1 2	IN THE CIRCUIT COURT OF THE 15TH JUDICIAL CIRCUIT IN AND FOR PALM BEACH COUNTY, FLORIDA CIVIL DIVISION
3	CASE NUMBERS CL 00-10965 AB CL 00-10970 AB
4	CL 00-10988 AB CL 00-10992 AB
5	CL 00-11000 AB
6	ANDRE FLADELL and ALBERTA McCARTHY,
7 8	LILLIAN GAINES, and all other similarly situated electors in Palm Beach County, Florida,
9	Plaintiffs,
10	VS.
11	THE ELECTIONS CANVASSING COMMISSION OF
12	THE STATE OF FLORIDA; THERESA LaPORE, Supervisor of Elections for Palm Beach
13	County; THE PALM BEACH COUNTY ELECTIONS CANVASSING COMMISSION, AL GORE; and GEORGE W. BUSH,
14	Defendants.
15	x
16	
17	West Palm Beach, Florida
18	November 17th, 2000
19	9:35 o'clock A.M.
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21	
22	HEARING ON PLAINTIFF'S COMPLAINT FOR DECLARATORY
23	INJUNCTIVE AND OTHER RELIEF ARISING FROM PLAINTIFF'S CLAIMS OF MASSIVE VOTER CONFUSION
24	RESULTING FROM THE USE OF A "BUTTERFLY" TYPE BALLOT DURING THE ELECTION HELD OF NOVEMBER 7,
25	2000 HEARD BEFORE THE HONORABLE JORGE LABARGA

1 APPEARANCES:

2 THE LAW OFFICES OF DAVID KRATHEN BY: DAVID KRATHEN, ESQ., and 3 MICHAEL FREEDLAND, ESQ., 888 East Las Olas Boulevard, Suite 200 Fort Lauderdale, Florida 33301 4 - and -GILLESPIE, GOLDMAN, KRONENGOLD & FARMER 5 BY: GARY M. FARMER, JR., ESQ., 6550 North Federal Highway, Suite 511 6 Fort Lauderdale, Florida 33308 7 appearing on behalf of the Rogers Plaintiffs. 8 **GREENBERG TRAURIG, P.A.** BY: BARRY RICHARD, ESQ., (Telephonically) and 9 MARK F. BIDEAU, ESQ., and 777 South Flagler Drive West Palm Beach, Florida 33401 10 appearing on behalf of Defendant Governor 11 George W. Bush. 12 STEEL, HECTOR & DAVIS, LLP BY: DAVID I. SPECTOR, ESQ., and 13 GERRY S. GIBSON, ESQ., 1900 Phillips Point West 14 777 South Flagler Drive West Palm Beach, Florida 33401 appearing on behalf of Katherine Harris, 15 Secretary of State; Clay Roberts, Director of the Division of Elections for the State of Florida; 16 and the Elections Canvassing Commission of the State of Florida. 17 18 MONTGOMERY & LARMOYEUX, P.A. BY: ROBERT MONTGOMERY, ESQ., and 19 JOHN T. McGOVERN, ESQ., 1016 Clearwater Place West Palm Beach, Florida 33401 20 appearing on behalf of Defendant Supervisor of Elections Theresa LePore. 21 22 SALE & KUEHNE BY: BENEDICT P. KEUHNE, ESQ., 23 100 Southeast 2nd Street Suite 3500

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24 Miami, Florida 33131 appearing on behalf of Defendant Vice-President

Albert Gore.

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1	ALSO PRESENT:
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3	BRUCE ROGOW, ESQ., HENRY B. HANDLER, ESQ., DONALD FELDMAN, ESQ.,
4	BARRY HOFFMAN, ESQ., BARRY SILVER, ESQ.,
5	F. GREGORY BARNHART, ESQ., PATRICK LAWLOR, ESQ.,
6	MARK A. CULLEN, ESQ., MARK CRANE, ESQ.,
7	KEVIN H. THERIOT, ESQ., DAVID A. CORTMAN, ESQ.,
8	PETER ADRIANE DAVID ROLAND
9	LAWRENCE A. GOTTFRIED
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1 THE COURT: Since I got here this morning 2 around 7:00 I have been hit with eight tons of papers. 3 You lawyers neat to put a lid on it. Enough. You got 4 your issues before me. No more paperwork. I got your 5 memos. I understand that, but enough. 6 Let's hear this one issue. 7 MR. GIBSON: My name is Gerry Gibson, Steel, 8 Hector and Davis, representing the Florida Secretary of 9 State, the State Canvassing Commission, and Clay 10 Roberts as a member of the commission. 11 Your Honor, we are not precisely sure which 12 of these cases that have been transferred to you in 13 which this hearing is being held. We wish to make it 14 clear for the record so there is no issue of waiver 15 that we have filed on behalf of our clients motions to 16 dismiss for improper venue in the actions in which our 17 clients have been named as parties. 18 We wish to state for the record that to the 19 extent our clients are either parties or indispensable 20 parties to any of these cases, that we are taking the 21 position that venue in this court is improper, that 22 venue where a state agency is sued is in the county 23 where its principally headquartered. That is Leon 24 County here. And also we are dealing here with a 25 challenge under 102.168 (2) (a), statewide election,

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1 and that venue is also required to be in Leon County.

2 We just want to make sure that is on the

3 record and that we are not waiving that issue since it

4 has not been heard in other cases in which we have

5 filed motions. And also we will be arguing

6 indispensable party.

7 THE COURT: That motion was heard the first

8 day, a few days ago. Seems like a year ago.

9 I believe Mr. Richard, Barry Richard, is he

10 on the phone today?

11 MR. BIDEAU: He is supposed to be on the

12 phone today.

- 13 THE COURT: Am I supposed to call him?
- 14 MR. BIDEAU: There is an 800 number. I gave

15 to the clerk earlier.

16 THE COURT: Will you take care of that,

17 please?

18 Before we say anything, let's make sure Mr.

19 Richard is on the phone. Should have been on the phone

20 by now.

21 Mr. Richard?

22 MR. RICHARD: Yes, Your Honor.

23 THE COURT: Can you hear me okay?

24 MR. RICHARD: I can hear you fine. Thank you

25 for including me.

Klein, Bury & Associates Matthew P. Spoutz 1 THE COURT: Let me put the speakerphone up on

2 the bench next to the microphone. I think we have

3 everybody here.

- 4 Mr. Farmer, what is it you want to say?
- 5 MR. FARMER: Just a few things, Your Honor.
- 6 May it please the court, Gary Farmer on

7 behalf of Beverly Rogers and Ray Kaplan.

8 When we were last before Your Honor, we

9 attempted to introduce evidence as to the statistical

10 aberration of the votes in Palm Beach County through

11 Mr. Buchanan and other evidence relating to the

12 legality of the ballot.

13 Your Honor asked us to first brief you and

14 now present oral argument on assuming that the ballot

15 were declared illegal whether or not there is a remedy

16 in the form of a new election. We have submitted our

17 papers. I would now like to present argument on that

18 issue.

19 THE COURT: Hang on a minute.

20 I believe when we recessed the last time I

21 think Mr. Handler or I think it was Mr. Feldman --

22 MR. FARMER: Mr. Feldman.

23 THE COURT: I believe they were up.

24 Have you lawyers agreed on an order in which

25 to present this argument? I take it after about four

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1 or five of you I would have heard just about any 2 argument there is. Maybe the rest of you can just 3 adopt the arguments or maybe present something 4 different. 5 MR. FELDMAN: Yes, Your Honor. 6 We have agreed at the request of Mr. Farmer 7 and the Democratic Party to allow them to proceed 8 first. But we really would like to have the 9 opportunity, as Your Honor has said, to perhaps add new 10 matters and perhaps a different approach. 11 THE COURT: Absolutely. I got all day today 12 and -- Well, I got all day today. 13 MR. RICHARD: Your Honor. 14 THE COURT: Yes, Mr. Richard. 15 MR. RICHARD: If I may, my recollection is 16 that you instructed the lawyers to provide each other 17 in accordance with the rule with whatever papers they 18 filed with you. I provided copies of the case that I 19 gave to opposing counsel. 20 I have never received, and as of yesterday 21 evening I was advised by the lawyers in my Palm Beach 22 office they never received copies of any cases or 23 citations or papers from opposing counsel. I do have 24 an associate or partner from my office there in

25 courtroom who can confirm whether or not they have

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- 1 received it. But I have received nothing from opposing
- 2 counsel at this point.
- 3 THE COURT: I received the bulk of it
- 4 yesterday late afternoon and this morning. In fact,
- 5 I'm probably still getting some up there.
- 6 Did you mention that you had a case you
- 7 found?
- 8 MR. RICHARD: Yes, sir. And I believe it was
- 9 submitted to your office. It was Foster versus Logan,
- 10 a United States Supreme Court case in 1997. We
- 11 provided copies to opposing counsel.
- 12 THE COURT: Do you have a cite for that?
- 13 MR. RICHARD: I am going to quote it.
- 14 The cite for the case is 522 U.S. 67, 118
- 15 Supreme Court 464.
- 16 THE COURT: Okay.
- 17 MR. BIDEAU: This is Mark Bideau, Mr.
- 18 Richard's partner.
- 19 I will confirm until this morning when I
- 20 walked in here we did not receive any memorandum
- 21 although you instructed everybody to fax it to my
- 22 partner, Mr. Dunkel, before 5:00.
- 23 THE COURT: I think all of us need to

24 understand, first of all, that the last time we were

25 here was the day before yesterday, and obviously these

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1	are not normal times. I don't know if we can expect
2	the proper service. I'm sure everybody sent everything
3	to each other. It is just a question of when you get
4	it.
5	It isn't my intention to rule from the bench
6	today on this issue. This, in my opinion, is the most
7	emotional issue in this entire case, and it is not one
8	I intend to rule from the bench on. I'm going to enter
9	a written order which will probably go out next week,
10	so I will have time to have read everything by then.
11	Hopefully by tomorrow everybody would have gotten
12	whatever you need.
13	MR. RICHARD: Your Honor, I didn't mean to
14	suggest that I think anybody intentionally did anything
15	inappropriate, nor did I mean to delay the hearing, but
16	I did want that to be understood. It may not prove to
17	be a problem. But should counsel cite some cases that
18	I feel the need to research, I wanted the opportunity
19	be able to file some supplemental memo.
20	THE COURT: Okay. All right, Mr. Farmer.
21	Mr. Richard, by the way, do you intend to be

22 with us today throughout this hearing?

23 MR. RICHARD: Depends on how long it takes.

- 24 But I certainly want to be with you until I have the
- 25 opportunity to argue. Obviously we have some things

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1 taking place up here. But at some point I may turn it

2 over to another lawyer in my office if Your Honor would

3 permit.

4 THE COURT: Let me do it this way if I may.

5 Let me take a few minutes to set the procedure.

6 Perhaps that will shorten things.

7 I have a feeling, Mr. Richard, and the rest

8 of you attorneys, after I hear from about three of you,

9 the rest of you are going to run out of things to say.

10 And perhaps after I hear from about three or four of

11 you, maybe I can permit Mr. Richard to say his piece

12 and his side, and then if he has to go someplace else

13 he may go and have somebody else on the phone. Then I

14 can hear from the rest of you.

15 MR. RICHARD: Your Honor, I really appreciate

16 your efforts to accommodate me up here. Thank you.

17 THE COURT: Sure thing.

18 Mr. Farmer, go ahead, sir.

19 MR. FARMER: Thank you very much, Your Honor.

20 The right to vote is perhaps the most

21 fundamental right of all the rights we enjoy as

- 22 American citizens. The Supreme Court has repeatedly
- 23 stated that without the right to vote, all other
- 24 rights, even the most basic, are illusory. People have
- 25 fought in wars and died for that right. Women and

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1 minorities have fought vigorously for a free and 2 unimpeded right to vote. This is a sacred right we 3 speak about, and we don't take this matter very lightly. And I'm sure the court doesn't either. You 4 5 already indicated so. It is with that perspective the 6 trial court must consider any election contest. 7 I would like to begin my focus on Florida State law since this is an election contest filed under 8 9 a Florida statute challenging a ballot under Florida 10 Statute. I feel we must focus then on state law first. 11 102.168, the very statute under which we 12 filed our suit, gives the judge great discretion and 13 provides in any election contest the court can order 14 any relief deemed appropriate under the circumstances. 15 This is consistent with a longstanding constitutional 16 principle that for every wrong there must be a remedy. 17 Another statute, Section 101.111, speaks of 18 the need for flexibility in setting special elections 19 to resolve or deal with unforeseen or unpredictable

20 circumstances. I don't think anyone in this courtroom

- 21 would disagree we are now facing an unforeseen or
- 22 unpredictable circumstance in Palm Beach County.
- 23 The Florida cases which have dealt with
- 24 election challenges now provide us with a wealth of
- 25 information in guidance. I think we need to focus

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1 primarily on the Beckstrom decision, Beckstrom versus

2 Volusia County, 707 So.2d 720.

3 First of all, the Beckstrom case is factually

4 analogous to this case in that Beckstrom did not

5 involve a fraud issue, for example, tampering with

6 absentee ballots or something of that nature. Rather,

7 the issue in Beckstrom was a dispute regarding the

8 method of counting absentee ballots. Again, we have a

9 counting issue in Beckstrom similar to the counting

10 issue we have in this case.

11 Perhaps, more importantly, Beckstrom teaches

12 us it is not necessary for a court to find that fraud

13 had been committed in the course of an election.

14 Rather, a substantial and even unintentional failure to

15 comply with statutory procedure will be enough to void

16 an election. The standard the court must focus on is

17 whether or not there has been that substantial

18 noncompliance with the statutory election procedure

19 which we believe includes whether this ballot is legal

- 20 under the statutes which govern the form and design of
- 21 the ballot, and whether the results of an election are
- 22 in reasonable doubt as to whether the election
- 23 expresses the will of the people.
- 24 We believe there is a reasonable doubt in
- 25 this case as to whether the final tabulation or the

- 1 to-date final tabulation in Palm Beach County
- 2 accurately reflects the will of the citizens of Palm
- 3 Beach County.
- 4 Now, if the court finds there is substantial
- 5 noncompliance and that the will of the people has not
- 6 been represented, Beckstrom said that the court must
- 7 void the election.
- 8 The substantial noncompliance includes
- 9 incompetence, a lack of care by election officials, or
- 10 even a misunderstanding over a statute. We believe
- 11 that is what has occurred in this case in that the
- 12 approval of the butterfly ballot represents a
- 13 misunderstanding over the statutes, and that that is
- 14 enough under Beckstrom to bring in an election contest
- 15 and potentially void the election.
- 16 The Supreme Court has also held in a case
- 17 called Bolden versus Potter, 452 So.2d 564, that courts
- 18 must not be reluctant to invalidate elections to insure

- 19 public credibility in the electoral process.
- 20 I cited some other cases in my brief, Judge.
- 21 I won't belabor them. But the principle and guiding
- 22 focus here is that where there is a question as to the
- 23 expression of the will of the people due to a statutory
- 24 violation or fraud, the court must void an election.
- 25 If an election is to be voided, one of the

- 1 possible remedies must be a new election. In the case
- 2 of fraud, for example, if it were otherwise, if the
- 3 election is not set aside and the result stands, for
- 4 example, an incumbent who benefits from the fraud, not
- 5 even committed by the incumbent but who nonetheless
- 6 benefits from it, if there were no remedy in the form
- 7 of a revote such that the court will just throw out the
- 8 results of the most recent election, the incumbent
- 9 would automatically retain his or her seat and they
- 10 would thereby benefit from the fraud. So a revote or
- 11 reelection must be a possible remedy where the Supreme
- 12 Court has repeatedly said the court has the power and
- 13 indeed must void an election if certain things have
- 14 occurred or been shown.
- 15 Judge, you may find comfort in the fact it
- 16 has been done before in Florida. We have attached to
- 17 our brief a decision from ironically Leon County,

- 18 Florida, Judge Smith in a case called Craig versus
- 19 Wallace, 2 Florida Law Weekly Sup 517 (a). Again, this
- 20 is not a fraud case. This is a case where information
- 21 sheets that were to be handed out with the ballots were
- 22 missing in some precincts. The court held this caused
- 23 a depravation of the voter's rights, and that this
- 24 error in the election process permeated the entire
- 25 process to such a degree that an entirely new election

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1 was necessary. So we have cases in Florida where a new

- 2 election has been ordered.
- 3 Your Honor's homework assignment to us the
- 4 other day, if I remember, the exact quote was you asked
- 5 us to find a case where a new presidential election was
- 6 ordered before. I must candidly respond to Your Honor
- 7 we have been unable to find such a case.
- 8 THE COURT: Did you find a case where the
- 9 issue was even before any court?
- 10 MR. FARMER: No, I have not, Your Honor. I
- 11 was about to say likewise we have not found a case
- 12 where it was held that a new election could not be held
- 13 in a presidential election.
- 14 THE COURT: I found one.
- 15 MR. FARMER: Perhaps you have better staff
- 16 than I do, Judge.

- 17 THE COURT: I have here a case involving
- 18 Donahue versus the Board of Elections of the State of
- 19 New York, 435 Fed Sup 957, 1976 District Court case,
- 20 New York, Upstate New York, Eastern District of New
- 21 York. It involved the presidential election between
- 22 Jimmie Carter and Gerald Ford. It was different than
- 23 this case in the sense that it was a 1983 action.
- 24 The District Court has some very strong
- 25 language keeping in mind in dealing with it a 1983

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1 context. And it basically says before a federal court 2 can responsively order a new election, the claimants 3 seeking this extraordinary relief must come forward with the most clear and convincing evidence that state 4 5 officials or persons acting on the color of law, by 6 intentionally depriving gualified voters of their right 7 to vote, altered the outcome of the election. A party 8 contesting a presidential election carries a heavy 9 burden. Not to put too fine a point on it, this 10 standard implies conduct of the most egregious nature 11 approximating criminal activity. In judging whether 12 the complaint before us states a claim upon which 13 relief can be granted, the plaintiff must allege and be 14 prepared to prove the following: One, a specific act of fraud or other unlawful behavior was committed in 15

- 16 the conduct of the election; two, the fraud or other
- 17 unlawful behavior was committed with the intent or
- 18 purpose of depriving qualified voters of their
- 19 constitutionally protected right to vote; three, the
- 20 fraud or other unlawful behavior was committed by
- 21 persons acting under the color of law, and; four, the
- 22 fraud or other unlawful behavior changed the outcome of
- 23 the election.
- 24 I don't believe fraud is an issue in this
- 25 case. However, you may be arguing unlawful behavior.

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1 Again, this case involving a 1983 action may be

2 different from what you are seeking here pursuant to

- 3 state statute.
- 4 However, there is a case where the question
- 5 of presidential election was considered. They
- 6 basically rejected the argument in that case. So I
- 7 tell you that is a case we found in doing our research.
- 8 MR. FARMER: Judge, thank you very much.
- 9 If I may comment on that case, I think Your
- 10 Honor has picked up on a very important distinguishing
- 11 feature of that case in that it is a civil rights
- 12 violation case. That is why we gave the least amount
- 13 of emphasis in our brief to federal election challenge
- 14 cases under civil rights statutes because the standard

- 15 there is so drastically different from the standard we
- 16 have here in Florida dealing with election contests
- 17 under this specific statute.
- 18 Now that you have read that case to me, I
- 19 think I may have read it in the myriad of papers I
- 20 received over the last 24 hours, E mails and faxes.
- 21 THE COURT: Now you know how I feel.
- 22 MR. FARMER: They do comment on unlawful
- 23 behavior, Judge, and you did mention that. Certainly
- 24 we feel the act of approving the ballot utilized in
- 25 Palm Beach, Florida, was unlawful in the sense it

- 1 violates a number of Florida statutes.
- 2 The thing with civil rights cases, Judge, is
- 3 they only affect a certain portion or percentage of the
- 4 voters, and that distinguishes the civil rights cases
- 5 from this case in that we have here an unlawful
- 6 activity in the form of the violation of the voting
- 7 statutes which permeated the entire election in Palm
- 8 Beach County. It is not as though only certain
- 9 citizens of Palm Beach County were presented this
- 10 ballot. Everyone in Palm Beach County was presented
- 11 this ballot.
- 12 The cases of Beckstrom and Bolden and some of
- 13 the others I cited focus especially on situations where

- 14 the wrong complained of permeates the entire election
- 15 practice. I believe Bolden talked about to the extent
- 16 that the credibility of the entire election must be
- 17 called into question.
- 18 Certainly we believe we have that situation
- 19 here, Judge, where a ballot utilized in Palm Beach
- 20 County has caused by people to either vote for a
- 21 candidate for whom they did not intend to vote,
- 22 unintentionally poke the wrong hole, vote for perhaps
- 23 two candidates, realizing they made a mistake with the
- 24 first punch and trying to correct that mistake.
- 25 And, in addition, in reading that case to us,

- 1 you talked about substantial evidence must be
- 2 presented. I'm not going to belabor the evidentiary
- 3 point because we won't have enough time here today if
- 4 we go through all the evidence. But we have attached
- 5 to our brief the statistical analysis performed by some
- 6 of the world class experts we have retained, the finest
- 7 statisticians across the country who are convinced to a
- 8 reasonable scientific certainty that the ballot in this
- 9 case caused confusion which resulted in a vote which
- 10 does not reflect the true intent of the voters in this
- 11 county.
- 12 THE COURT: By the way, you may want to read

- 13 that opinion because the last part of it deals with
- 14 statistical survey techniques and how they were used in
- 15 this particular case to show that fraud may have been
- 16 committed in the case. So the case deals with that.
- 17 MR. FARMER: Thank you, Your Honor.
- 18 There are some other cases we cited also
- 19 where statistical analysis was performed to show the
- 20 effect of the unlawful activity complained of, be it
- 21 fraud or some other violation of election laws.
- 22 So in addition to the statistical analysis,
- 23 Judge, if given the opportunity, we will present
- 24 evidence either in the form of live testimony or
- 25 affidavits, depending on how Your Honor wishes to

- 1 conduct such a hearing, of people who were confused by
- 2 the ballot and are convinced they punched the wrong
- 3 hole. In addition, people who asked for instruction at
- 4 the polling places but were denied instruction. We
- 5 have people who spoiled the ballot and asked for
- 6 another ballot and were not given another ballot. We
- 7 have people who were told they could not receive any
- 8 instruction and could only have five minutes in the
- 9 voting booth. There is very real and substantial
- 10 evidence we will supply should the court determine it
- 11 will hear that evidence.

- 12 Indeed, Judge, I think when you read the
- 13 Florida cases, they focus so much on the level of
- 14 proof. Given the level of proof that we have in the
- 15 case, should we void this election, or did the trial
- 16 court err in voiding or not voiding an election.
- 17 I was going to mention this in my closing.
- 18 But we feel it would perhaps be premature for Your
- 19 Honor to enter an order which would absolutely
- 20 foreclose the possibility of a new election or revote
- 21 without hearing the evidence because the evidence is so
- 22 compelling, Judge, of the nature of this error and how
- 23 it permeated the entire election process. It is not as
- 24 some commentators have said, a few dumb or
- 25 unintelligent voters who couldn't read a simple ballot.

- 1 I hear press releases about the ballot was
- 2 presented to a fourth grade class and 95 percent of
- 3 them could figure it out.
- 4 We got so much more here than that, Judge. I
- 5 truly believe before Your Honor can rule out the
- 6 potential of a revote or reelection that you may need
- 7 to hear the evidence in some format. If you want to
- 8 hear a proffer or affidavits before you hear written
- 9 testimony, something. But it may be that given the
- 10 standard in Florida law you need to hear that evidence

- 11 before you rule out a remedy which we understand is an
- 12 extraordinary remedy but which may ultimately prove to
- 13 be the remedy of choice.
- 14 THE COURT: Going back to my original
- 15 question I raised the other day -- And I understand,
- 16 believe me, I think I have as deep an appreciation for
- 17 the right to vote in this country as anyone else. My
- 18 parents brought me here so I could have that right. So
- 19 it is a very precious right to me. But we have a
- 20 document called a United States Constitution. Actually
- 21 this is a book I had in law school. Article 2, Section
- 22 1, Clause 4, the Congress may determine the time of
- 23 choosing the electors and the day in which they shall
- 24 give their votes, which day shall be the same
- 25 throughout the United States.

- 1 Now, keeping in mind I read just about every
- 2 case you good lawyers have given me, all of them deal
- 3 with congressional seats, mayor seats, state
- 4 representatives, a lot of the voters violations in
- 5 districts and things like that. I read the cases. I
- 6 know what you are talking about. But the president and
- 7 vice-president is different. It is the only national
- 8 election we have. It is the only time that the entire
- 9 nation goes out to vote for one person to be their

- 10 executive chief. It is a much different election. And
- 11 the framers of our Constitution who were far brighter
- 12 than I think most of us in here decided that election
- 13 should be held on one day. Florida followed suit in
- 14 adopting 103.011 where the Florida legislature said in
- 15 the statute that electors of the president, meaning
- 16 electoral college, and vice-president, known as
- 17 presidential electors, shall be elected on the first
- 18 Tuesday after the first Monday in November of each
- 19 year, the number of which is multiples of four. And
- 20 that seems to be quite in line and consistent with
- 21 Article 2, Section 1, Clause 4. We want the
- 22 presidential election to take place one day throughout
- 23 the United States.
- 24 Now, again, as I said earlier, the voting
- 25 right is a precious right that I appreciate as deeply

- 1 as anyone else in the country. But given our
- 2 constitutional mandate, what authority do I or any
- 3 other judge have to order a new election for president
- 4 in one county in the entire nation?
- 5 MR. FARMER: Your Honor, I understand what
- 6 you are asking me.
- 7 The constitutional provisions regarding the
- 8 election for president and vice-president certainly

- 9 call for everyone voting on one day. But they also
- 10 call for -- And, by the way, the constitutional
- 11 provision has been codified in 3 United States Code
- 12 Section 1. Likewise, Congress has codified the
- 13 election for senators and congressmen shall take place
- 14 on the same day throughout the country.
- 15 THE COURT: But a senator or congressmen, if
- 16 there is some type of fraud or some ballot
- 17 irregularities, I can order a new election for
- 18 congress, I can order a new election for senate, and
- 19 the rest of the country can go along about its
- 20 business. I mean the senate is not going to stop
- 21 functioning because Florida is doing a reelection for a
- 22 senate seat, or the congress, they are going to keep
- 23 going. But the presidency, there is no one there to
- 24 take their place until we have -- What about a little
- 25 county in Wisconsin? A little county in Maine. Orange

- 1 County in California? Broward County? Macon County in
- 2 Georgia? All these counties decided we didn't like the
- 3 election, we think there were problems with the
- 4 ballots, let's all of us have a new election. When is
- 5 it going to stop? We would still be deciding the 1960
- 6 election today, wouldn't we?
- 7 MR. FARMER: I think whatever remedy the

- 8 court would order, there may be some time constraints
- 9 involved. But keep in mind, Judge, Bill Clinton is
- 10 still our president. He will be our president until
- 11 January when a new president takes the oath of office.
- 12 The electoral college will not meet for some time. The
- 13 country will continue to function. Bill Clinton will
- 14 be our president if we order a new election down here
- 15 in Florida and we complete that election and assign our
- 16 electoral votes within the time prescribed by law.
- 17 Congress has also, however, provided that
- 18 electoral college dates may be amended. In 1960, for
- 19 example, in the 1960 presidential election, the state
- 20 of Hawaii sent two electoral representative groups to
- 21 the electoral college, one democratic and one
- 22 republican, until Hawaii could figure out where, in
- 23 fact, its vote was going to go. They sent two sets of
- 24 electoral representatives to the electoral college. So
- 25 there is precedent for some flexibility in a

- 1 presidential election.
- 2 Congress has also enacted a statute, 3 United
- 3 States Code Section 2, which is entitled failure to
- 4 make choice on prescribed day. That statute provides
- 5 whenever any state is held --
- 6 MR. RICHARD: Can I have that section again?

7 THE COURT: Can you repeat the section for

8 Mr. Richard?

9 MR. FARMER: 3 United States Code Section 2.

10 THE COURT: I don't have it. I can't seem to

11 find it here.

12 MR. FELDMAN: May we give you a copy, Your

13 Honor? Would you give this up, please? Thank you.

14 THE COURT: Thank you, Mr. Feldman.

15 Appreciate it.

- 16 MR. FELDMAN: You are welcome, Your Honor.
- 17 THE COURT: Let me take a look at it.
- 18 Section 2 you said?
- 19 MR. FARMER: Yes, 3 U.S.C. Section 2.
- 20 THE COURT: It says but the electors may be
- 21 appointed on a subsequent day in such a manner as the
- 22 legislature of such state may direct.
- 23 MR. FARMER: Yes, sir.
- 24 THE COURT: What provisions do we have in the
- 25 statute for that?

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- 1 MR. FARMER: In this case the legislature has
- 2 said specifically in 102.168 that the trial judge will
- 3 be vested with the authority to determine what remedy
- 4 is appropriate given all the facts and circumstances of
- 5 the case. So the United States congress has delegated

- 6 the states with the power to determine what do we do if
- 7 our voters fail to make a choice on the required
- 8 election day. And the statute says electors may be
- 9 appointed on a subsequent day in such manner as the
- 10 legislature of the state has directed. Our state
- 11 legislature has not determined, has not set in stone a
- 12 date where a second or special election should occur.
- 13 Rather, they have vested that authority with the trial
- 14 court. Not only Section 102.168 is applicable, but in
- 15 addition we have Section 101.111 which speaks
- 16 specifically to the need of flexibility to order
- 17 special elections to resolve or deal with any
- 18 unforeseen or unpredictable circumstance. So
- 19 respectfully, Judge, the buck stops here.
- 20 You have been given the authority to
- 21 determine if due to the unforeseen or unpredictable
- 22 circumstances in this case that the electors of Palm
- 23 Beach County failed to make a selection on the day
- 24 prescribed by our federal constitution and federal
- 25 statutes, that you can order the relief that you deem

- 1 necessary and appropriate.
- 2 And, in fact, the case cited by George W.
- 3 Bush, the only case provided to me in preparation for
- 4 this hearing, Foster versus Love, in fact, speaks to

- 5 the need to have special elections after election day.
- 6 In this case it was a runoff election. The court said
- 7 that actions affecting the final selection of
- 8 officeholders, including another election, could
- 9 permissibly take place after the federal election day
- 10 such as where a runoff is required by a state law
- 11 mandate that the winner must receive a majority of all

12 votes cast.

- 13 In Foster versus Love you had a situation
- 14 where the state had a statute where a plurality
- 15 majority vote was not sufficient, a majority vote must
- 16 be obtained. Neither candidate received 50 percent of
- 17 the vote, so a special election was held on the Tuesday
- 18 after the first Monday in November.
- 19 Here we have a situation where, in fact, a
- 20 federal election, under the provisions of the federal
- 21 Constitution and federal statutes, was in fact allowed
- 22 to be held. This is the United States Supreme Court
- 23 saying elections can be held after election day.
- 24 Chapter 1, Section 5 of the United States
- 25 Code also talks about the determination of

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- 1 controversies to appoint electors. Certainly we have
- 2 controversy right now as to where Florida electoral
- 3 votes are going to go.

4 So you do have the discretion, Judge, to

5 order an election which will take place after the

6 Tuesday after the first Monday of November.

- 7 Again, we are not asking you to rule today or
- 8 on Monday or Tuesday that there in fact will be an
- 9 election held, a new election held in Palm Beach County
- 10 to resolve this dispute. But we certainly ask that
- 11 Your Honor not foreclose that possibility at this

12 juncture.

- 13 Again, I go back to the need to understand
- 14 and hear and appreciate the evidence that will be
- 15 presented to Your Honor and how it meets the criteria
- 16 that has been laid out by our Supreme Court for
- 17 election statutes under the state statutes.
- 18 Again, this is a particular and peculiar
- 19 state issue. The federal government has said states
- 20 can regulate elections so long as their regulations do
- 21 not conflict with federal mandate or constitutional
- 22 provisions. Nothing about the Florida challenge
- 23 statute or election contest statute deviates from or
- 24 conflicts with the federal mandates by which we must
- 25 govern elections. In fact, as I said, and as Your

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- 1 Honor pointed out, there are cases generally speaking
- 2 of senators and United States congressmen, but

- 3 nevertheless the cases exist in those situations where
- 4 the election is to be held on the Tuesday after the
- 5 first Monday, yet for some circumstance a new election
- 6 was required or needed.
- 7 So, in summary, Judge -- and I will yield
- 8 because I know a lot of people would like to speak to
- 9 you and I know you don't have much time -- but we have
- 10 again a very unforeseen and unpredicted circumstance
- 11 here. It has drastic and far-reaching potential
- 12 consequences. It would essentially amount to a
- 13 disenfranchisement of voters in Palm Beach County if,
- 14 for example, Secretary of State Harris were to certify
- 15 without consideration of the votes down here, or if the
- 16 votes were actually certified with a count in Palm
- 17 Beach County which does not reflect the true will and
- 18 intent of the voters in Palm Beach County. We can talk
- 19 about mechanics of how we do this later. It has been

20 done before.

- 21 In Judge Smith's order in Leon County, again,
- 22 that was a countywide election, and we are not seeking
- 23 a new election statewide, but on a county level he
- 24 ordered the new election take place within a month.
- 25 I'm not suggesting we do that now. I'm

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1 saying time should not foreclose the remedy,

2 constitutional provisions do not foreclose the remedy,

3 and certain binding state precedents do not foreclose

4 that remedy.

5	I very much appreciate Your Honor's time.
6	Judge, I'm sorry. If the court would indulge
7	us, since you brought up some constitutional
8	provisions, I think it would be extremely helpful for
9	the court, we have with us today a professor from the
10	University of Southern California, one of the most
11	renown constitutional scholars in our country, if the
12	court could indulge us for just about five minutes, I
13	think he could especially speak to the case you just
14	brought up and provide some guidance to the court.
15	MR. RICHARD: Your Honor, I would like to
16	object to their putting witnesses on at this point.
17	MR. FARMER: He is not a witness. He is a
18	friend of the court. He is assisting us.
19	MR. RICHARD: He is not admitted to practice.
20	He is not representing one of the parties. Your Honor
21	said we are going to have oral argument on this. Once
22	again, counsel is trying to turn this into an
23	evidentiary hearing.
24	THE COURT: What is the name of the expert?
25	MR. FARMER: Erwin

Klein, Bury & Associates Matthew P. Spoutz 1 MR. CHEMBRINSKY: I am an attorney. I would

2 ask for pro hoc vici status as counsel for the

3 plaintiff to speak for five minutes on the

4 constitutional issue. I am a professor of law at the

5 University of Southern California.

6 THE COURT: Mr. Richard, he appears to be a

7 lawyer.

8 MR. RICHARD: Your Honor, that is okay. I

9 would appreciate it, as you had noted earlier, we are

10 not going to have dozens of lawyers making

11 presentations before I have an opportunity to speak.

12 If they want to substitute him for somebody

13 else who was going to speak and let him make a

14 presentation as a lawyer, I think that would be fair.

15 THE COURT: What I'll do, I'll let him speak

16 for about five minutes. Then I think Mr. Handler wants

17 to go. And I think Mr. Barnhart wants to go.

18 MR. BARNHART: Yes, Your Honor.

19 THE COURT: I think after Mr. Barnhart goes

20 we will let Mr. Richard state his side of the case. It

21 will keep me in line as well. It will help me.

22 MR. FARMER: Thank you very much, Your Honor.

23 THE COURT: Why don't you tell me your full

24 name, please?

25 MR. CHEMBRINSKY: Erwin Chembrinsky,

Klein, Bury & Associates Matthew P. Spoutz 2 permission to address this issue. I will be very

3 brief.

4 The central point I want to emphasize is that

5 this court has broad remedial authority so as to remedy

6 any violation of Florida law that it finds. And

7 clearly I believe under Florida law the authority

8 includes ordering a new election. I just want to make

9 two points. First, ordering a new election as a remedy

10 under Florida law would not violate federal law or the

11 United States Constitution.

12 Federal law is clear that it is the state law

13 that is to determine any disputes regarding selection

14 of electors. I direct the court here to 3 United

15 States Code Section 5 that says state law is to be

16 used. I direct this court to Williams versus Rhodes,

17 393 U.S. 23. It makes very clear in the United States

18 Constitution it is state law that is to be used.

19 Indeed, Judge Middlebrooks court on Monday of

20 this week said the states have the exclusive authority

21 to resolve controversies for electing electors. That

22 is why, Your Honor, the Beckstrom case is controlling

23 for you and the Donahue case is not. I am familiar

24 with Donahue. As you rightly pointed out, it is a 1983

25 action under federal law. That has a very different

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1 standard. What is to govern federal statutes is the

- 2 Florida state law.
- 3 THE COURT: I understand. But there is some
- 4 language in there about the high burden that would have
- 5 to be met to touch a presidential election if it is

6 possible.

- 7 MR. CHEMBRINSKY: If the claim was under
- 8 Section 1983, then that high burden would have to be
- 9 met. But since federal law, the United States
- 10 Constitution and federal statutes are clear that
- 11 Florida law is to govern the selection of electors,
- 12 then you look to Florida law, not to Donahue, not to
- 13 1983.
- 14 THE COURT: Going back to my original point
- 15 of Article 2, Section 1, Clause 4, how is it you can
- 16 justify your position with the United States
- 17 Constitution's position that the election for president
- 18 and vice-president should be on the same day throughout
- 19 the entire United States?
- 20 MR. CHEMBRINSKY: And it was, Your Honor.
- 21 The Constitution requires that election he held that
- 22 Tuesday with the intent of selecting the president and
- 23 vice-president. It also requires the election be held
- 24 with the intent of selecting senators and members of

25 congress. But that doesn't speak to what remedies are

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- 1 permissible under the Constitution when there have been
- 2 violations of law.
- 3 Here I agree very much with Mr. Farmer, that
- 4 3 United States Code Section 2 is directly on point
- 5 because it does say the states can provide such further
- 6 remedies after the elections are necessary for the
- 7 selection of the electors.
- 8 You asked Mr. Farmer what is the stopping
- 9 point. The stopping point is set by federal statute.
- 10 Florida, like all states, must designate its electors
- 11 by December the 12th. But Florida law gets to decide
- 12 between election day and December 12th what procedures
- 13 are necessary and what are permissible.
- 14 Here, Your Honor, Foster versus Love cited by
- 15 the defendants, is directly on point for the
- 16 plaintiffs, is helpful in answering your question.
- 17 Foster versus Love involved a state that attempted to
- 18 hold an election for members of congress where
- 19 effectively they were choosing them in October before
- 20 the November election.
- 21 The Supreme Court said in Foster versus Love
- 22 the election must be held on the national election day
- 23 with the intent of choosing members of congress. But

24 Foster versus Love makes it clear if further remedies

25 are appropriate after election day such as runoff

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1 election, that is permissible. That is exactly how you

2 should interpret the United States constitutional

3 provision you read this morning. It requires an

4 election be held on that Tuesday with the intent of

5 selecting electors. But there is nothing in that

6 provision whatsoever that precludes this court from

7 fashioning what other remedies there are. Federal

8 statutes say it is to be under state law.

9 The second and final point I wanted to make

10 for you is there is authority through jurisdictions

11 throughout the country that give you the power to hold

12 a new election. The brief cites over a dozen cases.

13 They include a New Jersey case from the year 2000.

14 They include cases from the Supreme Court, cases from

15 the federal circuits.

16 You raised the question this morning, and I

17 know on Wednesday, is there authority with regard to

18 holding a new election with regard to presidential

19 electors. But the problem with that question is it

20 assumes there are different election laws with regard

21 to fairness in presidential elections. There is not

22 any different standards with regard to fairness and

- 23 with regard to what the law requires when constructing
- 24 ballots for presidential elections. If anything, Your
- 25 Honor, I would think the most important election in the

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1 country, we should be especially sure there is a fair

- 2 election in accordance with state law.
- 3 To the extent you conclude there is not, you
- 4 do have broad remedial authority under Beckstrom, under
- 5 decisions in the United States Supreme Court, to
- 6 fashion a remedy, and that includes ordering a new
- 7 election.
- 8 THE COURT: Let me ask you this. Perhaps I
- 9 may be picking on you.
- 10 MR. CHEMBRINSKY: Please.
- 11 THE COURT: You are talking to me about the
- 12 Constitution. I'm going to ask you a question about

13 state statute.

14 If the Federal Code Section 2 provides that

15 the electors were not elected on the day chosen by

- 16 statute, that the choice may be made on the day
- 17 prescribed by law, then why didn't the Florida
- 18 legislature, when they enacted 103.011, tell me right
- 19 there and it will solve this whole case, if you fail to
- 20 elect a president, the electors, on the first Tuesday
- 21 after the first Monday, then follow this procedure.

- 22 See what I'm saying?
- 23 MR. CHEMBRINSKY: I do. I think Beckstrom
- 24 answers that for you. Beckstrom talks about unforeseen
- 25 circumstances. The reality is no legislature could

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- 1 have ever imagined the circumstance we are dealing with
- 2 here.
- 3 THE COURT: Wait a minute.
- 4 Hurricane season, for example, in Florida,

5 extends all the way to the end of November, November

6 30. What if we had a Hurricane Andrew during the first

7 Tuesday after the first Monday? Although maybe not

8 likely to happen on that day, it could happen. That is

9 something that the legislature and the state would do

- 10 especially here in Florida.
- 11 MR. CHEMBRINSKY: I think you would clearly
- 12 have the authority to order necessary remedies.
- 13 Let's start again with Section 5 of the

14 United States Code that says it is state law that to is

15 to be used in determining the selection of electors,

16 and state law provides you the authority to fashion

17 necessary remedies.

18 Beckstrom specifically speaks of the ability

19 to fashion remedies for unforeseen circumstances. I

20 think a hurricane, with the events that have occurred

- 21 here in Florida the last two weeks, fit the definition
- 22 of unforeseen circumstances. That is where I think
- 23 Section 2 of 3 United States Code helps you because it
- 24 says you can order remedies even after the day of the
- 25 election.

1	I think your hurricane example is a powerful
2	one. Surely if there was a hurricane and there was no
3	way otherwise for people to vote in Florida, you would
4	have the authority under Florida law to be able to
5	provide the necessary remedy to protect the right to
6	vote.
7	What we really had here is an unforeseen
8	circumstance in a sense like a political hurricane.
9	THE COURT: That was one of my questions I
10	was pondering as I'm thinking about this. Everywhere I
11	go and I'm driving, whatever. Suppose we had a
12	earthquake for example in San Francisco and we have
13	elections on the same day. Does it mean that the
14	people of San Francisco do not get to vote for
15	president? Obviously these are questions I'm directing
16	to Mr. Richard later on in this case to answer them.
17	That type of thing. That is my concern, that we could
18	have an act of God that could technically
19	disenfranchise a great number of voters. And the way

- 20 I'm reading the Constitution, at least a strict reading
- 21 and the Florida statute, those people would not have
- 22 any recourse.
- 23 MR. CHEMBRINSKY: I don't think that is right
- 24 because the Constitution mandates there be an election
- 25 on that Tuesday with the intent of selecting a

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1 president. But there is nothing in the Constitution 2 that forecloses fashioning other remedies to protect 3 the right to vote. In fact, the Supreme Court has long said provisions of statutes and provisions of the 4 5 Constitution must be read to compliment one another. 6 If you could not order a new election for a 7 hurricane or in my home state of California for an 8 earthquake, you would then be nullifying the right to 9 vote under the United States Constitution. And surely 10 to protect the right to vote, it has to be read in 11 harmony with the provision you read in the 12 Constitution. All that says is an election must be 13 held on that date with the intent of selecting the 14 president. There is nothing in it that forecloses 15 other relief necessary. The federal law and certainly 16 federal statutes are clear, state law is to guide you 17 in terms of your ability to determine how electors 18 should be selected in Florida.

- 19 THE COURT: Thank you.
- 20 I waited 22 years to be able to cross-examine
- 21 a constitutional law professor.
- 22 MR. CHEMBRINSKY: Thank you.
- 23 THE COURT: Who is next?
- 24 MR. FELDMAN: We are, Your Honor.
- 25 Thank you.

- 1 May I approach?
- 2 THE COURT: Absolutely.
- 3 MR. FELDMAN: If I can get there.
- 4 Your Honor, again, I'm Don Feldman from Weiss
- 5 and Handler.
- 6 Let me take things a little bit differently.
- 7 I think I can answer Your Honor's questions perhaps in
- 8 a way that has not been attempted before. By that I
- 9 say this. I believe you have a mandate to fashion a
- 10 remedy. I don't think you can sit back truthfully --
- 11 And I know when I say sit back I don't mean do nothing
- 12 because I know darn well where you are and what is
- 13 going on with you. The fact of the matter that is we
- 14 have a statutory election scheme, procedure if you
- 15 will -- scheme is a bad word but we have procedure.
- 16 That procedure starts at the very beginning of
- 17 everything and goes right through to the end.

- 18 The fact of the matter is that we have a
- 19 statute as Your Honor very clearly pointed out
- 20 yesterday that says when the election shall take place.
- 21 The fact of the matter is this. We have
- 22 other statutes. That is not a constitutional mandate
- 23 of Florida. That which you read is a statute, not a
- 24 constitutional amendment or a constitutional provision.
- 25 But we have other statutes that fit into the election

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1 procedure and scheme, and by that I mean specifically

2 Chapter 102.

3 Now, does everything stop at one statute? It

4 can't. The fact of the matter is there would be no

5 remedy for anything that took place. And if Your Honor

6 takes a view of the election procedure, you can see

7 that it follows step by step by step in a very logical

8 progression. And at the apex, the end of this, is the

9 judiciary. The procedure for everything basically in

10 many respects is a separation of powers. But I'm not

11 going to dwell on that. What I'm going to say is that

12 102.168 Florida statutes specifically talks about the

13 contest of an election. The contest of an election is

14 an integral part, if the court please, of the entire

15 election procedure.

16 Looking at the statute, there is absolutely

- 17 no difference mentioned in it that this shall apply
- 18 except in presidential elections. It is an omnibus
- 19 statute meant to apply to all elections or the
- 20 legislature would have taken out, carved out, the
- 21 presidential election. So we are dealing with the
- 22 statute that on its face deals with the situation
- 23 before us. And it specifically says that you shall
- 24 entertain a contest of the election. And one of the
- 25 grounds is under (e), any other cause or allegation,

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1 which, if sustained, would show that a person other

2 than the successful candidate was the person duly

3 nominated or elected. So basically that is what we are

4 here about, for you to determine whether or not someone

5 other than the successful candidate is the person who

6 was elected.

7 THE COURT: May I inquire just a second, Mr.

8 Feldman?

- 9 MR. FELDMAN: Please. Yes, sir, Your Honor.
- 10 THE COURT: Going back to Section 2 of the
- 11 statute, if you look at the statute, it says whenever

12 any state has held an election for the purpose of

13 choosing electors and has failed to make a choice on

- 14 the date prescribed by law, the electors may be
- 15 appointed on a subsequent day.

- 16 Does that not refer to something other than
- 17 an election when someone is appointed by the main
- 18 electorate?
- 19 MR. FELDMAN: No, sir, Your Honor. Because
- 20 they are talking about the purpose of choosing electors
- 21 in Section 1. We are now only in Section 2, one
- 22 section away. And it would seem, I respectfully submit
- 23 to the court, a real anomaly for Section 2 to appear
- 24 right after Section 1 and not address the election
- 25 itself.

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THE COURT: It seems to me what they are saying is look, you need to go and elect these people on that day. If you don't do it, then you come up with a scheme in the statute how to appoint these people. MR. FELDMAN: Your Honor, I'll give you Section 5 of the same statute. THE COURT: I got it. MR. FELDMAN: That basically tells you if by judicial or other methods -- It specifically includes judicial methods of making a determination -- as long as that determination is made six days before the electoral college does whatever it is required to do by law. So we have six days for a judicial determination of who the electors are, and that is specifically

- 15 provided by federal statute.
- 16 There is no comfort in this statute for those
- 17 who would say we have no way of doing anything because
- 18 we are circumscribed. The fact of the matter is -- I
- 19 I'll let Your Honor read it. I'm sorry.
- 20 THE COURT: Go ahead.
- 21 MR. FELDMAN: The fact of the matter is if
- 22 what Your Honor is saying is true, we have taken out
- 23 and carved out of the election process, directly
- 24 prescribed by the legislature, for you to hear the
- 25 contest of elections.

- 1 And I respectfully submit to the court that
- 2 you are bound to hear this election process. And what
- 3 it says in 102 which is so critical, that the parties
- 4 are entitled -- the electoral is entitled to an
- 5 immediate hearing. That is how strongly the
- 6 legislature wants this to be taken care of, immediate
- 7 hearing, not reasonably immediate, immediate.
- 8 The next thing is the circuit judge to whom
- 9 the contest is presented -- That is Your Honor -- may
- 10 fashion such orders as he or she deems necessary to
- 11 ensure each allegation of the complaint is
- 12 investigated, examined or checked to prevent or correct
- 13 any alleged wrong and, most importantly, provide any

- 14 relief, any relief appropriate under the circumstances.
- 15 So, Judge, I respectfully submit to you there
- 16 is a mandate here for you to act under our Florida
- 17 statutes. There is nothing in the federal law I
- 18 respectfully submit to the court. The federal
- 19 government has left it to states to take care of their
- 20 own elections. The fact of the matter is that is why
- 21 we are here in Palm Beach County where all the
- 22 allegations of problems has occurred. We are before a
- 23 circuit judge in Palm Beach County. That is you of
- 24 course. Under the statute, there is no course for you
- 25 to take but to hear the contest. And if Your Honor

- 1 believes the wrong person was elected, then you must
- 2 fashion a remedy. And it says any remedy.
- 3 This statute is by far an open-ended statute
- 4 for Your Honor to do what need be done in Your Honor's
- 5 opinion if you find the grounds present. That is why I
- 6 suggested the other day, frankly, and you took my
- 7 compromise and you changed it which is fine, and that
- 8 is why we are here, but I said let's take a look at the
- 9 ballot and determine as a matter of law whether that
- 10 ballot is legal.
- 11 It is our contention you are dealing with an
- 12 illegal ballot. If we go through the plethora of cases

- 13 throughout this country -- And I know Your Honor has
- 14 read many -- And I've read more than I ever wanted to
- 15 read in my life -- the fact of matter is you will find
- 16 many courts have set aside elections because of
- 17 problems that have occurred in ballots.
- 18 We have a ballot that we respectfully submit
- 19 there is no real excuse for. To take that New York
- 20 case Your Honor has been dealing with, I would say to
- 21 you, not being a constitutional scholar, having done
- 22 some 1983 work, that you have a different standard in
- 23 order to bring 1983 into play. That standard, of
- 24 course, there has to be some type of intentional
- 25 violation of the civil rights. That is why that is in

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1 there. Our standard is there. It says if there is a 2 reasonable doubt -- reasonable doubt -- that's the 3 words that we have, is there a reasonable doubt here. 4 I certainly suggest there is. But that is not what we 5 are talking about here today. We are talking about 6 Your Honor's power. Again, I reiterate for the third 7 time because I want to be absolutely clear, I don't 8 think you have a choice. I believe under our statutes 9 you, as circuit judge, must hear the contest that we 10 have presented and rule upon it and fashion any relief

11 you deem appropriate.

12 I thank you for the privilege of being able

13 to argue before you.

14 MR. RICHARD: If I may, Your Honor, Judge

15 Lewis has issued his ruling. I have been summonsed by

- 16 my client. If the court would indulge me, I would
- 17 appreciate the opportunity to make my argument. Then I
- 18 will leave everybody.
- 19 THE COURT: Why don't we do that? You want

20 to do that now, Mr. Richard?

- 21 MR. RICHARD: If I may, I would appreciate
- 22 it.
- 23 THE COURT: Let's go ahead and let Mr.
- 24 Richard state his case and then he can go.
- 25 MR. RICHARD: Thank you, Your Honor.

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- 1 THE COURT: Thank you, sir.
- 2 MR. RICHARD: I have heard several of the
- 3 lawyers now comment upon the fact you are given
- 4 unfettered discretion to fashion a remedy.
- 5 I know of no place in the Florida statutes
- 6 that provides for that. I heard several lawyers
- 7 reference Section 102.168. I read it several times,
- 8 and didn't recall seeing anyplace in there where a
- 9 court was provided with such broad powers. While they
- 10 have been arguing I read it again. Unless it has been

- 11 amended since the provision I have in front of me, I
- 12 find nothing in that section or any other section of
- 13 the Florida statutes or any case law that I have ever
- 14 read that says that this or any other court has
- 15 unlimited power to fashion any remedy it thinks is
- 16 appropriate in the event of an election problem. And
- 17 in particular I know of no provision of Florida law
- 18 that provides that a judge may order a new election in
- 19 a statewide election, and in particular with regard to
- 20 Florida electors.
- 21 Having said that, let me move on, Your Honor,
- 22 to tell you what I think the law is. And in essence I
- 23 agree with what you have suggested to counsel several
- 24 times when you asked for response and in fact have not
- 25 received a direct response.

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1 The fact is we are not dealing here in an area in which the law is silent. The law is not only 2 3 silent, it is very clear, the federal law and the state 4 law lays out precisely what the powers are of the 5 executive branch and the legislative branch, the 6 limited powers of the judicial branch, and what is to 7 happen in any of the contingencies that we talked 8 about.

9 Under Article 2, Section 1, of the United

- 10 States Constitution which Your Honor has already
- 11 quoted, the congress, the congress, not this court, may
- 12 determine the time of choosing the electors and the day
- 13 on which they shall give their votes, which day shall
- 14 be the same throughout the United States. Now,
- 15 congress has done that. It did it in Section 3 United
- 16 States Code Section 1 when it said the election of the
- 17 electors of president of the United States shall take
- 18 place on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in
- 19 November in every fourth year.
- 20 The United States Supreme Court in the recent
- 21 case of Foster versus Love addressed precisely the
- 22 questions we are dealing with here. And while counsel
- 23 made some weak efforts to distinguish that case, the
- 24 court's opinion is very clear. The facts are not
- 25 precisely the same because I agree they dealt with a

- 1 congressional race. But the court made clear as I will
- 2 show you that what they were saying applied as well to
- 3 the election of presidential electors, and what they
- 4 said is not subject to interpretation. It is quite
- 5 clear.
- 6 The court said it is well settled that the
- 7 election clause grants congress the power to override
- 8 state regulations by establishing uniform rules for

- 9 federal elections binding on the state.
- 10 So the suggestion that has been made that
- 11 this is all up to the state is true to the extent that
- 12 congress doesn't supersede it.
- 13 The Supreme Court went on to say the
- 14 regulations made by congress are paramount to those
- 15 made by the state legislature, and if they conflict
- 16 therewith, the latter, so far as the conflict extends,
- 17 ceases to be operative.
- 18 Here is the part we are concerned with here
- 19 today. One congressional rule adopted under the
- 20 elections clause and its counterpart for the executive
- 21 branch sets the date of the body of election for
- 22 federal officers. And the court goes on to point out
- 23 it was originally enacted in 1872 and now provides the
- 24 Tuesday after the first Monday in November in every
- 25 even numbered year is established as the date for the

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- 1 election in each of the states and territories of the
- 2 United States of representatives and delegates to the
- 3 congress commencing on the 3rd day of January next

4 thereafter.

- 5 Then it says this: This provision, along
- 6 with 3 U.S.C. Section 1, doing the same for selecting
- 7 presidential electors, mandates holding all elections

8 for congress and the presidency on a single day

9 throughout the Union.

10 Now, what the Supreme Court said in this case

11 is that no state can have any election for any federal

12 officer, including presidential electors, on any other

13 day.

14 Now, counsel has said that this case

15 recognized that there is an exception when there is a

16 necessity for a runoff election for congressmen or

17 senators. That is true. But what they fail to note

18 was that in Footnote 3 where the Supreme Court

- 19 recognized that exception, the reason they recognized
- 20 it as they pointed out is that congress has provided in
- 21 title 2 U.S.C. Section 8 for that exception with
- 22 respect to congressmen and senators. And the court
- 23 noted it is only for a runoff election. That has no
- 24 application to electors for president, and the reason
- 25 is because we don't vote for electors, we don't select

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- 1 electors by majority vote as we do for congressmen and
- 2 senators.
- 3 Section 103.011 of the Florida statutes
- 4 provides that the presidential electors of the state of
- 5 Florida shall go to the president and vice-president
- 6 who receives the highest number of votes, not the

- 7 majority votes. There is no such thing as a runoff.
- 8 Now, the court went on to point out in the
- 9 Foster versus Love case that our judgment is
- 10 buttressed -- They said it doesn't make any difference
- 11 what congress' intent was -- that our judgment is
- 12 buttressed by an appreciation of congress' intent to
- 13 remedy more than one evil arising from the election of
- 14 members of congress occurring at different times and
- 15 different states.
- 16 As the sponsor of the original bill put it,
- 17 congress was concerned both with the distortion of the
- 18 voting process threatened when the results of an early
- 19 federal election in one state can influence later
- 20 voting in other states. And they also said it was an
- 21 unreasonable burden on people to vote twice. But that
- 22 evil that congress was concerned with is, if it has
- 23 ever been a concern, certainly a concern in this case
- 24 where the voters would be faced with as much influence
- as one can imagine from what has already occurred.

- 1 Now, the question a number of people have
- 2 addressed and what Your Honor has asked about is what
- 3 is the remedy? What is if there is widespread fraud?
- 4 What is if there is a hurricane? Then what? Then
- 5 there is a remedy provided for, Your Honor, and the

- 6 remedy is not for a court to do anything. The remedy
- 7 is provided for by congress which again has been
- 8 authorized by the Constitution to make the decision.
- 9 Your Honor has already noted it. It is Title 3,
- 10 Section 2, Failure to Make Choice on Prescribed Day.
- 11 Whenever any state has held an election for the purpose
- 12 of choosing electors and has failed to make a choice on
- 13 the prescribed day by law, the electors may be
- 14 appointed on a subsequent day in such manner as the
- 15 legislature of such state may direct, period. There is
- 16 no provision in federal law. There is no provision in
- 17 Florida law for any court, not this court, not the
- 18 District Court of Appeal, not the Supreme Court, to do
- 19 anything when the state has failed to chose its
- 20 electors. There is only one body by law of this nation
- 21 who can make that determination, and that is the
- 22 Florida legislature.
- 23 So what happens if we have a hurricane? What
- 24 happens is the Florida legislature can have a special
- 25 emergency session and decide what to do. And what they

- 1 can do is they can select the electors themselves if
- 2 they want to. Or they can provide for a special
- 3 election. Or they can provide for the governor to
- 4 nominate them. Or they can provide for anything they

- 5 please because that is what the United States
- 6 Constitution and the federal statutes and the Florida
- 7 legislature has said.

8 Now, here is what we face if this court were 9 to throw out this election. I suggest to Your Honor 10 what we would very well could end up with is quite the 11 opposite of what these plaintiffs are asking for. We 12 could end up with a complete disenfranchisement of all 13 the voters in Palm Beach County or a complete 14 disenfranchisement of all the voters of the state of 15 Florida, because where it ends up is in the 16 legislature, and the legislature may chose something 17 other than a new election of the voters of Palm Beach 18 County. They may do it on a political basis, or they 19 may do it because there is just no time to have another 20 election, or they may do it because they fear the same 21 thing congressmen did, that it may be unduly influenced 22 by what has already happened. And the reason they may 23 be concerned about no time for another election is 24 because if Florida fails to send its electors to the 25 electoral college on the appointed day what happens is

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- 1 the electoral college chooses a president without
- 2 Florida, period, because there is nothing in the
- 3 Constitution that says that every state must send its

4 electors.

5 So the bottom line here, Your Honor, is that 6 the law is crystal clear. It is crystal clear. It 7 tells us exactly what day we are to have this election 8 and exactly what happens if we fail to select our 9 electors on that day. And there is not a whisper of 10 suggestion in any of this carefully crafted design that 11 any court, much less a circuit court, has any voice in 12 solving that problem. 13 When Your Honor set this hearing, you said 14 that you did not want to waste the time of the court or 15 the parties in having a trial which effectively would 16 be nothing more than a public showpiece if you did not 17 have the remedy of ordering another election when it 18 was over. 19 I respectfully suggest to Your Honor that I 20 have the highest respect for this court. One of the 21 reasons I respect this court and our whole judicial 22 system and one of the reasons we have had the 23 incredible stability we have had in several hundred 24 years of this country is because of the willingness of

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1 on their authority, the unwillingness to usurp more

our courts to recognize the limits that have been set

2 authority than the congress and the state legislature

- 3 and the Florida Constitution and the United States
- 4 Constitution has provided them. That is one of the
- 5 reasons we have a stable democracy, is one of the
- 6 reasons our elections work, and I would urge Your Honor
- 7 that you were right smack on point. If there is no
- 8 remedy that this court has been provided for, there is
- 9 no reason for us to continue to have this unnecessary
- 10 proceeding. And I would urge Your Honor to take that
- 11 into serious consideration.
- 12 I want to reiterate how much I deeply
- 13 appreciate the extent to which Your Honor has gone to
- 14 accommodate me under what is a very difficult
- 15 circumstance for all of us. And with the court's
- 16 permission, unless Your Honor has questions, I will
- 17 depart, and my partner Mr. Bideau and Mr. Dunkel are in
- 18 the courtroom.
- 19 THE COURT: Okay. Thank you very much, Mr.
- 20 Richard.
- 21 MR. RICHARD: Thank you, Your Honor.
- 22 THE COURT: Take care now.
- 23 Who was next?
- 24 MR. FELDMAN: I was still going.
- 25 THE COURT: Still going. Good. Because now

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1 I have some more questions for you.

- 2 MR. FELDMAN: I hope I have some answers for
- 3 Your Honor that are acceptable.
- 4 THE COURT: You heard Mr. Richard.
- 5 MR. FELDMAN: Yes, I did, Your Honor.
- 6 THE COURT: Eloquent argument. He relies
- 7 pretty much on the language of the United States
- 8 Supreme Court in the case of Foster versus Love which
- 9 was decided in 1997, three years ago.
- 10 MR. FELDMAN: Yes, sir.
- 11 There is one thing that Mr. Richard did not
- 12 point out, and that is the savings proviso which the
- 13 federal laws give to the federal court.
- 14 May I quote, Your Honor?
- 15 THE COURT: Absolutely.
- 16 MR. FELDMAN: Thank you.
- 17 This is Title 2 U.S.C. Section 8. It
- 18 provides that a state may hold a congressional
- 19 election. This is in the case that he cited because it
- 20 is a congressional election. On page five, the state
- 21 may hold a congressional election on the day other than
- 22 the uniform federal election day when such an election
- 23 is necessitated by a failure to elect at the time
- 24 prescribed by law. Now, that is the same savings
- 25 provision that we basically have for federal elections.

- 1 Let us address if we can.
- 2 You say the framers of the election
- 3 procedures in congress did not intend to put handcuffs
- 4 on everyone so that everything stopped dead in its
- 5 tracks and nobody could do anything except stand around
- 6 and say, well, that is terrible. The fact of the
- 7 matter is that it is specifically provided for, that
- 8 being what happens when there is a failure to elect.
- 9 We have a failure to elect basically here.
- 10 Now, if we go to 2, he is saying in such
- 11 manner as the legislature of such state may direct.
- 12 Our legislature has spoken. He is implying the
- 13 legislature has to meet right now and set an election
- 14 date. No, it does not. It has put into place how that
- 15 election will take place if at all. That is through
- 16 Section 102, the challenge to the election. And Your
- 17 Honor may set that date. And if we take in para
- 18 materia Section 5 of the Constitution, it basically
- 19 states and leaves to the state the power to do it
- 20 either judicially or any other way. But definitely the
- 21 power is reserved to the states to do it judicially.
- 22 Your Honor has seen Section 5 of the United States
- 23 Constitution. So Your Honor is there with authority to
- 24 do exactly what you have to do.
- 25 I haven't said this before. This is the

1 court of general jurisdiction of this state. We are

2 akin to the great court of the king's bench under

3 common law where the power is almost unbridled. We

4 have the ^ set 8 decision (feldman) in this state which

5 basically says that which is not given to the circuit

6 court is there. This is the residuum of power,

7 judicial power this state, unless circumscribed by the

8 legislature. It is not.

9 What happens here and what is being asked to

10 be done is Your Honor stop, do not follow the mandates

11 of the statutes, you are to hold a contest which you

12 are doing but stop. Why stop? What is there that has

13 been said specifically which says our procedure for

14 challenging an election doesn't apply? Nothing.

15 Nobody addressed why it doesn't apply. It does apply.

16 On its face it applies.

17 Your Honor has no discretion but to follow

18 what the statutes have set forth. The legislature has

19 spoken completely. That's why we are here.

20 And I thank you.

21 You have some other questions for me?

22 MR. FELDMAN: Actually, as usual, you

answered them for me.

24 MR. FELDMAN: Thank you, sir.

25 THE COURT: As usually.

- 1 MR. FELDMAN: Thank you.
- 2 MR. HANDLER: Your Honor, Henry Handler of
- 3 Weiss and Handler. Along with Mr. Feldman, we
- 4 represent the Fladell plaintiffs before this court.
- 5 Let me just put a little procedural
- 6 perspective on what Mr. Feldman has addressed to the
- 7 court. He has made clear to the court we are not
- 8 addressing the election of electors. We are addressing
- 9 the postelection contest, the result of it, and we have
- 10 challenged that because of the noncompliance of the
- 11 ballot with the statute, that there is a reasonable
- 12 doubt as to whether the will of the people was
- 13 expressed.
- 14 Mr. Feldman did address Section 3 United
- 15 States Code Section 5 which is entitled Determination
- 16 of Controversy as to the Appointment of the
- 17 Presidential Electors.
- 18 One question you posed, Your Honor, that I
- 19 want to specifically answer, you were concerned about
- 20 endless debates all over the country with regard to
- 21 presidential electors. That section gives us a finite
- 22 time period in which this state or any state can
- 23 resolve postelection controversies. That provision
- 24 clearly states that the determination of any

25 controversy or contest concerning the appointment or

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- 1 all or any of the electors of such state by judicial or
- 2 other methods -- Remember Mr. Feldman emphasized that
- 3 point -- the determination shall have been made at
- 4 least six days before the time fixed for the meeting of
- 5 the electors.
- 6 Remember, Judge, when we last met, we talked
- 7 about December 18 and then December 12.
- 8 When you look at our own state statute
- 9 regarding contest, contest of elections, it addresses
- 10 the need to move forward expeditiously. Mr. Feldman
- 11 emphasized to you the immediate hearing that the
- 12 statute prescribes.
- 13 What we are here to present to you today is
- 14 that the federal standards have challenged the courts
- 15 in Florida, have allowed all the states, but in Florida
- 16 we have a specifically postelection contest procedure,
- 17 to act immediately, as expeditiously as this court can
- 18 allow us to do, in order to resolve it by a finite time
- 19 period.
- 20 We are here today, Judge, to tell you that if
- 21 you believe as we argued that you have the authority
- 22 with which to consider and to implement a revote as a
- 23 remedy for the wrong which we will establish before

24 you, we have a proposed calendar for you by which we

25 think you can hold a trial on this matter and fashion

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- 1 the remedy that the Florida statute permits you to do
- 2 in order for us to be able to meet the time prescribed
- 3 by 3 U.S.C. Section 5. So we are here to handle that
- 4 specific procedural aspect once we have answered your
- 5 questions specifically and pointed out where you have
- 6 the authority with which to authorize and to order a
- 7 revote as part of the remedies under the Florida
- 8 Statute.
- 9 Thank you.
- 10 THE COURT: Thank you, Mr. Handler.
- 11 MR. BARNHART: Thank you, Your Honor.
- 12 MR. HANDLER: Your Honor, excuse me. Excuse
- 13 me, Greg. Just for a second.
- 14 I know that you asked us with regard to stop
- 15 with the paper. But when we received Mr. Richard's
- 16 case at the end of the day, we took the time to address
- 17 it in a very brief memorandum.
- 18 THE COURT: You have it?
- 19 MR. HANDLER: Yes. If I can approach and
- 20 just give you a copy of our memorandum.
- 21 THE COURT: Great.
- 22 MR. HANDLER: Thank you, Judge.

23 THE COURT: This is in response to the Foster

24 case.

Go ahead.

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1 MR. BARNHART: Thank you, Your Honor.

2 If it please the court, my name is Greg

3 Barnhart. Along with Kuehne, we represent the Florida

4 Democratic Party in this action.

5 I will abbreviate what I was going to say and

6 try to respond directly to Mr. Richard because I think

7 that is the most important thing.

8 The question you asked us to respond to was

9 does a state court have the right under the appropriate

10 set of circumstances to revoke a vote, that is, to ask

11 for another specific election, this time in Palm Beach

12 County. I think the better way to do that is to

13 rephrase it if it please the court. Does a state court

14 have the right, have the power to right a wrong even if

15 the stakes are high? And I submit to the court that in

16 fact it does.

- 17 Here is the reason for that. Your Honor
- 18 spoke quite eloquently about the meaningfulness of the
- 19 right to vote, and that being the bedrock of a
- 20 democracy, and how your family had come over so that
- 21 you would have that right. Everyone in this room's

- 22 family came over to this country so that they would
- 23 have that right.
- 24 But as we discussed last Wednesday, the right
- 25 to vote means nothing, it is meaningless, if the right

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- 1 to vote is not tallied. But I think we can draw the
- 2 same line of reasoning because the right to vote is
- 3 meaningless if that right is exercised in an illegal
- 4 election or unlawful election. Either way, the right
- 5 to vote is meaningless, and the bedrock of our nation,
- 6 the democracy upon which we govern ourselves is

7 threatened.

- 8 So the question then, is there a way through
- 9 which you, sitting as a trial court in Florida, can set
- 10 aside an election in Palm Beach County even if it deals
- 11 with the highest office in the land.
- 12 Well, as has been discussed by my
- 13 predecessors here, courts throughout the country, in
- 14 this state, in other states, in federal courts, have
- 15 thrown out election after election if they find there
- 16 was fraud or unlawful activity. The standards vary,
- 17 the elections vary, the cases vary, the facts vary.
- 18 But the one unifying fine line we have seen through the
- 19 cases all the way through our country, not just now but
- 20 for years and even centuries before this, if an

- 21 election is tainted, if it is illegal, if it is
- 22 unlawfully conducted for whatever reason, then the
- 23 court of whatever jurisdiction will not hesitate to
- 24 throw that election out.
- 25 That doesn't mean that you would sit here as

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1 someone else has argued that we would throw out an

2 election in Kansas or California or even some other

3 county in Florida. We speak only of Palm Beach County

4 here. So the question then is can you do it and how do

- 5 you do it. I suggest to the court we start with the
- 6 Constitution which you spoke about.

7 The Constitution, as Mr. Richard and Your

8 Honor has discussed, the provision which is in effect

9 here is Article 2, Section 1, which we have been

10 talking about. That says very simply the congress may

11 determine the time of choosing the electors, the day on

12 which they shall give their votes, and the day shall be

13 the same throughout the United States. And that's it.

14 In 1948 the congress promulgated legislation

15 according to that section, and the statutes which we

16 discussed today deal with that particular time. Under

- 17 United States Code Title 3, Section 2, what they say is
- 18 whenever -- This is the statute we have been dealing

19 with -- congress taking its power from the Constitution

- 20 of the United States. Whenever any state has held an
- 21 election for the purpose of choosing electors -- They
- 22 don't even have to be elected according to the
- 23 Constitution. They can be appointed. Congress said
- 24 when they elect -- and they have failed to make a
- 25 choice on the day prescribed by law, the electors may

- 1 be appointed on a subsequent day, some other day,
- 2 whatever day that may be, in such a manner as the
- 3 legislature of such state may direct.
- 4 So what congress is telling us as Americans,
- 5 if the electors are not appointed on the day prescribed
- 6 by the Constitution and by congress, then the
- 7 legislature of the state, on a subsequent day, may in
- 8 another manner prescribed by the legislature chose
- 9 their electors. So what happens?
- 10 Under Section 5, if the state shall have
- 11 provided by laws enacted prior to the day of the
- 12 election for an appointment of the electors for its
- 13 final determination of any controversy or contests --
- 14 So they anticipated controversies or contests --
- 15 concerning the appointment of all or any of the
- 16 electors in the state, by judicial or other method or
- 17 procedures.
- 18 So what the congress of the United States is

19 telling us is if after that day we have a controversy

20 or we have a contest concerning the appointment of

21 electors, and the state, by the judiciary or by some

22 other means, appoints new electors, then they have to

- 23 do it in a timely fashion. What is the timely fashion
- 24 according to congress? Six days before the electors

25 meet. It doesn't mean they have to be all chosen on

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1 that one particular day, election day. If there is a 2 controversy according to congress, states, you figure 3 it out, we leave it to the state legislature. And if 4 it is up to the judiciary which this state says it is, 5 then it gives us a guideline. What is the guideline? 6 If you are not finished six days before the electoral 7 college meets, then you are out. Mr. Richard is right 8 about that. Mr. Richard is wrong respectfully by the 9 way in which we deal with this situation. Congress has 10 expressly spoken. If there was any question as to 11 whether or not the judiciary was involved, we look 12 directly to the words of congress. By judicial or 13 other methods or procedures. 14 Now, what has the legislature of Florida 15 done? Mr. Richard, on behalf of Governor Bush, says 16 well, we would simply hold a special session of the 17 Florida legislature. Where does he get that authority?

- 18 Where do we find any authority for that, a special
- 19 session of the legislature? We don't. And, in fact,
- 20 that would be illegal because the procedures have to be
- 21 done before the election according to congress. But we
- 22 do have a procedure.
- 23 The Florida legislature, well before this
- 24 election, acted, and they acted by passing Florida
- 25 Statute 100.101 which is captioned Special Elections

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1 and Special Primary Elections. And they simply say a

2 special election or special primary election may be had

3 in various circumstances if no person has been elected

4 to a general election to fill the office, or if it is

5 necessary to elect a president or vice-president. We

- 6 have the procedure in hand.
- 7 Now, Your Honor raised important points about
- 8 other cases, particularly about the Donahue case. The
- 9 Donahue case, as counsel before has discussed, dealt
- 10 with a federal statute. It was a 1983 action. And it
- 11 was an allegation that the rights of the people, the
- 12 rights of the citizens, have been deprived according to
- 13 federal law, not state law.
- 14 But then the court goes on to say that the
- 15 point, however, is not that ordering a new presidential
- 16 election in New York State is beyond the equity

- 17 jurisdiction of the federal courts, protecting the
- 18 integrity of elections, particularly presidential
- 19 contests, is essential to a free and democratic
- 20 society. They recognize that inherent power in the
- 21 courts. They simply said here there was no statute in
- 22 New York, and the plaintiffs in that case were
- 23 traveling under federal law, not state law.
- 24 But as Your Honor also noted, the four
- 25 parameters through which one can set aside a

- 1 presidential election, at least according to the
- 2 District Court of New York, included specifically acts
- 3 of fraud or other unlawful behavior. Fraud or other
- 4 unlawful behavior was committed. Other unlawful
- 5 behavior. In Florida, well, we are not reaching that
- 6 point right now, the allegations in the complaints
- 7 brought by the citizens were that the elections in Palm
- 8 Beach County were unlawfully conducted, that is, they
- 9 failed to follow the election statutes. So I submit to
- 10 you under either standard that would apply.
- 11 THE COURT: Let me ask a question, Mr.
- 12 Barnhart.
- 13 MR. BARNHART: Yes, sir.
- 14 THE COURT: Going back to Section 5,
- 15 Determination of Controversy as to Appointment of

- 16 Electors, it says if any state shall have provided by
- 17 laws enacted prior to the date fixed for the
- 18 appointment of electors, that is the cite, that one
- 19 line I'm stuck on.
- 20 You and Mr. Feldman and I believe Mr. Farmer,
- 21 you are asking me in a way to imply that the
- 22 legislature intended 101.168, 102.168, to be the remedy
- 23 that Section 3 is talking about.
- 24 Now, if that was the case, why didn't the
- 25 legislature, when they enacted 103.111, say in there if

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1 there is a problem with electing these people on this

2 day, then you go to follow the procedure set forth in

3 102.168? I know what your answer is going to be. That

- 4 would be too easy.
- 5 MR. BARNHART: We wouldn't be here right now

6 if they had done that.

7 THE COURT: Or why isn't there some mention

8 in these statutes as to the six-day limitation?

9 Because if you look at the time limitation in 102.168,

10 they don't coincide with the six-day limitation you are

11 talking about.

12 MR. BARNHART: They don't.

- 13 The easiest way -- Really the only fair way
- 14 to read that is to take them together. Florida has

- 15 spoken as to how special elections are to be conducted.
- 16 They have spoken generally. They have not spoken
- 17 directly to presidential elections. They have
- 18 certainly not conformed to the acts of congress. But
- 19 we have to read them to make sure.
- 20 I think a good analogy is this: The state of
- 21 Oregon has a statute. Oregon is part of the country.
- 22 They elect electors. Oregon allows the voters of that
- 23 state to vote by mail starting seven days before
- 24 national election day.
- 25 To use Governor Bush's argument, we would

- 1 throw out all the votes of Oregon because it doesn't
- 2 precisely conform to the language. And the language
- 3 which we talked about congress has acted upon. And
- 4 what congress has said is that if for whatever reason,
- 5 if there is a controversy, if there is a judicial
- 6 determination to be made, you have to have your
- 7 electors in and their ballots done six days before the
- 8 electoral college votes, and that is all they said.
- 9 Let me use an example if I could. In the
- 10 last week, Judge Middlebrooks dealt with in some sense
- 11 issues like this. And Judge Middlebrooks in his
- 12 opinion, the Seigel opinion, said this: The
- 13 constitutional provision which we have been discussing

- 14 grants extensive power to the states to pass laws
- 15 regulating the selection of electors. What he does is
- 16 he speaks about other cases. The Constitution
- 17 recognizes that people act through their
- 18 representatives in the legislature and leaves it to the
- 19 legislature exclusively to define the method of
- 20 affecting the object of selecting electors.
- 21 What the most recent federal decision has
- 22 said is we basically leave the election of electors to
- 23 states which is exactly what congress has done and
- 24 exactly what the Constitution has done.
- 25 I would ask the court to consider this. What

- 1 if, in fact, the court found there was an illegal,
- 2 unlawful election conducted in Palm Beach County? The
- 3 court would have no trouble throwing out an election.
- 4 Let's assume that Elaine Bloom, the person who ran for
- 5 congress against Clay Shaw, had won the election. You
- 6 make the determination that the election of Palm Beach
- 7 County was unlawful. There would really be no question
- 8 you could order a new election in Palm Beach County to
- 9 take care of that particular congressional seat.
- 10 It makes no sense, if it please the court, to
- 11 say that if we find the same unlawful activities that
- 12 we wouldn't extend that to a far more powerful position

13 in this country, that of president. So the relief,

14 really the only answer I think to please the court is

15 this. You have the power. Under the Constitution of

16 the United States, you have the power as it has been

- 17 interpreted by the congress of the United States which
- 18 delegated the power to conduct the election of electors

19 to the state. Our state has ruled. Our legislature

20 has acted. And they have given you provision to

21 fashion new elections if you find there are unlawful

22 activities. They have given guidance in the form of

23 setting special elections. That is where we sit.

24 Clearly no one ever anticipated this could

25 occur. So what we do is we come in, given a fine

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- 1 parameter, existing statutes, and under that framework
- 2 you as the trial court judge act, and you have the
- 3 ability to do so if you find from the evidence it would

4 be justified.

- 5 Thank you, Your Honor.
- 6 THE COURT: Thank you.
- 7 Since all have you I'm sure are pretty

8 interested in what is happening in Tallahassee, I have

9 just received a fax copy of Judge Lewis' order. Since

10 it is only a page and a half long, I am going to read

11 it to you.

12 Order denying emergency motion to compel

13 compliance with and enforcement of injunction. The

14 limited issue before me on this motion is whether the

15 Secretary of State has violated my order of November

16 14th in the year 2000.

17 The plaintiffs assert that she has acted

18 arbitrarily in deciding to ignore amended returns from

19 counties conducting manual recounts.

20 I disagree.

- 21 As noted in my previous order, Florida law
- 22 grants to the secretary as the chief elections officer
- 23 broad discretionary authority to accept or reject

24 late-filed returns.

25 The purpose and intent of my order was to

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1 ensure that she in fact properly exercised her

2 discretion rather than automatically reject returns

3 that came in after the statutory deadline.

4 On the limited evidence presented, it appears

5 the secretary has exercised her reasoned judgment to

6 determine what relevant factors and criteria should be

7 considered, applied them to the facts and circumstances

8 pertinent to the individual counties involved, and made

9 her decision. My order requires nothing more.

10 Done and ordered in chambers in Tallahassee

- 11 on November 17 in the year 2000.
- 12 MR. LAWLOR: May I suggest an order we go in?
- 13 I'm Patrick Lawlor. I represent Sharon Elkin and Alex
- 14 Zoltkowsky.
- 15 THE COURT: What did you say at first?
- 16 MR. LAWLOR: An order which people proceed in
- 17 this case.
- 18 THE COURT: Let me see by show of hands how
- 19 many of you want to speak. One, two, three, four,
- 20 five. Okay.
- 21 MR. ROGOW: We represent Theresa LaPore.
- 22 THE COURT: Whoever wants to speak about this
- 23 issue. Like I said at the beginning, there shouldn't
- 24 be that much more that you guys can add.
- 25 Let's do this. Can I do this? I want to

- 1 break at noon. Can I just give everybody five minutes
- 2 and have you come up and say your piece, and if you
- 3 need more than that I will come back after lunch if you
- 4 want me to. I don't want to cut anybody off. Let's
- 5 see if we can finish by noon. Can we do that?
- 6 Since you spoke first, why don't you come up?
- 7 MR. LAWLOR: May it please the court.
- 8 THE COURT: I'll make sure you speak.
- 9 MR. LAWLOR: Patrick Lawlor on behalf of

- 10 Sharon Elkin and the Zoltkowskys.
- 11 In hearing the arguments this morning, I
- 12 think what has been lost in all the argument here and
- 13 what is really at stake here is the persons who have
- 14 been wronged, the plaintiffs in this case.
- 15 Essentially, Your Honor, these persons went
- 16 in and made a vote which they thought counted for a
- 17 specific candidate and it didn't. The plaintiffs in
- 18 this case have been caught up in the constitutional
- 19 arguments and all the arguments. Essentially what
- 20 happened, I want to bring the court back as to why the
- 21 court should hear argument on the why this ballot was
- 22 invalid.
- 23 Essentially, Your Honor, the arguments we
- 24 make is these plaintiffs have constitutional rights
- 25 both under the Florida Constitution and the U.S.

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Constitution. The basic rights under the equal
protections and the due process clause of both the
state and federal Constitution have been violated.
Your Honor, I do want to address the issue of
103.011. That is the statute the court asked us to
address here today.
Essentially, Your Honor, what I see the court

8 doing here is if you were to rule the election could

- 9 only choose electors on that date regardless of any
- 10 circumstances, essentially you would be finding a
- 11 narrow ruling which would indicate no matter what
- 12 happens on that date, fraud, deception, anything that
- 13 could happen, natural disasters, there never could be
- 14 another election afterwards. If you are saying they
- 15 have to be chosen on that day, nothing could happen
- 16 afterwards.
- 17 Clearly in this case there is extraordinary
- 18 circumstances. That is my understanding.
- 19 THE COURT: If somebody committed fraud, it
- 20 would seem to me what would happen after is somebody
- 21 would go to prison.
- 22 MR. LAWLOR: Correct.
- 23 The point is extraordinary circumstances have
- 24 occurred. Everybody said here the court is given the
- 25 power to have remedies to deal with those extraordinary

- 1 circumstances. But essentially it is a public policy,
- 2 Your Honor, that in finding such a ruling and not
- 3 allowing the evidence to come forward, and I cite to
- 4 the case Your Honor talked about, the Donahue case,
- 5 what this court asked us today is whether or not he
- 6 could go forward and have a remedy of revote.
- 7 Essentially the court was asking whether he wanted to

8 hear all the evidence in the case by statistical

9 analysis. In the case the court cited, it seemed the

10 federal court there did hear the evidence. It may not

11 reach the conclusion a revote may, but it heard the

12 evidence. That is the standard the court needs to

13 follow.

14 In this case the evidence should be put forth

15 to the court whereby the court can hear the evidence

16 and determine the remedy whether you can or cannot have

17 a revote. The court cannot shut the courthouse doors

18 on the plaintiffs in this case and not allow them to

19 come forward.

20 Lastly, Your Honor, my clients want to have

21 their day in court. Public opinion throughout the

- 22 nation is that my clients and the other plaintiffs are
- 23 sitting in this room through these other attorney

24 representatives and have let the world know what they

25 think. They put in the public forum that they voted

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1 for the wrong candidates or the they choose two persons

2 or they were confused with the ballot.

3 What has this done in public opinion? They

4 have been called idiots, morons.

- 5 THE COURT: Let me stop you there a second.
- 6 Like I said in the beginning, the right to

-	 		I'C - 'C - IC	M . 1 1
	me is as	nreciolis	as life itself.	YOU don't
	1110 13 43	produous		100 uont

8 need to preach to me, Counsel, about what your clients

9 have the potential to lose if I rule against them. I

10 don't need to hear that. I understand, believe me. If

11 I rule against your client, it will probably be the

12 most difficult decision I will ever make.

13 Right now I want to hear law which is what I

14 got to abide by, the law. That is what I'm going to

15 follow, the law. So you tell me what the law is which

16 is what I wanted you lawyers to come in today for, to

17 educate me on the law. I don't want to hear about all

18 this stuff. Believe me, you don't need to beat it.

19 MR. LAWLOR: I think the other counsel

20 addressed the law.

21 All I would bring up is our plaintiffs do

22 have constitutional rights of equal protection and due

23 process which have been violated if the court does not

24 allow them to go forward. Therefore, we feel the court

25 would not be allowing them to meet the due process

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1 rights under the laws in this institution of the United

2 States and Florida.

3 Thank you.

4 MR. PASSIN: Robert Passin. I represent the

5 plaintiffs in this Litman versus Bush case which is

6 Case Number 00-11098, Your Honor. I will try to be

7 brief.

8	I have items which I think Your Honor ought				
9	to be aware of that have not been addressed yet. I				
10	think a lot of the argument before Your Honor has				
11	really missed the point. Everyone assumed you are				
12	being asked to rule upon a new election for electors				
13	for the purpose of electing the president of the United				
14	States. That is not what we are asking you to do.				
15	Only the statewide election elects electors. The				
16	people of Palm Beach County and the Palm Beach County				
17	election does not elect electors. So the question of				
18	you do have the authority to order a countywide				
19	election is not governed by these provisions.				
20	THE COURT: Who elects the electors on				
21	November 7th?				
22	MR. PASSIN: The people of the state.				
23	THE COURT: Who don't live here.				
24	MR. PASSIN: The only issue you would be				
25	ordering is a countywide election. A countywide				

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- 1 election by definition does not elect electors.
- 2 THE COURT: Palm Beach County, last time I
- 3 checked, was in the state of Florida.
- 4 MR. PASSIN: It is within the state. Under

- 5 the statute they would ask Your Honor to conclude that
- 6 do you have the power to order a new election of
- 7 electors. Granted, the question of what effect that is
- 8 going to have is a question that is going to be
- 9 answered by the Secretary of State or perhaps the
- 10 Supreme Court of the United States. If the statute
- 11 requires the election to have taken place on November 7
- 12 of last -- couple weeks ago, we are already in
- 13 violation since that date has passed.
- 14 What is going on today in the counting of
- 15 votes, and determining what votes will count and what
- 16 votes won't be count is a continuation of that process.
- 17 It will be held to be related back to the election that
- 18 took place on the 7th. Therefore, it will comply with
- 19 the law.
- 20 I would ask Your Honor to consider even if
- 21 you order a new election within Palm Beach County that
- 22 is simply also a continuation of this process which we
- 23 are going through right now which is counting votes
- and, therefore, would be nothing improper as a
- 25 component of that process. A new election will have

- 1 the purpose of relating back to the date of the
- 2 original election and, therefore, will be no
- 3 constitutional violation.

4	Mr. Richard, in his comment to the court,
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5	indicated that the voters of Palm Beach County will be					
6	disenfranchised perhaps if Your Honor gives the ruling					
7	we are asking you for, perhaps a new election. That is					
8	not true. Assume that for all of the ambiguities and					
9	problems going on within the state of Florida today,					
10	and this is a first impression for our country, assume					
11	the election for the electors that was conducted in					
12	Florida is thrown out, is deemed by the Supreme Court					
13	or the Supreme Court of Florida to be null and void.					
14	What would be the remedy? It has been pointed out to					
15	you within Florida statutes, Florida Statute 103.021					
16	(5)says when for any reason a person nominated or					
17	elected as a presidential electoral is unable to serve					
18	because of death, incapacity or otherwise. So let's					
19	assume that or otherwise covers our situation that we					
20	don't have electors. What does the statute say is					
21	supposed to happen? It says the governor may appoint a					
22	person to fill such vacancy who possesses the					
23	qualifications required for the elector to have been					
24	nominated in the first instance. In other words, if it					
25	is a Gore representative who should have been nominated					
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1 in the first instance and because of the unavailability

2 of a Gore elector, a new Gore elector would be

- 3 appointed by the governor. That is what that provides.
- 4 THE COURT: You are mixing apples and

5 oranges.

6 What happens on November 7th is we have two

7 slates of electoral voters, 25 each. The democrats

8 have 25 and the republicans have 25. All you are doing

- 9 is replacing the tire on the car. If one is sick or
- 10 can't make it, you appoint somebody to take that

11 person's place. The governor can appoint you or I to

12 go vote in that person's place.

13 MR. PASSIN: The point I was making, Your

14 Honor, is why it is essential if Your Honor believes it

15 would be necessary to have a revote in Palm Beach

16 County, it is necessary under this section of the

17 statute to give guidance to the governor as to which

- 18 elector should be appointed.
- 19 Right now within the state of Florida I
- 20 believe there is a 300-vote difference between the Gore
- 21 and Bush tabulations, but there is a great controversy
- 22 in Palm Beach County as to what the true vote was that
- 23 is going to affect it. Somehow the question is
- 24 ultimately presented to the governor because of these
- 25 first-time situations we have never faced before, and

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- 2 Bush, it is up to you to appoint the electors of the
- 3 state of Florida, then the methodology by which you
- 4 would appoint those electors would be who won the
- 5 popular vote of the state of Florida in which case Your
- 6 Honor's decision would be very crucial and, of course,
- 7 would give guidance to him because he would now have an
- 8 accurate vote cast in the state of Florida.
- 9 Finally, I know you wanted me to wrap up. I
- 10 was thinking. I know there are laws that require
- 11 congress to terminate by a certain time of night. I
- 12 have seen on the news what they do to get around that
- 13 is they reach up to the clock in the capitol and they
- 14 stop the clocks from ticking at about one minute to
- 15 midnight.
- 16 THE COURT: You are not asking me to cheat,
- 17 are you?
- 18 MR. PASSIN: No, sir. Not at all.
- 19 But what I'm asking you to consider is that
- 20 the process that we are in right now, the process we
- 21 are in, the rationale that congress does that is they
- 22 were in the process of completing the work and,
- 23 therefore, it is completed within the time prescribed
- 24 by law. And that is not a minor law. They have to do
- 25 that with the clocks because they have to bring

1 themselves in compliance with the law.

2 To bring us with the compliance of the law,

3 if Your Honor feels the statutes mandate the election

4 to only have been on November 7th even though we

5 continued through that process, it would be just as

6 relevant and appropriate for Your Honor to conclude

7 that we are simply in a process which began on November

8 7 which is continuing, and even if a new election is

9 held it is a continuation of that process and will not

10 violate any law because the election could be deemed to

11 have been conducted when it began which was on November

12 7th.

13 MR. SILVER: Barry Silver. I represent

14 various plaintiffs including many Haitian American

15 plaintiffs.

16 Your Honor, the Florida law that has been

17 quoted, 102.168 I believe it is, says that someone

18 challenging the election has a right to a hearing.

19 This hearing today, if Your Honor rules that

20 a new election is not possible, would potentially

21 eliminate the voter's right to a hearing and the

22 voter's right to have a remedy. Therefore, I believe

23 that when Your Honor evaluates whether it should

24 consider the possibility of a new election, it should

25 be similar to a summary judgment in which Your Honor is

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1 going to assume that everything that the plaintiffs are 2 suggesting is true, and then assuming all of that is 3 true then still the court would automatically preclude 4 a new election. So I hope Your Honor may use that 5 standard in its consideration. 6 Now, what the plaintiffs are alleging is 7 similar to what if there was a machine malfunction in 8 the ballot and we had hard documentation that due to 9 this machine malfunction 100,000 votes let's say from 10 let's say Jews and Haitians mistakenly went to the Nazi 11 party? What would this court do? What could this 12 court do? 13 We respectfully suggest that this court has 14 the inherent right and the responsibility to say that 15 this result will not stand and, therefore, we will have 16 a new vote. 17 And by the way, Your Honor, we are not asking 18 for a new election. That is one possible remedy. You 19 could open it up and say everybody in Palm Beach County 20 vote again. That is not what these plaintiffs are 21 asking. That is one possibility. But a less drastic 22 way would be to say that the plaintiffs who voted 23 should be able to come back and vote again. If you 24 want to have them sign an affidavit saying this is what

25 I intended in a similar way as if we were to recount

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1 the ballots and try to check out the mind of the voter 2 through dimples or through pregnant chads or whatever. 3 But what we are saying this is the best way to find the intent, not by guesswork, but allow each person who 4 5 voted to come back and say this is what I intended. 6 And the plaintiffs are alleging, Your Honor, 7 that there was a mistake. And not only that. The 8 Supervisor of Elections is saying, yes, there was a 9 malfunction. She is saying yes, it is confusing. 10 For the first time perhaps in history a 11 political candidate came forward, Buchanan, and said 12 yes, these votes were mistakenly cast towards me. 13 I have clients who have testified under oath 14 that in my wildest imagination I would never ever cast 15 my votes for this person because he is antithetical to 16 my interests, he is an antisemite, he is against 17 immigrants and I'm an immigrant. 18 What we have here, Your Honor, if there is no 19 remedy, it is worse than the loss of the right to vote. 20 It is worse than disenfranchisement. It is not just 21 saying to people your vote won't be counted. It is 22 saying your vote is going to someone that you detest. 23 And even though that will change the outcome of the

election, and even if what the plaintiffs are saying is

25 true which Your Honor perhaps should consider, that

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even if what you are saying is true, and even if your 1 2 vote went to someone you detest, and even if it was a 3 mistake, and even if it was done not by mistake but by two different illegal acts which is what the plaintiff 4 5 is saying, even if all that is true, sorry. 6 I don't think the Constitution was meant to 7 say that, and that is why Florida law does give Your 8 Honor the opportunity to enact any relief necessary, 9 and we think this relief should be granted. 10 And by the way, Governor Bush has made an 11 admission against his interests. Your Honor is very 12 concerned about the amount of time this is going to 13 take. I know you are and we all are. But Governor 14 Bush's attorney said time is no problem, don't worry if 15 you set the hearing two weeks, three weeks, four weeks 16 down the line, that doesn't matter, we got plenty of 17 time for a new election. So for them, time is no 18 object. 19 For the statute, why wouldn't the framers say 20 December 12? Or why would the law say December 12 is 21 when the electors are appointed if not for the fact 22 that now we are going to look at their intent. What

23 was the intent when they said December 12? Probably

24 the intent was to allow Your Honor to fashion any

25 relief necessary if there was a mistake in the voting

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1 machine, if there was a hurricane, if there were 2 illegal actions. That is precisely why they didn't say 3 you appoint the electors the day after election day, so 4 that you would have an opportunity to do that. 5 Moreover, Your Honor, what if we had a contract situation and there was an ambiguity? We 6 7 would construe it against the draftsman. Right now the 8 draftsman is Theresa LePore who is a defendant in this 9 case. We are not saying she did anything intentionally 10 wrong. In fact, Theresa LePore has the utmost respect 11 I believe from everybody in this county, and everyone 12 who knows her has the utmost respect for her. What we 13 are saying is there was an honest mistake, and in law 14 when there is a mistake you construe it against the 15 draftsperson. 16 Yes, it is difficult to have perhaps a new 17 vote for people who voted, but that is the remedy. And 18 if there was a mistake, it is more proper to require 19 the supervisor to have a new vote or a new election 20 than it is to require people to vote against their 21 interests and for someone they despise.

22 And, by the way, the mistakes are legion.

- 23 I'm not going into them because that is what should be
- 24 determined at a hearing. Suffice it to say we can show
- 25 plenty of mistakes and plenty of reasons why voters

- 1 voted the wrong way through no fault of their own.
- 2 That is what we are alleging. Through no fault of
- 3 their own. They had no choice. There were two holes,
- 4 it said vote for the candidates, plural, they had to
- 5 vote for two because that is what they thought they
- 6 were supposed to do. That is why we want a hearing,
- 7 Your Honor.
- 8 Let me sum up. I think I'm about done.
- 9 Thank you.
- 10 THE COURT: Okay. Thank you.
- 11 MR. KORNWELL: Your Honor, if I may, I'm
- 12 sorry, my name is Bill Kornwell. I'm here. I'm one of
- 13 the lawyers who have been up to wee in the evenings
- 14 looking at the case law you directed us to look at. I
- 15 don't say that to foster any sympathy. I say it only
- 16 because you asked specifically that we address the law.
- 17 Two questions you have addressed to us out
- 18 here I don't think were answered clearly. I want to
- 19 try to answer them clearly. The first one was you said
- 20 under 102.168 you didn't think it was consistent or
- 21 could be read consistently with Title 3 U.S.C. 5

22 because of the six-day issue.

- 23 THE COURT: What I said was the date, the
- 24 time limitations do not coincide.
- 25 MR. KORNWELL: And I believe they do, Your

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1 Honor.

2 THE COURT: I asked the wrong word.

3 MR. KORNWELL: I'm trying to address that. I

4 think they do coincide. I think you'll find if you

5 look at 102.168 there is a ten-day response time, and

6 there is a right to an immediate hearing. All of this

7 has to be resolved six days before the electoral

8 college meets which in this instance is December 12th.

9 The people drafting 102.168 understood that

10 elections would take place on the first Tuesday after

11 the first Monday in November, and they knew there was a

12 need to expedite any contest after such an election.

13 That is why they shortened the time period from 20 days

14 to ten days and called for the right to an immediate

15 hearing so this could be resolved in time for the

16 electoral college to meet, convene and have the

17 electors cast their vote, in this instance, by December

18 12. I think you do have time. That is the first point

19 I wanted to address. The six-day issue is six days

20 prior to the electors convening and casting their

21 ballots.

22 The second issue is Foster. Foster addresses

23 state action prior to the federal election day. Let me

24 say that again. Foster addresses state action prior to

25 federal election day in terms of ordering federal

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1 elections.

2 The federal government, the Supreme Court

3 specifically, said that is preemptive, that kind of

4 state action is preempted.

5 Our case and what we are all here about is

6 postelection remedies for wrongs during the federal

7 election day election. In that case, state action is

8 not only not preempted, it is specifically contemplated

9 and authorized under the federal statutes. By that I

10 cite you to 3 U.S.C. 2 and 3 U.S.C. 5. It can be done.

11 There is time.

12 Thank you, Your Honor.

13 THE COURT: Thank you, sir. Appreciate it.

14 MR. CULLEN: Good morning, Your Honor.

15 Mark Cullen on behalf of the Horowitz

16 plaintiffs. I have only two issues to present to you.

17 THE COURT: Got a lot of paper from you.

18 MR. CULLEN: Yes, you have, Your Honor. I

19 only brought one with me to the podium.

- 20 THE COURT: We lost a rain forest.
- 21 MR. CULLEN: Your Honor, I direct your
- 22 attention, you raised an issue with regard to using the
- 23 analogous situation of an emergency and how the court
- 24 should deal with that situation. I direct your
- 25 attention to the Busbee versus Smith case which indeed

- 1 deals with that very same argument for your
- 2 consideration.
- 3 The second issue I bring to your attention in
- 4 light of Judge Lewis' decision, in light of the fact
- 5 there perhaps is one less remedy available to the
- 6 voters, your role in fashioning a remedy to the voters
- 7 because even more critical as there are fewer routes
- 8 through which the voters can go. Your role then
- 9 becomes much more critical in terms of fashioning a
- 10 relief.
- 11 In that sense then, as was presented in our
- 12 brief, we presented three different avenues the court
- 13 could take. It appears one of the avenues is no longer
- 14 there, so the court's situation becomes more difficult
- 15 in terms of selecting relief for the voters.
- 16 Thank you.
- 17 THE COURT: Okay.
- 18 MR. ROGOW: May it please the court, Bruce

- 19 Rogow and Robert Montgomery for Theresa LePore.
- 20 THE COURT: Good. Another professor.
- 21 MR. ROGOW: Judge, this case is not ripe.
- 22 There is no need to reach any of these constitutional
- 23 questions. Everyone here has talked about 102.168, but
- they neglected to tell you the language of 102.168 (1)
- 25 says the certification of an election may be contested.

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1 The election in Palm Beach County has not yet 2 been certified. There is nothing to challenge in Palm 3 Beach County at this moment. The importance of that is 4 this. What if the results in Palm Beach County turn 5 out to favor Mr. Gore and, indeed, what if that change 6 results in Mr. Gore being certified the winner 7 statewide? 8 The case presently pending in the Supreme 9 Court of Florida brought by the Palm Beach County 10 Canvassing Board poses the question that has been 11 framed by the Secretary of State and by the Attorney 12 General. If the count in Palm Beach County counts and 13 that changes the outcome of the election and Mr. Gore 14 is declared the winner of the election in Florida, 15 there is no need to talk about any kind of remedy. He 16 doesn't want any remedy because he will have prevailed. 17 And if, indeed, it is the other way and the

- 18 certification is in favor of Mr. Bush, the question
- 19 then becomes whether or not Mr. Gore wants to continue.
- 20 And without a statement from Mr. Gore saying he would
- 21 wish to contest this election that everybody is talking
- 22 about, there is no election to be had.
- 23 The electors may want to have an election.
- 24 But unless there is a candidate who continues to be a
- 25 candidate, there is no need to have any election.

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1 THE COURT: I'm not all that sure the 2 vice-president can speak for the clients these lawyers 3 are representing here today. He can say stop his 4 lawsuits and they can keep -- It is their rights that 5 have been allegedly violated, not the vice-president's. 6 MR. ROGOW: That is true. But if they have 7 no one to vote for, if he takes a position I do not 8 want to pursue this any longer, then there would be no 9 need to have any election. That is why the wisdom of 10 102.168 is all important here. It says the 11 certification of an election. And by allowing the 12 election to be certifying and then seeing what happens 13 as a result of that certification either ultimately in 14 favor of Mr. Gore which then there is no need for his 15 electors to make this challenge, it is irrelevant, or 16 if it is against Mr. Gore, Mr. Gore then has to make a

- 17 decision about whether or not he wants to pursue it.
- 18 If he doesn't, whatever these electors want is
- 19 irrelevant then too. You can't vote for a person who
- 20 doesn't want the office and who has already conceded
- 21 the office.
- 22 I don't know what will happen. The only
- 23 point I'm making it is certainly a fundamental
- 24 principal of law that one avoids hard questions,
- 25 especially constitutional questions, if one can. This

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- 1 case is premature. It is not ripe.
- 2 I come back to 102.168. The beginning

3 paragraph is the certification of an election. This

4 election has not yet been certified in Palm Beach

5 County. There is nothing before this court to act

6 upon.

- 7 THE COURT: Thank you.
- 8 MR. GREEN: Good morning, Judge.
- 9 James Green, West Palm Beach, for the
- 10 American Civil Liberties Union.
- 11 The ACLU you has routinely represented voters
- 12 and candidates in election contests throughout the
- 13 country in order to protect the right to vote and the
- 14 right to participate in an election process that is
- 15 fair, and we have done so without regard to the parties

16 at interest or the issues involved. We stand on the

17 papers we filed. I wanted to address one very brief

18 point.

19 Mr. Richard seemed to suggest on behalf of

- 20 the Bush campaign that the courts have limited remedial
- 21 powers. It is true under Article 3 of the United

22 States Constitution that federal courts are courts of

23 limited jurisdiction. However, Florida circuit courts

are courts of general jurisdiction with broad remedial

25 powers. I think that is an important distinction, both

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1 with respect to what Mr. Richard said and also with

2 respect to the Donahue case which Your Honor cited.

- 3 THE COURT: Okay.
- 4 Anyone else wish to speak?
- 5 DAVID ROLAND: Peter Adrian and David Roland

6 in proper person.

7 Your Honor, basically I want to address a

8 statement made earlier regarding the Palm Beach voters

9 having some sort of different standard or advantage if

10 they were given a revote. A revote doesn't give them

11 an advantage. I just want the court to understand that

12 basically what it does, it preserves the constitutional

13 right that they have been given to vote, and that is

14 all they are fighting for. Over 19,000 voices,

- 15 actually 33,000, were not heard. And with an election
- 16 this close, we believe there will be injustice done if
- 17 they are not given the opportunity to be heard.
- 18 Thank you.
- 19 THE COURT: Thank you, sir. Appreciate it.
- 20 Anyone else wish to speak?
- 21 MR. FELDMAN: May I speak again for a moment?
- 22 THE COURT: Mr. Feldman. Yes, sir.
- 23 MR. FELDMAN: Thank you, Your Honor.
- 24 THE COURT: You can stay there if you wish.
- 25 MR. FELDMAN: Thank you.

- 1 If response to one of the professor's
- 2 comments, I would remind Your Honor that basically at
- 3 this moment we are here under the declaratory relief
- 4 statute, and the fact of the matter is there is no
- 5 certification necessary in order for Your Honor to do
- 6 anything. We are traveling that route. An alternate
- 7 ground is the statute per se.
- 8 What we are asking Your Honor basically to
- 9 do, because of the time constraints, it will become
- 10 impossible for Your Honor to do anything if you wait
- 11 until certification to get this thing moving if we are
- 12 going to do anything about it.
- 13 THE COURT: Given Judge Lewis' order I just

- 14 read to you, it seems to me that certification, unless
- 15 the Supreme Court stops it, may be found tomorrow.
- 16 By the time this order gets out it will be

17 ripe anyway.

- 18 MR. FARMER: Your Honor, Palm Beach County
- 19 has in fact certified its county results. That is what
- 20 happened last Tuesday at 5:00. Secretary of State
- 21 Harris had a representative at the emergency operation
- 22 center. I watched it occur on TV. The paper was
- 23 signed by the commissioners and handed over. The
- 24 certification at the county level has in fact occurred.
- 25 Judge, we are not asking you to determine

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- 1 right now whether you should order this revote. It is
- 2 just whether you can order this revote. Even under the
- 3 Donahue case it says you can. The bar is set high, but
- 4 you can. We would ask you not foreclose that remedy at

5 this juncture.

- 6 Thank you very much.
- 7 THE COURT: Thank you, Mr. Farmer.
- 8 Anyone else wish to speak? This is

9 important. Anyone else?

- 10 MR. HANDLER: Thank you, Judge.
- 11 We also had a more perfunctory motion before
- 12 the court, a motion to amend. We wanted to add a count

13 to our complaint.

14 THE COURT: Anyone there for Mr. Richard

15 still on the phone?

16 MR. BIDEAU: I'm here from Mr. Richard's

17 office. Mark Bideau.

18 THE COURT: They filed a motion to amend

19 their complaint.

20 MR. HANDLER: We faxed it up to Mr. Richard's

21 office in Tallahassee. We wanted to add the statutory

22 count of the contest to our complaint for declaratory

23 relief. We think that issue is already in play before

the court, so we wanted to make sure we had symmetry

25 with our pleading, Judge. Therefore, we filed it more

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- 1 perfunctory than anything else.
- 2 MR. BIDEAU: I can't take a position on it

3 never having seen the motion. Until I have a chance to

4 read the motion I really can't take a position on that.

5 THE COURT: I think they are saying the

6 complaint they had before, the bills having been

7 certified in Palm Beach County, now that they have in

8 Palm Beach County, now is the only time they can really

9 travel under 102.168 because the election has to have

10 been certified. Now they want to travel under on that

11 statute. That is what I'm saying.

- 12 So I'm going to grant the motion.
- 13 Do you have an order?
- 14 MR. HANDLER: We have a proposed order,
- 15 Judge. What we can do is make copies here and have it
- 16 conformed here.
- 17 THE COURT: Let me sign it. Today is the
- 18 17th.
- 19 MR. HANDLER: Yes, sir.
- 20 THE COURT: Mr. Clerk, this is the original.
- 21 Before we break up here, anybody else wish to
- 22 speak on this issue?
- 23 MR. CHEMBRINSKY: You read and I was speaking
- 24 with others, the language of Article 2 of the
- 25 Constitution. Two points haven't been made.

- 1 If you look at that language closely, it
- 2 speaks of the appointment of the electors. Congress
- 3 set a uniform date for appointing the electors. I
- 4 think what we are doing here is confusing two different
- 5 things, the date of the popular election and the date
- 6 of appointing the electors.
- 7 Congress said December 12 is the uniform form
- 8 date by which electors have to be appointed. The
- 9 popular election is set by statute. The reason that is
- 10 an important distinction is at the time the

- 11 Constitution was written the framer's didn't intend
- 12 popular elections in the way we have them now as
- 13 president. They let each state choose for itself how
- 14 to determine it's electors. In fact, the state
- 15 legislature could determine who the electors are going
- 16 to be. There is nothing in the United States
- 17 Constitution that requires there be a popular election.
- 18 If Florida wanted to let the Florida legislature choose
- 19 its electors it could do so. So I think the language,
- 20 I think that is clear as a matter of the Constitution.
- 21 THE COURT: You think that the people of the
- 22 state of Florida would elect the house and the senate
- 23 so they could then elect the electors who are going to
- 24 elect the president?
- 25 MR. CHEMBRINSKY: No. That is not what I

- 1 said.
- 2 I said that every state gets to decide for
- 3 itself how it is going to choose its electors. We now
- 4 have a convention where we choose the electors by
- 5 popular vote. But that is not what the framer's that
- 6 choose the electoral congress meant.
- 7 What I just said a moment ago, Your Honor, is
- 8 if Florida wanted by statute to say it is the Florida
- 9 legislature that chooses Florida's electors, it could

10 do so constitutionally. There is not a word in the

11 Constitution that requires there be a popular vote for

12 president.

- 13 So the language, Your Honor, you were
- 14 focusing on in Article 2 uses the word appoint the
- 15 electors. Congress set a date for that. That is

16 December 12th by statute. That is different from the

17 separate statute which provides for popular election.

18 There is a second point with regard to this.

- 19 You asked a question of whether or not the language in
- 20 Article 2 you read would permit a later election if an
- 21 election was voided.
- 22 The Donahue case actually is a case for the
- 23 plaintiff because Donahue says you have the authority
- 24 to void an election and hold another election
- 25 notwithstanding that language in Article 2, but Donahue

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- 1 sets a high bar in terms of what would be under federal
- 2 law. Once you accept what Donahue establishes you can
- 3 do so, it is then Florida law that determines the
- 4 standards of whether you should do so, and that is the
- 5 Beckstrom case. I think those points were made and I
- 6 wanted to raise them.
- 7 THE COURT: Mr. Silver, quickly, please.
- 8 MR. SILVER: Very, very quickly. I just want

- 9 to clarify, Your Honor.
- 10 You are asking whether an election can be
- 11 held on another date other than November 7th. We are
- 12 asking as one of our remedies not to have another
- 13 election other than on November 7.
- 14 We are asking to go back in time to
- 15 November 7 and allow everyone to indicate how they
- 16 wanted their vote to be on November 7. Just as right
- 17 now past November 7 we are still counting ballots
- 18 trying to determine the intent, we are trying to
- 19 determine the intent as it was on November 7. We are
- 20 not asking people how do you feel now. We are asking
- 21 how did you feel on November 7, and what was your
- 22 intent on that date.
- 23 THE COURT: You don't want to call it a
- 24 revote. You want to call it a clarification?
- 25 MR. SILVER: If that would help, we could

- 1 call it a clarification.
- 2 MR. FARMER: One last request, Judge.
- 3 If we are going to have a hearing, I wonder
- 4 if we can preliminarily set aside a date so we can plan
- 5 accordingly, experts can be contacted and lined up, and
- 6 then if you decide you don't have the authority we can
- 7 cancel that hearing.

- 8 THE COURT: That's a good idea.
- 9 Next week, as you know, we have the holidays.
- 10 We are closed Thursday and Friday.
- 11 What I was going to suggest is a week from
- 12 Monday. Is that cutting it too close?
- 13 MR. FARMER: I would prefer we do it next
- 14 Tuesday or Wednesday, Your Honor.
- 15 MR. MONTGOMERY: What about the answer? What
- 16 about the complaint?
- 17 THE COURT: The problem, Mr. Montgomery, the
- 18 statute provides when you are dealing with election
- 19 laws --
- 20 MR. MONTGOMERY: There has got to be some due

21 process.

- 22 THE COURT: I understand that, Mr.
- 23 Montgomery. But we can't have interrogatories. We
- 24 can't have requests for production.
- 25 MR. MONTGOMERY: No, sir. But we can have

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- 1 some discovery and some effort in order to prepare for
- 2 this particular hearing that is going to be --
- 3 THE COURT: What I'm going to do is schedule
- 4 it for a week from Monday. And next week you guys can
- 5 do what you want considering I ruled the way you want
- 6 me to I guess.

7	Now, as far as the ruling is concerned, I
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9 this order which obviously, whoever doesn't prevail, is

10 going to appeal. So let's not fool ourselves. I don't

11 have the last word here, and maybe not even the first

12 word. Somebody with far more knowledge than me will

13 decide this. But by the same token, we need to get

14 that order quickly so you can get it up, whoever

15 losses, and take it up to where you need to take it.

16 I don't want to have to gather everybody

17 together again and have them set up the cameras and

18 come in here so I can read the order. I don't need the

19 exposure. I think I have had enough.

20 Why don't I just prepare, and I'll tell my

21 judicial assistant to prepare 50 of them and just have

22 one stack for the attorneys and one stack for the media

and one stack for the general public, and maybe set up

24 a place on the 5th floor, court administration, where

25 you can come in the hallway and pick them up.

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- 1 MR. FARMER: That would be fine.
- 2 We would also be willing to accept by
- 3 facsimile if Your Honor is inclined.
- 4 THE COURT: If I start getting people my fax
- 5 number I would be getting faxes --

6 MR. FARMER: No. You could fax it to us. We

7 could provide our numbers to the court. I offer that

8 as a suggestion.

9 THE COURT: Why don't you do this?

10 All those attorneys interested in the order,

11 why don't you get a legal pad and write down your fax

12 numbers and your name next to them? Obviously your fax

13 numbers on the pleadings. I got so many of these

14 coming and going I'm going to miss people. If I get a

15 precise list of people's names and fax numbers I'll get

16 Sally to sit there by the fax machine for a couple

17 hours and get these things out.

18 What I'm going to do, I am going to put them

19 out in court administration, out front there on a

20 table. There is going to be one stack for the lawyers,

21 one stack for the media and one stack for the parties.

22 It will be there for you. We will see what happens.

23 If I rule that a hearing, that a reelection

24 is possible, even permissible, you can assume we are

25 going to have a hearing at Monday at 9:30. We can

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1 start at 9:00 if you want to. One good thing about

2 having to do this I don't have to do the motion

3 calendar.

4 MR. KUEHNE: Your Honor, there are two brief

- 5 matters.
- 6 Ben Kuehne representing the democratic party.
- 7 With regard to the proceedings in
- 8 Tallahassee, would Your Honor appreciate receiving
- 9 copies of any material being submitted to the Supreme
- 10 Court so you understand what is being done?
- 11 THE COURT: Absolutely.
- 12 MR. KUEHNE: We understand that is being done
- 13 on an emergency basis.
- 14 THE COURT: Absolutely. I will give you my
- 15 fax number, but then I'll have to shoot you. If you
- 16 could have somebody deliver it to my office, I really
- 17 want to know what is going on up there. Obviously
- 18 tomorrow is a big day other than the Florida FSU game.
- 19 MR. FARMER: Thank you.
- 20 THE COURT: But tomorrow is obviously a big
- 21 day as to what happens with the Secretary of State and
- 22 what actions are taken up with the higher courts after
- 23 that.
- Let me ask you good lawyers this question.
- 25 If the Secretary of State certifies the election

- 1 tomorrow, I guess you will first go to the Supreme
- 2 Court? Would that be the first court you would go to?
- 3 MR. KUEHNE: Florida Supreme Court does have

- 4 pending jurisdiction over these matters, so we
- 5 anticipate relief will be requested of the Supreme
- 6 Court at that time.
- 7 But our position is even with state
- 8 certification, the matters pending before this court
- 9 are not moot because the statute still allows the time
- 10 period to make the contest. That is my second item,
- 11 Judge. We expect that since that time clock for
- 12 contest is ticking or will be maybe ticking, you may be
- 13 receiving additional contests. I don't know that you
- 14 will, but you may be.
- 15 THE COURT: Additional what?
- 16 MR. KUEHNE: Additional contest lawsuits.
- 17 102.168 says since they are required to be filed within
- 18 a certain period of time. I alert you to that because
- 19 the procedure probably should be the same, that they be
- 20 brought together so the matters are handled as one.
- 21 THE COURT: Let's do them all together.
- 22 MR. BARNHART: If it please the court, we
- 23 listened to a number of our colleagues make their
- 24 arguments. The Democratic Party, most respectfully to
- 25 our colleagues, do not agree with all the arguments

- 1 made. If there is to be a hearing, to make it
- 2 effective in terms of presentation and in terms of

- 3 fairness to all sides, I agree with Mr. Montgomery,
- 4 there needs to be a fashion through which we can
- 5 orderly take whatever discovery may be necessary and
- 6 present and cross-examine witnesses.
- 7 THE COURT: What I suggest is you lawyers
- 8 know who your experts are by now I hope. Did I not
- 9 order somebody provide copies?
- 10 MR. FARMER: Yes.
- 11 THE COURT: Copies of reports and things like
- 12 that. So you know who they are.
- 13 What I suggest you do is get busy this week.
- 14 You good lawyers can agree if you want me to enter an
- 15 order that all depositions of all experts are to be
- 16 taken by Friday of next week, I can do that if you
- 17 want.
- 18 Under the circumstances, Mr. Montgomery, I
- 19 don't know what else I can do. These are not normal
- 20 times here. Again, we have an election. We have the
- 21 Secretary of State about to certify the election. I
- 22 don't know what is going to happen.
- 23 MR. MONTGOMERY: We will abide and comply
- 24 with anything the court orders. I need some semblance
- 25 of order to know what we are doing.

2 are.

3 MR. FARMER: We have disclosed ours.
4 MR. KRATHEN: Nobody disclosed anybody to us.
5 MR. FARMER: I sent a letter to the
6 Canvassing Commission lawyers last week asking them if
7 they intend to present any expert testimony.
8 THE COURT: How about Governor Bush? Does he
9 have any experts in reference to the question raised?
10 MR. BIDEAU: We just received this morning
11 their expert information. Once we have analyzed it, we
12 will determine if we need the experts. We were
13 supposed to get it two days ago.
14 MR. FARMER: You got it last night.
15 THE COURT: Let's say Governor Bush is to
16 decide whether he is asking to call any experts or not
17 let's say by 5:00 today. Can you review those today
18 and let me know?
19 MR. BIDEAU: I think Mr. Richard is probably
20 over at the Supreme Court now. We can certainly do it
21 by Monday.
22 THE COURT: Say Monday 12:00 noon? Then you
23 good lawyers sit down, get together and decide when you
24 want to depose whoever.
25 Can I trust you to do that? You are not
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1 going to be fighting as to I got to be in Atlanta that

2 day or I got to be in Hawaii that day?

3 MR. BARNHART: My point, Judge Labarga, there

4 needs to be lead counsel. There cannot be 20 people.

5 THE COURT: I understand.

6 The question I have, Mr. Barnhart raises an

7 interesting question, we going to have these experts

8 being deposed and are we going to have every person in

9 the world coming in wanting to be on CNN asking a

10 question or two just for the sake of that. And I agree

11 with that. So far, I seen Mr. Farmer, I have seen Mr.

12 Keuhne and Mr. Barnhart, I've seen the Weiss and

13 Handler law firm, I have seen Mr. Montgomery and the

14 county attorney in the back. Obviously Mr. Richard and

15 Gary Dunkel and whoever else in the firm. They seem to

16 be the major players or the major attorneys involved in

17 this litigation from what I have seen so far. Everyone

18 else is obviously assisting me which I deeply

19 appreciate. But they seem to be the ones.

20 What I suggest is you guys be the ones that

21 take the depositions and do the discovery and get this

thing ready, and I'll be here for you Monday morning at

23 9:30 need be.

24 MR. GIBSON: Your Honor, Gerry Gibson for the

25 Secretary of State.

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1 Again, in the interest to expedite things, do 2 I understand correctly that Your Honor has denied our 3 motions to dismiss this case for improper venue? 4 THE COURT: Right. We had that discussion 5 with Mr. Richard. 6 MR. GIBSON: For clarification of the record, that ruling then applies to all the cases pending 7 8 before Your Honor? We made that same motion. 9 THE COURT: I believe Ms. Harris has been 10 dropped as a party in most of these lawsuits. 11 MR. GIBSON: That is wrong. That is not 12 true. We are a party in several of these suits. 13 I would like clarification for the record. 14 THE COURT: That raises another can or worms 15 because you heard the argument made. 16 MR. FARMER: Judge, you ruled on 17 indispensable parties when we were here on Monday. You 18 recall the Steel Hector lawyers were arguing 19 indispensable parties because remember I voluntarily 20 dismissed Secretary of State Harris, Governor Jeb Bush 21 and Clay Roberts. We talked about the statute. You 22 said only the candidates are the indispensable parties 23 and you denied the motion for failure to add

24 indispensable parties. I think that is the law of the

25 case.

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1 THE COURT: That is the law of the case. 2 But if there are lawsuits with Ms. Harris as 3 a party in it, then the law clearly says they have to 4 be in Tallahassee. 5 MR. FARMER: I have no guarrel with that. My lawsuit does not have Ms. Harris in it. 6 7 THE COURT: Whatever lawsuit has Ms. Harris in it must be held in Tallahassee. That is by statute. 8 9 MR. GIBSON: We had two motions, two parts to 10 our venue motion. One was that the action contesting 11 the statewide election like this one under the statute 12 had to be also in Leon County. It was a two-part 13 motion we made in the Rogers case. 14 So I understand correctly, those motions are 15 denied in all of the transferred cases pending now 16 before Your Honor? 17 THE COURT: Your change of venue, is that 18 pursuant to 102.168 (5)? 19 MR. GIBSON: Yes. 20 THE COURT: Mr. Richard and I had a lengthy 21 discussion about that. I denied that motion because I 22 believe that statute encompasses Palm Beach County. 23 The election involved here does not encompass more than 24 one county.

25 MR. GIBSON: Thank you.

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1 Denied as to both the Secretary of State and

2 Governor Bush I understand.

3 THE COURT: Yes. My ruling was that any

4 lawsuit that has the Secretary of State in it as a

5 party, that lawsuit is transferred to Tallahassee, Leon

6 County. That is by statute. You can only be sued in

7 Tallahassee. If you have a lawsuit that has the

8 Secretary of State in it as a party, then don't come

9 back Monday.

10 MR. PASSIN: Robert Passin.

11 I do have a case in which I named Secretary

12 of State Harris. I do have legal authority under the

13 sword yielding doctrine where it is proper to have

14 venue for that case in this county. Also the venue

15 statute you cite only states to a contestant running

16 for the election, not the taxpayer or the voter of the

17 county. I need to be heard on that issue.

18 THE COURT: Mr. Passin, your case is in

19 Tallahassee. Have a nice day.

20 Next.

21 MR. LAWLOR: You haven't heard about the

22 issue. There is an exception to that statute.

23 THE COURT: I heard from you.

24 LAWRENCE GOTTFRIED: Your Honor, I will be

25 very brief. My name is Lawrence Gottfried. I'm here

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1 pro se. I'm a voter in Palm Beach County. I have no

2 set of legal team following me.

3 I filed several papers with Your Honor. I

4 will make two quick points. One, even if Your Honor

5 were inclined to want a revote, no one has addressed

6 the practical issue there are voters who are unknown

7 that are somewhere out in this world that will not be

8 able to come back and vote again, will not know of the

9 proceedings. Yes, there are places in the world where

10 people will not hear of Palm Beach County.

11 As a result, my rights and the rights of

12 every other voter in that election will be bridged if

13 there is a revote.

14 Now, since Your Honor has indicated, and I

15 think he is doing so with due judicial diligence, take

16 time over the weekend with the extraordinary amount of

17 paperwork and the extraordinary situation facing him,

18 to offer a written opinion except of one from the

19 bench. I would urge Your Honor to read the paperwork I

20 submitted this morning which is an emergency TRO,

21 particularly in light of the decision handed down and

22 Your Honor saw fit to read into the record today. It

- 23 is a temporary restraining order stopping the hand
- 24 count as a waste of assets of the citizens of this
- 25 county until such time as a decision is made whether or

- 1 not that would be appropriate for the count to go on,
- 2 the extraordinary expense being incurred as a result of
- 3 something that may be moot by either Your Honor or
- 4 another venue. And it looks like the Secretary of
- 5 State, in its infinite wisdom, and the infinite wisdom
- 6 of the judge of Leon County saw she took six hours
- 7 according to her. That is an inordinate amount of time
- 8 to think over, assess. She sought counsel and came up
- 9 with a decision. She is an elected official charged
- 10 with that responsibility. She rendered that. And
- 11 tomorrow at approximately 12:00 noon it is anticipated
- 12 she will certify the vote.
- 13 Everybody is expecting it to be Governor
- 14 Bush. It may be Vice-President Gore. Nobody really
- 15 knows for sure. But until that happens, and if it is
- 16 in fact Governor Bush and there are appeals, what is
- 17 going on now across town at Military and Southern costs
- 18 the taxpayers, costs myself, costs the citizens of this
- 19 county, immeasurable amounts of time and money, and I
- 20 would urge the court to look at my paperwork, issue the
- 21 temporary restraining order until such time as it

22 becomes relevant to continue the hand count.

23 Thank you, Your Honor.

24 THE COURT: Thank you, sir. Appreciate it.

25 Gentleman in the back, you wish to come up?

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1 KENNETH HOROWITZ: Thank you. My name is

2 Kenneth Horowitz. I'm not an attorney. I am a

3 plaintiff in one of the cases being heard here.

4 There are a lot of eloquent comments made by

5 various attorneys today. I need to point out in fact I

6 don't have a lot of knowledge of law. I have a sense

7 of what is right. And I needed to respond right now

8 based upon what the other gentleman just said. That is

9 I voted correctly. I was with my son in the voting

10 booth. We both saw where someone could make a mistake.

11 What brought me to all this, when I walked

12 out of the voting booth, there were three elderly women

13 and a gentleman talking together. The old man was

14 crying. I asked him why. I didn't know what was

15 wrong. He said after speaking with the women that he

16 voted incorrectly and he wanted to go back in to

17 revote. I explained to him that really wasn't possible

18 because there was a card that didn't have his name on

19 it that he deposited into the box. He began to explain

20 to me he was a veteran, he fought for this country.

- 21 His last words were somebody has to do something. That
- 22 is what he said to me. And I just felt bad in my
- 23 heart. That is why I got involved in this.
- 24 Despite this gentleman talking about the time
- 25 and money that is needed to right things, there is a

- 1 certain hurt going on I have observed personally. And
- 2 I know in your good wisdom you will do the right thing.
- 3 THE COURT: As I said earlier, if I rule that
- 4 the Constitution does not allow for new election, it
- 5 will be the hardest decision I will ever make.
- 6 KENNETH HOROWITZ: I believe that. Thank
- 7 you.
- 8 THE COURT: Okay. Who is next?
- 9 MR. FARMER: Move to adjourn hearing.
- 10 THE COURT: Thank you.
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- 1 CERTIFICATE
- 2 I, MATTHEW P. SPOUTZ, Court Reporter, certify
- 3 that I was authorized to and did stenographically
- 4 report the foregoing proceedings had before the
- 5 HONORABLE JORGE LABARGA, Presiding Judge, at the Palm
- 6 Beach County Courthouse, West Palm Beach, Florida, on
- 7 the 17th day of November, 2000, commencing at
- 8 9:350'clock A.M.; and that the transcript is a true
- 9 record.
- 10 Dated this _____ day of _____, 2000.

11	
12	
13	
14	MATTHEW P. SPOUTZ, Court Reporter
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25	Klein, Bury & Associates Matthew P. Spoutz