not very confident
- 4 Not at all confident

[W] Which comes closest to your view of gay and lesbian couples:

- 1 They should be allowed to legally marry
- 2 They should be allowed to legally form civil unions, but not marry
- 3 There should be no legal recognition of their relationships

[X] Did you vote in the presidential election in 2000?

- 1 No, I did not vote
- 2 Yes, for Al Gore
- 3 Yes, for George W. Bush
- 4 Yes, for another candidate

[Y] Are you:

- 1 Protestant
- 2 Catholic
- 3 Mormon/LDS
- 4 Other Christian
- 5 Jewish
- 6 Muslim
- 7 Something else
- 8 None

[Z] Would you describe yourself as a born-again or evangelical Christian?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

[AA] How often do you attend religious services?

- 1 More than once a week
- 2 Once a week
- 3 A few times a month
- 4 A few times a year
- 5 Never

[AB] No matter how you voted today, do you usually think of yourself as a:

- 1 Democrat
- 2 Republican
- 3 Independent
- 4 Something else

[AC] On most political matters, do you consider yourself:

- 1 Liberal
- 2 Moderate
- 3 Conservative

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VERSION 4

[A] Are you:

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- 2 Female

[B] Are you:

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- 2 Black
- 3 Hispanic/Latino
- 4 Asian
- 5 Other

[C] In today's election for president, did you just vote for:

- 1 John Kerry (Dem)
- 2 George W. Bush (Rep)
- 9 Other: Who? _____
- 0 Did not vote for president

[D] When did you finally decide for whom to vote in the presidential election?

- 1 Just today
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- 4 During the last month
- 5 Before that

[E] In today's election for U.S. senator, did you just vote for:

- 1 Eric Fingerhut (Dem)
- 2 George Voinovich (Rep)
- 9 Other: Who? _____
- 0 Did not vote for U.S. senator

[F] Do you think the condition of the nation's economy is:

- 1 Excellent
- 2 Good
- 3 Not so good
- 4 Poor

[G] Are you of Hispanic or Latino descent?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

[H] To which age group do you belong?

- 1 18-24
- 2 25-29
- 3 30-39
- 4 40-44
- 5 45-49
- 6 50-59
- 7 60-64
- 8 65-74
- 9 75 or over

[I] How did you vote on Issue 1, defining marriage only as a union between a man and a woman?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 0 Did not vote on Issue 1

[J] In today's election for U.S. House of Representatives, did you just vote for:

- 1 The Democratic candidate
- 2 The Republican candidate
- 9 Other: Who? _____
- 0 Did not vote for U.S. House

[K] Who would you trust to handle the economy?

- 1 Only John Kerry
- 2 Only George W. Bush
- 3 Both of them
- 4 Neither of them

[L] Who would you trust to handle terrorism?

- 1 Only John Kerry
- 2 Only George W. Bush
- 3 Both of them
- 4 Neither of them

[M] Do you think things in this country today are:

- 1 Generally going in the right direction
- 2 Seriously off on the wrong track

[N] In your vote for president today, how would you rate the importance of:

- _____?
- 1 Very important
 - 2 Somewhat important
 - 3 Not too important
 - 4 Not at all important

PLEASE TURN THE QUESTIONNAIRE OVER

[O] **Is your opinion of George W. Bush:**

- 1 Favorable
- 2 Unfavorable

[P] **Is your opinion of John Kerry:**

- 1 Favorable
- 2 Unfavorable

[Q] **Which comes closer to your view:**

- 1 Government should do more to solve problems
- 2 Government is doing too many things better left to businesses and individuals

[R] **How worried are you that there will be another major terrorist attack in the U.S.?**

- 1 Very worried
- 2 Somewhat worried
- 3 Not too worried
- 4 Not at all worried

[S] **Compared to four years ago, is the job situation in your area:**

- 1 Better today
- 2 Worse today
- 3 About the same

[T] **Do you or does someone in your household belong to a labor union?**

- 1 Yes, I do
- 2 Yes, someone else does
- 3 Yes, I do and someone else does
- 4 No one does

[U] **If these were the only two presidential candidates on the ballot today, for whom would you have voted?**

- 1 John Kerry (Dem)
- 2 George W. Bush (Rep)
- 3 Would not have voted for president

[V] **Do you think the Bush administration's tax cuts have been:**

- 1 Good for the nation's economy
- 2 Bad for the nation's economy
- 3 Made no difference

[W] **Do you think the war with Iraq has improved the long-term security of the United States?**

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

[X] **Have you or has someone in your household lost a job in the last four years?**

- 1 Yes, I have
- 2 Yes, someone else has
- 3 Yes, I have and someone else has
- 4 No one has

[Y] **What was the last grade of school you completed?**

- 1 Did not complete high school
- 2 High school graduate
- 3 Some college or associate degree
- 4 College graduate
- 5 Postgraduate study

[Z] **Are you currently married?**

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

[AA] **Do you have any children under 18 living in your household?**

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

[AB] **Do you work full-time for pay?**

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

[AC] **Are you gay, lesbian or bisexual?**

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

[AD] **No matter how you voted today, do you usually think of yourself as a:**

- 1 Democrat
- 2 Republican
- 3 Independent
- 4 Something else

[AE] **On most political matters, do you consider yourself:**

- 1 Liberal
- 2 Moderate
- 3 Conservative

[AF] **2003 total family income:**

- 1 Under \$15,000
- 2 \$15,000-\$29,999
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- 5 \$75,000-\$99,999
- 6 \$100,000-\$149,999
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- 8 \$200,000 or more

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EXHIBIT Q

Search

MORE RESULTS

Election for P - U.S. All Exit Poll
Sample Size: 13660
Last Polled: 1:13 PM

• [State Results](#) • [County Results](#)

Are you:

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Male	42	49	53
Female	58	51	47

Sex by race

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
White male	28	43	25
White female	38	45	28
Non-white male	14	6	30
Non-white female	20	6	18

Are you:

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
White	66	88	52
Black	21	2	5
Hispanic/Latino	9	7	36
Asian	2	1	-1
Other	2	1	7

AGE (60 and over)

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
18-29	19	15	14
30-44	27	29	62
45-59	30	30	20
60 or over	23	26	4

Age 65 & over

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
18-64	84	84	98
65 or over	16	16	2

2003 total family income:

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Under \$15,000	11	6	4
\$15,000-\$29,999	18	12	11
\$30,000-\$49,999	23	21	20
\$50,000-\$74,999	20	25	21
\$75,000-\$99,999	13	15	2
\$100,000-\$149,999	10	12	32
\$150,000-\$199,999	3	4	-1
\$200,000 or more	3	4	11

Total family income:

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Less than \$50,000	52	39	35
\$50,000 or more	48	61	65

Total family income:

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Less than \$100,000	85	79	58
\$100,000 or more	15	21	42

Do you or does someone in your household belong to a labor union?

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Yes, I do	15	9	16
Yes, someone else does	12	8	15
Yes, I do and someone else does	2	1	2
No one does	70	82	67

UNION HOUSEHOLD

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Yes (Vote is union member, union member in household, or noth member in household and voter is memeber)	30	18	33
No (No union voter in household)	70	82	67

Voter is union member:

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Yes	18	10	18
No	82	90	82

Do you work full-time for pay?

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Yes	59	62	-1
No	41	38	-1

Working women:

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Working women	31	27	-1
All others	69	73	-1

What was the last grade of school you completed?

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Did not complete high school	4	4	2
High school graduate	22	22	13
Some college or associate degree	30	33	14
College graduate	25	26	49
Postgraduate study	19	14	22

College Education

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
No college degree	56	60	29
College graduate	44	40	71

No matter how you voted today, do you usually think of yourself as a:

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Democrat	68	8	17
Republican	5	68	15
Independent or something else	27	25	68

On most political matters, do you consider yourself:

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Liberal	38	5	41
Moderate	52	40	20
Conservative	11	55	39

Is this the first time you have ever voted?

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Yes	12	10	-1
No	88	90	-1

Religion, combined Protestant and other Christian.

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Protestant/Other Christian	46	62	28
Catholic	26	27	31
Jewish	4	1	-1
Something else	10	3	23
None	14	6	18

Religion among whites

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
White Protestant/Other Christian	27	54	24
White Catholic	18	22	8
White Jewish	4	1	-1
White something else	5	2	13
White none	10	5	3
Non-white	37	15	50

White Evangelical/Born-again Christians

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
White Evangelical/Born-again Christians	10	35	17
All others	90	65	83

White/Protestant/Conservative/Evangelical/Attend church at least weekly

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
White religious conservatives	1	15	10
All others	99	85	90

How often do you attend religious services?

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
More than once a week	11	20	22
Once a week	22	30	15
A few times a month	14	14	-1
A few times a year	31	25	27
Never	19	10	37

How often do you attend religious services?

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Weekly	32	48	36
Occasionally	44	37	26
Never	18	10	36

Church attendance by Religion

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Protestant/Attend weekly	10	22	6
Protestant/Do not attend weekly	14	17	9
Catholic/Attend weekly	10	13	12
Catholic/Do not attend weekly	14	13	18
All Others	48	31	54

Have you ever served in the U.S. military?

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Yes	15	20	-1
No	85	80	-1

Are you currently married?

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Yes	55	70	68
No	45	30	32

Married women

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Married women	28	34	30
Others	72	66	70

Married with children:

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Married with children	24	32	55

All others	76	68	45
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Do you have any children under 18 living in your household?

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Yes	35	38	68
No	65	62	32

Women with children

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Women with children	20	19	35
All others	80	81	65

Are you gay, lesbian or bisexual?

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Yes	6	2	2
No	94	98	98

Do you or does someone else in your household own a gun?

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Yes	31	51	-1
No	69	49	-1

When did you finally decide for whom to vote in the presidential election?

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Just today	6	5	25
In the last three days	4	3	9
Sometime last week	2	2	4
During the last month	12	9	23
Before that	76	81	40

Time: Last three days/Earlier than that

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Today/Within the last three days	10	8	33
Within the last week or earlier	90	92	67

Time: Last week/Earlier than that

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Today through within the last three days	12	10	37
Within the last week or earlier	88	90	63

Which ONE issue mattered most in deciding how you voted for president? (Check only one)

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Taxes	5	6	3
Education	7	2	-1
Iraq	22	8	3
Terrorism	5	32	3
Economy/Jobs	33	7	26
Moral values	8	35	57
Health care	13	4	-1

Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as president?

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Strongly approve	4	61	14
Somewhat approve	6	33	33
Somewhat disapprove	19	4	26
Strongly disapprove	69	1	24

Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as president?

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Approve	10	94	47
Disapprove	88	5	49

Which ONE candidate quality mattered most in deciding how you voted for president? (Check only one)

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
He cares about people like me	14	4	14
He has strong religious faith	1	14	-1
He is honest and trustworthy	7	16	15
He is a strong leader	4	29	17
He is intelligent	13	1	4
He will bring about needed change	47	2	24
He has clear stands on the issues	7	27	23

Compared to four years ago, is the country:

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Safer from terrorism	22	85	50
Less safe from terrorism	72	12	36

How do you feel about the U.S. decision to go to war with Iraq?

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Strongly approve	4	54	14
Somewhat approve	11	35	35
Somewhat disapprove	23	7	25
Strongly disapprove	61	3	26

How do you feel about the U.S. decision to go to war with Iraq?

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Approve	15	86	48
Disapprove	81	10	50

How do you think things are going for the U.S. in Iraq now?

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Very well	2	20	16
Somewhat well	6	60	50
Somewhat badly	27	14	13
Very badly	64	4	22

How do you think things are going for the U.S. in Iraq now?

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Very/Somewhat well	8	78	64

Very/Somewhat badly	88	17	34
---------------------	----	----	----

Compared to four years ago, is your family's financial situation:

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Better today	13	50	14
Worse today	45	11	26
About the same	40	38	60

If these were the only two presidential candidates on the ballot today, for whom would you have voted?

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
John Kerry (Dem)	97	1	32
George W. Bush (Rep)	2	98	31
Would not have voted for president	1	1	36

Was your vote for president mainly:

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
For your candidate	58	80	-1
Against his opponent	36	15	-1

Which comes closest to your feelings about the Bush administration:

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Angry	46	1	-1
Dissatisfied, but not angry	44	8	-1
Satisfied, but not enthusiastic	6	45	-1
Enthusiastic	1	43	-1

Did either of these candidates for president attack the other unfairly?

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Only John Kerry did	2	41	-1
Only George W. Bush did	29	2	-1
Both did	50	41	-1
Neither did	15	11	-1

Did either of these candidates for president attack the other unfairly?

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Only Kerry/Both did	52	82	-1
Only Bush/Neither did	44	13	-1

Did either of these candidates for president attack the other unfairly?

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Only Bush/Both did	79	43	-1
Only Kerry/Neither did	18	52	-1

Do you consider the war in Iraq:

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Part of the war on terrorism	20	88	-1
Separate from the war on terrorism	76	9	-1

Did anyone call you or talk to you in person on behalf of either major presidential campaign about coming out to vote?

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Yes, for John Kerry	20	4	-1
Yes, for George W. Bush	3	17	-1
Yes, for both Kerry and Bush	15	12	-1
No, I was not contacted	62	66	-1

Did anyone call you or talk to you in person on behalf of either major presidential campaign about coming out to vote?

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
For Kerry/Both	35	17	-1
For Bush/Neither	65	83	-1

Did anyone call you or talk to you in person on behalf of either major presidential campaign about coming out to vote?

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
For Bush/Both	19	29	-1
For Kerry/Neither	81	71	-1

In general, does John Kerry mostly:

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Say what he believes	78	4	-1
Say what he thinks people want to hear	17	93	-1

Does George W. Bush pay more attention to the interests of:

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Ordinary Americans	5	76	-1
Large corporations	92	17	-1

How concerned are you about the availability and cost of health care?

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Very concerned	83	57	-1
Somewhat concerned	13	32	-1
Not very concerned	1	8	-1
Not at all concerned	1	3	-1

Which comes closest to your position? Abortion should be:

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Legal in all cases	31	10	-1
Legal in most cases	43	25	-1
Illegal in most cases	14	38	-1
Illegal in all cases	7	24	-1

How confident are you that votes in your state will be counted accurately?

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Very confident	40	60	-1
Somewhat confident	47	34	-1
Not very confident	10	4	-1
Not at all confident	3	1	-1

How confident are you that votes in your state will be counted accurately?

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Very/Somewhat confident	84	91	-1
Not very/Not at all confident	12	5	-1

Which comes closest to your view of gay and lesbian couples:

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
They should be allowed to legally marry	40	11	-1
They should be allowed to legally form civil unions, but not marry	34	36	-1
There should be no legal recognition of their relationships	22	51	-1

Did you vote in the presidential election in 2000?

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
No, I did not vote	19	15	-1
Yes, for Al Gore	68	7	-1
Yes, for George W. Bush	8	77	-1
Yes, for another candidate	5	1	-1

Do you think the condition of the nation's economy is:

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Excellent	1	7	-1
Good	12	72	-1
Not so good	53	18	-1
Poor	33	2	-1

State of the national economy: 2 way

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Excellent/Good	13	79	-1
Not so good/Poor	86	19	-1

Who would you trust to handle the economy?

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Only John Kerry	78	1	-1
Only George W. Bush	1	77	-1
Both of them	6	9	-1
Neither of them	13	11	-1

Who would you trust to handle the economy?

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Only Kerry/Both	84	10	-1
Only Bush/Neither	14	88	-1

Who would you trust to handle the economy?

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Only Bush/Both	7	88	-1
Only Kerry/Neither	93	12	-1

Who would you trust to handle terrorism?

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Only John Kerry	64	1	-1
Only George W. Bush	3	91	-1
Both of them	15	4	-1
Neither of them	15	3	-1

Who would you trust to handle terrorism?

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Only Kerry/Both	79	5	-1
Only Bush/Neither	18	94	-1

Who would you trust to handle terrorism?

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Only Bush/Both	17	95	-1
Only Kerry/Neither	79	3	-1

Do you think things in this country today are:

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Generally going in the right direction	11	85	-1
Seriously off on the wrong track	85	11	-1

In your vote for president today, how would you rate the importance of the Osama bin Laden video?

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Very important	37	29	-1
Somewhat important	23	25	-1
Not too important	18	22	-1
Not at all important	23	25	-1

In your vote for president today, how would you rate the importance of the Osama bin Laden video?

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Very/Somewhat important	60	53	-1
Not too/Not at all important	40	47	-1

Is your opinion of George W. Bush:

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Favorable	6	95	-1
Unfavorable	92	4	-1

Is your opinion of John Kerry:

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Favorable	91	9	-1
Unfavorable	8	89	-1

Which comes closer to your view:

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Government should do more to solve problems	65	29	-1
Government is doing too many things better left to businesses and	30	66	-1

individuals

How worried are you that there will be another major terrorist attack in the U.S.?

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Very worried	26	18	-1
Somewhat worried	48	57	-1
Not too worried	20	19	-1
Not at all worried	5	5	-1

How worried are you that there will be another major terrorist attack in the United States?

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Very/Somewhat worried	70	73	-1
Not too/Not at all worried	24	23	-1

Compared to four years ago, is the job situation in your area:

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Better today	5	40	-1
Worse today	74	15	-1
About the same	21	45	-1

Do you think the Bush administration's tax cuts have been:

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Good for the nation's economy	6	72	-1
Bad for the nation's economy	63	4	-1
Made no difference	28	21	-1

Do you think the war with Iraq has improved the long-term security of the United States?

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Yes	10	79	-1
No	88	19	-1

Have you or has someone in your household lost a job in the last four years?

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Yes, I have	18	10	-1
Yes, someone else has	23	10	-1
Yes, I have and someone else has	4	2	-1
No one has	54	78	-1

Have you or has someone in your household lost a job in the last four years?

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Someone in household lost a job	46	22	-1
No one in household lost a job	54	78	-1

Have you or has someone in your household lost a job in the last four years?

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Voter has lost a job	23	12	-1
Voter has NOT lost a job	77	88	-1

National Region

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
East	26	19	29
Midwest	26	26	28
South	27	36	13
West	21	20	30

Population of area, five categories

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
Over 500 thousand	16	10	-1
50 to 500 thousand	19	18	21
Suburbs	44	46	41
10 to 50 thousand	8	8	11
Rural	13	19	28

Population of area, three categories

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
City over 50 thousand	33	26	19
Suburbs	45	47	46
Small city and Rural	22	27	35

In today's election for U.S. House of Representatives, did you just vote for:

	John KERRY	George BUSH	Ralph NADER
The Democratic candidate	89	11	39
The Republican candidate	9	88	46

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EXHIBIT R



The Landes Report ...

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Election Night Projections - Cover For Vote Rigging Since 1964?

by Lynn Landes 9/23/02

The news networks don't just report election news, they create it. But do they also conspire to control election results?

Voter News Service (VNS) is a top-secret private consortium owned by ABC News, The Associated Press, CBS News, CNN, Fox News, and NBC News. It's current headquarters is in Brooklyn, New York. It's been around (under different names) since 1964. It's the only company whose exit poll results are used by the news media to announce the "projected" winners in races for the president, U.S. House and Senate, state governors, and select races.

By 1964, computers were used to predict election outcomes, as well as to count votes on "punch cards." With the use of computerized vote counters and the news networks exclusive control over polling data in major elections, the gates to election fraud were wide open. Computerized voting machines have now made election fraud as easy as stealing candy from a baby.

So how could VNS help rig an election? VNS could conspire with corrupt government officials and crooked voting machine companies (whose reputation for fraud and "error" grows with every election) to come up with projections that closely mirror the expected election results. Then all that's needed is some 'tweaking' in targeted precincts where voting data can be manipulated, voting machines riggedand elections swung. VNS follows through with its de facto certification of election results that have already been fixed. If someone suspects vote rigging, there's always VNS to say that the results match their projections.

And with no oversight, who's to know?

This scenario did not originate in my imagination. The authors of "Votescam, The Stealing of America," James and Kenneth Collier (both deceased) chronicled vote rigging from 1970 to 1992, that followed a similar scheme. The Colliers also included government officials, such as employees of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), as players in this decades-old scam. Media critics have long complained about an unethical relationship between the CIA and the news networks.

Most people believe that the networks compete to be the first to announce the "projected" election night winners. And the networks do their best to create that impression. But they haven't competed since 1964.

However, VNS officials are still trying to obscure their lengthy history. On February 14, 2001, in testimony before Congressman Billy Tauzin's (LA) Committee on Energy and Commerce, VNS executive director, Ted Savaglio, said that the networks first got together in 1990 and that VNS was created in 1993. The name "Voter News Service" was created in 1993, and new members have come on board over the years. But the original group of news networks has collaborated since 1964. They used two different names - News Election Services and Voter Research and Survey - before becoming VNS.

In a telephone interview I had with long-time VNS communications director, Lee C. Shapiro, she agreed to the 1964 date. But that's about all she would reveal. There is no transparency to VNS. Shapiro will not tell you how big their budget is, nor who hires the 46,000 people she claims they use on election night to collect exit polling data, nor will she give you any proof that these 46,000 employees exist...no phone logs, no emails lists, no documents to prove that they do what they say they do. Shapiro would not let me talk to any employee of VNS's

regular staff of 30. She says that VNS will not let anyone witness their operations on election night nor would she disclose its location. VNS has no website and a very uninformative brochure.

Undeterred, I placed a direct call to VNS's current executive director, Ted Savaglio. I left a message, but he hasn't returned my call.

Bill Headline was VNS's executive director during the notorious 2000 Bush - Gore presidential election. According to information on a University of Miami webpage, Headline started his career as an Air Intelligence Officer in the U.S. Navy from 1955 to 1957. Seven years later, in 1964, he was hired at CBS where "as a member of Louis Harris and Associates, he directed field research and vote collection activities for CBS coverage of the 1964 Presidential elections." From there his career skyrocketed to Senior Vice President of CBS News, CNN Vice President, and past President of the Radio/Television Correspondents' Association.

Very impressive... but something may also be... very wrong. Victoria Collier (daughter of James Collier) interviewed Headline before he retired from VNS. She was shocked at how nervous he sounded over the telephone. I telephoned Headline the other day and left a message asking for information about Voter News Service, what he did between 1957-1964, and if he ever had a working relationship with the CIA or any other intelligence agency. He hasn't returned my call.

If VNS is helping to rig elections, why are they doing it? Generally speaking... I believe that the same people who can't rake in enough money, also can't get enough power. The news networks are owned lock, stock, and barrel by the richest corporations and individuals in the world. They certainly have an agenda. Their arrogance and disregard for the little guy is clear. They may think that we're not smart enough to pick the 'right' kind of leaders... right for them, that is. So they might try to do it for us.

Voter News Service warrants an investigation. Its operations should be shut down regardless. It's in a perfect position to sabotage the election process. Let the counties count the vote and report it to the states. If it takes a day or two for the states to report the results... so be it. Democracy takes time. Meanwhile, we should bring back hand-counted paper ballots and use computerized voting machines for confirmation purposes only. If we don't take these precautions, we may continue to have our corporate-owned media, corrupt government officials, and crooked voting machine companies electing our leaders for us.

For more information: <http://www.ecotalk.org/VNS.htm>

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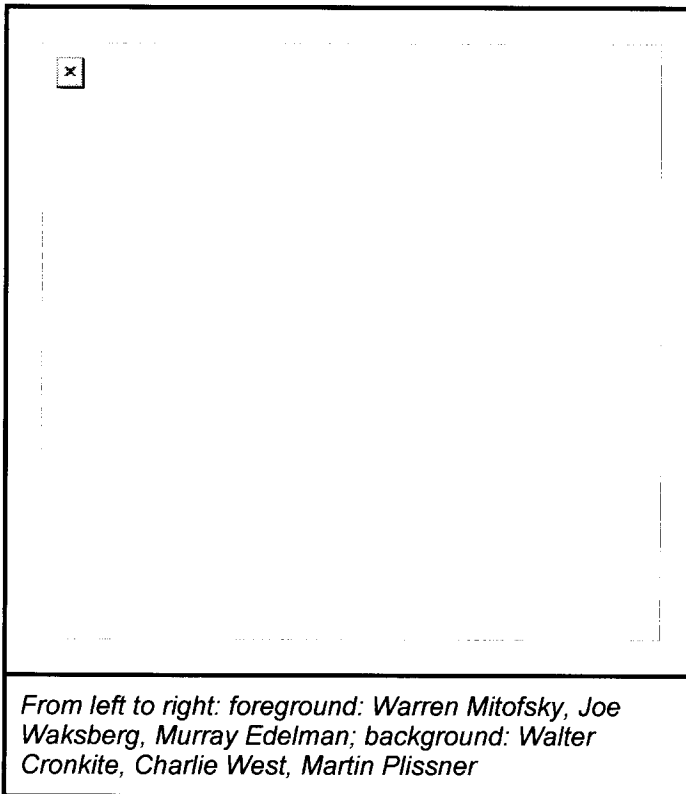
EXHIBIT S



Mitofsky International

Mitofsky International is a survey research company founded by Warren J. Mitofsky in 1993. Its primary business is conducting exit polls for major elections around the world. It does this work exclusively for news organizations. Mitofsky has directed exit polls and quick counts since 1967 for almost 3,000 electoral contests. He has the distinction of conducting the first national presidential exit polls in the United States, Russia, Mexico and the Philippines.

His record for accuracy is well known. "This caution in projecting winners is a Mitofsky trademark, one which has served him well," said David W. Moore, the managing editor of the Gallup Poll in his book, *The Super Pollsters*.



From left to right: foreground: Warren Mitofsky, Joe Waksberg, Murray Edelman; background: Walter Cronkite, Charlie West, Martin Plissner

Mitofsky International election research clients in the United States have included all the major television Networks, major newspapers such as *NY Times*, *Washington Post* and *WSJ*. Mitofsky also has a diverse roster of international Broadcast clients. Along with CESSI, Ltd., his was the sole exit poll for the Russian presidential elections in 1996 and 2000 as well as all other Russian elections since 1993. His was the only exit poll and quick count reported by the Mexican broadcast industry for its 1994 presidential Election. Since then he and Consulta S.A., have done all national and state exit polls for Televisa, Mexico's largest broadcaster.

Warren Mitofsky started and directed the first network election pool, Voter Research & Surveys, from 1990 to 1993, later to become known as Voter News Service (VNS). Mitofsky and Edison Media Research have recently conducted exit polls in D.C., NJ, NY and for the 2003 California recall election. With the dissolution of VNS in 2002, the election consortium has chosen Edison and Mitofsky International to be the sole provider of Exit Polls for all Primaries and General Elections.

Mitofsky created the Exit Poll research model and its execution in 1967 at CBS News; he continued to bring his innovative and accurate view of election data to Political reporting and analysis within CBS as director of its election unit for the next 27 years and a founder of the *CBS/New York Times Poll*. Mitofsky is a vital member of the American Association for Public Opinion Research and a fellow of the

American Statistical Association. He is currently working on a book about exit polls.

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<http://web.archive.org/web/20040810131736/http://www.mitofskyinternational.com/>

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EXHIBIT T



The Landes Report ...

► **Go back to Voting Machine Webpage**

Did Networks Fake Exit Polls, While AP 'Accessed' 2,995 Mainframe Computers?

by Lynn Landes 1/5/05

Why have exit polls historically matched election results? How about this? It's all made up. It's a scam. A con. A fake. A fraud. Since they first started "projecting" election night winners in 1964, the major news networks have never provided any 'hard' evidence that they actually conducted any exit polls, at all. Researchers and activists who point to the disparity between the early exit polls and the 2004 election results, have failed to consider the obvious - that exit polls never existed to begin with.

That was the conclusion of the late-Collier brothers, authors of the book, *VoteScam: The Stealing of America*. In 1970, Channel 7 in Miami projected with 100% accuracy (a virtual impossibility) the final vote totals on Election Day. When the Colliers asked the networks where they got their exit poll data, both Channel 3 & Channel 7 claimed that the League of Women Voters sent it in from the precincts. But, the League's local president tearfully denied it, saying, *"I don't want to get caught up in this thing."* The broadcasters then told the Colliers that a private contractor used the data from a single voting machine to project the winners. But, the contractor said he got the data from a University of Miami professor, who in turn denied it. In the end, the news broadcasters appeared to have pulled the polling numbers out of thin air.

Not much has changed since then. According to their website, The National Election Pool (NEP) was created by ABC, AP (Associated Press), CBS, CNN, Fox, and NBC to provide tabulated vote counts and exit poll surveys for the 2004 election. These six major news organization appointed Edison Media Research and Mitofsky International as the sole provider of exit polls for the most important political races of 2004. The AP collected the vote tallies.

But actually, the networks and Mitofsky have been collaborating under different organizational titles, such as Voter News Service, since 1964. And the AP may be doing more than "collecting" vote tallies.

Nothing about the 2004 election makes sense. The numbers don't add up. The surveys don't match up. But, the networks have clamed up. Despite mounting questions and controversy, the networks continue to stonewall. Citing proprietary claims (something the voting machine companies like to do), the NEP won't release the raw exit poll data. Okay. Maybe they have a point. However, they also won't release any logistical information either, particularly where and when the exit polling was conducted. And that's definitely not cricket.

John Zogby, President of Zogby International, a well-known polling company, said that such complete non-transparency is a "violation of polling ethics". Under the American Association for Public Opinion Research code, Section III, Standard for Minimal Disclosure: *"Good professional practice imposes the obligation upon all public opinion researchers to include, in any report of research results, or to make available when that report is released, certain essential information about how the research was conducted. At a minimum, the following items should be disclosed, Part 8 - Method, location, and dates of data collection."*

When looking at the data that the networks do provide, things don't check out. According to the NEP website, 5000 people were hired for Election Day, 69,731 interviews were conducted at 1,480 voting precincts. However, NEP's raw exit poll data has just been released on the Internet by the alternative news magazine, Scoop, <http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/pdfs/Mitofsky4zonedata/>. It seems legit. It indicates that on November 2nd, the results of 16,085 exit poll interviews were published by 3:59 pm, 21,250 interviews by 7:33 pm, and 26,309 by 1:24 pm on Nov 3 (which doesn't make sense, maybe they meant 1:24 am). Anyway, that grand total comes to 63,664 interviews. But, that number may not be right, either. Edie Emery, spokesperson for the NEP, wrote an email to this journalist stating, "On Election Day, 113,885 voters filled out questionnaires as they left the polling places." Where did that number come from, I asked? No answer from Edie. She said that the networks would

make more information available in their "archives" sometime in the first quarter of this year. That's not very timely. Perhaps, that's the idea.

At any rate, it appears that nearly a third of the results of the exit polls were not available until after midnight! Whoa, Nellie! What happened to the stampede to "project the winner" right after the polls closed, like the networks used to do? What went wrong this time?

And that's not the only mystery. It looks like Mitofsky/Edison used two very different forms for their exit poll surveys. One survey (NEP - short) is about what you would expect a double-sided single sheet of paper that the voter is supposed to fill out. However, the other form (NEP 2), which matches the Scoop data, is several pages long; it is huge. It is impossible to believe that anyone would take the time or trouble to answer all those questions on Election Day.

And then there's the second half of NEP's role on Election Day 2004. The NEP website states that vote totals were "collected" from 2,995 "quick count precincts". I don't know what that means either, because the NEP spokesperson refused to answer my questions. So, I'll theorize. Does that mean that nearly 3,000 mainframe tabulating computers were accessed directly by the AP? Although, the AP admits it was the sole source of raw vote totals for the major news broadcasters on Election Night, AP spokesmen Jack Stokes and John Jones refused to explain to this journalist how the AP received that information. They refused to confirm or deny that the AP received direct feed from central vote tabulating computers across the country.

Thankfully, American Free Press reporter, Christopher Bollyn was in the right place at the right time on Election Night 2004. He spotted an AP employee connecting her laptop to an ES&S computer at the Cook County (IL) election headquarters. But, was she downloading or uploading data? In an interview with this reporter, Bollyn said, "When I asked the AP "reporter" if she had "direct access" to the mainframe computer that was tallying the votes, she said yes and then Burnham (a Cook County official) stepped in and re-asked my question for me. Again the answer was, "Yes."

I called Cook County this week and spoke with Cass Cliatt, their spokesperson. She said that, after the polls close, any reporter can use the county's "connector cables" that allow them to download the latest vote totals. Cliatt said that this did not constitute a connection to the mainframe computer. She did admit that AP employees were there on Election Night and had cables dedicated to them specifically. But, she again insisted that the AP cables were not connected to the mainframe computer. Bollyn disagrees.

"Cook County had a complete press room set up in the back room where there were about 8 computer terminals hooked up to the internet. So why was this AP woman and her helper, a man, setting up their lap top in the front room with wires that came across the counter only for them? And the real question is why was Scott Burnham so dedicated to defending this AP "reporter" and not allowing me to talk to her? He did not care if I talked with the Fox News guy or the CLTV people. It was only the AP "reporter" who was being protected. Scott Burnham is David Orr's (county clerk) right hand man and PR person. What was the county clerk's office trying to hide? I have never seen something like that and Burnham was very firm about that - I was not allowed to talk to the AP reporter directly. As you recall, I saw she had more important things to do - she was in deep into the middle of a novel as the first numbers came in from Cook County," wrote Bollyn in an email to this journalist.

I asked computer security specialist, Dr. Rebecca Mercuri, a fellow at the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study at Harvard University, for her reaction. Was it a good idea to allow reporters to "hook up" to a cable in order to access vote tabulation data? She didn't think so. "It's not as if they are handing them a cd with the data on it. That would be the safest thing to do and probably faster. Why would they allow them to connect up?" she asked.

So, what's really going on? Do we have an unholy alliance between those who control the computerized voting machines (including election officials) and the major news networks? State election officials across the country have outsourced the tabulation of the vote to a handful of Republican and foreign-owned corporations. There is no meaningful public oversight of the count. No one knows if votes are being added, subtracted, or switched. Meanwhile, the news networks publish exit polls numbers, but refuse to offer any hard evidence that they have ever conducted any exit polls, at all.

What if the polls are all a fake? What's the point? What are the networks trying to accomplish? There are various possibilities. But, I have my own theory. I think that the networks simply match their bogus exit polls to extensive pre-election polling. Then, if someone wants to rig an election and not raise red flags, the exit polls get tweaked. That accounts for their great track record historically. Imagine the market for that kind of service. Imagine the power the networks would have to control legislation affecting their industry - and the industries of

their corporate parents. I must admit, until recently, I didn't factor in the possibility that the networks had direct access to mainframe vote tabulating computers, as well.

On the other hand, what does it mean when the exit poll system appears to break down, as it has recently? Maybe the networks are not only engaged in selling a service, but executing a sort of "squeeze play" to boot. For instance, in this past election it looked like Kerry was going to win. Then everything changed. Maybe, deals were getting cooked during the day. Mitofsky said that when all was said and done, everything checked out fine; the exit polls matched the election results. Really? Where's the proof?

Over the years the Colliers tried in vain to pierce the veil of secrecy surrounding the networks' Election Day operations. For the 2002 and 2004 election, this journalist called the exit pollsters and the networks and got the same stonewall. With the Justice Department intent on burying its head in the sand, it will be up to all of us to - as Reagan put it - "Tear down this wall".

In the meantime, there's no good reason to believe exit polls or election results. They're as fake as a \$3 dollar bill and worth about half as much.

Excerpt from a previous Landes article: <http://www.ecotalk.org/AP.htm>

Who is the AP? The Associated Press was founded in 1848. It is a not-for-profit news cooperative, some would say 'monopoly', that rakes in about \$500 million dollars a year. The AP is owned by its 1,500 U.S. daily newspaper members. Their board of directors is elected by voting 'bonds'. However, it is not clear who controls the bonds. AP spokespeople would not give out information on who sits on their board, however AP leadership appears quite conservative.

Burl Osborne, chairman of the AP board of directors, is also publisher emeritus of the conservative The Dallas Morning News, a newspaper that endorsed George W. Bush in the last election. Kathleen Carroll, senior vice president and executive editor of AP, was a reporter at The Dallas Morning News before joining AP. Carroll is also on the Associated Press Managing Editors (APME)'s 7-member executive committee. The APME "works in partnership with AP to improve the wire service's performance," according to their website. APME vice president, Deanna Sands, is managing editor of the ultra conservative Omaha World Herald newspaper, whose parent company owns the largest voting machine company in the nation, Election Systems and Software (ES&S).

Also see: <http://www.ecotalk.org/ExitPolls.htm>

Lynn Landes is one of the nation's leading journalists on voting technology and democracy issues. Readers can find her articles at EcoTalk.org. Lynn is a former news reporter for DUTV and commentator for the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). Contact info: lynnlandes@earthlink.net / (215) 629-3553

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Private Company Still 'Controls' Election Outcome

Secretive company administers almost every last aspect of 'democratic' election process

By Christopher Bollyn

CHICAGO, Illinois—The morning after Election Day, Democratic presidential candidate John Kerry and the vice presidential candidate John Edwards promised the nation that the Democrats would make sure that every vote counts, and that every vote is counted. Later in the day, Kerry and Edwards, however, conceded defeat before some 170,000 to 250,000 provisional ballots from Ohio, which could have changed the outcome of the election, had been counted.

But how were the votes actually counted across the nation on Nov. 2? On Election Day, voters in Cook County, Ill., were among the 60 million Americans who voted with machines made by Election Systems & Software, a secretive company based in Omaha.

ES&S, as it is known, calls itself "the world's largest and most experienced provider of total election management solutions." According to the company's own figures, 42 percent of all registered voters in the United States voted on ES&S equipment on Election Day.

ES&S sells its "end-to-end election management suite of solutions" to replace traditional voting methods and election officials with what it calls "'one-stop-shop,' full service election coordination from start to finish."

What this means on Election Day is that ES&S, a private company, manages everything about the voting, from voter registration, the printing of ballots, the programming of the voting machines, the counting and tabulation of the votes and the final reporting of the results—for 60 million Americans in 47 states.

Four years after first revealing the flaws inherent in the insecure ES&S electronic voting machines used in Cook County, *American Free Press* went to the county clerk's office to observe how ES&S

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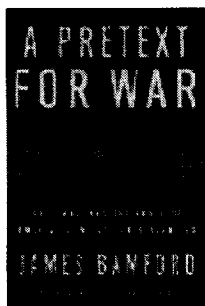
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manages the counting of the votes for America's third largest city, Chicago, and the suburban area around it.

Scott Burnham, spokesman for the county clerk, had informed me that the vote count is open to the public and that press credentials would not be required.



Shortly after arriving, I ran into Burnham and David Orr, the county clerk, in the hallway. Although I had arrived just shortly before the polls closed at 7 p.m., I was the only member of the public or the press around except for a couple of Associated Press (AP) reporters in the far corner of the room.

They were busy setting up their laptop to the ES&S computer in the backroom, which provided them with "direct feed" of the results. I was surprised to see so few people attending such an important event. In France, scores of citizens watch the vote count in each polling station.

While the results were coming in, the AP reporter read a novel while her laptop did the communicating.

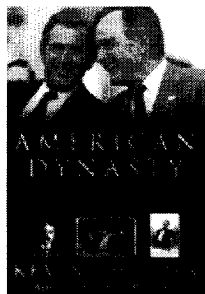


PLEASE LEAVE

When I went to talk to the AP reporter, Burnham quickly appeared and told me to leave. "You should talk to AP," he said.

"She is AP," I replied.

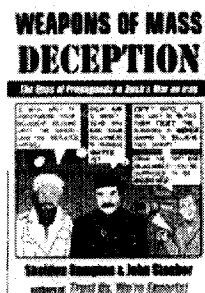
"She just works for AP," he said.



Clearly the subject of AP having direct data feed from the mainframe computer was something Burnham did not want me to discuss.

Dane Placko, a local reporter for the Fox News network, told AFP that "Fox gets direct feed."

Any actual counting of the votes by citizens is very rare in the United States except for a few counties in Montana and other states where paper ballots are still hand-counted.

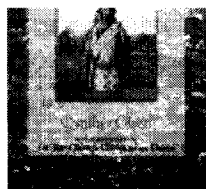


In most counties the ballots are treated as input data to be processed through computer systems controlled by private companies like ES&S.

In Cook County the ballot is inevitably a cluttered punch card with nearly 100 votes. After voting for the president and vice president, a senator and a congressman, the voter has to wade through pages of choices to vote for some 80 local officials from the sanitation board to the state's general assembly. Every voter had to vote on nearly 80 judges.



LONG & COMPLICATED



LONG & COMPLICATED

Rather than holding separate elections for national and local officials, as is done in most countries, the Cook County ballot is extremely long and complicated. Officials who support electronic voting systems give the complexity of the ballot as the main reason why voting machines are necessary—because it would take too much time to count the votes manually.

After calling and personally visiting ES&S headquarters in Omaha and Chicago, I can say it is a highly secretive company. In August, I visited ES&S company headquarters on John Galt Blvd. in Omaha.

Although the company says it is the largest voting machine company in the United States, they were unable to provide any information about their company or their products. The ownership of the company is a closely guarded secret.

I asked to meet with Todd Urosevich, one of the two brothers that founded the company.

Bob and Todd Urosevich started ES&S as a company called Data Mark in the early 1980s. Today, Bob Urosevich heads Ohio-based Diebold Election Systems, a competitor of ES&S and the second largest U.S. manufacturer of electronic voting machines. Together, the computerized ballot scanners and touch-screen voting machines systems made by ES&S and Diebold recorded some 80 percent of all votes cast in the recent U.S. presidential election.

As ES&S had no media relations person available, and Todd Urosevich was not willing to be interviewed, the company's chief financial officer Tom O'Brien finally appeared. Clearly displeased with my visit and questions, O'Brien refused to provide any information about the company.

MORE NAUSEOUS

Although I was ill on Election Day, I knew I had to go to the county clerk's office to observe "counting" of the vote. It is, after all, the only "counting" open to the public. What I saw in Chicago, however, only made me more nauseous.

The only "vote count" the press or public can observe in Chicago is what is projected on screens.

The opening screen read: ES&S Automatic Election Returns, Release 35, Under License to the City of Chicago, Serial No. 0004, Copyright 1987.

Carl Zimmerman, technical supervisor for the clerk's office, said that the computer that ran the system was in the back—"in the ES&S room," he said.

At 7 p.m., Jonathan Lin, a worker on the county clerk's computer staff, came out and turned on the monitors on the 6th floor, where the City of Chicago votes were tallied and displayed. Behind him was Rick Thurman, an ES&S technician, checking the first results.

Thurman seemed surprised when I asked him if he worked for ES&S. He said that the company had about six engineers running the computer in the back room. He then checked himself, saying he had said too much.

Later I asked Lin who was actually operating the computer that was generating the results being shown on the monitors. "ES&S is running the mainframe for all of this," Lin said, pointing to the television displays.

In the press room in the back I noticed stacks of boxes containing "Votamatic" voting machines and "prepunched" ballots printed by ES&S of Addison, Texas, for the different precincts in Cook County. In the rear hallway behind the pressroom was the ES&S room. Only ES&S personnel were allowed into the room.

When I poked around in the hallway and peeked into the ES&S room, an armed marshal and ES&S employee quickly appeared. In no condition for a confrontation, I made myself scarce.

I met a couple reporters from CLTV, a local cable channel of WGN. One of the reporters asked about my interest in the Chicago tallies. I said I was interested to see how a private company runs the elections in Chicago.

Seemingly unaware of how ES&S operates elections in Cook County, I explained the basics. "I've observed elections across Europe," I added, "from France and Germany to Serbia and Holland. Everywhere in Europe, voting is done on paper ballots that are counted by the citizens, except Holland."

Obviously uncomfortable with this discussion, the reporter responded: "I'm glad I'm not in Serbia. I don't mind if a machine counts the votes."

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AP to feed networks election tallies

By Jennifer Harper
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The old Voter News Service that caused such a ruckus in the 2000 presidential election has been reinvented.

Five television networks have signed agreements with the Associated Press to provide vote-tabulation services starting with the 2004 presidential primaries, AP announced yesterday.

"ABC, CBS, NBC, CNN and Fox News Channel said AP will provide continuous running election-night returns on presidential, gubernatorial and congressional races, as well as selected statewide ballot propositions, under contracts that run through 2008," AP said in a statement.

Until the 2000 presidential election, most Americans had never heard of Voter News Service, a polling and voter-analysis group originally founded as Voter Research & Surveys in 1990 by veteran pollster Warren Mitofsky and four networks. Their goal was to save time and money by pooling resources.

The group became Voter News Service three years later.

The foundations were sound enough. Mr. Mitofsky more or less invented the exit-poll genre while working for CBS News back in 1967. These preliminary voter

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surveys have provided fodder for breathless election night predictions so dear to the anchormen's heart.

But something went wrong in the Bush vs. Gore bout.

After a decade of competence, VNS failed famously that election night, supplying faulty numbers to the five major networks and AP.

Its erroneous calls — especially when it declared Al Gore the winner in Florida before changing its call to George W. Bush and then to "too close to call" — rattled voter confidence and put press credibility in question.

The failure also changed the face of election night coverage. Chastened networks vowed accuracy, rather than being "first" with pivotal but possibly flawed results.

But during midterm elections in November, a newly overhauled computer system also failed, causing VNS to disband in January, with promises that new alternatives were "forthcoming."

Four months later, the new alternatives include a larger role for AP on election night. Previously, the news service provided an independent vote count to back up the old VNS tabulations, and provided results in thousands of state and local election races that VNS did not cover.

In the next election, the onus will be on AP to supply broadcasters as well.

"The TV networks require information faster and with more frequency than anyone else," said AP spokesman Jack Stokes. "This service is designed to accommodate the breadth and depth of the information which has to be delivered."

The scope of it is "awesome," said Mr. Stokes, adding that a computerized system will deliver the goods in "real time."

Meanwhile, exit polls will be taken by Mitofsky International — directed by Mr. Mitofsky — and Edison Media, where he is director of media research.

"This looks like AP will be doing what it did before, but they've dressed it up a little," said Andrew Kohut, director of the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press. "It looks like they'll be dealing in information only. I don't see any indications they

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intend to make forecasts or projections here. That's where the problems started for the VNS consortium."

The new agreement comes just in the nick of time, perhaps.

In January, one network source said that "Election 2004 is just around the corner. We are running out of time."

Back to National/Politics

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