IN RE TOM MALINOWSKI, PETITION FOR NOMINATION FOR GENERAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER 8, 2022, FOR UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES NEW JERSEY CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT 7

IN RE TOM MALINOWSKI, PETITION FOR NOMINATION FOR GENERAL ELECTION, NOVEMBER 8, 2022, FOR UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES NEW JERSEY CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT 7 SUPERIOR COURT OF NEW JERSEY APPELLATE DIVISION DOCKET NO. A-3542-21T2

On appeal from final agency action in the Department of State

Sat below: Hon. Tahesha Way, Secretary of State

### (CONSOLIDATED)

SUPERIOR COURT OF NEW JERSEY APPELLATE DIVISION DOCKET NO. A-3543-21T2

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(CONSOLIDATED)

### APPENDIX OF APPELLANTS VOLUME II (Pa182-369)

WEISSMAN & MINTZ

Flavio Komuves, Esq. (018891997) fkomuves@weissmanmintz.com Brett M. Pugach, Esq. (032572011) bpugach@weissmanmintz.com Steven P. Weissman, Esq. (024581978) sweissman@weissmanmintz.com 220 Davidson Avenue, Suite 410 Somerset, New Jersey 08873 732.563.4565

BROMBERG LAW LLC Yael Bromberg, Esq. (036412011) ybromberg@bromberglawllc.com 43 West 43rd Street, Suite 32 New York, New York 10036 212.859.5083

Professor Joel Rogers (Admitted Pro Hac Vice) University of Wisconsin Law School jrogers60@gmail.com 975 Bascom Mall Madison, Wisconsin 53706 609.347.9889

Professor Nate Ela (Admitted Pro Hac Vice) University of Cincinnati College of Law nate.ela@gmail.com P.O Box 210040 Cincinnati, Ohio 45221 513.556.0866

Counsel and on the Brief for Appellants Moderate Party and Richard A. Wolfe

UNITED TO PROTECT DEMOCRACY Farbod K. Faraji, Esq. (263272018) farbod.faraji@protectdemocracy.org Beau C. Tremitiere, Esq. (Admitted Pro Hac Vice) beau.tremitiere@protectdemocracy.org 2020 Pennsylvania Ave NW, Suite 163 Washington, D.C. 20006 202.579.4582

Counsel and on the Brief for Appellants Michael Tomasco and William Kibler

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Report of Richard Winger, dated June 3, 2022

## Schedule 11

To:Farbod FarajiFrom:Richard WingerDate:June 3, 2022Re:Expert Report on Minor Parties and New Jersey

1. I have been asked to assess the role of ballot access and other laws in New Jersey on the ability of minor parties and independent candidates to compete for election. My conclusion is that New Jersey law is uniquely anti-competitive in favor of the Democratic Party and Republican Party, and at the expense of all others and the voting public writ large. No minor parties have been ballot-qualified in New Jersey since the state legislature prohibited fusion balloting a century ago.

2. *Qualifications*: I am the founding Editor of *Ballot Access News*, a print and online newsletter that has covered legal, legislative, and political developments of interest to minor parties and independent candidates since 1985. In this role, I frequently research ballot access laws of all 50 states dating back into the nineteenth century, and I therefore am well versed in how ballot access laws of each state work historically and how they compare to each other. Since 2001, I have served on the Editorial Board of the *Election Law Journal*. I have published extensively on issues relating to ballot access, minor parties, and independent candidates. I have provided written and/or oral testimony on these issues in dozens of cases. My curriculum vitae is attached as an appendix to this report.

3. *Opinion*: Citizens seeking to form a minor party in America face a variety of barriers. Chief among them is that, unlike most other advanced democracies, we do not use proportional representation in our elections. Most political scientists agree that democracies (especially pluralistic ones like the United States) are best served with electoral systems designed to provide proportional representation, which ensures that citizen preferences are more accurately reflected in electoral outcomes, and in turn strengthens the legitimacy of governmental decision-making.

Unlike most other advanced democracies, America instead uses plurality voting-single member districts in most partisan elections, and layers on top of that strict and often unfair rules governing ballot access. These choices have produced the brittle two-party system that dominates partisan elections in America today.

4. Nevertheless, and despite these barriers, in every state in the country groups of citizens routinely try to build minor parties that can project different values and ideas into public discourse. While minor parties may be disdained by or even scoffed at by the major parties, historians have long noted that "third parties" often spur public awareness of new issues and crises, and over time their positions may be adopted in part or in whole by one or both of the two major parties. Consider abolition of slavery (Liberty Party), temperance (Prohibition Party), 10-hour day (Workingmen's Party), railroad regulation and occupational safety and health standards (Grenback Party), and financial regulation (People's Party, usually called the Populists) to name some of the more prominent ideas that have migrated from the "fringes" of politics to the mainstream via social awareness and minor fusion party activism before fusion was banned in New Jersey and most other states.

5. Access to the ballot for minor parties is therefore of enormous consequence to the substantial number of citizens who do not feel at home in one of the major parties. Lawmakers in each of the 50 states recognize that such citizens must be permitted to form new parties. Most commonly, states require minor party supporters and leaders who wish to create a new political party to take two steps: first, they must demonstrate a level of support amongst the public in order to gain access to the ballot for their candidates; and second, they must cross a threshold set by the state to *maintain* the status of a "ballot-qualified" party enjoying the rights that the major parties have.

6. New Jersey is one of only three states in which the definition of a qualified party is so severe that no party other than the Democratic and Republican Parties has ever satisfied it. In 1920, New Jersey defined a qualified party to be a group that had polled a number of votes for its candidates for Assembly that equaled at least 10% of all the votes cast for that office. [State session laws of 1920, chapter 349, p. 675.] The Republican Party and Democratic Party are the only parties that have ever crossed that threshold. No minor party has come close, and thus no minor party has ever been recognized by the election authorities in New Jersey as "qualified." Under New Jersey law, a "qualified party" is presumptively entitled to place its nominees on the general election ballot, appearing no different than the Republican Party and Democratic Party and their respective nominees.

7. This kind of recognition is fundamentally different from a candidate who appears on the ballot via what's usually called an "independent nominating petition" that includes a minor party label. That happens routinely in most states, including New Jersey. But politics is not merely about candidates. It is also crucially about parties – meaning citizens who self-organize to project their values and ideals, and I believe it is wrong that citizens in minor parties do not enjoy the same rights to freedom of association afforded the supporters of the two major parties.

8. New Jersey's unique hostility to minor parties becomes crystal clear when one considers how often minor parties become "qualified" for automatic ballot status. In 47 of the 50 states, while minor parties are burdened in certain respects, one routinely sees minor parties achieve such "qualified" status. This is very important as it allows for continuity, visibility and growth.

9. But in three states, the rules are so deeply discriminatory as to functionally prevent the formation of a ballot qualified party.<sup>1</sup> The last time a minor party qualified in each of these states is listed in the parentheses: Virginia (1994), Pennsylvania (1984), and New Jersey (1913).

10. It has been more than 100 years since a minor party has "made" the ballot in New Jersey. Top Democrats and Republicans might assert that this is only evidence that the voters see no need for minor parties. But a more diligent observer would explore if something else made New Jersey's voters uniquely uninterested in any form of political expression and organization beyond Democrat and Republican. In a state where more than one-third of voters register as unaffiliated, this seems highly unlikely.

11. A year after drastically raising the threshold for a party to become "ballot qualified," the New Jersey State Legislature banned fusion voting in 1921. Without the ability to cross-endorse candidates, the ability of a minor party to grow to the point where it might satisfy the new 1920 vote threshold was reduced, as the subsequent 102 years has demonstrated, to zero.

12. NJ's successful elimination of fusion balloting specifically and minor parties generally stands in stark contrast to what took place in the neighboring states of New York and Connecticut. In New York, the State Legislature also passed a ban on fusion balloting (in 1910), but the ban was successfully challenged under the NYS Constitution in 1911, and the NYS Court of Appeals ruling has protected it ever since. In Connecticut, fusion was never banned though it did fall into disuse until being revived in the late 1980s, and continuing to the present time. Connecticut and New York continue to have qualified minor parties in every election.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A fourth state, Georgia, allows minor parties to become ballot-qualified for statewide races but makes it much more difficult for down-ballot elections. The last time a minor party was fully qualified in Georgia was 1943.

I certify that the foregoing statements made by me are true. I am aware that if any of the foregoing statements made by me are willfully false, that I am subject to punishment.

Richard Winger

**Richard Winger** 

Signed on: June  $\frac{3}{2}$ , 2022

Richard Winger Curriculae Vitae 3201 Baker Street San Francisco, California 94123 Updated August 7, 2021

#### EDUCATION

BA, Political Science, University of California, Berkeley, 1966 Graduate study, Political Science, UCLA, 1966-67

#### EMPLOYMENT

Ballot Access News, Editor 1985-Present

Editor of newsletter covering legal, legislative and political developments of interest to minor parties and independent candidates. Researcher of ballot access laws of all 50 states from years 1888-present; well versed in how ballot access laws of each state work historically and how they compare to each other. Responsible for reading all statutes, regulations, legal opinions, and state attorney general opinions on rights of political parties and the publications of minor parties.

On the Editorial Board of *Election Law Journal*, published by Mary Ann Liebert, Inc., Larchmont, N.Y., since 2001.

#### PUBLICATIONS

Wrote a chapter or two in each of these books:

The Best Candidate: The Law of Presidential Nomination in Polarized Times, Cambridge University Press, 2020, editors Eugene D. Mazo and Michael R. Dimino. My chapter is "The Nomination of Presidential Candidates by Minor Parties."

America Votes! A Guide to Modern Election Law and Voting Rights, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 2012, published by the American Bar Association's Section of State and Local Government Law, editor Benjamin E. Griffith. My chapter is "Significant Ballot Access Issues."

Others, Vol. 2, Third Parties During The Populist Period, by Darcy G. Richardson (2007: iUniverse, Inc., New York). Wrote the book's Appendix, "Early Ballot Access Laws for New and Minor Parties."

#### Democracy's Moment

edited by Ronald Hayduk and Kevin Mattson (2002: Rowman & Littlefield, Lanham, Md.). My chapter is, "More Choice Please! Why U.S. Ballot Access Laws are Discriminatory and How Independent Parties and Candidaes Challenge Them."

#### The Encyclopedia of Third Parties in America

edited by Immanuel Ness and James Ciment (2000: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., Armonk, N.Y.). My article is "History of U.S. Ballot Access Law for New and Minor Parties."

#### Multiparty Politics in America

edited by Paul S. Hermson (1997: Rowman & Littlefield, Lanham, Md.). My chapter is "Institutional Obstacles to a Multi-Party System.

1

The New Populist Reader edited by Karl Trautman (1997: Praeger, Westport, Ct.)

Additional articles published in these periodicals: Fordham Law Review, Vol. 90, #2, November 2021 University of Arkansas Little Rock Law Review, Vol. 29, #4, summer 2007 Wall Street Journal, October 26, 1984 and also November 2, 1988. The Long Term View, Mass. Sch. of Law, vol. 2 #2 (spring 1994) American Review of Politics, U. of Akron, vol. 16, Winter 1995 California Journal, July 1977 Election Law Journal (two articles), Vol. 1 #2 (2002) and Vol. 5 #2 (2006) Cleveland State Law Review, Vol. 45 #1 (1997) Chronicles Magazine, November 1994 Price Costco Connection, Dec. 1995 Fordham Urban Law Journal, Vol. 32 #3 (May 2005) Fordham Law Review, Vol. 85 #3 (December 2016) Oklahoma Politics, Vol. 8 (October 1999) Harvard Law Record, internet, April 25, 2016

Also, I wrote "Election Law Decisions" in all issues of the newsletter of the American Political Science Association's Section on Representation and Electoral Systems, 2005-2014. The publication appeared twice each year.

I wrote articles for "Voice for Democracy", the newsletter of Californians for Electoral Reform, in these issues: Spring 2012, February 2014, August 2014, November 2014, and February 2015.

NATIONAL INTERVIEWS on Minor Parties, Independents, Ballots and Ballot Access

NBC	National Public Radio
ABC	Pacifica Radio
CNN	MSNBC
C-SPAN	

CASES: TESTIMONY or AFFIDAVITS (political party or candidate prevailing, or case pending) Alabama: Hall v Bennett, U.S. Dist. Ct., 212 F.Supp.3d 1148 (m.d. 2016).

Alaska: Libertarian Party v Coghill, state superior court, 3rd dist., 3AN-92-08181, 1992: court enjoined petition deadline for minor party presidential petitions.

Arizona: Campbell v Hull, 73 F Supp 2d 1081 (1999). Az. Libt. Party v Hull, superior ct., Maricopa Co. 96-13996, 1996: deadline for submitting presidential elector candidates too early. Nader v Brewer, 531 F 3d 1028 (9<sup>th</sup> cir., 2008). De La Fuente v Hobbs, 19-16868 (pending in 9<sup>th</sup> circuit): signature requirement for independent candidates.

Arkansas: Citizens to Establish a Reform Party v Priest, 970 F Supp 690 (E.D. Ark. 1996). Green Party of Ark. v Priest, 159 F.Supp.2d (E.D. Ark. 2001). Green Party of Ark. v Daniels, U.S. District Court, 448 F.Supp 2d 1056 (E.D.Ark. 2006). Moore v Martin, 854 F 3d 1021. Libertarian Party of Arkansas v Thurston, e.d., 4:19cv-214 (2019): signature requirement for new parties.

**California:** California Democratic Party v Jones, 530 US 567 (2000). California Justice Committee v Bowen, 2012 WL 5057625 (C.D.Cal.): deadline for new party qualification too early.

Colorado: Ptak v Meyer, 94-N-2250, U.S. Dist. Ct., 1994. Signature requirement for independent legislative candidates.

Florida: Libt. Party of Fla. v Mortham, 4:96cv258-RH, n.d. 1996: Libertarian vicepresidential candidate put on ballot even though he was not on the petition. Reform Party v Black, 885 So.2d 303 (Fla. 2004).

Georgia: Bergland v Harris, 767 F 2d 1551 (11th cir., 1985). Remanded case back to U.S. District Court; before District Court acted, legislature substantially eased law, so case became moot. Green Party of Georgia v Kemp, 171 F Supp 3d 1340 (n.d. 2016), affirmed, 674 F.Appx. 974 (11<sup>th</sup> cir., 2017). Libertarian Party of Georgia v Raffensperger, n.d., 1:17cv-4660: number of signatures for U.S. House.

Hawaii: Libt. Party of Hi. v Waihee, cv 86-439, U.S. Dist. Ct., 1986: petition deadline for new parties.

Illinois: Nader v III. State Bd. of Elections, 00-cv-4401, U.S. Dist. Ct., N.D., 2000: petition deadline enjoined. Lee v III. State Bd. of Elections, 463 F.3d 763 (7<sup>th</sup> cir. 2006). Jones v McGuffage, 921 F Supp 2d 888 (N.D., II, 2013). Libertarian Party of Illinois v Scholz, 164 F Supp 3d 1023 (n.d. 2016), affirmed 872 F.3d 518 (7<sup>th</sup> cir., 2017). Gill v Scholz, central dist., 3:16cv-3221: case pending in 7<sup>th</sup> circuit on 5% petition requirement for independent candidates for U.S. House; U.S. District Court put candidate on ballot, but 7<sup>th</sup> circuit stayed that action. Jones v McGuffage, n.d., 1:12cv-9997: number of signatures in special U.S. House elections; judge reduced number of signatures.

Iowa: Oviatt v Baxter, 4:92-10513, U.S. Dist. Ct., 1992: signature requirement for U.S. House candidates.

Kansas: Merritt v Graves, 87-4264-R, U.S. Dist. Ct., 1988: independent petition deadline, requirement that independent petitions not be circulated outside of circulator's home precinct, and requirement that voters could only register in qualified parties. This case should not be confused with another by the same name decided in December, 1988.

Kentucky: Libt. Pty. of Ky. v Ehrler, 776 F Supp 1200 (E.D. 1991). Sweeney v Crigler, e.d., 2:19cv-46 (2019): deadline for declaration of candidacy.

Maine: Libertarian Party of Me v Dunlap, 2:16cv-2: deadline for new party.

Maryland: Dixon v Md. State Adm. Bd. of Elec. Laws, 878 F 2d 776 (1989, 4th cir.). Green Party v Bd. of Elections, 832 A 2d 214 (Md. 2003).

Michigan: Graveline v Johnson, 336 F.Supp.3d 801 (e.d. 2018), affirmed, 747 F Appx 408 (6<sup>th</sup> circuit 2018). Number of signatures for independent candidates.

Montana: Kelly v Johnson, U.S. Dist. Ct. 08-25 (2012): independent candidate petition deadline. Breck v Stapleton, 259 F.Supp.3d 1126 (2017). Montana Green Party v Stapleton, 9<sup>th</sup> circuit, 20-35340. Unequal distribution requirement for petitions for party status.

Nebraska: Bernbeck v Gale, 4:18cv-3073 (2018). Number of signatures for independent candidates.

Nevada: Libt Pty. of Nev. v Swackhamer, 638 F Supp 565 (1986); Fulani v Lau, cv-N-92-535, U.S. Dist. Ct., 1992: minor party and independent petition deadline.

New Jersey: Council of Alternative Political Parties v Hooks, 999 F Supp 607 (1998); Council of Alternative Political Parties v State Div. of Elections, 781 A 2d 1041 (N.J.Super, A.D. 2001).

New York: Molinari v Powers, 82 F Supp 57 (E.D.N.Y. 2000). Schulz w Williams, 44 F 3d 48 (2nd cir., 1994). Green Party of N.Y. v N.Y. State Bd. of Elections, 389 F.3d 411 (2<sup>nd</sup> cir., 2004).

North Carolina: Obie v N.C. Bd. of Elections, 762 F Supp 119 (E.D. 1991). DeLaney v Bartlett, 370 F.Supp.2d 373 (M.D. 2004). Edwards v Berger, Wake County

Superior Court, 18-cvs-9749 (2018): state could not give party labels to some candidates, but not all candidates, for the same office.

**Ohio:** Libertarian Party of Ohio v Blackwell, 462 F.3d 579 (6<sup>th</sup> cir. 2006). Libertarian Party of Ohio v Husted, U.S. Dist. Ct., middle district, 2:13cv-935 (2014): state could not create a new petition in September of odd year before election and expect it to be used in following year.

**Oklahoma:** Atherton v Ward, 22 F Supp 2d 1265 (W.D. Ok. 1998). De La Fuente v Ziriax, had been pending in 10<sup>th</sup> circuit, 17-6010, then legislature eased requirement for independent presidential candidates so case became moot.

Pennsylvania: Patriot Party of Pa. v Mitchell, 826 F Supp 926 (E.D. 1993).

South Dakota: Nader v Hazeltine, 110 F Supp 2d 1201 (2000). Libertarian Party of South Dakota v Krebs, 2018, 4:15cv-4111.

**Tennessee:** Libt Party v Goins, U.S. Dist. Ct., 793 F Supp 1064 (M.D. 2010). Green Party of Tennessee v Hargett, 7 F.Supp.3d 772 (m.d. 2014), aff'm, 791 F.3d 684 ( $6^{th}$  cir. 2015): this is the case that struck down the law on how a party remains on the ballot, and should not be confused with the case of the same name on the requirements for a party getting on the ballot.

Texas: Pilcher v Rains, 853 F 2d 334 (5th cir., 1988).

Virginia: Libt. Pty of Va. v Quinn, 3:01-cv-468, U.S. Dist. Ct., E.D. (2001): court ordered state to print "Libertarian" party label on ballot next to names of candidates.

West Virginia: State ex rel Browne v Hechler, 476 SE 2d 559 (Supreme Court 1996). Nader v Hechler, 112 F.Supp.2d 575 (S.D.W.V., 2000). McClure v Manchin, 301 F Supp 2d 564 (2003).

CASES: TESTIMONY or AFFIDAVITS (political party or candidate not prevailing)

Alabama: Swanson v Bennett, 490 F.3d 894 (11<sup>th</sup> cit. 2007). Stein v Chapman, 774 F.3d 689 (11<sup>th</sup> cir., 2014). De La Fuente v Merrill, m.d., 2:16cv-755: whether sore loser law applies to presidential primaries.

Arizona: Indp. Amer. Party v Hull, civ 96-1240, U.S. Dist. Ct., 1996: petition deadline for new parties. Browne v Bayless, 46 P 3d 416 (2002). Arizona Libertarian Party v Hobbs, 925 F.3d.1085 (2019).

Arkansas: Langguth v McKuen, LR-C-92-466, U.S. Dist. Ct., E.D., 1992: petition deadline for independent candidates. Christian Populist Party v Sec. of State, 650 F Supp 1205 (E.D. 1987). Green Party of Ark. V Martin, 649 F.3d 675 (8<sup>th</sup> cir. 2011).

California: Socialist Workers Party v Eu, 591 F 2d 1252 (9th cir., 1978). Independent Party v Padilla, 184 F.Supp.3d 791 (Cal.,e.d. 2016). De La Fuente v Padilla, 930 F.3d 1101 (9th cir. 2019).

D.C.: Libertarian Party v D.C. Bd. of Elections, 682 F.3d 72 (D.C. Cir. 2012).

Florida: Fulani v Smith, 92-4629, Leon Co. Circuit Court, 1992: deadline for write-in filing. Libertarian Party of Fla. v State of Fla., 710 F 2d 790 (11th cir., 1983). U.S. Taxpayers Party v Smith, 871 F.Supp. 426 (n.d. Fla. 1993).

**Georgia**: Libertarian Party of Ga. v Cleland, U.S. Dist. Ct., n.d., 1:94-cv-1503-CC, U.S. Dist. Ct., N.D. (1994): number of signatures. Amendola v Miller, U.S. Dist. Ct, n.d., 1:96cv-2103 (1997): number of signatures. Esco v Secretary of State, E-53493, Fulton Co. Superior Court, 1998: number of signatures. Cartwright v Barnes, 304 F 3d 1138 (11<sup>th</sup> cir., 2002): number of signatures. Coffield v Kemp, 599 F.3d 1276 (2010): number of signatures.

Idaho: Nader v Cenarrusa, cv 00-503, U.S. Dist. Ct., 2000: number of signatures.

Illinois: Libt Party v Rednour, 108 F 3d 768 (7th cir., 1997). Nader v Keith, 385 F.3d 729 (7th cir. 2006). Summers v Smart, 65 F.Supp. 3d 556 (n.d. Ill. 2014).

Kansas: Hagelin for President Committee v Graves, 804 F Supp 1377 (1992).

Maine: Maine Green Party v Diamond, 95-318, U.S. Dist. Ct., 1995: definition of qualified party. Maine Green Party v Secretary of State, 96-cv-261, U.S. Dist. Ct., 1996: definition of political party.

Maryland: Ahmad v Raynor, R-88-869, U.S. Dist. Ct., 1988: number of signatures. Creager v State Adm. Bd. of Election Laws, AW-96-2612, U.S. Dist. Ct., 1996: number of signatures.

Missouri: Manifold v Blunt, 863 F 2d 1368 (8th cir. 1988).

New Hampshire: Werme v Gov. of N.H., 84 F 3d 479 (1st cir., 1996).

New Mexico: Parker v Duran, 180 F Supp 3d 851 (2014).

North Carolina: Nader v Bartlett, 00-2040, 4th cir., 2000: number of signatures.

North Dakota: Libertarian Party of N.D. v Jaeger, 659 F 3d 689 (2011).

**Ohio**: Schrader v Blackwell, 241 F 2d 783 (6th cir., 2001). State ex rel Fockler v Husted, State Supreme Court, 2016-1863: rules for primary ballot access. Libertarian Party of Ohio v Ohio Secretary of State, state appeals court, 10<sup>th</sup> dist., 16APE-07-496: definition of political party.

Oklahoma: Rainbow Coalition v Okla. State Elec. Bd., 844 F 2d 740 (1988). Nader v Ward, 00-1340, U.S. Dist. Ct., 1996: number of signatures. Clingman v Beaver, 544 U.S.581.

Oregon: Libt Party v Roberts, 737 P 2d 137 (Ore. Ct. of Appeals, 1987).

**Tennessee:** Green Party of Tennessee v Hargett, 882 F.Supp.2d 959 (m.d. 2012) and 953 F.Supp.2d 816 (m.d. 2013) (not to be confused with the case of the same name on how a party remains on the ballot). The final decisions are not reported and are 2016 US Dist Lexis 109161 (2016) and Sixth Circuit case 16-6299 (2017).

Texas: Texas Indp. Party v Kirk, 84 F 3d 178 (5th cir., 1996). Nat. Comm. of U.S. Taxpayers Party v Garza, 924 F Supp 71 (W.D. 1996). Kennedy v Cascos, 214 F.Supp.3d 559 (w.d. Tex, 2016).

Virginia: Wood v Meadows, 207 F 3d 708 (4th cir., 2000).

Washington: Washington State Republican Party v Washington State Grange, 876 F.3d 794 (2012).

West Virginia: Fishbeck v Hechler, 85 F 3d 162 (4th cir., 1996).

Wyoming: Spiegel v State of Wyoming, 96-cv-1028, U.S. Dist. Ct., 1996: petition deadline.

#### QUALIFIED EXPERT WITNESS

Fishbeck v Hechler, 85 F 3d 162 (4th cir. 1996, West Virginia case) Council of Alternative Political Parties v Hooks, 999 F Supp 607 (1998, N.J.)

Citizens to Establish Reform Party v Priest, 970 F Supp 690 (E.D. Ark, 1996)

Atherton v Ward, 22 F Supp 2d 1265 (W.D.Ok. 1998)

Calif. Democratic Party v Jones, 530 US 567 (2000)

Swanson v Bennett, not reported, U.S. Dist. Ct., m.d.Ala. (02-T-644-N)

Clingman v Beaver, 544 U.S. 581.

Green Pty v N.Y. Bd. Elec., 267 F Supp 2d 342 (EDNY 2003), 389 F.3d 411 (2<sup>nd</sup> 2004)

Lawrence v Blackwell, 430 F.3d 368 (6th cir. 2005)

Hall v Merrill, 212 F.Supp.3d 1148 (Alabama m.d. 2016)

Graveline v Johnson, 336 F.Supp.3d 801 (e.d. Mi. 2018), aff'm 747 F Appx 5

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408 (6<sup>th</sup> cir. 2018)

Green Party of Tennessee v Hargett, 882 F.Supp.2d 959 (m.d. Tn. 2012); also 953 F.Supp.2d 816 (same) De La Fuente v Padilla, 930 F.3d 1101 (9<sup>th</sup> cir. 2019)

De La Fuente v State of Arizona, 2:16cv-2419 (2019)

CASES IN WHICH DECISION MENTIONED MY EVIDENCE AND EITHER STRUCK DOWN OR ENJOINED THE LAW

Hall v Merrill, 212 F.Supp.3d 1148 (m.d. Ala. 2016), footnote 10. Eleventh Circuit later ruled that case was moot when it was decided and therefore vacated the decision, 902 F.3d 1294.

Citizens to Establish a Reform Party in Arkansas v Priest, 970 F.Supp.690 (e.d. 1996) at 695.

Green Party of Arkansas v Priest, 159 F.Supp.2d 1140 (e.d. 2001). Decision cites my evidence at p. 1143 but doesn't name me.

Green Party of Arkansas v Daniels, 445 F.Supp.2d 1056 (e.d. 2006) at 1059ff

Libertarian Party of Arkansas v Thurston, e.d. 4:19cv-214 (July 3, 2019)

California Justice Committee v Bowen, 2012 WL 5057625 (Oct. 18, 2012)

Green Party of Georgia v Kemp, 171 F.Supp.3d 1340 (n.d. 2016); aff'm, 674 F Appx 974 (11th cir. 2017)

Gill v Scholz, U.S. Dist. Ct., n.d. Ill. 16cv-3221. Court enjoined law and put candidate on ballot. Then the 7<sup>th</sup> circuit issued a one-sentence order removing the candidate from the ballot but not explaining why. Then another U.S. District Court Judge upheld law. Case is pending in the 7<sup>th</sup> circuit.

Jones v McGuffage, 921 F.Supp.2d 888 (2017) at 893.

Lee v Keith, 463 F.3d 763 ( $7^{th}$  cir. 2006) at 766 (decision uses my evidence but does not name me)

Libertarian Party of Illinois v Illinois State Bd. of Elections, 164 F.Supp.3d 1023 (n.d. 2016). See footnote four.

Graveline v Johnson, 336 F.Supp.3d 801, aff'm 747 F Appx 408 (6<sup>th</sup> cir. 2018)

Breck v Stapleton, 6:18cv-87 (2017).

Green Party of N.Y. v N.Y. State Board of Elections, 389 F.3d 411 (2004) at 421

Libertarian Party of Ohio v Blackwell, 462 F.3d 579 (6th cir. 2006) at 589

Libertarian Party of Ohio v Husted, 2014 WL 11515569 (s.d. Oh. Jan. 7, 2014)(opinion misspells my surname as "Wagner")

Libertarian Party of South Dakota v Krebs, 290 F.Supp.3d 902 (2018)

Libertarian Party of Tennessee v Goins, 793 F.Supp.2d 1064 (m.d. 2010) at 1068 Green Party of Tennessee v Hargett, 882 F.Supp.2d 959 (m.d. 2012) at 976ff; on remand, 953 F.Supp.2d 816 (m.d. 2013) under heading "Parties' Expert Proof)

LIST OF ALL CASES IN LAST FOUR YEARS IN WHICH I TESTIFIED AT TRIAL OR AT DEPOSITION

Green Party of Georgia v Kemp (deposition 2015)

Green Party of Tennessee v Hargett (trial 2016)

Libertarian Party of Illinois v Illinois State Election Board (deposition 2017)

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De La Fuente v Padilla (deposition 2017, California) Kennedy v Cascos (court hearing 2016, Texas) Libertarian Party of South Dakota v Krebs (trial 2018) Libertarian Party of Georgia v Raffensperger (deposition 2019) Montana Green Party v Stapleton (deposition 2019) Sweeney v Crigler (deposition 2019)

SPEAKING ENGAGEMENTS: Colleges and Scholarly Meetings

Panel of New York City Bar Association, 1994. Ballot access.
Amer. Political Science Assn., nat. conventions of August 1995 and August 1996. Papers.
Capital University School, law school class, Columbus, Ohio, 1996. Guest lecturer.
Cal. State U., course in political science, Hayward, 1993 and 1996. Guest lecturer.
San Francisco City College, course in political science, 1996 and 1997. Guest lecturer.
Providence College, R.I., Oct. 1997, seminar on ballot access.
Harvard U., JFK School of Gov't, Oct. 18, 1995, guest lecturer, ballot access.
Voting Integrity Project national conference, Apr. 1, 2000, speaker on ballot access.
Center for Voting & Democracy nat. conference, Nov. 30, 2003, speaker on ballot access.
Robert Dole Institute of Politics, U. of Kansas, one of 5 panel members, Oct. 25, 2007.

Certification of William Lipton, dated June 5, 2022

# Schedule 12

In re: Nominating Petition of Hon. Tom : Malinowski for Congressional District 7 :

BEFORE THE NEW JERSEY SECRETARY OF STATE, DIVISION OF ELECTIONS

WILLIAM LIPTON, of full age, certifies as follows:

1. I am currently a Senior Strategist with the Working Families Party (WFP), though I have served in various roles with the WFP since being one of the original members of the party's "organizing committee" in 1998. I served as Deputy Director of the WFP from 1999 to 2014, and then as WFP's New York State Director through 2019. Before founding the WFP in 1998, I worked for another minor political party, the New Party, for more than two years. For nearly three decades, I have dedicated myself to building, growing, and sustaining these minor political parties in order to improve the lives of working-class and poor people. Through this work, I've seen firsthand the profound effects of empowering voters and candidates alike to break free from the rigid two-party system—whether it's by engaging voters otherwise too disillusioned by twoparty politics, or forcing the major parties to pay attention to the urgent but unglamorous issues that matter to ordinary voters, if not donors and consultants.

2. The New Party wanted to be different from the most prominent minor parties, the Green Party and Libertarian Party, who then (as now) would run standalone candidates in a (vain) attempt to bring attention to their issues. We wanted to play a serious and constructive role in

politics—the stakes were too high to indulge in efforts that had little or no possibility of impacting policy. We were realists, and we knew we had zero chance of winning elections in a system so long dominated by two major parties. And we weren't interested in playing spoiler. Instead, we believed that selectively and strategically cross-endorsing candidates put forward by the major parties was the real way for us to effectively advance our views and make our elected officials pay attention.

3. Yet, in May 1997, we suffered a huge setback. After a federal appellate court agreed with us that Minnesota's ban on fusion was unconstitutional, the U.S. Supreme Court surprisingly reversed and upheld the ban in the *Timmons* case. Minnesota's ban on fusion, like similar rules in other states, forced voters to either vote Democratic, Republican, throw away their vote on a standalone minor party candidate with no chance of winning, or stay at home on Election Day. Not much of a choice, in my view. I'm no lawyer, but I know that some of the smartest election law experts shared my surprise (and dismay) when this ruling was announced.

4. Shortly thereafter, the New Party shut its doors, after 7 long years of work in 12 states, because the *Timmons* decision stuck a knife in the heart of our strategy to first expose the unlawful nature of state fusion bans and then revive the fusion tradition that once dominated U.S. politics. We knew the courts were our only chance, as Democratic Party and Republican Party leaders in state capitols throughout the country would never voluntarily bring back fusion.

5. Yet hope remained in New York, where fusion was still legal despite the *Timmons* ruling. A few New Party alumni, myself included, decided to regroup as the Working Families Party. And precisely because fusion was legal in New York, and minor parties who take themselves and politics seriously have the potential to be serious players, we succeeded in recruiting heavy-

hitters to serve on the WFP Organizing Committee: United Auto Workers, Citizen Action of New York, ACORN, the Communications Workers of America, etc.

6. Our rationale for creating the NY WFP was straightforward. We believed that the Democratic Party was subservient to big money lobbyists and was failing to represent the interests of the broader public. So we thought that forming a new left-of-center political party not controlled by those same deep pockets was a good idea. We thought there were a lot of people in the state who wanted reforms focusing on the needs of working-class and poor people. Things like paid family leave, better wages, fair taxes, workers compensation benefits, and so on. Kind of like the New Democratic Party of Canada. I'd be remiss to highlight one important fact: we weren't trying to reinvent the wheel. No, in our own way, we were looking to build a mirror image of the NY Conservative Party, which had for decades used fusion to strategically crossendorse Republicans (and some Democrats) in order to move state policy in a more conservative direction.

7. We did the hard and thankless work of collecting signatures and convinced a number of major party candidates to accept our cross-endorsement. (That year, it was all Democratic candidates, but our NY chapters would go on to cross-endorse plenty of Republicans as well in the years to come). Come Election Day, we earned just enough votes on the WFP "line" to become "ballot-qualified," meaning we were formally recognized by the state and allowed to nominate candidates for the ballot just as the Democrats and Republicans do.

8. Year after year, we worked hard to convince voters, including scores who were *not* dues paying members, to support our nominees. "Help us raise the minimum wage," we would say,

"by voting on the WFP line in November." And the WFP line itself was key. Without a place on the ballot, we would have just been shouting into the wind.

9. Year after year, our numbers increased, and so did our standing with elected officials in Albany and county seats and city halls throughout the state. We often "delivered" 8–10% of a winning Democratic-Working Families candidate's total vote, and in some places, it could rise to 15–20% or more. It is a political law of nature that elected officials pay attention to groups that produce an identifiable number of votes, and we could feel our stature increasing. When our members traveled to Albany to meet with legislators on "lobby days," it was clear that their views mattered. Not because we were louder than others or because many officials had always agreed with our views, but had been stymied by leadership or opposition propped up by corporate contributions. No, it was because we had a ballot line and we used it judiciously, not to howl at the moon, but to help our preferred candidates *win*.

10. Things took off at the end of our first decade. In a series of elections for State Senate between 2007 and 2009, the WFP, its army of door knockers, and its ballot line produced several victories that flipped control of the State Senate from Republican to Democrat for the first time in 40 years. These were races in the key "swing" districts where general elections are close, and the WFP's energy "on the doors" and votes on Election Day were widely understood by the "political class" as having made the difference.

11. In the 2009 legislative session, we converted that newfound leverage into legislative accomplishments. The two most prominent were: (1) legislation that established new tax brackets and rates for the wealthiest New Yorkers, who had enjoyed wildly regressive marginal tax rates for decades (New York is *by far* the most unequal state in terms of income in America);

and (2) legislation to undo the counterproductive and functionally racist Rockefeller Drug Laws from the early 1970s. These were proud accomplishments that were eleven years in the making, and none of it would have been possible without the fusion system that makes it possible for *a minor party to grow in stature with the decision makers and grow in popularity with voters*.

12. As noted above, while WFP generally cross-endorsed candidates also receiving the Democratic Party nomination, we were always looking for opportunities to endorse pro-labor Republicans. Not only would this ensure that the Democratic Party did not simply take us for granted, but there were Republican candidates who were good on our issues and deserved our support. This speaks to a common misconception about the WFP and fusion voting generally— that we simply try to tip the scales in favor of whatever Democratic candidate is running in the general election. Wrong. We make a clear and sober assessment of each race, and if we see a candidate who reflects our values and has a credible shot at winning, we offer our nomination and work hard to get them elected. In many cases, that candidate has or will go on to earn a major party's nomination too. But not always. That we could be prevented from putting our preferred candidates on the ballot simply because some other group of voters also endorsed them defies logic or common sense. Sadly, that's the reality in so many other states.

13. Any institution worth keeping around is built by serious people doing serious work. Creating a new political party is no exception. Party-building is unglamorous—volunteer training sessions, house parties, phone banks, weekend door knocking days, candidate screening interviews, lobby days, fundraising, press conferences, and so on and so forth. But a living, breathing politics is the lifeblood of a healthy democracy, the perpetual project each generation must embrace and nurture and protect. I harbor no false hope that, even in places like New York and Connecticut with a robust tradition of fusion and influential minor parties, our predominantly

two-party system is going anywhere anytime soon. But I think it's fair to expect that our laws shouldn't prevent engaged and active citizens from coming together to try to elect their preferred candidates and make their preferences known to their elected officials. Nor should they place such a heavy thumb on the scale in favor of two major parties, making it all but impossible for those engaged and active citizens to take on the challenge of building a new party worth preserving. Fusion doesn't hand out political power to any group of voters or candidates—it makes everyone compete harder to earn it. But banning fusion, well, that's little more than political welfare for Democratic and Republican party leaders.

I certify that the foregoing statements made by me are true. I am aware that if any of the foregoing statements made by me are willfully false, that I am subject to punishment.

<u>NM 2</u>

William Lipton

Dated: June 5, 2022

Certification of Miles Rapoport, dated June 3, 2022

## Schedule 13

: BEFORE THE NEW JERSEY In re: Nominating Petition of Hon. Tom : SECRETARY OF STATE, Malinowski for Congressional District 7 : DIVISION OF ELECTIONS :

MILES RAPOPORT, of full age, certifies as follows:

1. I am currently a Senior Practice Fellow in American Democracy at the Harvard Kennedy School's Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation, where I draw from more than four decades of experience working to strengthen democracy and democratic institutions in the United States. From 1985 to 1994, I served as a State Representative in the Connecticut General Assembly. I was a member of the Government Administration and Elections Committee for the duration of my service in the General Assembly, and I had the privilege of chairing this committee during my final two years in office. From 1995 to 1999, I served as Connecticut's Secretary of State, where I was the state's chief election officer. After my career in Connecticut state government, I spent nearly two decades leading the non-profit organizations Demos and Common Cause.

2. As a voter, candidate, legislator, chief election administrator, and advocate, I have had countless opportunities to participate in electoral fusion and understand its effects on politics and government. Fusion is not only simple to understand, use, and administer, but it is a wildly effective tool for empowering voters to meaningfully participate in the political process, encouraging the formation and growth of cross-ideological coalitions, facilitating a constructive

(non-spoiler) role for minor political parties, and eroding the corrosive effects of an otherwise rigidly binary political system. I have yet to learn of any legitimate reasons a state government could put forward to justify a prohibition on fusion. Commonly cited concerns, such as ballot overcrowding or party fragmentation, are unwarranted and have never, in my decades of experience with fusion, materialized. Even if these were serious concerns, they could easily be addressed through reasonable ballot access rules and other common sense regulations, such as heightened petition requirements, that do not fundamentally distort the political process and carry the enormous collateral consequences wrought by banning fusion, *e.g.*, compelling voters to associate with a major party in order to cast a meaningful ballot.

3. Connecticut has always permitted more than one political party to nominate the same candidate on the ballot, though for many years, fusion candidacies were relatively uncommon. I do not have a firm view on why, but maybe it had something to do with the substantial ideological overlap between the Democratic Party and Republican Party for much of the twentieth century—that is, the number of liberal Republicans and conservative Democrats, both in elected office and the voting public. Perhaps not coincidentally, the ideological alignment of the Democratic Party as the unquestionably liberal party and the Republican Party as the unquestionably conservative party picked up substantial momentum in the early 1990s, right around the time when fusion re-emerged as a key feature of Connecticut politics.

4. In my campaign for re-election to the General Assembly in 1992, I eagerly accepted the nominations of both the Democratic Party and a new centrist minor party, A Connecticut Party. While I did not agree with every position taken by this new party, we were completely aligned on the importance of the newly adopted state income tax, a hard-won reform that was the result of my close collaboration with A Connecticut Party leaders the year before. I won a decisive

victory, with more than one-third of my votes coming on the A Connecticut Party line. This overwhelming demonstration of support on the minor party line sent a clear message that voters in my district stood behind our push for tax reform and the need to vigorously defend it against persistent calls for repeal. While the vote totals confirmed that much of my electorate held leftof-center views, I also understood that many of these voters nonetheless believed that unquestioning fidelity to Democratic Party orthodoxy was not in the public interest. I thought so too, and this clear, collective message from my voters helped to further steel my spine.

5. Unsurprisingly, not all of my colleagues in the General Assembly welcomed the resurgence of minor party cross-endorsements. It was evident that a number of my colleagues, especially Democrats closely aligned with the state party machine, viewed fusion as a threat to the status quo, which worked just fine for major party insiders. They were smart enough to not say the quiet part out loud, but the rationale was unmistakably clear: more influence and power for minor parties meant less influence and power for major parties. The constitutional rights of the voting public and the well-being of the state were conspicuously absent from their calculus, and as bills seeking to eliminate fusion were referred to the Government Administration and Elections Committee, I worked hard to ensure none were signed into law. Once I was elevated to Chairman of the Government Administration and Elections Committee, I made sure of it.

5. After a decade in the General Assembly, I decided to run for Secretary of State in 1994. Again, I eagerly sought out and obtained the nominations of the Democratic Party and the A Connecticut Party. This time, the minor party cross-endorsement wasn't just a helpful way to more clearly convey my views and understand the preferences of the electorate—it was, without any shred of doubt, essential to winning the election. In a head-to-head race with the Republican candidate, I squeaked by with 50.1% of the vote. Out of nearly one million votes cast, I won by

less than 2,300. By contrast, *more than 127,000* of my votes (more than a quarter of my entire vote total) came on the A Connecticut Party line. In my first race outside of my West Hartford district, having this cross-endorsement on the ballot was the only way I could demonstrate to the entire electorate, including hundreds of thousands of new voters, that I was not simply a machine Democrat. Public support from interest groups, labor unions, and other citizen groups were helpful in highlighting my views on certain policy issues, but their endorsements were different in kind than the A Connecticut Party's imprimatur on the ballot itself. Crucially, the option to support me on a centrist minor party line, and not just on the Democratic line, made it possible for a substantial number of Republicans to vote for me without having to forsake their core political identity.

6. During my four years as Secretary of State, I shouldered the ultimate responsibility for election administration throughout the state. As minor parties (including but not limited to the A Connecticut Party) continued to cross-endorse candidates also nominated by the two major parties, our elections continued to operate smoothly. Our ballots never grew overcrowded with candidates or cross-endorsements. While some candidates continued to run on a single party line, and others were cross-endorsed and had two nominations on the ballot, voters understood what was going on. Voter confusion simply wasn't an issue. Nor was administration of elections with cross-endorsements, as administrators from local registrars of voters up to state-wide officials were able to accurately and easily count and verify vote totals in the dozens of races in the 1996 and 1998 elections featuring cross-endorsements. Notwithstanding the administrative ease of fusion balloting, its venerable benefits for Connecticut's politics, and the obvious unconstitutionality of their proposals, certain major party insiders continued their efforts to prohibit fusion. In my consultative role as the state's leading elections officer, I did what I could

to oppose these pretextual attempts at "reform." The will of the public prevailed, and fusion remained lawful and commonplace in Connecticut, as it is today.

7. After leaving public office in 1999, my roles with Demos and Common Cause allowed me to continue studying and advocating for election reforms that increase civic participation and strengthen the fabric of our nation's democracy. In turning my focus outside of Connecticut, I came to better appreciate how, in states like New Jersey that prohibit fusion voting, the (increasingly) substantial number of voters disillusioned with both major parties are presented a false choice between associating with a major party they loathe, casting a protest vote for a spoiler third party candidate, or abstaining from voting altogether. That New Jersey voters are categorically denied the opportunity to register their support for a party reflecting their values *and* a candidate who has an actual chance of winning is regrettable and hard to reconcile with our core ideals of free association, political expression, and effective self-government. By banning fusion, states systematically prevent energized and informed groups of voters from working together to effectively and constructively influence our politics and make their preferences known to their elected officials. That these bans have always been and remain today mere pretext for major party protectionism makes these severe costs even harder to stomach.

8. During my tenure with Demos, a number of states evaluating their anti-fusion statutes asked for our input on how fusion worked in the places where it was practiced. In 2007, we published a report (attached as Ex. A) setting forth our findings, and in the report's introduction, I stated that "we have come to believe that the re-introduction of fusion voting is likely to have beneficial effects on the democratic process in any state where such legislation is enacted." In the report, we set forth at least three key reasons why fusion is good for democracy: it makes the ballot more informative, it gives a greater voice to citizens who feel alienated from the political

process, and it solves the "spoiler" problem facing minor parties and their supporters. Fifteen years later, our democracy stands on even weaker footing, as hyper-polarization and political extremism have soared to new heights. The case for fusion is stronger now that it's ever been.
I certify that the foregoing statements made by me are true. I am aware that if any of the foregoing statements made by me are willfully false, that I am subject to punishment.

/s/ Miles Rapoport

Miles Rapoport

Dated: June 3, 2022

Exhibit A - May 2007 Dēmos report titled Fusion Voting: An Analysis

# Exhibit A

# emos Briefing Pape

#### **Fusion Voting: An Analysis**

Benjamin Healey, Massachusetts Public Policy Institute Myriah Pahl, Dêmos

#### Introduction

At the request of state legislators in Maine and other states,  $D\bar{e}mos - a$  nonpartisan public policy research and advocacy organization – has conducted extensive research on the implications of re-legalizing fusion voting in states across the nation. This research included:

- Interviews with election administration officials in states where fusion is currently legal.
- Legal analyses prepared by election lawyers in both fusion-legal states and in states where fusion revival bills now sit before legislative committees.
- On-the-ground examination of voting technology in states that currently have fusion voting.

In this briefing paper, we address the following issues regarding the revival of fusion voting:

- I. Fusion: Is It Good For Democracy?
- II. Technical Considerations
- III. Financial Costs
- IV. Public Education

Our research has examined a number of technical concerns raised about fusion voting and found that each can be addressed easily and at relatively low cost. In addition, in the course of conducting this project, we have come to believe that the re-introduction of fusion voting is likely to have beneficial effects on the democratic process in any state where such legislation is enacted.

We hope this paper is useful to you. We wish to thank lead author and researcher Ben Healey of our Massachusetts partner organization, the Public Policy Institute; and Myriah Pahl of Demos for her important interviewing and research contributions. Readers with any technical, fiscal or other questions or concerns about fusion voting should feel free to contact Ben Healey at (617) 275-2855.

Miles Rapoport President, Demos Stuart Comstock-Gay Director, Democracy Program, Demos

# Dēmos

I. Fusion: Is It Good For Democracy?

#### What is Fusion Voting?

Fusion is a simple reform that gives candidates for elected office the freedom to run with the endorsement of more than one political party.

Throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> and into the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, fusion was legal in nearly every state of the union. Today, fusion voting remains technically legal in seven states, though only still implemented in a few. It is part of common electoral practice in New York, and is enjoying a revival in Connecticut and South Carolina. Fusion proponents argue that legislators should consider fusion voting as a tool for invigorating our elections and as an antidote to sinking levels of voter participation and citizens' increasing alienation from the political process.

As an election reform, fusion voting is straightforward to understand and implement: voters get a choice of candidate *and* a choice of party – and costs and technological changes – based on our survey of fusion states – are extremely modest.

The mechanics are simple. Parties gain ballot status and nominate candidates exactly as they do now. But candidates are no longer limited to seeking the nomination of the party in which they are enrolled, and may gain the nomination of more than one political party if they wish and if members of other parties support them. Candidates appear on the ballot once for each party that nominates them, and voters may choose to vote for their candidate of choice on any one of those party lines. Votes for each party are tallied separately, but all of a candidate's votes are added together to determine the winner of the election.

#### **How Fusion Strengthens Democracy**

There are several advantages to fusion voting.

First, fusion makes for a more informative ballot. Today, voters do not always know where candidates stand, especially with regard to down-ballot races. With fusion, a candidate will typically have one major party endorsement, just as today, but may also have one or more minor-party lines. An endorsement from a minor party can clarify a candidate's positions and allow voters to cast a more informed vote. While it is true that organizational endorsements convey the same information, endorsements which appear right on the ballot are accessible to every voter, making the job of casting an informed vote much easier.

Second, it gives a greater voice to citizens who feel alienated from the political process. Other voters may be better informed but don't vote because they don't feel well-represented by either of the major parties. In addition, a significant minority of voters choose to support independent third party candidates instead of the Democrats or Republicans in many elections. Today, those votes only rarely—if ever—help to elect candidates or influence policy. Minor party supporters are a smaller group, it is true, but many of them are highly motivated and engaged, and may have valuable ideas that would enrich our public life. Moreover, all are citizens who deserve a voice in government. By allowing minor parties to support candidates who have a real chance

of winning, and allowing all voters to vote on their own party's line for their candidate of choice, fusion voting gives them a more constructive role to play in state and local politics.

And third, it solves the "spoiler" problem facing minor parties and their supporters under the system that most states currently have in place. Under the current (nonfusion) system, minor parties sometimes become "spoilers," allowing a candidate to win even when they're opposed by the majority of the electorate. Obviously, this is bad for democracy. Fusion voting solves this problem, because it allows everyone to vote for the party they believe in and for a candidate with a real chance of winning.

#### **II. Technical Considerations**

#### **How Fusion Votes Are Counted**

We spoke to officials in three states that currently have fusion voting in place, and each assured us that counting votes for a single candidate who enjoys support from more than one party has not required significantly more work in their offices. Because voting technology varies in different states, these three responses do not address all eventualities. What is clear, however, is that the addition of fusion voting does not necessarily include additional work or expense.

<u>New York:</u> Anna Sivicero, Director of Election Operations for New York State, described the election-reporting process <u>as requiring no more work on the part of the</u> <u>local or state election agencies</u> in New York. Local election inspectors fill in a canvass report with spaces for the total under each party and office (as of the 2006 election, voting was still done on mechanical lever machines, with emergency paper ballots used in cases of machine malfunction). The reports are sent to the county board of elections where they are entered into a computer and tabulated. She can be reached at (518) 473-5086 and would be happy to answer any questions and/or share any of their materials.

<u>Connecticut</u>: Michael Kozik, the Managing Attorney for the Legislation and Elections Administration Division of the Secretary of State's office, said that there has been no additional cost to the state resulting from the recent reemergence of fusion candidacies. Although fusion was never outlawed in Connecticut, it had been used infrequently until 2002. In 2006, the State began switching from mechanical lever to AccuVote optical scan machines, which were used in 36 municipalities. According to Kozik, <u>fusion candidacies did not cause any additional cost or hardship in any municipality</u>. Their machines produced subtotals for each cross-endorsed candidate by party as well as totals for each candidate. Kozik can be reached at (860) 509-6100.

<u>South Carolina</u>: In South Carolina, fusion had rarely been used until last year, when five candidates ran with two party endorsements. Garry Baum, the Public Information Director at the State Elections Commission, reports that South Carolina began using ES&S iVotronic machines in every precinct in the state in 2006. Absentee voters that vote by mail used optical scan ballots. <u>Baum says there was no additional cost or difficulty in counting votes</u>. The machines automatically count the votes that are cast for each party. Both Baum and Chris Whitmire, the Public Information Officer, are available to discuss this issue further at (803) 734-9060.

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#### **Double Votes**

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As we all know, people do not always read instructions. Voters occasionally try to vote more than once for the same office, and if their preferred candidate shows up multiple times, you might expect them to make that mistake with greater frequency.

Officials in the three states where fusion voting is now used report that double-voting does not happen frequently. Nevertheless, the question of how to count double-votes when they do occur remains a concern. There are three ways these states have dealt with the double-vote issue.

- In New York, a ballot that has two votes for the same candidate gets recorded as a vote for the candidate but for no party.
- In Connecticut, the Secretary of State this year instructed clerks to count doublevotes as votes for the candidate under the smaller party, on the assumption that the voter intended to vote for the smaller party.
- In South Carolina, the new machines do not permit double votes. The machine requires the voter to cast but one vote, or to not vote at all.

In all three states, the current systems ensure that the voter's choice of candidate is counted.

Furthermore, it is worth relating here the views of John Silvestro, President of LHS Associates. Mr. Silvestro's company, based in Methuen, Massachusetts, is the largest provider of automated election services in the Northeast, serving over 400 municipalities across Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts and Connecticut. When asked to comment on the problem of double-votes with the optical scan machines he now provides, Mr. Silvestro offered this comment: <u>"The way the system is designed, the way the software is written, the individual only gets one vote. Using the technology we have, double-voting is not a problem."</u>

Mr. Silvestro, whose company was universally praised by every town clerk and state election official with whom we spoke, offered to make himself available to anyone with further concerns at (888) 547-8683.

It should be noted that while election administrators can address double voting by pointing out to the voter that he has voted twice and asking the voter to make a correction before leaving the polling place, clear guidelines and policies need to be addressed where voting is done through absentee ballots or vote-by-mail systems.

#### **Upgrading Machines**

We also addressed concerns about the perceived need to upgrade machines.

As Demos staff has already testified before the Maine legislature, the legalization of fusion presents no reason for precincts that currently count votes by hand to switch to electronic machines. Also, adopting this reform would not require the machines to accept multiple votes for a candidate if they currently do not; any provision in any piece of legislation for counting double-votes would only refer to hand-counted paper ballots (or other ballot types) where such double-voting cannot be prevented.

In this survey of fusion states, we came across no machines that prevent a candidate's name from being listed under more than one party. Connecticut and South Carolina have had no problems with AccuVote Optical Scan or with ES&S iVotronic machines. Likewise, in New York's exploration of electronic voting machines for HAVA compliance, they have not found any that are incompatible with fusion voting.

How Parties Nominate Candidates

Another concern articulated has been about the procedure for nominating candidates from different parties, and whether it would greatly increase the workload of clerks. Different states handle nominations of candidates from different parties in distinct ways, but in every fusion state, <u>fusion voting adds no more work for local or state</u> <u>agencies or clerks</u> than that which accompanies any independent or third-party candidate nomination.

- In New York, candidates must file petitions signed by five percent of the voters in the nominating party who reside in the relevant district. A candidate nominated by more than one party must file separate petitions signed by registrants in each party. Also, in order for candidates to appear on the ballot line of a party in which they are not registered, they must also file a "certificate of authorization" signed by the officers of the other party.
- In Connecticut, minor parties must hold a publicly announced meeting and file a statement of nomination with the Secretary of State's office by a certain deadline. There is no special paperwork that the party needs to fill out when nominating a candidate from a different party.
- In South Carolina, candidates file statements of intention of candidacy for each of the parties by which they wish to be nominated. Parties hold publicly announced nominating conventions, and each party files its certificate of candidates with county and state election commissions by the required dates. There is no party registration in South Carolina.

In all three states, fusion nominations are entirely voluntary—that is, the candidate must want the minor party nomination, just as the minor party must want the candidate to be its standard-bearer. This protects both the candidates and the parties, be they major or minor.

# Fusion and Nominations: Does Fusion Increase Electoral Administrative Burdens?

A final technical concern is whether the legalization of fusion would create many more candidacies, thereby increasing the costs of printing ballots and the workloads of local clerks. When we raised this concern to the elections officials in New York and South Carolina, both thought that any such cost increase would be negligible.

In South Carolina, where a new party recently began using fusion, the state added a space to the ballots for the new party, just as they would for any other new party, but the cost of doing so was miniscule.

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In New York, election officials explain that most of the burden is on candidates, who need to collect many more petition signatures to qualify as the nominee of more than one party. "It's more work for the candidates, but not for the Board of Elections," said one Board of Elections official. Of course, candidates undertake this work voluntarily as a means of communicating their issue positions and breadth of support to the electorate.

#### **III. Financial Costs**

Election officials are understandably concerned about any legislative changes that could increase public costs in any significant way. We investigated how a fusion voting system affects:

- + the cost of printing ballots,
- · the cost of arranging ballot layouts,
- printing longer ballots,
- tallying the votes, and
- the cost of programming machines that tally the votes.

Each official with whom we spoke during the course of our research said that the costs relating to fusion voting were minimal, and in some cases a one-time only expense.

Gary Baum of the State Election Commission in South Carolina suggested that the primary cost would be the programming of the machines to count fusion ballots. However, he immediately noted that there are ballots with independent candidacies whether there is fusion or not, and <u>he therefore believes the additional cost of allowing fusion voting is negligible.</u>

Michael Kozik of the Legislation and Election Administration Division in the Connecticut Secretary of State's office discussed the costs associated with fusion in a similar way, suggesting that <u>it was hard to pinpoint any actual costs because they were</u> <u>so small</u>. Nonetheless, the primary cost he could think of would be the possibility of longer ballots increasing printing costs slightly. Because machines do the tallying, he made clear that there would not be an additional cost associated with that phase of the election.

Also in Connecticut, Al Lenge of the State Election Enforcement Commission discounted the prospect of any major costs associated with fusion. He thought that a more complicated ballot layout might increase the printing costs. Furthermore, he guessed that the cost of programming the machines so that a single name could appear in multiple places but not get counted twice *could* be greater than the cost of an election in states without fusion.

Given that state officials could give us no accurate dollar figure on costs—because they appeared so very minor—we asked John Silvestro of LHS Associates if he could give us an actual dollar figure.

According to Silvestro, each new candidate "key" associated with a fusion candidacy costs only \$6.50 per town. However, he insisted that we understand that if an independent third party was going to run its own candidate anyway, this would not represent a new cost at all.

For clarity's sake, it is important to note that the costs Silvestro cites apply to his business specifically, and their use of certain optical scan voting machines that his company provides (chiefly the Optech IIIp and the AccuVote OS Model D). There seems to be no reason to assume that those costs would be different for any other companies, though states contemplating fusion would want to discuss the matter with their machine provider, and/or raise the question before purchasing new voting machines.

#### **IV. Voter Education**

Beyond the costs of technology, implementation of fusion voting seems remarkably inexpensive on the implementation side. Neither Connecticut nor South Carolina has incurred any fusion-related expenses that officials could identify in terms of either additional staff training or voter education.

Last year in South Carolina, after fusion candidacies occurred for the first time in some years, the State Elections Commission received calls from voters who wondered why some candidates were appearing more than once on the ballot, whether it was legal, and whether the votes from two ballot lines would be added together to get the candidate's total. In each case they were able to explain it, but officials agree that it would help to publish a fact sheet that informs voters and candidates about the new law at the outset—perhaps for inclusion in existing voter guide materials.

Therefore, in response to inquiries about how hard it might be to educate voters about fusion voting, we have worked with a small group of election lawyers to come up with some basic language. What follows below is, of course, simply draft language, but it does convey the ease with which voter education on this subject could be conducted.

#### 1. Sample Public Education Language

The following, or a version thereof, could easily appear as instructions to voters at polling places, on a postcard mailed to every household, or as part of a larger package such as a state voter guide:

"A state law passed in 2007 allows candidates for public office to accept the nomination of more than one political party. This means that some candidates' names might appear on the ballot multiple times, once for each party nomination that they have received. The votes that the candidate receives on each party's ballot line are tallied separately but then added together to determine the outcome of the election.

#### IN EACH RACE, YOU SHOULD VOTE <u>ONCE</u> FOR THE CANDIDATE OF YOUR CHOICE ON THE BALLOT LINE OF YOUR CHOICE."

#### 2. Sample Ballot Instructions

Furthermore, the following, or a version thereof, could easily appear as instructions to voters on the ballot itself (for an optical scan voting machine, for example):

"Completely fill in ONE circle to indicate the candidate of your choice, on the ballot line of your choice. If your preferred candidate appears on the ballot multiple times, still fill in only ONE circle, which will indicate both your candidate and your party of choice."

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#### CONCLUSION

The question of electoral reform is by now a constant in American political life. This is a healthy development, as it demonstrates that elected officials, election administrators and the voting public now appreciate, as never before, how the very rules of democracy are important.

Fusion Voting is a simple and inexpensive reform that state legislators should consider as they try to improve electoral rules in their states. This year, legislators in several states are examining the possibility of reviving fusion voting. We hope this report aids in that process.

#### **Related Resources**



A Demos briefing book, with state-and federallevel application, to help elected officials advance new policies that promote electoral participation



News and commentary from Demos staff online at: www.democracydispatches.org.

#### About Dēmos

Demos: A Network for Ideas & Action is a non-partisan public policy research and advocacy organization committed to building an America that achieves its highest democratic ideals. We believe this requires a democracy that is robust and inclusive, with high levels of electoral participation and civic engagement; an economy where prosperity and opportunity are broadly shared and disparity is reduced; and a strong and effective public sector with the capacity to plan for the future and provide for the common good. Founded in 2000, Demos' work combines research with advocacy—melding the commitment to ideas of a think tank with the organizing strategies of an advocacy group. As with all Demos publications, the views expressed in this briefing paper do not necessarily reflect the views of the Demos Board of Trustees.

Visit www.demos.org or contact: Stuart Comstock-Gay, Director, Democracy Program scomstock-gay@demos.org | (617) 624-3900

Media inquiries: Timothy Rusch, Communications Director trusch@demos.org | (212) 389-1407

> 220 Fifth Avenue, 5th fl., New York, NY 10001 T. (212) 633.1405 F. (212) 633.2015 info@demos.org | www.demos.org



Certification of Whitney Quesenbery, dated June 6, 2022

# Schedule 14

In re: Nominating Petition of Hon. Tom : BEFORE THE NEW JERSEY Malinowski for Congressional District 7 : DIVISION OF ELECTIONS

WHITNEY QUESENBERY, of full age, certifies as follows in support of the nominating petition of Hon. Tom Malinowski as the nominee of the Moderate Party:

- 1. My name is Whitney Quesenbery, and I serve as the Executive Director for the Center for Civic Design ("CCD"), which I co-founded nearly a decade ago.
- 2. It is my professional opinion that fusion voting can be implemented with neither voter confusion nor any meaningful disruption to election administration. As with all methods of voting, whether in-person, absentee, or provisional voting, successful implementation of fusion voting requires careful attention to the ballot design detail (best practices for typography, layout, and avoiding bias); ballot instructions so that voters can make an independent decision about how to express their intent; and voter education, including opportunities to use demonstration systems, as described in further detail below. There is already a wide range of published material available to election officials and the general public with text and illustrations showing how to implement these concepts in voting materials, including voting materials in jurisdictions with fusion voting.
- 3. CCD is a nonprofit 501(c)(3) organization that believes that democracy is a design problem. CCD works with elections offices and advocates across the country to apply good design principles to voter information and forms, ballots, and other election materials to help more people vote. CCD also conducts research to understand the voter journey and to invite participation.
- 4. CCD's work is often part of making a change in elections, such as when states expand voting by mail, introduce a new voting system or method of voting (such as ranked choice voting), introduce changes in procedures (such as automatic voter registration), or improved information to promote confidence in elections. Whether these changes are small or large, success turns on thoughtful use of design principles applied to all of the materials, especially the design of the ballot and voting instructions. In addition to qualitative research with voters before changes are launched, the real test of an innovation comes after the election has taken place in the impact on voters and the results of the election. Principles for ballot design on which CCD's work is based are an adaptation of general principles of design, including layout, typography, instruction, interaction, and navigation, to the specific context of voting in an election.
- 5. Two important sets of guidelines are (1) the EAC's best practices for *Designing Polling Place Materials* and (2) the requirements for usability and accessibility in the Voluntary

Voting System Guidelines (VVSG) 2.0. The VVSG 2.0 also draws on federal accessibility standards in the Web Content Accessibility Guidelines (WCAG) 2.0. These sources are all mature bodies of work, drawing on research and established practice. See U.S. Election Assistance Commission, Clearinghouse Resources for Election Officials: Designing Polling Place Materials, <u>https://www.eac.gov/election-officials/designing-polling-place-materials</u> (last accessed June 1, 2022.)

- 6. The goal of following ballot design principles is to create ballots that support people in voting according to their intent and to confidently selecting the candidates of their choice.
- 7. The primary difference in fusion voting and non-fusion voting is that a candidate may appear more than once on the ballot, so voters have to find their preferred candidates and nominating parties and then make an additional decision about which opportunity they want to use to make their selection.
- 8. Our experience is that with good design and a public education campaign, voters are able to vote successfully, even when voting rules or methods change.
- 9. New York State and nearly all counties in New Jersey including Hunterdon County use what are known as "full face" ballots, in which the entire ballot is laid out in one page, with offices presented in columns with candidates arrayed in rows below the contest title (or vice versa). These voting systems may have an electronic or electro-mechanical interface for marking the ballot.
- 10. In the aforementioned New York State ballots, a candidate nominated by more than one party is typically presented once for each nomination.
- 11. An example of this style of ballot featuring fusion voting comes from the 2020 general election in Sullivan County, New York. The ballot is attached as Exhibit A.<sup>1</sup> A voter can vote for the presidential ticket endorsed by the Conservative Party and listed on the Conservative Party line, even while those same candidates are also endorsed by the Republican Party, and listed on its line. Similarly, voters can vote for certain candidates endorsed by the Working Families Party and listed on the Working Families Party line, even while those same candidates are also endorsed by the Other Section 2010 and listed on its line. In this manner, candidates may be listed multiple times on the general ballot, in affiliation with party-designated rows:

Portions of Exhibits A through F are presented in-line in this Certification. Larger scale versions are attached as Exhibits to enhance visibility.



12. The Flemington Borough, Hunterdon County, New Jersey 2018 General Election ballot attached as **Exhibit B** is similarly designed, but, because there is no fusion voting available, no candidate is nominated by more than one party. Currently, when a candidate is nominated by petition, an additional row is added below the ballot qualified (that is, major party) candidates. Each additional row states the name of a candidate nominated by petition, accompanied by the candidate's identification (i.e., "Green Party").

OFFICE TITLE	U.S. SENATE Six (9) Year Verse Vole for Come (1)	U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Yole for One (1)	SURROGATE File (2) Year Toru Vale for One (1)		OSEN FREE (3) Year Tena 14: for Tono (2)
REPUBLICAN	NUGIN	LANCE	HOFFMAN	HOLT	Stollow/
DEMOCRATIC	NEENENDEZ	MALIEOWSKI		MCCLINTOCK	
NOMINATION BY PETITION	7786286 FLANASSAN		]		
NOMINATION BY PETITION		]			
NONICATION BY PETITION		MOXLEY	]		
NOMINATION BY PETITION	SCHROESER	]			
RCHEMATION BY PETITION	Radian de Lynnis HI WERLA.	]			
NOMINATION BY PETITICA					
WRITE-IN				]	

Source: https://www.co.hunterdon.nj.us/election/2018/General/ballots/Flemington.pdf

13. The Hunterdon County ballot shown above could easily adjust for fusion voting akin to the New York model using the same framework as exists now in New Jersey, except with the opportunity for a candidate's name to be listed more than once. As the ballot diagram showing one scenario, attached as Exhibit C illustrates, the same row already in place whenever a candidate is nominated by petition could be used, together with the fusion party's slogan, to allow voters who do not wish to show support for the Republican or Democratic parties to vote for a candidate independent of those identifications. Exhibit C offers a sample ballot diagram based on the major party candidates associated with Exhibit B above, and illustrates how this would apply to a Moderate Party nomination by petition:

OFFICE TITLE	U. S. SENATE Six (6) Year Term Vote for One (1)	U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Two (2) Year Term Vote for One (1)	
REPUBLICAN	808 HUGIN	LEONARD LANCE	
DEMOCRATIC	ROBERT MENENDEZ	TOM MALINOWSKI	
NOMINATION BY PETITION		T <b>OM MALINOWSKI</b> Moderate Party	
WRITE-IN			

- 14. Another common ballot layout is known as a "contest block" ballot. In this layout, each contest is placed in its own clearly defined area on a paper ballot or on its own screen on an electronic ballot marking system. There are several counties in New Jersey that use this design for their in-person voting systems. It is also commonly used for voting by mail and provisional voting.
- 15. Hunterdon County uses this style of ballot for its provisional ballots as shown below. It is conceptually similar to the "full face" ballot in that the candidates for each contest are displayed in a column under the office title, but without the grid feature of full-face ballots. A copy of this type of ballot is attached as **Exhibit D**:

Tom MALINOWSKI Democratic	- <b>-</b> C
THOMAS H. KEAN JR. Republican	-+-
Wane-IN	_ <b>→</b> ⊂
······	
PATRICK D. HELLER	→(
PATRICK D. HELLER Demotratic SHAUN C. VAN DOREN Republican	→( →(

4

Source:

https://www.co.hunterdon.nj.us/election/2020/General/SampleBallots/135%20Flemingto n%20PRO35.pdf

16. This "contest block" style of ballot can also be used for fusion voting with party selection. Just as in the New York example, the candidate name can be repeated for each party. Exhibit E offers a sample contest block ballot diagram with fusion, based on the major party candidates associated with Exhibit B above, and illustrates how this would apply to a Moderate Party nomination by petition:

Вов HUGIN Republican	0
ROBERT MENENDEZ Democratic	0
	0
Write-In	0
LEONARD LANCE Republican	$\bigcirc$
LEONARD LANCE Republican Tom MALINOWSKI Democratic	0
Republican Том MALINOWSKI	0

17. Alternatively, the candidate name can be displayed once, with the name of each nominating party listed underneath such that the voter can indicate their preferred candidate and association.

#### Conclusion

18. It would not be difficult to adapt the ballot designs in Hunterdon County and across New Jersey to accommodate fusion voting, whether on the "full-face" ballot format or the "contest block" format, nor would it cause voter confusion or meaningful disruption in election administration. Successful implementation requires careful attention to the ballot design detail, ballot instructions, and voter education.

I certify that the foregoing statements made by me are true. I am aware that if any of the foregoing statements made by me are willfully false, that I am subject to punishment.

Why Quely

Dated: June 6, 2022

# **Exhibits A - E**

### **Exhibit A** Sullivan County, NY – 2020 General Election Full-face ballot, fusion permitted

Office Oficina		1 Presidential Electors For President And Vote president Electores Para Presidente Y Vicepresidente (Vote por uno)	19th District (Vote for one)	3 State Senator 42nd District (Vote for one) Senador Estatal 42avo Distrito (Vote por uno)	4 Member of Assembly 100th District (Vote for one) Miembro De La Asamblea 100avo Distrito (Vote por uno)	5 County Court Judge (Vote for one) Juez Del Juzgado Condado (Vote por uno)	6 District Attorney (Vote for one) Fiscal Del Distrito (Vote por uno)	7 County Coroner (Vote for any three) Coroner Del Condado (Vote por tres cualesquiera
Democratic	A	1A Electors for Electors para Democratic Joseph R. Biden For Presidente Kamala D. Harris For Vice Presidente	Antonio Delgado	Jen Metzger	Aileen M. Gunther	E. Danielle Jose-Decker	Galligan	7A B. Elton Harris
Republican	В	1B Electors for Electores para Republican   1B Donald J. Trump   For Presidents Michael R. Pence   For Vice Presidente/Para Vice Presidente	C <sub>2B</sub> Kyle Van De Water	O <sub>3B</sub> Mike Martucci		⊖ <sub>58</sub> E. Danielle Jose-Decker	68 Frank J. <b>LaBuda</b>	
Conservative	С	Conservative		O <sub>3C</sub> Mike Martucci		Conservative 5c E. Danielle Jose-Decker	Gec Conservative Meagan K. Galligan	O <sub>₂c</sub> B. El′ <b>Harr</b>
Working Families	D	1D Electors for Electors para Working Familes Joseph R. Biden For Presdette Kamala D. Harris For Vice Presidente	Antonio Delgado	Working Families 3D Jen <b>Metzger</b>	O <sub>4D</sub> Aileen M. <b>Gunther</b>			
Green	E	Green 1E Howie Hawkins For PresidentPara Presidente Angela Nicole Walker For VicePresidente Para Vice Presidente	Green Steven Greenfield					
Libertarian	F	IF Jo Jorgensen For President Para Vice Presidente For Vice Presidente	Victoria N. Alexander					
Independence	G	Independence		Mike Martucci	Aileen M. Gunther	Generation Independence	Meagan K. Galligan	
Sam	Н		Antonio Delgado	O <sub>3H</sub> Jen Metzger				
							~	

Source: https://townofhighlandny.com/wp-content/uploads/Sample-Ballot.pdf

## Exhibit B – Hunterdon County, NJ – 2018 General Election Full-face ballot / touch screen. Fusion not permitted

OFFICE TITLE	U.S. SENATE Six (6) Year Term Vole for One (1)	U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVE Two (2) Year Term Vote for One (1)	s	SURROGATE Five (5) Year Term Vote for One (1)	Three	(3)	EN FREEHOLDERS Year Term r Two (2)		MAYOR Four (4) Year Term Vole for One (1)		
REPUBLICAN	HUGIN	LANCE	7	HOFFMAN	HOLT	1	SOLOWAY	1	GREINER		HAIN
DEMOCRATIC	MENENDEZ	MALINOWSKI	7	NO NOMINATION MADE	MOCLINTOCK	٦	MGAULIFFE	1	DRIVER		RUNI
NOMINATION BY PETITION	FLANAGAN	MELE	7		1			1		1	
NOMINATION BY PETITION	KIMPLE		-		1			t			
NOMINATION BY PETITION	HOFFMAN	MOXLEY	٦		1			t			T
NOMINATION BY PETITION	SCHROEDER							T			T
NOMINATION BY PETITION	RIVERA							T			7
NOMINATION BY PETITION	SABRIN			·				t			
WRITE-IN		[			[			j		7	

# Exhibit C – Scenario: Full-Face Touchscreen ballot2018 Hunterdon County BallotIf fusion were permitted:Moderate Party fusing with 1 candidate

from each major party

• OFFICE TITLE	<b>U. S. SENATE</b> Six (6) Year Term Vote for One (1)	U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Two (2) Year Term Vote for One (1)	
REPUBLICAN	BOB HUGIN	LEONARD LANCE	
DEMOCRATIC	ROBERT MENENDEZ	TOM MALINOWSKI	
- NOMINATION BY PETITION		<b>TOM MALINOWSKI</b> Moderate Party	
- WRITE-IN			

# Exhibit D – Hunterdon County, NJ – 2020 Provisional Paper Ballot (Mail-In Ballots Similar)

	<b>CIAL PROVISIONAL</b> November 3, 2020 • Hunterdon Cou FLEMINGTON BOROUG	nty, NJ • 7 <sup>th</sup> Congressional Distric
Mary H. Melfi     Mary H. Melfi     Hunterdon County Clerk     IMPORTANT INSTRUCTIONS TO VOTERS     Please read the following before marking your pallot:     . Use ONLY a pencil or ink pen (black or blue) to mark your ballot. Do not use red ink.     2. Completely fill in oval to the right of each of your selections.     MARK BALLOT LIKE THIS: John DOE → ●     3. To vote for any person whose name is not printed on this ballot, darken the oval by the words "write-in" for the office in which you want to write-in. Write the name of the person for which you wish to vote on the blank line.     1. If you tear, deface or incorrectly mark this ballot, return it to the Hunterdon County Clerk's Election Office and obtain a new ballot.     PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS FOR Vote for One (1) Pair     JOSEPH R. BIDEN/KAMALA D. HARRIS → Omonacu J. TRUMP/Michael R. PENCE → Parby     Don BLANKENSHIP/WILLIAM MOHR → Constitution Party     Don BLANKENSHIP/WILLIAM MOHR → Distrian Party	UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Vote for One (1) • Two (2) Year Term     Tom MALINOWSKI   →     Democratic   →     THOMAS H. KEAN JR.   →     Republican   →     WRITE-IN   →     BOARD OF CHOSEN FREEHOLDERS Vote for One (1) • Three (3) Year Term     PATRICK D. HELLER   →     Democratic   →     SHAUN C. VAN DOREN   →     Republican   →     WRITE-IN   →     BOROUGH COUNCIL Vote for Two (2) • Three (3) Year Term     MALIK JOHNSTON   →     Democratic   →     ELIZABETH ROSETTI   →     Democratic   →     KIMBERLY A. TILLY   →     Republican   →     MARC D. HAIN   →     WRITE-IN   →	OFFICIAL SCHOOL ELECTION REGIONAL SCHOOL DISTRICT MEMBERSHIP TO THE BOARD OF EDUCATION FLEMINGTON BOROUGH Vote for One (1) • Two (2) Year Unexpired Term JEFFREY CAIN

GLORIA ESTELA LA RIVA/SUM

Source: https://www.co.hunterdon.nj.us/election/2020/General/SampleBallots/135%20Flemington%20PRO35.pdf

# Exhibit E – Scenario: Contest Block If fusion were permitted: Moderate Party fusing with 1 candidate from each major party

<b>U. S. SENATE</b> Six (6) Year Term Vote for One (1)	Ň
<b>Вов HUGIN</b> Republican	۵
<b>Robert MENENDEZ</b> Democratic	۵
WRITE-IN	۵
	,
U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Two (2) Year Term Vote for One (1)	
LEONARD LANCE Republican	۵
Том MALINOWSKI Democratic	۵
Том MALINOWSKI Moderate Party	۵
WRITE-IN	4

#### Whitney Quesenbery

Executive Director, Center for Civic Design

908-617-1122 whitneyq@civicdesign.org civicdesign.org

#### **Professional Experience**

2013-present	<b>Center for Civic Design,</b> Co-Founder and Director Not-for-profit research organization focused on democracy as a design problem Projects include: Field Guides to Ensuring Voter Intent, Anywhere Ballot design, best practices for voter guides, ranked choice voting design, electronic pollbooks and voter registration, and work on federal voting system guidelines Full list: http://civicdesign.org/
2002-2013	Whitney Interactive Design, Principal Consultant Clients include: National Cancer Institute (NCI), Amtrak, IEEE, The Open University, National Institutes of Health (NIH), NIST, Redish & Associates, Sage Software, CareerOneStop, National Multiple Sclerosis Society, eBay, NY Times, National Library of Medicine/HHS Pearson, Rackspace
1990-2002	Cognetics Corporation, Principal and Senior Vice President for Design
1976-1990	Theatrical Lighting Designer, New York and regional theatre, dance and opera

#### **Federal Advisory Committees**

2004-2009	Member of the Election Assistance Commission's Technical Guidelines Development Committee, Chair for human factors standards for voting systems, writing the Voluntary Voting System Standards (VVSG 1.0 and 1.1)
2006-2008	Member Access Board's <b>Telecommunications and Electronic &amp; Information Technology</b> <b>Advisory Committee (TEITAC)</b> , co-chair subcommittee on documentation and training, chair editorial working group, writing recommendations for updates to "Section 508" federal accessibility requirements

#### **Funded Research Projects**

2022-2027	The Alliance for Elections Excellence, Center for Tech and Civic Life
2019-2022	<b>Civic Design General Support Grants,</b> from Democracy Fund, Hewlett Foundation, Spitzer Trust, Joyce Foundation
2017	Implementing the Voter Choice California Act, Irvine Foundation and the Future of California Elections
2016	Best practices for ranked choice voting, Fair Vote
2016	<b>Civic Engagement Toolkit (electiontools.org)</b> , Center for Technology and Civic Life and the Knight Foundation
2016	Informed voting from start to finish, e.thePeople, Democracy Works and the Knight Foundation

2015	The next generation of accessible voting, U.S. Department of Commerce, National Institute of Standards and Technology Award 70NANB15H288
2015	GPII - Automatic Personalization Computing Project, University of Maryland
2015	Voter guides in California: Implementation in the counties, Irvine Foundation and the Future of California Elections
2015	Guidance for election systems, U.S. Department of Commerce, National Institute of Standards and Technology Award 70NANB15H240
2014	A roadmap for usability and accessibility of elections, U.S. Department of Commerce, National Institute of Standards and Technology Award 70NANB14H280
2014	Exploring the usability of electronic poll books, U.S. Department of Commerce, National Institute of Standards and Technology Award 70NANB14H278
2013	How voters get information: Voter guides in California, Irvine Foundation and the Future of California Elections
2011	Accessible Voting Technology Initiative, Election Assistance Commission, ITIF
2012	Poll workers and election security, National Science Foundation EAGER Grant CNS-1301887, University of Minnesota
2012	Field Guides to Determining Voter Intent, funding from MacArthur Foundation and Kickstarter, summarizing researched best practices in election design.
2008	Usability testing for "CFFONE, a cell phone accessible informational web site for adolescents with cystic fibrosis." SBIR Phase 1 Project, Dawkins Productions.
2007	Usability testing for "IMPACT: A Primary Care Approach to Late Life Depression - a training program for primary care providers in DVD format." SBIR Phase 1 Project, Dawkins Productions.
2006	Usability/focus groups and usability consulting for "Virtual Reality Augmented Cycling Kit for Post-Stroke Mobility Rehabilitation" STTR Grant, Judith Deutch PI, VRehab

#### **Advisory Committees**

Current	Los Angeles County Voting System Assessment Project (VSAP), Participatory Budgeting Project, Center for Tech and Civic Life, Healthy Democracy/Healthy People, Voting Works
2012	Pearson, Education Usability Group
2012	Healthy People 2020, US Department of Health and Human Service
2011	Electronic Health Records Usability Toolkit, AHRQ
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#### Education

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BA, 1976	Bryn Mawr College, English
MSc, 2014	The Open University, MS in Social Research Methods (Distinguished)

#### **Professional Organizations**

Center for Plain Language (Director, 2009 – 2012)

User Experience Professionals Association (President, 2004, Managing Editor 2011-2017)

Society for Technical Communication (Fellow 2007)

Design for Democracy (Director of Usability and Accessibility, 2005–2006)

#### **Selected Publications**

#### Books

A Web for Everyone: Designing accessible user experiences, Rosenfeld Media, 2013

Global UX: Research and Design in a Connected World, Morgan Kaufmann, 2011

Storytelling for User Experience: Crafting Stories for Better Design, Rosenfeld Media, 2010

#### **Book Chapters**

- "Dimensions of Usability" in Content and Complexity, eds. Michael Albers, Beth Mazur, Erlbaum, 2003
- "Personas and Narrative" in The Persona Lifecycle, Albers and Pruitt, Morgan Kauffmann, 2005
- "Usability Standards: Connecting Practice Around the World" in Connecting People with Technology: Issues in Professional Communication, Hayhoe and Grady, Baywood Publishers, 2008
- Quesenbery, W. "Usability Testing" in Usability in Government Systems: User Experience Design for Citizens and Public Servants, eds. Buie and Murray, Morgan Kauffman, 2012

#### **Peer Reviewed Articles**

- Summers, K., Quesenbery, W., Pointer, A. "Making Voting by Mail Usable, Accessible, and Inclusive." Advances for Design in Inclusion AHFE 2016, Orlando, FL. 2016
- Quesenbery, W., and Chisnell, D. "Poll Workers and Election Integrity: Security as if People Mattered." HAS2015, at HCI International 2015, Los Angeles, CA. 2015
- Quesenbery, W. "Why We Vote: A qualitative investigation of attitudes about participation in elections by young adults." Dissertation submitted for the MSc in Social Research Methods, Open University, March 2014
- Harrell, C., Fineman, A., Newby, E., Chisnell, D. and Quesenbery, W. "Usability of County Election Websites." HCI International, Las Vegas, NV. 2013
- Quesenbery, W. "Accessible Voting in 2012." Information Technology and Disabilities Journal, XIII:1, April 2013.
- Rebola, C. B. Sanford, J., Milchus, K., Quesenbery, W. and Castro, D. "Designing New Technologies within a Participatory Approach." Design for All. 2012
- Norden, L, Kimball, D., Quesenbery, W., "Better Design, Better Elections," Brennan Center for Justice, 2012.
- Swierenga, S. J., Pierce, G. L., Quesenbery, W., Vanderheiden, G. C., Seleski, P. A. "Testing Usability Performance of Voting Systems: Screening, Background, and Post-Study Question Bank." National Institute of Standards and Technology. Contract # SB1341-10-SE-0985. East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University. 2011
- Massett, H.A., Parreco, L.K., Padberg, R.M., Richmond, E.S., Ryan, Leonard, C.E., Quesenbery, W., Killam, H.W., Johnson, L.E., Dilts, D.M., "AccrualNet: Addressing Low Accrual Via a Knowledge-Based, Community of Practice Platform" *Journal of Oncology Practice*, vol 7, no. 6 e32-39, 2010
- Jarrett, C, Quesenbery, W, Roddis R. et al. "Using measurements to inform development of a complex web site used for complex tasks" HCII 2009
- Norden, L, Kimball, D, Quesenbery, W, Chen, M. "Better Ballots", Brennan Center for Justice, 2008
- Theofanos, M., Quesenbery W. et al. "Towards the Design of Effective Formative Test Reports" *Journal of Usability Studies, Issue 1, Volume 1, November 2005, pp. 28-46*

Full list of reports and publications: http://civicdesign.org/publications/

Press and media coverage: http://civicdesign.org/press-and-media/

Certification of Hon. Tomasz P. Malinowski, dated June 6, 2022

# Schedule 15

: BEFORE THE NEW JERSEY In re: Nominating Petition of Hon. Tom : SECRETARY OF STATE, Malinowski for Congressional District 7 : DIVISION OF ELECTIONS

TOMASZ P. MALINOWSKI, of full age, certifies as follows in support of the nominating petition of me as the nominee of the Moderate Party:

 My name is Tom Malinowski, and I am the United States Representative for New Jersey's 7th Congressional District. I serve on the Foreign Affairs, Transportation and Infrastructure, and Homeland Security Committees.

2. I have spent much of my career as a human rights activist and a diplomat promoting the ideals of democracy around the world, particularly in countries that have experienced political turmoil, conflict, and human rights abuses. Prior to my 2018 election and 2020 reelection to represent CD-7, I served as Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor in the Obama Administration. My prior work includes serving as a Senior Director on the National Security Council at the White House (1998 to 2001) and as Washington director for Human Rights Watch (2001 to 2013).

3. During my work as a human rights advocate and diplomat around the world, I witnessed political partisanship and polarization so intense in some cases (such as Burma, Libya, Ethiopia, Sri Lanka, Thailand, and others) that it led to civil wars and/or the dissolution of democratic systems of government. This can happen when large numbers of people in a society start placing loyalty to a political party, faction, ethnic group or tribe above loyalty to their country

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and its institutions. In such situations, politics begins to determine everything in one's daily life, from advancement in school and work to where one lives and who one socializes with. Elections become all-or-nothing struggles, in which losing entails not just loss of political office, but loss of freedom or even one's life, leading each faction to use any means necessary to avoid losing. Elections almost always are accompanied by violence, and peaceful transfers of power are rare.

4. The United States has some of the oldest and strongest democratic institutions in the world, but we cannot take their permanence for granted. Our politics are becoming increasingly polarized and tribal. Friendships and families are increasingly being torn apart by political differences. We have a media environment, particularly social media, that is almost perfectly designed to divide Americans into angry opposing camps. To some extent, this results in Americans on different sides of the political spectrum living in parallel realities.

5. The attempted insurrection of January 6, 2021 demonstrated that extreme polarization in the United States can lead to violence. The problems that led to the attack on the Capitol have only intensified since then. The leaders of one of our major political parties have convinced a majority of their followers that a democratic election in the United States was illegitimate, and have used that lie to justify efforts to subvert future elections. In many states, extreme partisans are attempting to do by legislation what the January 6th rioters tried to do with metal poles and baseball bats — to give themselves the power to install a president of their choice even if that person was not elected by a majority of Americans. There is talk of civil war in the air. In my opinion, the majority of Americans, including the majority of voters in New Jersey's 7th District, are dissatisfied with this state of affairs. They want us to play by the rules and find ways to bridge our differences. They do not want our political parties to become warring tribes, The

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many Americans who feel like they're somewhere in the middle of the political spectrum want to have greater influence and leverage on both major political parties.

6. In my Congressional district, most voters hold middle of the road positions on the big issues of the day. They support the police whether it's protecting our homes from criminals, or our Capitol from insurrectionists. They think we should enforce our immigration laws, but that our economy needs and our nation should welcome legal immigrants. They're pro-business, but think corporations should pay taxes, and that the success of American business depends on leading the world to clean energy. They support the 2nd Amendment, but with reasonable restrictions to protect our kids.

7. In the small towns and suburbs I represent, there is also a yearning for community. People are tired of being told to hate their neighbors over politics. They want politicians to focus on fighting inflation, not on culture wars against women and sexual minorities. When partisans light political or cultural fires, the majority of Americans prefer leaders who reach for a bucket of water, not a can of gasoline.

8. It is in our interest to design political arrangements, including the rules and constitutional guarantees that govern the organization, formation, and association of political parties, in a way that empowers that reasonable pragmatic middle ground, and that encourages cross-party cooperation and coalition building.

9. Partisan gerrymandering has contributed to political polarization and conflict in our country. Because of political gerrymandering, most congressional districts are safe for one party or another, meaning that incumbents can only be defeated by challengers from within their

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parties, and thus have an incentive to appeal to the most extreme partisans in their ranks. New Jersey's 7th district is one of the very few in the country where the voters can actually swing a general election. The latest numbers from FiveThirtyEight show that only 40 of the country's 435 congressional districts (9%) do not have a predetermined outcome. *See What Redistricting Looks Like in Every State*, FiveThirtyEight, *available at*: <u>https://projects fivethirtyEight.com/redistricting-2022-maps/</u> (last updated June 3, 2022) (last accessed June 4, 2022). The only real contest in the supermajority of the country (88%) happens during the party primaries, and those contests tend to push the Democrats and the Republicans to the extremes; there is very little incentive for the dominant party in those safe districts to even try to appeal to the party on the other side.

10. Third parties are not a viable solution to this problem because under current rules, they are spoilers, often subtracting votes from the viable candidates closest to their values. Ralph Nader and Jill Stein had no chance of winning the presidency, yet took enough votes from Al Gore in 2000 and Hillary Clinton in 2016 to hand those elections to Republicans. Conversely, Libertarian candidates tend to take votes away from the GOP.

 However, fusion parties can have the opposite effect — instead of spoiling their supporters' votes, they aggregate them to shift election outcomes in their desired direction.

12. The political force most likely to take advantage of fusion voting in America today is the increasingly homeless political center. A centrist fusion party would have something very valuable to offer to both major parties, and thus have the leverage to push them to build broader coalitions from the middle out. In today's political climate, such a party might be particularly attractive to Republicans and to unaffiliated voters who are disgusted with the GOP's embrace of

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election lies, vaccine denial, and QAnon conspiracy theories, but who also are turned off by the left wing of the Democratic Party.

13. Our political system today rewards and encourages divisiveness that has already led to violence and could tear our country apart. We need constitutional guarantees and rules that incentivize responsible leadership and cooperation.

Dated: June 6, 2022

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Certification of Michael Telesca, dated June 5, 2022

# Schedule 16

In re: Nominating Petition of Hon. Tom Malinowski for Congressional District 7 BEFORE THE NEW JERSEY SECRETARY OF STATE, DIVISION OF ELECTIONS

MICHAEL TELESCA, of full age, certifies as follows:

1. I am the Chairman of the Independent Party of Connecticut ("Independent Party"). I have served in this role since founding the party as a town committee in Waterbury, Connecticut approximately twenty years ago. All facts set forth in this Certification have been collected by me or under my supervision.

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2. The Independent Party is today and has for years been a recognized political party in Connecticut. Based on the number of registered party members, the Independent Party is the third largest political party in the State, behind only the Democratic Party and Republican Party. The Independent Party currently enjoys statewide enrollment privileges.

3. The Independent Party is governed by Rules and Bylaws, the operative version of which is attached to this Certification as Exhibit A. As set forth in the Rules and Bylaws, the Independent Party "has been established to provide all Connecticut residents an alternative political organization dedicated to ensuring open, honest government, with realistic objectives." The Independent Party further "invites and solicits all residents of Connecticut to become active members and participate in a movement to bring honest, open, non-partisan problem-solving to

government; to promote responsible and sustainable governmental policies; to fight corruption; and to promote ballot access for citizens who want to be public servants."

4. The Independent Party participates in the political process by nominating candidates on the general election ballot. Indeed, the ability to nominate its preferred candidate in each election is central to the Independent Party's—and its members—participation in the political process. It is through this collective, institutional effort that our members can effectively associate with one another in order to make their preferences and opinions known to candidates and elected officials. No forum is an adequate or comparable substitute to a formal nomination on the ballot. In some cases, the Independent Party nominates candidates who have not yet and who do not subsequently receive a nomination from any other political party. Thus, such candidates appear only on the Independent Party line on the general election ballot. Since I founded the Independent Party in the early 2000s, no candidate for U.S. House, U.S. Senate, Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Attorney General, Secretary of State, Comptroller, Treasurer, State Senate, or State House nominated only by the Independent Party has won election.

5. In other cases, the Independent Party nominates candidates who have already or who will subsequently receive a nomination from another political party. That is, the Independent Party provides a cross-endorsement, or participates in electoral fusion. The option for the Independent Party to cross-endorse on the general election ballot candidates also nominated by other political parties is essential to the Independent Party's ability to fully participate in the political process. Prohibiting the Independent Party from nominating a preferred, qualified candidate just because that candidate happened to receive another party's nomination but permitting the endorsement of a lesser preferred candidate is a false choice, severely inhibiting the rights of our members and our party to associate together in order to seek the election of a preferred candidate. Further,
without the substantial number of votes cast for cross-endorsed candidates under the Independent Party line, it would be very difficult, if not impossible, for the Independent Party to retain ballot status and nominate candidates in subsequent elections. As a result, loss of ballot status would in many cases prevent the Independent Party from nominating *any* candidates for office, whether they were cross-endorsed by another party or not. This would inevitably result in a diminished role for the Independent Party, depriving the thousands of independent-minded Connecticut voters of a political party representing their values. In my experience, more voters will cast a ballot when they have the option of voting for a cross-endorsed candidate under the Independent Party line. Thus, I would expect fewer voters to participate in our elections if the Independent Party were barred from cross-endorsing candidates.

6. In many races, Democratic and Republican candidates are eager to obtain the Independent Party nomination, given its important expressive and signaling value to the electorate, in light of the important values that the Independent Party stands for. As a result, competing major party candidates often engage in an intense competition to secure a crossendorsement from the Independent Party. This dynamic produces an incentive for candidates to demonstrate, both on the campaign trail and in office, their independent-mindedness and willingness to set aside conventional partisan considerations for the greater good.

7. Examples abound of elections where the Independent Party's cross-endorsement of a candidate also nominated by one of the two major parties provided the decisive margin of victory. In the 2020 election for State House District 38, the Democratic candidate Baird Welch-Collins received 48.8% of the vote. Kathleen M. McCarty received 48.1% of the vote on the Republican ballot line, and a decisive 3.1% of the vote on the Independent Party line. The same dynamic occurred in the 2020 election for State House District 43, where the Independent Party

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line vote share (3.8%) for the winning candidate cross-endorsed by the Republican Party nearly doubled his margin of victory (2.0%). These figures, along with ample similar examples in recent elections, can be found in public records prepared by public officials in the Connecticut Secretary of State's Election Results Archive (www.electionhistory.ct.gov).

8. Minor political parties play a pivotal role in a stable, healthy democracy, by forcing major parties and their candidates to pay attention to issues they might otherwise ignore and by providing a forum for citizens disillusioned with the two major parties to associate and effectively make known their preferences and values. I am proud to serve in a leadership role in Connecticut's largest minor party.

I certify that the foregoing statements made by me are true. I am aware that if any of the foregoing statements made by me are willfully false, that I am subject to punishment.

/s/ Michael <u>Telesca</u>

Michael Telesca

Dated: June 5, 2022

# Exhibit A

# INDEPENDENT PARTY OF CONNECTICUT RULES AND BYLAWS

### PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVES

*The Independent Party* has been established to provide all Connecticut residents an alternative political organization dedicated to ensuring open, honest government, with realistic objectives.

*The Independent Party* is open to all electors without discrimination on the grounds of race, color, creed, gender, or religious beliefs. We welcome the participation by any and all Connecticut residents who desire to join the Independent Party and participate in its goals and objectives.

*The Independent Party* hereby dedicates itself to ensuring that all regular meetings and conferences will be conducted openly, and invites members and nonmembers alike to attend these meetings.

*The Independent Party* invites and solicits all residents of Connecticut to become active members and participate in a movement to bring honest, open, non-partisan problem-solving to government; to promote responsible and sustainable governmental policies; to fight corruption; and to promote ballot access for citizens who want to be public servants.

*The Independent Party* provides assurance that it will strive to protect all of Connecticut's assets; improve and maintain them through a continuing, rigorous plan of action designed to enhance the economic well being of all Connecticut residents.

*The Independent Party* is committed to succeed in returning Connecticut to the esteemed position it once enjoyed through the proper usage of all its resources and economic potential.

### The Independent Party of Connecticut Rules and Bylaws

Article I: Independent Party State Central Committee

Article II: Independent Party Rules for Town Committees

Article III: Independent Party State Caucuses

# Article IV: Independent Party District and Town Caucuses for Nominating Candidates for Public Office and Electing State Central Committee Members

### ARTICLE 1: INDEPENDENT PARTY STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

#### Section 1. Membership

The State Central Committee shall consist of:

(a) One representative from each state senatorial district that:

(i) has ballot status for the Independent Party in the state senate election in the next even-year election, or:

(ii) contains at least part of one state representative district that has ballot status for the Independent Party in the state representative election in the next even-year election.

#### and

(b) One representative from each town that has an Independent Party Town Committee (see ARTICLE II) and has a member of the Independent Party holding an elected municipal public office.

A State Central Committee member may not be both a state senatorial district representative and a town representative.

### Section 2. Election of Members

State Senatorial District representatives and Town representatives will be elected in district and town caucuses (see ARTICLE IV). Other than the first term beginning under these rules in 2010, members will be elected in odd numbered years, no later than May 1.

### Section 3. Terms of Members

Other than the first term beginning under these rules in 2010, members shall serve for a term of not less than 20 months or more than 28 months, commencing at the caucus session at which they were elected until the next caucus session called to elect the same representative position. Members can be re-elected.

### Section 4. Election of Officers

The State Central Committee members will elect a Chair, Vice Chair, Treasurer, Secretary, and Parliamentarian at the first State Central Committee meeting after May 1 of each odd number year. In the first term beginning in 2010, officers shall be elected at the first state caucus of 2010. Officers shall hold office from the time they are elected until their successors are elected. Any registered member of the Independent party can be elected by the State Central Committee to serve as an officer of the State Central Committee without being an elected member of the State Central Committee.

### Section 5. Voting at State Central Committee meetings.

Each member of the state committee that represents a Town Committee shall have one vote on the State Central Committee. Members that represent state senatorial districts will have voting power based on the number of enrolled Independent Party members in the state senatorial district they represent, to be determined as follows: Total Number of Enrolled Independent Party Members in Towns Included in State Senatorial District: Number of votes of representative on state central committee Less than 500 registered members: 1 vote 500 to 1,000 registered members: 1½ votes Over 1,000 registered members: 2 votes

Any member of the State Central Committee who is unable to attend any State Central Committee meeting may appoint in writing any Independent Party member who resides in the member's representative area to act on his or her behalf and the appointed person must be present to vote and can not already be a member of the State Central Committee. You can only represent one State Central Committee member at a time. The appointment will be dated and signed by the principal and shall be valid only for the specified meeting.

#### Section 6. Quorum for State Central Committee Meetings.

The presence of 50% of the members eligible to attend shall constitute a quorum.

#### Section 7. Meetings.

The State Central Committee shall meet at least 3 times a year to discuss Party business. The next meeting date will be set at the close of a current meeting by those in attendance. The Chairman may call a meeting at any time by notifying all members five days in advance.

### **ARTICLE 2 INDEPENDENT PARTY RULES FOR TOWN COMMITTEES**

### Section 1. Composition of Town Committees

The number of membership positions and the basis of representation on each town committee shall be set by local rules. However, a town committee shall consist of not less than three (3) members.

### Section 2. Election of Town Committee

Town Committee members shall be elected by the enrolled members according to local Independent Party town rules. If local rules have not been written, local party members shall form a caucus with at least 15 days notice in the local newspaper to elect members at large or by district. Any member of the Independent Party of the State of CT may assist local members to form a caucus, but can not vote unless he or she lives within that town.

#### Section 3. Terms of Members

Town Committee members shall serve for a term of not less than 18 months or more than 26 months, commencing at the caucus session they were elected until the next caucus session called to elect town committee members.

#### Section 4. Increased Membership

A Town Committee, at a meeting called for that purpose with at least 15 days notice to town committee members, may by majority vote of a quorum defined by the local town rules, increase its membership anytime during a term, provided that they abide by local bylaws written to address those events. Any increased membership would serve for only the remainder of the present term.

#### Section 5. Vacancy

Any vacancy on a town committee arising from any cause, including failure to elect, may be filled by the town committee by a majority vote of those present and voting, at a meeting called for that purpose with at least 15 days notice to town committee members.

### Section 6. Election and call of Organizational Meeting

The chairperson in office immediately prior to the election of new town committee members shall call a meeting of the newly elected town committee not more than fourteen days after the election, for the purpose of electing new officers of the town committee as prescribed in party rules. If the current Chairman fails to act, any three members of the newly elected town committee can call for a meeting to elect officers by notifying all members of the new town committee.

### Section 7. Term of Town Committee Officers

Officers shall hold office for the term of the town committee electing them, and until their successors are elected.

### Section 8. Ratification

Town committee rules are not valid until submitted to the State Central Committee, and accepted by the State Central Committee by majority vote. State Central Committee must meet within 30 days of submission, or rules become effective automatically.

### Section 9 Existing Town Committees

Any Independent Party Town Committees that have been formed and have filed Independent Party Town Committee By-Laws with the CT Secretary of the State office for their towns or cities before these Independent Party State by-laws are filed with the CT Secretary of the State will be accepted by the Independent Party State Central Committee without any further review and will be the accepted Town Committee for that Town or City. Any changes or updates or any new town committees must be presented to the State Central committee for review and approval before going to the CT Secretary of the State for filing.

# ARTICLE 3 INDEPENDENT PARTY STATE CAUCUSES

Section 1. Presiding Officer

The presiding officer of state caucuses will be the chair of the State Central Committee, or the vice chair of the State Central Committee if the chair is unable to attend. If neither the chair or the vice chair is present, the State Central Committee shall elect a temporary chair for the caucus.

#### Section 2. Rules of State Caucuses

State Caucuses will follow Robert's New Rules of Order, Revised; unless otherwise stated in the Independent Party State Bylaws.

#### Section 3. Voting Eligibility

One must be a registered member of the Independent Party for a minimum of 90 continuous days prior to a state caucus to have voting rights at that state caucus.

#### Section 4. Date and Location of State Caucuses

A state caucus will be held a minimum of once per calendar year. In even numbered years, one caucus will be held no later than May 1. In odd numbered years, one caucus will be held no later than June 1, and no earlier than May 1 or after the election of all new members at district and town caucuses (see ARTICLE IV). Additional state caucuses may be called by a majority vote of the State Central Committee. The date and place of every state caucus will be determined by majority vote of the State Central Committee. The time and place of statewide party caucuses will be announced by the chair of the party a minimum of 21 days in advance through email notifications to all members that have provided the secretary with email addresses, and with a notification in the Hartford Courant. Notification will also be delivered to the Secretary of the State's office a minimum of 7 days in advance of the meeting.

#### Section 5. Nomination of Statewide Candidates for Public Office

Independent Party candidates for statewide public offices (even numbered years) will be determined at the first state caucus of the year. The State Central Committee will nominate one candidate for each state wide office through majority vote at a State Central Committee meeting at the state caucus. Independent Party members with voting eligibility (see Section 3) may nominate additional candidates from the floor. All registered members of the party with voting eligibility (see Section 3) in attendance may vote for one of the nominated candidates for each office. The candidate for each office who receives 51% of the votes at the state caucus will be the nominee of the party. If there are three or more candidates for an office and no one gets at least 51% of the votes then the candidate with the lowest number of votes shall be removed from the candidates list and a new vote will take place until a candidate receives 51% or more of the vote. The presiding officer of the state caucus will file an endorsement letter for each nominated candidate with the Secretary of the State's office within 5 business days, and apply for all necessary paperwork (petitions, etc.) to get the candidate on the ballot in November. Nominations of candidates for public office chosen at a statewide party caucus can only be changed with permission of the nominated candidate. A request by a majority vote of the State Central Committee must be made in writing, with proof of delivery, to the candidate to step down. The candidate must respond in writing to the party chair within two weeks of the delivery of the request. If the candidate agrees to step down, the State

Central Committee will call another statewide party caucus to nominate a new candidate if there is time left on the election calendar to accomplish this; if not then:

The State Central Committee shall fill any statewide office left vacant by the statewide caucus or for any other reason that a vacancy occurs by a simple majority of it's members at a meeting called for that purpose.

#### Section 6. Change of Party Rules

Party Rules can only be changed by a majority vote of eligible voting members (see Section 3 above) of the Independent Party in attendance at a statewide party caucus. The chair of the party will deliver any approved changes to the party rules to the Secretary of the State's office within 5 business days.

# ARTICLE 4 INDEPENDENT PARTY DISTRICT AND TOWN CAUCUSES FOR NOMINATING CANDIDATES FOR PUBLIC OFFICE AND ELECTING STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS

### Section 1. Presiding Officer

Independent Party members in attendance with voting eligibility (see Section 3 below) shall elect the presiding officer for the caucus.

#### Section 2. Rules of Caucuses

Caucuses will follow Robert's New Rules of Order, Revised; unless otherwise stated in the Independent Party State Bylaws.

### Section 3. Voting Eligibility

One must be a registered member of the Independent Party for a minimum of 90 continuous days prior to a caucus to have nominating and voting rights at that caucus. For nominating candidates for public office, one must also be able to vote in the upcoming public election for the office that is being considered to have nominating or voting eligibility for that nomination. For State Central Committee membership, one must reside in the state senate district, or town, that that member will represent to have nominating or voting eligibility.

#### Section 4. Date and Location of Caucuses

District and Town caucuses to elect members of the State Central Committee must be held prior to May 1 of each odd-numbered year. District and Town caucuses to nominate candidates for public office must be held no later than August 1. The date and place of every caucus for nominating candidates for public office or electing State Central Committee members will be determined by the Town Committee of the town with the most number of registered members of the Independent Party that also overlaps or contains the voting district boundary. The number of registered members in each town will be determined using the most recent Secretary of the State's electronic voter database that is available to the State Central Committee. The time and place of the caucus will be announced a minimum of 21 days in advance through email notifications to all members that have provided the Town Committee with email addresses, and through notifications in the local newspapers of the district. Notification will also be delivered to the Secretary of the State's office a minimum of 5 days in advance of the meeting.

In plain English: Candidates for office and State Central Committee members will be determined by eligible members of the Independent Party that live in the district or town that the candidates represent. The Independent Party provides local control to its members.

Report of Jack Santucci, dated June 6,2022

# Schedule 17

Subject:	Political Parties, Democratic Stability, and Ballot Fusion
To:	Counsel
From:	Jack Santucci, Ph.D. Assistant Teaching Professor of Politics, Drexel University
Date:	June 6, 2022

1. I have been asked to share some thoughts on political parties, democratic stability, and the relationship of each to ballot fusion (understood here to mean cross-endorsement). What follows is based on my doctoral education and ongoing research into so-called 'multiparty reforms.' A key theme will be that the number of parties matters less than whether the electoral rules facilitate coalition, then make such coalitions unambiguously known to voters. Cross-endorsement fusion has desirable properties on both fronts: promoting coalition, then telling voters on the ballot what coalition they aim to place in control of government.

2. I have not been paid to write this. I am an Assistant Teaching Professor of Politics at Drexel University. I earned my doctorate in Government at Georgetown University in 2017. My forthcoming book, *More Parties or No Parties: The Politics of Electoral Reform in America*, proposes a general theory of electoral reform, puts the U.S. Progressive Era into comparative perspective, then suggests we may be repeating some negative features of that history. One such feature is an effort to satisfy demand for "voter choice" with reforms that make it difficult for parties to do their jobs (see just below). My full curriculum vitae is appended at the end of this essay.

# A system of strong parties makes democracy possible

3. Many political scientists would say that a *system of strong parties* is constitutive of democracy. By "strong," I mean a party that can nominate one candidate (or slate), get voters to support that candidate (or slate), and then discipline its deputies in government.<sup>1</sup> By "system," I mean a set of at least two such parties that can broker coalition deals. Hence the importance of party discipline. Finally, I mean "constitutive" in two senses. In the first sense, voters can hold government accountable because they can point to the party — or coalition of parties — that controls government.<sup>2</sup> Another way to say all of this is that a system of strong parties organizes civil society — voters, parties, and intermediary groups — in competition for control of government.<sup>3</sup> A system of strong parties makes majority rule possible.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For a comprehensive statement, see Kathleen Bawn et al., "A Theory of Political Parties: Groups, Nominations, and Policy Demands in American Politics" (2012), *Perspectives on Politics 10* (3): 571-97. Online at <u>https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592712001624</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> On the number being less important than the existence of a system, see John H. Aldrich, *Why Parties? A Second Look* (2011), Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Russell J. Dalton, David M. Farrell, and Ian McAllister, *Political Parties and Democratic Linkage: How Parties Organize Democracy* (2011), London: Oxford University Press.

4. There is a second sense in which parties are constitutive of democracy: in organizing competition over the rules of democracy itself. Periods in which parties have been weak — such as the Progressive Era — also have been periods in which the franchise was restricted.<sup>4</sup> Sometimes the connection has not been by accident.<sup>5</sup>

# The case against multiparty politics is historically suspect

5. What about the number of parties and democratic stability? A generation or two ago, it was common to think that the two-party system contained radicalism. This perspective owes much to the political scientist Ferdinand Hermens. In the years around World War II, he argued that the fragmentation of the Weimar-German multiparty system made it difficult to form coalitions that excluded fascists.<sup>6</sup>

6. Hermens' etiology of German fascism was reductive.<sup>7</sup> Later analysts have pointed to other factors: dissolution of the Weimar coalition over economic policy,<sup>8</sup> ex ante rejection of democracy by a large part of the political elite, and short-sightedness by business leaders who thought (wrongly) that they might control Hitler. Also, some suggest that this group abrogated democracy precisely to avoid losing the next election (i.e., to avoid democratic alternation).<sup>9</sup> More generally, interwar difficulties at

<sup>6</sup> Ferdinand A. Hermens, "Proportional Representation and the Breakdown of German Democracy" (1936), *Social Research 3* (4): 411-33. Online at <u>https://www.jstor.org/stable/40981519</u>.

<sup>7</sup> See, e.g., Harold Gosnell's 1941 review of Hermens' 1941 book, *Democracy or Anarchy? A Study of Proportional Representation*: <u>https://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/uclrev/vol9/iss1/27/</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Richard Valelly, "How Suffrage Politics Made—and Makes— America," pp. 445-72 in *The Oxford Handbook of American Political Development* (2016), edited by Richard Valelly, Suzanne Mettler, and Robert C. Lieberman, New York: Oxford University Press.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> For application to anti-party reforms of the Progressive Era, see Amy Bridges and Richard Kronick, "Writing the Rules to Win the Game: The Middle-class Regimes of Municipal Reformers" (1999), *Urban Affairs Review 34* (5): 691-706.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Martin Ejnar Hansen and Marc Debus, "The Behavior of Political Parties and MPs in the Parliaments of the Weimar Republic" (2012), *Party Politics 18* (5): 709-26. Online at <u>https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1354068810389645</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> M. Rainer Lepsius, "From Fragmented Party Democracy to Government by Emergency Decree and National Socialist Takeover: Germany," pp. 34-79 in *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Europe* (1978), edited by Juan J. Linz and Alfred C. Stepan, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

forming coalitions seem to have been a 'growing pain' in the development of party government across Western democracies.<sup>10</sup>

# Electoral rules can facilitate or frustrate coalition formation

7. Yet Hermens' critique of proportional representation — which he saw as synonymous with multiparty politics — begins to highlight the importance of electoral systems. His insistence on the value of "majority voting," by which he meant two-round runoff in districts of relatively few seats, was grounded in the desirability of coalition formation. Two-round elections might encourage parties to negotiate joint candidacies in round two, then pool their electioneering efforts — just as a single "strong" party might in the conventional political-science view above.

8. Another important feature of the electoral system is that it be permissive enough to make *many different coalitions* possible. For example, if there are just two parties, one of those parties must include the faction that opposes voting rights. Or, if there are just two parties, and if voting rights define that *party system*, it is difficult to get a party system *not defined* by voting rights.

9. Technically, an electoral system is defined by four or five key variables: assembly size, district magnitude (the number of seats per district), ballot type (e.g., choose-one vs. ranked), and allocation rule (e.g., proportional vs. plurality vs. majority). The first two determine the number of seat-winning parties,<sup>11</sup> and this insight probably extends to the number of *factions* that can win representation. Others have begun to add rules about nominations to the list. So far, American-style fusion (again taken to mean cross-endorsement) has not systematically entered the literature on electoral systems.<sup>12</sup>

10. The key features of an electoral system can be configured to *facilitate or hinder coalition formation*. For example, a system that *discourages* parties from nominating just one candidate (or slate) each is set up explicitly to prevent stable coalition.<sup>13</sup>

# Fusion has desirable properties

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Henk te Velde, "Parliamentary Obstruction and the 'Crisis' of European Parliamentary Politics Around 1900" (2013), *Redescriptions: Yearbook of Political Thought, Conceptual History and Feminist Theory* 16 (1): 125-47. Online at <u>http://doi.org/10.7227/R.16.1.7</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Matthew S. Shugart and Rein Taagepera, *Votes from Seats: Logical Models of Electoral Systems* (2017), New York: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> The closest one gets is *apparentement*, i.e., when two or more parties combine lists in a system of proportional representation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Katherine M. Gehl and Michael E. Porter, *The Politics Industry: How Political Innovation Can Break Partisan Gridlock and Save Our Democracy* (2020), Cambridge, MA: Harvard Business Review Press.

11. I have further thoughts on fusion vis-a-vis other reforms, and in view of the United States' presidential system of government. Those thoughts are reserved for later writing.

12. For now, compare fusion to the runoff systems Hermens favored. The former asks two or more parties to *nominate the same candidate* (or slate). The latter invites said parties to run separate candidates (or slates). Then, if they have done so, it asks them in the second round to unite behind just one of the candidates (or slates). That negotiation may run afoul of various actors' motives, e.g., the minor-party candidate's interest in 'spoiling' to 'make a point.' Fusion obviates such negotiation.<sup>14</sup>

13. I am not claiming that fusion is a perfect system. Other factors matter. One potentially important issue is 'aggregated' versus 'disaggregated' fusion, i.e., whether Candidate X appears on a single ballot line versus on one line for each party endorsement. Another potential issue, which I have heard about in conversation, is potential for 'misuse' by major-party actors seeking to disadvantage the opposing major party. Others may be more qualified to speak to these issues — particularly the allegation of 'misuse.'<sup>15</sup>

14. Rather, my point is that a system of cross-endorsement fusion seems a reasonable way to channel multiparty competition. It promotes coalition among parties, then makes those coalition deals unambiguously known to voters.<sup>16</sup>

Jack Santucci, Ph.D. Assistant Teaching Professor of Politics Drexel University

Dated: June 6, 2022

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> For practical examples from New York State, see Benjamin R. Kantack, "Fusion and Electoral Performance in New York Congressional Elections" (2017), *Party Politics 70* (2): 291-300. Online at <u>https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1065912916689823</u>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Scholars who come to mind include: Craig Burnett, Benjamin Kantack, Melissa Michelson, and Scott Susin.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> An obvious alternative is to restrict ballot access, but this may demobilize the set of voters that turns out for minor parties. See Melissa R. Michelson and Scott J. Susin, "What's in a Name? The Power of Fusion Politics in a Local Election" (2004), *Polity 36* (2): 301-21. Online at <u>https://www.jstor.org/stable/3235483</u>. Also, if party-system conflict is defined by democracy itself, removing minor parties from the ballot may make it difficult to change the substance of that conflict. See the section above on a "system of strong parties."

# Exhibit A

# Jack Santucci

jack.santucci@gmail.com

April 30, 2022

# **Research** interests

Political parties, electoral systems, American political development, electoral reform.

# Academic positions

- Assistant Teaching Professor, Politics, Drexel University, Fall 2018-present.
- Adjunct Professor, Political Science, James Madison University, Fall 2018.
- Instructor, Government, Georgetown University, Summers 2012–17 and Winter 2016.

# Education

- Ph.D., Government, Georgetown University, 2010–17. Committee: Josep M. Colomer, Daniel J. Hopkins, Hans C. Noel (chair), R. Kent Weaver.
- M.A. (distinction), Democracy & Governance, Georgetown University, 2007-9.
- B.A. (honors), Political Science, McGill University, 2001-5.

# Book

• Santucci, Jack. Forthcoming. More Parties or No Parties: The Politics of Electoral Reform in America. New York: Oxford University Press. https://bit.ly/mponp.

# Peer-reviewed articles

- Santucci, Jack and Joshua J. Dyck. 2022. "The Structure of American Political Discontent" (research note). *Public Opinion Quarterly*, early version. https://doi.org/ 10.1093/poq/nfac009.
- Santucci, Jack. 2021. "Variants of Ranked-choice Voting from a Strategic Perspective." Politics and Governance 9 (2): 344-353. https://doi.org/10.17645/pag.v9i2.3955.
- McCarthy, Devin and Jack Santucci. 2021. "Ranked-choice Voting as a Generational Issue in Modern American Politics." *Politics & Policy* 49 (1): 33-60. https://doi.org/10.1111/polp.12390.

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- Santucci, Jack. 2020. "Did the Party System Change from 2012-16?" (research note). Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties, early version. https://doi.org/ 10.1080/17457289.2020.1794884.
- Santucci, Jack. 2019. "Using Mixed Methods to Recover Electoral History: The American Path to Proportional Voting." SAGE Research Methods Cases, Part 2. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781526462695.
- Santucci, Jack. 2018. "Maine Ranked-choice Voting as a Case of Electoral-system Change." Representation 54 (3): 297-311. https://doi.org/10.1080/00344893. 2018.1502208.
- Santucci, Jack. 2018. "Evidence of a Winning-cohesion Tradeoff under Multi-winner Ranked-choice Voting." *Electoral Studies* 52: 128-138. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2017.11.003.
- Santucci, Jack. 2017. "Party Splits, not Progressives: The Origins of Proportional Representation in American Local Government." *American Politics Research* 45 (3): 494-526. https://doi.org/10.1177/1532673X16674774.

# Selected working papers

- "Is a Volunteered Response Sufficient? Measuring Pure Independents in Public Opinion Surveys of Americans." With Joshua J. Dyck and Alexander Agadjanian. Draft available on request.
- "Do Ranked Ballots Stimulate Candidate Entry?" With Jamil S. Scott. https:// ssrn.com/abstract=3956554.
- "Multi-seat Districts and Larger Assemblies Produce More Diverse Racial Representation." With Michael Latner and Matthew S. Shugart. https://ssrn.com/abstract= 3911532.

# **Book** reviews

- Santucci, Jack. 2021. "Electoral Capitalism: The Party System in New York's Gilded Age. By Jeffrey D. Broxmeyer. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2020.
  240p. \$55.00 cloth." Perspectives on Politics 19 (3): 1013-4. https://doi.org/10.
  1017/S1537592721001298.
- Santucci, Jack. 2021. "The politics industry: How political innovation can break partisan gridlock and save our democracy. Gehl, Katherine M. and Porter, Michael E. Harvard Business School, Cambridge, MA, 2020. 316 pp. \$30.00 (cloth)." *Governance* 34: 596-9. https://doi.org/10.1111/gove.12587.
- Santucci, Jack. 2020. "Multiparty America?" The Journal of Politics 82 (4): e35-e39. https://doi.org/10.1086/708937.

# Significant grants

- "East-coast and National Experimental Tests of Candidate Entry under Single-seat Ranked-choice Voting, with Measurement of Attitudes toward Descriptive Representation" (\$23,000, with Jamil Scott), New America, 2020.
- "STV Municipal Analysis" (\$25,000, with Michael Latner and Matthew Shugart), New America, 2020.
- "Analyzing Legislative Voting in Small Councils" (\$4,400), Massive Data Institute, McCourt School of Public Policy, Georgetown University, 2015.

# Courses taught

# American politics

- Introduction to American politics (100-level, Georgetown and Drexel)
- American political development (300-level, Drexel)
- Congress (300-level, Drexel)
- Political parties (300-level, James Madison and Drexel)
- State & local government (300-level, Drexel)
- Urban politics (300-level, Georgetown and Drexel)

# Comparative politics

- Introduction to comparative politics (100-level, Georgetown)
- Comparative democratic institutions (200-level, Drexel)
- Social movements (200-level, Drexel)

# Research methodology

- Introduction to political science (100-level, Drexel)
- Introduction to research design (100-level, Drexel)
- Qualitative methods (200-level, Drexel)
- Quantitative methods in R (200-level, Drexel)

# Undergraduate mentoring

- Steven White, Drexel University, Fall 2021. Research co-op, ranked-choice voting.
- Medina Talebi, Drexel University, Spring 2021. Research co-op, minority representation, joint supervision with Michael Latner.
- Devon Rutledge, Drexel University, Summer 2020. Research co-op, survey design.
- Andrew Rosenthal, Drexel University, Summer 2020. Research co-op, ranked-choice voting.
- Lev Boonin, Drexel University, Fall 2019. Independent study, Congressional apportionment.

# Service to the university

- Member, Awards Committee, Politics Department, Drexel University, 2022.
- Member, Search Committee in American Politics (NTT), Drexel University, 2021.
- Member, Truman Scholarship Selection Committee, Drexel University, 2020.
- Member, Committee on DEI, Politics Department, Drexel University, 2020-21.
- Moderator, Panel discussion on the Electoral College, Pennoni Honors College, Drexel University, October 29, 2020.
- Coordinator, Pennsylvania Statewide Redistricting Town Hall, Drexel University, February 21, 2019.

# Service to the discipline

- Division Co-chair (with Heather Stoll), Section on Representation & Electoral Systems, APSA Annual Meeting, 2021.
- Co-organizer (with Mara Suttmann-Lea), Election Sciences Conference Within a Conference, SPSA Annual Meeting, 2021.
- Panel chair and/or discussant: APSA (2017, 2020); MPSA (2018, 2019); SPSA (2020, 2021), Pi Sigma Alpha National Student Conference (2014, 2015, 2016, 2017).
- Reviewer: American Journal of Political Science, American Politics Research; Cogent Social Sciences; CQ Press; Election Law Journal; Electoral Studies; Journal of Elections, Public Opinion & Parties; Journal of Politics; Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes; Party Politics; Perspectives on Politics; Political Analysis; Political Research Quarterly; Politics & Policy; Politics and Governance; Public Opinion Quarterly; Representation; Research & Politics; Social Science Quarterly. More information: https://publons.com/researcher/1598174/ jack-santucci/peer-review/.

# Awards

- Hall of Honor Inductee for Education, Amity Regional School District No. 5, Connecticut, 2019.
- Best Paper, "Maine Ranked-choice Voting as a Case of Electoral-system Change," *Representation*, 2018.
- Jill Hopper Memorial Fellowship, Department of Government, Georgetown University, 2015-6.

# Conference presentations

- "Ranked-choice Voting Might Not 'Work"' APSA 2021 short course on "Pluralism and the Politics of Reform: Achieving Multi-racial, Multi-party Democracy." https: //www.youtube.com/watch?v=e2B8F1WLGSQ.
- "Study Preregistration: East-coast and National Experimental Tests of Candidate Entry under Single-seat Ranked-choice Voting" (with Jamil Scott) APSA 2020.
- "The Generational Divide on Ranked-choice Voting" (with Devin McCarthy) SPSA 2020.
- "The Single Transferable Vote and Government Spending: Causal Evidence from U.S. Cities" MPSA 2019, APSA 2019.
- "A Populist-elite Dimension in the U.S. Public? Evidence from Two Surveys in 2016" - MPSA 2018, APSA 2018.
- "The Salience of Race Across All Fifty States" State Politics & Policy 2018.
- "In America, Why Does Proportional Voting Have to Attack Political Parties?" -MPSA 2018, APSA 2018 (poster).
- "Analyzing a Three-dimensional Policy Space with Little Prior Knowledge: The Council of the City of New York, 1938-47" APSA 2017 (poster).
- "Estimating Dynamic, Common-space Public Opinion: Why Maine Took Two Decades to Adopt Ranked-choice Voting" State Politics & Policy 2017, APSA 2017.
- "Exit from PR & Implications for Ranked-choice Voting in American Government" MPSA 2016, APSA 2016, SPSA 2017.
- "The Other Side of Urban Reform: Insurgents & Issues under City STV, 1930-61" MPSA 2016.
- "Ends Against the Middle: Revisiting the Repeal of PR in Cincinnati" POLMETH 2015 (poster), APSA 2015 (poster), SPSA 2016.

- "Party Splits & The Choice of Proportional Representation: Evidence from American Cities" SPSA 2014, MPSA 2015 (poster), APSA 2015.
- "The Coalition Politics of Ranked-choice Voting at Mid-century" APSA 2015 short course on "Ranked Choice Voting in the USA: Developments and Debates."
- "Ethnic Appeals & the Personal Vote" SPSA 2013.

# Long-form articles for non-academic audiences

- Santucci, Jack. 2010. "What is the Future for Democracy Promotion?" Democracy & Society 7 (1): 5-7. https://bit.ly/3qx28iZ.
- Santucci, Jack and Magnus Öhman. 2009. "Practical Solutions for the Disclosure of Campaign & Political Party Finance." In *Political Finance Regulation: The Global Experience*, edited by Magnus Öhman & Hani Zainulbhai, 25-42. Washington, DC: IFES. http://bit.ly/2BGj55M.
- Santucci, Jack. 2006. "The Missing Half: Ensuring Fair Representation in Post-merger Essex, Vermont." National Civic Review 95 (3): 42-50. https://doi.org/10.1002/ncr.148.

# Short-form articles for non-academic audiences

- Kosar, Kevin R. and Jack Santucci. 2021. "What is the one-vote system? A Q&A with Jack Santucci." *American Enterprise Institute*, October 25. https://bit.ly/ 31unG96.
- Santucci, Jack. 2021. "There's a better way to run city elections and it's native to Philadelphia." The Philadelphia Inquirer, October 6. https://bit.ly/3wo8XrD.
- Cormack, Lindsey and Jack Santucci. 2021. "New Yorkers used ranked-choice voting last month. Did it eliminate spoilers, as promised?" The Monkey Cage/Washington Post, July 27. https://wapo.st/2UNUiYG.
- Santucci, Jack. 2021. "Ranked choice voting in New York City will not upset the two-party system, but it is raising questions about political parties." LSE's American Politics & Policy, July 22. https://bit.ly/3hVGK5W.
- Santucci, Jack. 2021. "The Fight Over Ranked-Choice Voting in New York City." *3streams*, June 18. https://bit.ly/3whmp01.
- Santucci, Jack. 2021. "Nonpartisan elections don't reduce polarization." *3streams*, February 11. https://bit.ly/3bHnrtg.
- Santucci, Jack. 2020. "Principles of democratic reform on the ballot in 2020." *3streams*, November 3. https://bit.ly/3CN4KAn.

- Santucci, Jack. 2020. "There are (at least) two 'lefts' and two 'rights."' *3streams*, August 20. https://bit.ly/3mIaaXx.
- Santucci, Jack and Benjamin Reilly. 2020. "Utah's new kind of ranked-choice voting could hurt political minorities and sometimes even the majority." LSE's American Politics & Policy, January 23. http://bit.ly/3713tAR.
- Santucci, Jack. 2019. "Ranked-choice voting and the future of small-d democracy in New York." New York Daily News, November 14. https://bit.ly/2XJ3BGj.
- Santucci, Jack. 2019. "Factional voting in local elections: The case of Cambridge, MA." Urban Affairs Forum, February 7. https://bit.ly/2SDISU5.
- Santucci, Jack. 2018. "Why adopting proportional voting may bring back the big-tent political party." LSE's American Politics & Policy, November 5. http://bit.ly/2F7KEav.
- Santucci, Jack. 2018. "Maine's election shows that ranked-choice voting is hot right now. But we have been here before." LSE's American Politics & Policy, June 15. http://bit.ly/2lbEsBp.
- Santucci, Jack and Larry Diamond. 2018. "How ranked-choice voting could empower independents and make American elections more inclusive." *Scholars Strategy Network*, February 9. http://bit.ly/2F1rC21.
- Santucci, Jack. 2017. "Competent Poll Workers Bolstered Voters' Confidence in 2016." Democracy Fund, November 1. http://bit.ly/2GQIvN7.
- Santucci, Jack. 2017. "Maine's citizens passed 'ranked-choice voting.' Why did Republicans shoot it down?" The Monkey Cage/Washington Post, May 31. http: //wapo.st/2BcksrJ.
- Santucci, Jack. 2016. "Past experience shows that proportional representation is possible in the US, but there are tradeoffs." LSE's American Politics & Policy, December 20. http://bit.ly/2hzDaBE.
- Santucci, Jack. 2016. "Will ranked-choice voting succeed in Maine? That depends on the Democrats." The Monkey Cage/Washington Post, October 13. http://wapo.st/ 2ejA3vG.
- Santucci, Jack. 2012. «Le scrutin proportionnel aux États-Unis est-il envisageable?» Blogue génératrice/Radio-Canada, May 17. http://bit.ly/2EkNd7v.
- Richie, Rob and Jack Santucci. 2008. "How D.C. votes." The Washington Times, November 10. https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2008/nov/10/how-dc-votes/.
- Santucci, Jack. 2006. "New districts in harmony with one person, one vote." The Amarillo Globe-News, July 9. https://bit.ly/3wbhVrF.

# Invited talks

- "More Parties or No Parties: The Politics of Electoral Reform in America." Inequality and Policy Research Center, Claremont Graduate University, February 16, 2022.
- "Proportional Representation in America?" Rules of the Game (podcast of Stephan Kyburz), December 6, 2021. https://bit.ly/3Hs6XTH.
- Interview series on 'voting methods.' Oregon League of Women Voters, October 16, 2021.
- "Block-preferential and 'Final Five' Voting." Ranked Choice Voting for Colorado, August 19 and 26, 2021.
- "Getting Rid of the Parties vs. Having More Parties." Independent Pennsylvanians, June 13, 2021. https://bit.ly/37APV5R.
- "Is Ranked Choice Voting Good for DC?" District of Columbia Democratic Party, January 7, 2021.
- "Breaking Polarization: The Promise and Perils of Election Reform" (with Lee Drutman), Drexel University Libraries, October 27, 2020. https://www.youtube.com/ watch?v=KE17S0U69uc.
- "Long-term Issues with Voting Rights in the United States." University of Miami (POL 401, Prof. Joe Uscinski), October 12, 2020.
- "Communicating Research to the Public." MPSA Annual Meeting, April 2020.
- "Can America Become a Multiparty System?" Science of Politics (with Lee Drutman, hosted by Matt Grossman), January 29, 2020. https://www.niskanencenter.org/can-america-become-a-multiparty-system/.
- Panel discussion on charter reform. City Club of Portland (OR), July 18, 2019.
- "How to Communicate Research to the Public." MPSA Annual Meeting, April 2019.
- "What History Can Teach Us About the Prospects for Ranked-choice and Proportional Voting." The College of New Jersey, March 8, 2019.
- "Episode 14: Spoiled." Tatter (Podcast of Prof. Michael Sargent, Sociology, Bates College), June 7, 2018. https://tatter.fireside.fm/14.
- "Why Does America Have Only Two Parties?" International Republican Institute, November 3, 2017.
- "History of Ranked-choice Voting in the United States" (webinar). RCV Resource Center, September 8, 2017. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2IjZB7V84kU.
- "Election Assistance in International Development." Colorado College (Prof. Bozena Welborne), October 8, 2010.

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# Volunteering

- Member, Scholars Strategy Network, 2018-present.
- Member, ACE Electoral Knowledge Network, 2011-present.
- Member, Our Shared Republic (working group on electoral reform), 2020-21.
- Member, Academic Working Group, FairVote, 2015-21.
- Precinct Captain, District of Columbia Board of Elections and Ethics, 2010–14.

# Non-academic work experience

- Research Fellow, Democracy Fund, 2017–18. Analyze survey data for Elections Team.
- Research Associate, International Foundation for Electoral Systems, 2008-10. Redesign and manage https://electionguide.org, support Political Finance team.
- Graduate Intern, Campaign Finance Institute, Summer 2008. Compile disclosure data, proofread book chapters.
- Program Associate, FairVote, 2005-7. Create and manage blog, support Program for Representative Government (proportional representation).
- District Office Intern, U.S. Representative James H. Maloney, Summer 1999. Answer phone, staff front desk, fulfill constituent requests for information.

# Academic references

### Teaching

i

- Dr. Richardson Dilworth, Professor of Political Science, Drexel University, rd43@drexel.edu.
- Dr. David A. Jones, Professor of Political Science and Washington Semester Program Director, James Madison University, jones3da@jmu.edu.

# Research

- Dr. Joshua J. Dyck, Professor of Political Science, University of Massachusetts, Lowell, Joshua\_Dyck@uml.edu.
- Dr. Daniel J. Hopkins, Professor of Political Science, University of Pennsylvania, danhop@sas.upenn.edu.
- Dr. Jack H. Nagel, Professor Emeritus of Political Science, University of Pennsylvania, nageljh@sas.upenn.edu.

- Dr. Hans C. Noel, Associate Professor of Government, Georgetown University, hans.noel@georgetown.edu.
- Dr. Jamil S. Scott, Assistant Professor of Government, Georgetown University, jamil.scott@georgetown.edu.
- Dr. Matthew S. Shugart, Distinguished Professor Emeritus of Political Science, University of California, Davis, msshugart@ucdavis.edu.

# Schedule 18

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					United States Congressional	
1826	George Holcombe	U.S. House, (Al-Large)	Republican, Jacksonian Democrat	Won	Elections, 1788-1997 (Print)	87
					United States Congressional	
1856	Isaiah D. Clawson	U.S. House, 1st District	Republican, American	Won	Elections, 1788-1997 (Print)	176
1050		11.C. Marian Band District	Constant American		United States Congressional	170
1855	George R. Robbins	U.S. House, 2nd District	Republican, American	Won	Elections, 1788-1997 (Print)	176
1866	Jamas Bishop	U.S. House, 3rd District	Republican, American	Lost	United States Congressional Elections, 1788-1997 (Print)	177
10.00	Danies Dianop	D.O. HOUSE, SIG DISINGL				
						VIII (election returns in
						appendix at
						end of
1877	Davis	Essex County, Assembly, 6th District	Republican, "Wkn"	Lost	Manual of the Legislature 1878	manual)
			•		1	XIV (election
					i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i	returns in
						appendix at
				144		and of the
1877	Burronghs	Mercer County, Assembly, 1st District	Republican, Temperance	Won	Manual of the Legislature 1878	(manual)
						XIV (election
						ni amuten
						appendix at and of the
1877	Noble	Mercer County, Assembly, 2nd District	Republican, Prohibilion	Lost	Manual of the Legislature 1878	manual}
	Rudolphus Bingham	Governor	"Tax", Prohibition	Lost	Manual of the Legislature 1879	178
	<u></u>				United States Congressionat	
1878	Heze kiah B, Smith	U.S. House, 2nd District	Democrat, Greenback	Won	Elections, 1788-1997 (Print)	245
1878	Rider	Camden County, Assembly, 3rd District	Democrat, Greenback	Lost	Manual of the Legislature 1879	150
					some election returns - The Morning	
					Post (Cemden, NJ) Wednesday.	1
1878	Charles S. Ridgway	Camden County, Senate	Democrat, Greenback	Unclear	November 6, 1878	<u> </u>
					Fort is "Demo-Greenback" candidate"	4
1070	John H. Fort	Camden County, Assembly, 1st District	Democrat, Greenback	Lost	- The Morning Post (Camden, NJ) Wednesday, October 30, 1878	
10/0		Canalen County, Assembly, 1st District		COSI	- <u>'</u>	
					some election returns - The Morning Post (Camden, NJ) Wednesday,	
1878	Charles C. Grosscup	U.S. House	j Democrat, Greenback	Lost	November 6, 1878	ļ
			isomooral, arbonbaan		some election returns - The Morning	1
Ì					Post (Camden, NJ) Wednesday,	
1878	N. Stratton	U.S. House	Democrat, "S"	Lost	November 6, 1878	
					some election returns - The Marning	
					Post (Camden, NJ) Wednesday,	
1878	E.H. Huston	Campen County, Sheriff	Democrat, Greenback	Unclear	November 6, 1878	
					some election returns - The Morning	ł
i					Post (Camden, NJ) Wednesday,	1
	Ireton		Democrat, Greenback	Lost	November 6, 1878	
<u> </u>	Feich	Essex County, Assembly, 7th District	Democrat, Greenback	Won	Manual of the Legislature 1879	155
	Cramer Comstock	Warren County, Senate, 1st District	Republican, Temperance	Won	Manual of the Legislature 1879 Manual of the Legislature 1879	174
	Cook	Warren County, Assembly, 1st District Warren County, Assembly, 2nd District	Republican, Temperance Republican, Temperance	Lost	Manual of the Legislature 1879	174
- 10/10		Hunterdon County, Assembly, 2nd			Instituation the Degislature 1975	-{····
1879	Philhower	District	Republican, Temperance	Lost	Manual of the Legislature 1880	146
		Cumberland County, Assembly, 2nd		1		
1880	) Weodruff	District	Democrat, Greenback	Lost	Manual of the Legislature 1881	185
					United States Congressional	
1882	Henry S. Harris	U.S House, 4th District	Democrat, Prohibilion	Lost	Elections, 1788-1997 (Print)	260
1882	2 Bart Bonsail	Camden County, Assembly, 1st District	Independent Republican, Prohibition	Losi	Manual of the Legislature 1883	202
		Cumberland County, Assembly, 1st	1			
1882	2 Glaspy	District	Greenback, Prohibition	Lost	Manual of the Legislature 1883	205
		Cumbedand County, Assembly, 2nd				
1882	2 Saitor	District	Greenback, Prohibition	Lost	Manual of the Legislature 1883	205
1		Monmouth County, Assembly, 2nd				
	2 Dr. T. G. Chattle	District	Independent Democrat, Prohibition	Won	Manual of the Legislature 1883	222
	8 William H, Morrow	Warren County, Assembly, 2nd District	Republican, Prohibition	Lost	Manual of the Legislature 1889	314
	8 Stuhr	Hudson County, Senate	Republican, Independent Democrat	Lost	Manual of the Legislature 1890	304
1881	9 D.M. Kane	Middlesex County, Assembly, 3rd District		Lost	Manual of the Legislature 1890	
100	3 Jacob C. Lippincott	Camden County, Assembly, 3rd District	Republican, Citizen League, and Independent Democrat	Lost	Manual of the Legislature 1894	310
	3 Christia	Hudson County, Assembly, 11th District	Republican, "C.R.A."	Lost	Manual of the Legislature 1894	33
	3 Cronk	Middlesex County, Assembly, 11th District	Republican, Independent Democrat	Lost	Manual of the Legislature 1894	33
	3 Garrison	Middlesex County, Assembly, 2nd District Middlesex County, Assembly, 3rd District	"P", Independent Democrat	Lost	Manual of the Legislature 1894	33
	3 Henry S. Terhune	Monmouth County, Senale	Democrat, "J.D."	Lost	Manual of the Legislature 1894	33
	3 James A. Bradley	Monmouth County, Sanate	Prohibition, Republican, Cilizen League	Won	Manual of the Legislature 1894	33
		, contraction of the second se			election returns - Monmouth_	<u>`</u>
	1		1	1	STRATED TRADE TO A STRATED DATE	1
					Democrat (Freehold, NJ) Thursday.	

	election returns - Monmouth					
	Democral (Freehold, NJ) Thursday,					
	November 16, 1893	Won	Prohibition, Republican, Cilizen League	Monmouth County, Sheriff	Matthias Woolley	1893
;	Manual of the Legislature 1894			Monmouth County, Assembly, 1st District	Thomas V. Arrowsmith	
	Manual of the Legislature 1894	Won	Prohibition, Republican, Citizen League	Monmouth County, Assembly, 1st District	D. D. Denise	1893
				Monmouth County, Assembly, 2nd		
;	Manual of the Legislature 1894	Lost	Democrat, "J.D."	District	Thomas P. Fay	1893
				Monmouth County, Assembly, 2nd		4050
	Manual of the Legislature 1894 Manual of the Legislature 1894		Republican, Citizen League	District	Charles L. Walters	_
	Manual of the Legislature 1894			Monmouth County, Assembly, 3rd District Monmouth County, Assembly, 3rd District	<u>Richard Borden</u> William J. Leonard	
	Manual of the Legislature 1894		Republican, Cilizen League	Warren County, Senate	George Lommasson	
	Manual of the Legislature 1894		Republican, Cilizen League	Warren County, Assembly, 2nd District	Davis	
	Manual of the Legislature 1895			Hudson County, U.S. House, 7th District	Herschaft	
	United States Congressional					
:	Elections, 1788-1997 (Print)	1 1	Democrat, National Silver	U.S. House, 1st District	John T, Wright	1896
	United States Congressional			1	·····	
	Elections, 1788-1997 (Print)	Won	Republican, National Democrat	U.S. House, 4th District	Mahlon Pitney	1696
	Manua) of the Legislature 1898	Lost	Democrat, National Silver	U.S. House, 2nd District	Abraham E. Conrow	1896
	Manual of the Legislature 1897	Lost	Democrat, National Silver	Cumberland County, Assembly	liebeil leumac	1896
	Manual of the Legislature 1897	Lost	Democrat, National Silver	Cumberland County, Assembly	L.F. Fuller	1896
	Manual of the Legislature 1897	Lost	Democrat, National Silver	Marcar County, Assembly	Richard D. Norton	1896
	Manual of the Legislature 1897	Lost	Democrat, National Silver	Mercer County, Assembly	John P. Gill	
	Manual of the Legislature 1897	Lost	Democrat, National Silver	Mercer County, Assembly	Edward F. Dignan	
	Manual of the Legislature 1897	Lost	Democrat, National Democrat	Middlesex County, Assembly	Adam Eckert	
	Manual of the Legislature 1897	Lost	Democrat, National Democrat	Middlesex County, Assembly	Jame's Hughes	
	Manual of the Legislature 1897	Lost	Democrat, National Democrat	Middlesex County, Assembly	John H. Greene	
	Manual of the Legislature 1897	Lost	Democrat, National Democrat	Monmouth County, Assembly	Henry P. Imlay	
	Manual of the Legislature 1897	Lost	Democrat, National Democrat	Monmouth County, Assembly	Albert S. Cnaig	
	Manual of the Legislature 1897	Lost	Democrat, National Democrat	Monmouth County, Assembly	Joseph C. Hayar	
<u> </u>	Manual of the Leoislature 1898	Won	Democrat, People's Party	Burlington County, State Senate	Howard E. Packer	1897
1	United States Gubernatorial Election,					
	1861-1911 (Print)	Lost	Democrat, County Democrat	Governor	Elvin W. Crane	1898
	United States Congressional					İ
	Elections, 1788-1997 (Print)	Lost	Democrat, Independent Democrat	U.S. House, 5th District	James E. Martine	
	Manual of the the Legislature 1908	Lost	Labor, Lincoln	U.S. House, 2nd District	William Riddle	1906
1			Democrat, Prohibilion, Roosevelt			
·	Manual of the the Legislature 1907	Lost	Republicans	Cape May County, State Senate	Samuel E. Ewing	
	Manual of the Leoistature 1907	Lost	"Democrat, Prohibition, etc."	Cape May County, Assembly	William Lake	
	Manual of the Legislature 1907	Lost	Democrat, Independent	Moms County, Assembly	Augustus H. Bartley	
	Manual of the Legislature 1907	Lost	Democral, independent	Morris County, Assembly	Samuel Brant	1906
	United States Congressional		Construction Descention	LL C. Linux, DD. District		1040
	Elections, 1788-1997 (Print)	Losi	Republican, Progressive	U.S. House, 8th District	Harold Bouton	1912
i	United States Congressional	1	Bassibling Bassission	N.S. Marras, 19th Ginateint	Canada ( Basad	
· · · —	Elections, 1788-1997 (Print)	Lost	Republican, Progressive	U.S. House, 12th Dischict	George L. Record Charles A. Mohn	
i	Manual of the Legislature 1915 Manual of the Legislature 1915	Lost	"Republican Fusion"	Hudson County, Sheriff Hudson County, County Clerk	Decker	
	Manual of the Legislature 1915	í	"Republican Fusion"	Thudson County, County Clerk	Decker	1914
1		(Unclear how				ł
	Manual of the Legislature 1915	many seats open)	"Republican Fusion"	Hudson County, Assembly	Bauriedl	1014
l		1		Hibbabi Gounty, Assenioly	Dadrieu	- 13 ! 7
ŧ.	1	(Unclear how				
i	Manual of the Legislature 1915	many seats open)	"Republican Fusion"	Hudson County, Assembly	E.C. Brennan	1914
<u> </u>		(Unclear how				
1		(Unclear now many seats	1	1		Ì
1	Manual of the Legislalure 1915	open)	"Republican Fusion"	Hudson County, Assembly	George J. Ewald	1914
[		(Unclear how				
1	4	many seats				1
	Manual of the Legislature 1915	open)	"Republican Fusion"	Hudson County, Assembly	John Foulkes Jr.	1914
		{Unclear how				
		many seals		1		ł
	have a second second second	open)	"Republican Fusion"	Hudson County, Assembly	J. Albert Hinners	1914
<u>ا</u>	Manual of the Legislature 1915				1	
<u> </u>	Manhal ol We redisialnie 1915	(Unclear how				
 	(Manual of the Legislature 1915	(Unclear how many seats				
	Manual of the Legislature 1915	(Unclear how many seats open)	"Republican Fusion"	Hudson County, Assembly	Jacob Hollender	1914
		many seats open)	"Republican Fusion"	Hudson County, Assembly	Jacob Hollender	1914
 		many seats open) (Unclear how	"Republican Fusion"	Hudson County, Assembly	Jacob Hollender	1914
		many seats open)	"Republican Fusion"	Hudson County, Assembly Hudson County, Assembly	Jacob Hollender	
	Manual of the Legislature 1915	many seats open) (Unclear how many seats open)				
	Manual of the Legislature 1915	many seats open) (Unclear how many seats				
	Manual of the Legislature 1915	many seats open) (Unclear how many seats open) (Unclear how				1914
	Manual of the Legislature 1915 Manual of the Legislature 1915	many seats open) (Unclear how many seats open) (Unclear how many seats	"Republican Fusion"	Hudson County, Assembly	Lewis Kennedy	1914
	Manual of the Legislature 1915 Manual of the Legislature 1915	many seats open) (Unclear how many seats open) (Unclear how many seats open)	"Republican Fusion"	Hudson County, Assembly	Lewis Kennedy	1914

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			a na mana manangkan kanangkan kanangkan kanangkan kanangkan kanangkan kanangkan kanangkan kanangkan kanangkan k	(Unclear how		
				many seats		
1914	Philip Melcher	Hudson County, Assembly	"Republican Fusion"	open)	Manual of the Legislature 1915	568
		indebon dounty, nadembil	Reposition Pealon		Manufaction fills Logisphone 1/9/10	
			"Desublines Deservable Reservable	(Unclear how		
1014	R. George Smith Jr.	  Hudson County, Assembly	"Republican, Progressive-Roosevelt Fusion"	many seats	Manual of the Logislature 1016	568
1914	K. George Smith Jr.	Hudson County, Assembly	Fusion	open)	Manual of the Legislature 1915	
				(Unclear how		
1014	Edward J. Teeling	Hudson Coucht, Assembly	(Deputyling Funish)	many seats		500
	···	Hudson County, Assembly	"Republican Fusion"	open)	Manual of the Legislature 1915	568
	Clarence M. Haight Peter F. Dodd	Middlesex County, Assembly	"Republican, Progressive-Roosevelt"	Unclear	Manual of the Legislature 1915	585
	James F. Conly	Monmouth County, Assembly	"Republican, Progressive-Roosevelt"	Unclear	Manual of the Legislature 1915	588
		Ocean County, Assembly	"Progressive Roosevelt, Democrat"	Lost	Manual of the Legislature 1915	594
1914	Frank Elis	Ocean County, Sheriff	"Progressive Roosevell, Democral"	Lost	Manual of the Legislature 1915	594
4041		Passaic County, 7th Congressional				
1914	Walter C. Cabell	District	"Democrat, Progressive-Roosevelt"	Lost	Manual of the Legislature 1915	595
1				(Unclear how		
				many seats		ļ
1914	John H. Adamson	Passaic County, Assembly	"Democrat, Progressive-Roosevelt"	open)	Manual of the Legislature 1915	595
				(Unclear how		
				many seats		
1914	Louis Boselli	Passaic County, Assembly	"Democrat, Progressive-Roosevell"	open)	Manual of the Legislature 1915	595
				(Unclear how		
			1	many seats		i
<u>191</u> 4	Jamas J. Cullington	Passaic County, Assembly	"Democrat, Progressive-Roosevell"	open)	Manual of the Legislature 1915	595
		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		(Unclear how		
				many seats		1
1914	Louis V. Hinchcliffe	Passaic County, Assembly	"Democrat, Progressive-Roosevelt"	open)	Manual of the Legislature 1915	695
				(Unclear how		
				many seats	ļ	
1914	Dr. Gilbert Van Vranken	Passaic County, Assembly	"Democrat, Progressive-Rooseveit"	open)	Manual of the Legislature 1915	595
	Wilfred B. Wolcott	Camden County, State Senate	Democrat, Fusion-Independent	Lost	Manual of the Legislature 1918	496
	Nelson W. Cox	Camden County, Assembly	Democrat, Fusion-Independent	Unclear	Manual of the Legislature 1918	496
	Louis B. Le Duc	Carden County, Assembly	Democrat, Fusion-Independent	Unclear	Manual of the Legislature 1918	496
	David R, Lee	Canden County, Assembly	Democrat, Fusion-Independent	Unclear	Manual of the Legislature 1918	496
1311	DAVID N. 200	Campen County, Assembly	Deniocial, Posion-Independent	Unciear		490
					Dem and Eusion-Independent" -	
4047					Couner Post (Camden, NJ) Monday,	
1917	Duncan W. Blake Jr.	Camden County, Sheriff	Democrat, Fusion-Independent	Lost	November 5, 1917	
					"Dem and Fusion-Independent" -	
					Courier Post (Camden, NJ) Monday,	
1917	Joseph E. Nowrey	Camden County, Surrogate	Democrat, Fusion-Independent	Lost	November 5, 1917	
			Republican, Democrat "A Republican			
	Elias Bertram Mott	Morris County, County Clerk	whom the Democrats also nominated"	Uncontested	Manual of the Legislature 1919	494
1919	Сое	Camden County, Assembly	Democrat, Non-Partisan League	Lost	Manual of the Legislature 1920	487
1920	Victor King	Camden County, Sheriff	Democral, Non-Parlisan League	Lost	Manual of the Legislature 1921	468
					list of candidates - Courier Post	
					(Camden, NJ) Monday, November 1,	
<u>192</u> 0	John Winton	Camden, Council, 1st Ward	Democrat, Non-Partisan League	Lost	1920	
				1	list of candidates - Courier Post	
					(Camden, NJ) Monday, November 1.	
1920	John T. Linsner Jr.	Camden, Council, 7th Ward	Damocrat, Non-Partisan League	Lost	1920	
				1		
					list of candidates - Courier Post	
1020	Fred W. Schorpp	Camden, Council, 8th Ward	Domearst Non Bartings Learns	Won	(Camden, NJ) Monday, November 1. 1920	
1920			Democrat, Non-Partisan League	Won		
				Į	list of candidates - Courier Post	
			Democrat, Non-Partisan League,		(Camden, NJ) Monday, November 1.	
1920	J. Blair Cuthbert	Camden, Council, 10th Ward	Independent Improvement Party	Won	<u>1920</u>	

Certification of Ashley Dittus, dated June 6, 2022

# Schedule 19

	;	BEFORE THE NEW JERSEY
In re: Nominating Petition of Hon. Tom	:	SECRETARY OF STATE,
Malinowski for Congressional District 7	:	DIVISION OF ELECTIONS
	:	

ASHLEY DITTUS, of full age, certifies as follows:

- I am a Commissioner of Elections for Ulster County, New York. All facts set forth in this Certification have been collected by me or under my supervision.
- I have served in this role since 2017. I joined the staff of the Ulster County Board of Elections (the "Board") in 2010, in an entry-level role as a Registrar Clerk. I became an Administrative Assistant in 2014 and became a Deputy Commissioner in 2016.
- 3. The Board is a body within the Ulster County government that administers all federal, state, and local elections in Ulster County and maintains the roll of over 132,000 Ulster County voters, all pursuant to New York and federal law.
- 4. The Board administers partisan county-wide general elections every year. Federal and state elections are held in even years; county and local elections are generally held in odd years. The Board has also administered six partisan state, county or municipal special elections since 2012.
- 5. In administering each general election, I and my fellow Commissioner:

- a. Oversee the Board's voter registration functions and its maintenance of the registration and party enrollment lists;
- b. Establish polling places;
- c. Certify ballots;
- d. Oversee the design and printing of paper ballots;
- e. Coordinate the testing and calibration of voting machines;
- f. Train election inspectors;
- g. Oversee the setup and administration of poll sites, and the deployment of inspectors and technicians to poll sites when the need arises;
- h. Open and canvass all provisional, affidavit, and absentee ballots;
- Oversee the initial and final canvas of all ballots cast by the voters of Ulster County;
- j. Issue rulings on the validity of individual ballots; and
- Respond to inquiries by members of the public, candidates for office and their representatives, political party officials, and the press about the Board's policies and procedures.
- 6. The Board itself is made up of two Commissioners, who are appointed by the Ulster County Legislature with the recommendation of the Democratic or Republican parties' county committees. The Commissioners are year-round, full-time employees of the Board. The Board also maintains a year-round staff of four Registrar Clerks, two Administrative Assistants, two Voting System Technicians, two utility clerks, and two Deputy Commissioners.

- 7. For each general election, our staff expands to include 600-700 part time Election Inspectors (the general title that encompasses all temporary election staff including but not limited to poll site workers, supervisors and coordinators) to run six early voting sites and 83 Election Day polling places, and to report election-day results. I estimate that that each temporary election day staffer works approximately 16 to 18 hours in the course of fulfilling their role; early voting staff may work an additional eight to 72 hours.
- 8. New York's Election Law provides for each political party to have its own line or column on the general election ballot, and further allows candidates to be nominated by multiple parties, appearing separately on each such party's ballot line. Under this "fusion voting" system, the Board records and reports the number of votes cast for any given candidate on each of the party lines on which the candidate appears, and ultimately tallies those votes together to determine the total number of votes cast for that candidate. This system allows voters to declare not only their preferred candidate, but also their choice among the parties that have nominated that candidate. As a result, it is very common in New York elections, including elections in Ulster County, for multiple political parties to nominate the same candidates, and for those candidates to appear on multiple party lines.
- 9. Ulster County, like all counties in New York, uses electronic voting machines to read handmarked paper ballots. If a voter votes on multiple party lines for the same candidate, the machine is programmed to beep and display a message notifying the voter of the issue. The machine gives the voter a choice between casting the ballot or filling out a new one. If the voter chooses to cast the ballot, their vote will be recorded on the first party line they marked. If the voter chooses to fill out a new ballot, the machine will eject the original, so that the voter can return it to an election inspector in exchange for a new blank. The election

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inspector must mark the original ballot as spoiled and preserve it in a separate bag. In any given election, only a handful of ballots are spoiled, with the vast majority of poll sites returning no spoiled ballots. For absentee and affidavit ballots, which are not counted by machine at the time the voter casts them, there is no opportunity for a voter to fill out a new ballot. All such ballots are machine-tabulated and their votes are recorded on the first party line that the voter marked. I worked for the Board when this system was instituted, and it is my understanding that it was not difficult to program.

- 10. Before every election, the Board tests every machine for various potential issues and errors. We run ten test ballots through each of the County's 163 voting machines, with three ballots specifically testing the machine's response to multiple votes cast for the same candidate. A test ballot costs \$.45, so the Board's overall materials cost to test a machine's response to multiple votes for the same candidate is \$220.05. The Board's annual budget is between \$2 million and \$2.5 million per year, meaning that the purchase of test ballots for fusion-related quality control represents no more than 0.01% of the Board's total budget.
- 11. I and my fellow Commissioner personally conduct group trainings for all Election Inspectors on their specific roles. Depending on the inspector's assignment, training takes between two and three and a half hours. It is my experience that Election Inspectors almost never, if ever, receive questions about fusion voting, nor do Election Inspectors require any general or background information about fusion voting. Therefore, the only topic related to fusion voting in the Election Inspector training is a description of the process triggered when a voter enters a ballot with multiple votes for the same candidate into a voting machine. I estimate that this part of the training takes roughly five minutes, with the possibility of questions that may last another few minutes.

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- 12. The Board and our staff spend approximately one third of our time responding to inquiries from the public, the press, political parties, and candidates and their representatives about the Board's policies and procedures. We most often receive these inquiries via telephone, email, and via a contact form on our website. I myself cannot recall ever having received an inquiry from a voter confused about fusion voting. The protocol for my staff is to refer questions about the election law to me or to my Deputy Commissioner, and I cannot recall my staff has ever referring an inquiry about fusion voting to me.
- 13. I cannot identify any further Board time or resources attributable to fusion voting or any candidate's appearance on multiple party lines on the general election ballot.

I certify that the foregoing statements made by me are true. I am aware that if any of the foregoing statements made by me are willfully false, that I am subject to punishment.

Ispley Sittus

Ashley Dittes

Dated: June 2022
Certification of Brad Lander, dated June 6, 2022

# Schedule 20

In re: Nominating Petition of Hon. Tom Malinowski for Congressional District 7 BEFORE THE NEW JERSEY SECRETARY OF STATE, DIVISION OF ELECTIONS

BRAD LANDER, of full age, certifies as follows:

1. I have served as the New York City Comptroller since January 1, 2022. As New York City's budget watchdog and chief accountability officer, every day is another opportunity to make government work better for all New Yorkers. Prior to this role, I served three terms on the New York City Council, representing the 39th District. In that role, I led efforts to protect workers and build a more equitable economy, protect and support our students in public schools, expand affordable housing, combat discriminatory stop-and-frisk policing, and expand participatory budgeting. Prior to holding public office, I spent over a decade in the non-profit sector working to expand affordable and sustainable housing throughout New York City. I submit this certification in my personal capacity.

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2. I've been a New Yorker since the early 1990s, so I am no stranger to fusion balloting. I remember the Liberal Party's cross-endorsement votes carrying Giuliani into City Hall in 1993, and the Conservative Party's support putting Pataki into the governor's mansion a year later. While neither may have been my preferred candidate, I welcomed the promise and potential of

the fusion system (a system, regrettably, that party bosses in my home state of Missouri succeeded in quashing a long time ago). Fusion can break down the unnecessary and artificial premise that the only way to support a candidate with a plausible chance of winning is to vote for the Democratic Party or Republican Party. Instead, fusion invites us to vote for a candidate who can win *and* a party that inspires us and best reflects our preferences, values, and ideals.

3. When I decided to first run for City Council in 2009, I set out to earn both the Democratic Party and Working Families Party nominations. Then, as now, I identified as a Working Families-Democrat. Neither label alone captures my philosophy, and I thought it was critically important that voters get a clear picture of who I was and what I stood for. I was particularly interested in showing the voters, labor unions, grassroots organizations, and other citizen groups that comprise the Working Families Party coalition that I understood, cared about, and would push hard for the issues that convinced them to form and develop their own party in the first place. I was (and still am) inspired by the countless hours these folks put into the unglamorous work of local politics, fighting to give everyone in our city a fair deal. Acting alone, their noble intentions were unlikely to amount to much. But acting as one, standing astride the WFP ballot line every fall, they are moving mountains.

4. Each election then presented an opportunity for me—and my colleagues on City Council—to know whether and to what extent the voters agreed with the goals and priorities championed by fusing minor parties. When there isn't a ballot line that allows every single voter to speak directly to us, their elected leaders, it can be hard to tell the difference between phantom public outcry manufactured by admen and consultants, and sincere, widespread concern about the direction of our city. For me, the message I got from voters in 39th District was loud and clear. In that first campaign for City Council, nearly 17% of the votes I received came on the

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WFP line. When I sought re-election in 2013, that number rose to 19%. And by my second reelection campaign in 2017, it was more than 21%. These figures are taken from public records prepared by public officials or from otherwise reliable sources, specifically, the New York City Board of Elections Election Results Archive, which can be accessed at

https://vote.nyc/page/election-results-summary.

5. When I ran for Comptroller in 2021, I again sought out and obtained the Working Families Party cross-endorsement. With signature-gathering rules in flux because of the COVID-19 pandemic, an unexpected issue meant, regrettably, that I didn't have a Working Families Party line on the ballot in November 2021. I can't prove the negative, but I am quite confident that fewer voters pulled a lever in the Comptroller race because there wasn't a way to support me without directly associating with the Democratic Party. Just as I am confident that if voters in the 39th District had lacked the opportunity to vote for candidates (such as myself) on a crossendorsed minor party's line and were instead compelled to vote either Democratic or Republican, fewer of them would have cast a ballot. In any future election, I look forward to again earning the support of the WFP and having their crucial line on the ballot bearing my name.

6. While fusion is an important and useful tool in any election, it would seem to have particular value in "swing" elections, where a minor party cross-endorsement could make all the difference in determining which major party candidate prevails. Again, Giuliani and Pataki are obvious examples. Minor fusion parties routinely play this role in local and state legislative elections in New York City and upstate. This dynamic could be particularly pronounced with a prominent and committedly "centrist" minor fusion party that sought to incentivize candidates from both sides to come to the political center—or at least embrace issues that shouldn't be subject to partisan dispute, like free and fair elections, the rule of law, etc.

7. Every time I have run for public office, I have been endorsed by grassroots movements, interest groups, labor unions, civic organizations, and others. While each of these were helpful in conveying something about my views and priorities to a segment of my electorate, their potential impact was dwarfed by the formal nomination of a political party on the ballot itself. No other form of organizational support at the same time highlights the sort of candidate and person that I am, while also inviting voters to formally direct me to further prioritize a clearly articulated set of values and priorities.

8. Indeed, my cross-endorsement by the Working Families Party was an invaluable bridge to connecting with voters disillusioned by the two-party system generally, many of whom were left-of-center but felt that the Democratic Party has failed to prioritize the needs of working-class and poor families. Despite the hawing by some of my Democratic colleagues who want to get rid of fusion in New York, in this way fusion actually can strengthen the major parties and prevent fragmentation. Fusion can serve as a pressure valve, allowing for a constructive and collaborative re-direction of discontented energy at the edges of a major party. The stakes of major party control are substantially lessened when there is an alternative, viable path to political power. While individual egos can (and certainly have) muddy the waters, a working, though competitive and at times adversarial, relationship is possible between a major party and minor party that are ideologically related, but distinct. Without fusion, this insurgent energy is either directed into movement for a spoiler third party or existential in-fighting over the heart and soul (and purse strings) of the major party. Not only can that process itself tear a party apart, but it can create an opening for an extremist faction to swallow whole one of the two major parties. Sadly, that's the story of today's Republican Party at the national level, and in many states too.

9. I am a registered member of the Democratic Party. And I likely will be for a very long time. But it's crystal clear to me that a *rigid* two-party system—even one where Democrats win more than they lose—is not good for our democracy. Two, and only two, options might be fine in certain contexts. But in politics, it's never that simple. We all hold our own unique set of views and perspectives; some are deeply held, others tentative, and plenty are contradictory. Yet, when a state bans fusion, it forces every voter and every candidate who want to play a serious role in our elections into one of two boxes. It confirms the fears of the disillusioned that they do not, in fact, have a voice. It pushes people away from politics, and for those who remain, the usversus-them fight only gets more heated and intense. Fusion doesn't turn the two-party system upside down; it only takes the briefest glimpse at New York or Connecticut to see that the Democratic Party and Republican Party still have their hands on the wheel. But fusion does *just enough* to take the edge off the two-party system, allowing for majority coalition-building, new opportunities for persuasion and participation, and a more flexible politics.

I certify that the foregoing statements made by me are true. I am aware that if any of the foregoing statements made by me are willfully false, that I am subject to punishment.

/s/Brad Lander\_\_\_\_\_

Brad Lander

Dated: June 6, 2022

Certification of Alex Navarro-McKay, dated July 5, 2022

# Schedule 21

In re: Nominating Petition of Hon. Tom Malinowski for Congressional District 7

BEFORE THE NEW JERSEY SECRETARY OF STATE, DIVISION OF ELECTIONS

ALEX NAVARRO-McKAY, of full age, certifies as follows:

1. I am a managing director of BerlinRosen, an advertising, public relations, and marketing firm. Since joining the firm in 2008, I have been a lead consultant for over 100 campaigns, including state, federal, local and ballot initiatives. Before joining BerlinRosen, I worked shaping media and policy strategy for national, state and local campaigns, working closely with unions and grassroots groups.

2. BerlinRosen was engaged by Weissman & Mintz, counsel to certain Appellants in this matter, to create illustrative examples of 2022 New Jersey ballots, to demonstrate the appearance of such ballots (i) under the status quo; and (ii) alternatively, if disaggregated fusion voting were legal in New Jersey, and that Congressman Tom Malinowski were printed on the ballot as the nominee of both the Democratic and Moderate Parties; and (iii) alternatively, hypothesizing a scenario where the Moderate Party nominated a candidate other than Congressman Malinowski. It was decided that we would create a design for the ballots as they would appear to the voters of Flemington Borough, the county seat of Hunterdon County, New Jersey, for the 2022 general election.

3. To perform this project, I requested and received URL links to the county clerk's website showing the design and layout of (i) the 2018 voting machine ballot in Flemington Borough and a (ii) the 2020 paper (i.e., sample, mail-in, or provisional) ballot

288a

in Flemington Borough.<sup>1</sup> I also received a list of all the candidates expected to appear on the 2022 general election ballot for various offices. (It was not possible to list the names of the candidates for board of education, as the petition filing for such deadlines has not yet passed, so we used placeholders for such candidates designated "Candidate A and "Candidate B" representing two potential candidates for such office).

4. Using the design features of the actual 2018 and 2020 ballots as set forth above, and the list of 2022 candidates as set forth above, at my direction and under my supervision, my staff proceeded to create illustrative examples of the 2022 ballots. In doing so, we adhered to the applicable design features such as general layout, colors, fonts, borders, rule lines, instructions, cast-vote button, column headers, row headers, slogans, and all other features that were apparent from the 2018 and 2020 ballots. Using that information, we then recreated illustrative ballots in a form that realistically reflects what voting machine and mail in voters in Flemington Borough would be expected to see in November 2022 under the status quo, a scenario where disaggregated fusion is legal, and a scenario hypothesizing the status quo law, but where the Moderate Party nominated someone other than Congressman Malinowski.

5. **Exhibit A** represents the expected appearance of a full-face voting machine ballot under existing state law (i.e., Moderate Party's nomination of Congressman Malinowski omitted from ballot) and the expected design features for the 2022 general election.

6. **Exhibit B** represents the expected appearance of a full-face voting machine ballot using expected design features but in a scenario situation where disaggregated

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Those 2018 and 2020 ballots may be found in the Certification of Whitney Quesenbery filed separately in support of Congressman Malinowski's nominating petition.

fusion is legal and Congressman Malinowski appears on the ballot as the nominee of the Moderate Party.

7. **Exhibit C** represents the expected appearance of a full-face voting machine using expected design features and applying existing state law, but where "John Doe," not Congressman Malinowski, is the nominee of the Moderate Party for Congress.

8. Exhibits A, B, and C are reduced in size to accommodate the limitations of a standard 8.5" x 11" paper size for submission to the Secretary of State. In reality, the paper, sample ballot that voters receive in the mail and the actual voting machine screen that would display this ballot would be substantially larger, as would all design features and text.

9. **Exhibit D** represents the expected appearance of a mail-in or provisional ballot under existing state law (i.e., Moderate Party's nomination of Congressman Malinowski omitted from ballot) and the expected design features for the 2022 general election.

10. **Exhibit E** represents the expected appearance of a mail-in or provisional ballot using expected design features but in a scenario where disaggregated fusion is legal and Congressman Malinowski appears on the ballot as the nominee of the Moderate Party.

11. **Exhibit F** represents the expected appearance of a mail-in or provisional ballot using expected design features and applying existing state law, but where "John Doe," not Congressman Malinowski, is the nominee of the Moderate Party for Congress.

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I certify that the foregoing statements made by me are true. I am aware that if any of the foregoing statements made by me are willfully false, that I am subject to punishment.

wayn

Dated: July 5, 2022

ALEX NAVARRO-McKAY

4

Exhibit A - Expected appearance for a full-face voting machine ballot under existing state law

# Exhibit A

### Mary H. Meff: Mary H. Melfi Hunterdon County Clerk

# **OFFICIAL GENERAL ELECTION SAMPLE BALLOT**

Flemington Borough • 7th Congressional District • Hunterdon County, New Jersey

Tuesday, November 8, 2022

OFFICE TITLE	U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Two (2) Year Term Vote for One (1)	<b>SHERIFF</b> Three (3) Year Term Vote for One (1)	Three (3) Vote fo	T <b>Y COMMISSIONERS</b> Year Term r Two (2)	<b>MAYOR</b> Four (4) Year Term Vote for One (1)	BOROUGH COUNCIL Three (3) Year Term Vote for Two (2)	BOROUGH COUNCIL Two (2) Year Unexpired Term Vote for one(1)
REPUBLICAN	THOMAS H. KEAN Jr.		ZACHARY T. RICH	JOHN E.			SWINGLE
DEMOCRATIC	MALINOWSKI					JEREMY LONG JESSICA HAND	E. ANTHONY "TONY"
NOMINATION BY PETITION							
NOMINATION BY PETITION							
NOMINATION BY PETITION							
NOMINATION BY PETITION							
NOMINATION BY PETITION							
NOMINATION BY PETITION							
WRITE-IN							

# **OFFICIAL SCHOOL ELECTION BALLOT**

FLEMINGTON-RARITAN REGIONAL SCHOOL DISTRICT



# ILLUSTRATIVE BALLOT FOR LITIGATION PURPOSES ONLY



Exhibit B - Expected appearance of a full-face voting machine ballot if fusion voting was legal and Congressman Malinowski appears on ballot as the nominee of the Moderate Party

Exhibit B

# **OFFICIAL GENERAL ELECTION SAMPLE BALLOT**

Mary I Mele Mary H. Melfi Hunterdon County Clerk

Flemington Borough • 7th Congressional District • Hunterdon County, New Jersey

Tuesday, November 8, 2022

OFFICE TITLE	U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Two (2) Year Term Vote for One (1)	SHERIFF Three (3) Year Term Vote for One (1)	Three (3)	T <b>Y COMMISSIONERS</b> Year Term r Two (2)	<b>MAYOR</b> Four (4) Year Term Vote for One (1)		COUNCIL Year Term r Two (2)	BOROUGH COUNCIL Two (2) Year Unexpired Term Vote for one(1)
REPUBLICAN	THOMAS H. KEAN Jr.	Frederick W. BROWN	ZACHARY T. RICH	JOHN E.	KARROW			SWINGLE
DEMOCRATIC	MALINOWSKI	Dominick PUZIO				JEREMY LONG	JESSICA HAND	E. ANTHONY "TONY"
NOMINATION BY PETITION	TOM MALINOWSKI							
NOMINATION BY PETITION								
NOMINATION BY PETITION								
NOMINATION BY PETITION								
NOMINATION BY PETITION								
NOMINATION BY PETITION								
WRITE-IN								

# **OFFICIAL SCHOOL ELECTION BALLOT**

FLEMINGTON-RARITAN REGIONAL SCHOOL DISTRICT



# ILLUSTRATIVE BALLOT FOR LITIGATION PURPOSES ONLY



Exhibit C - Expected appearance for a full-face voting machine ballot under existing state law but "John Doe" is the nominee of the Moderate Party

Exhibit C

## Mary L. Meff: Mary H. Melfi Hunterdon County Clerk

# **OFFICIAL GENERAL ELECTION SAMPLE BALLOT**

Flemington Borough • 7th Congressional District • Hunterdon County, New Jersey

Tuesday, November 8, 2022

OFFICE TITLE	U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Two (2) Year Term Vote for One (1)	<b>SHERIFF</b> Three (3) Year Term Vote for One (1)	Three (3) Vote fo	T <b>Y COMMISSIONERS</b> Year Term r Two (2)	<b>MAYOR</b> Four (4) Year Term Vote for One (1)		Year Term Two (2)	BOROUGH COUNCIL Two (2) Year Unexpired Term Vote for one (1)
REPUBLICAN	THOMAS H. KEAN Jr.	Frederick W. BROWN	ZACHARY T. RICH		MARCIA A. KARROW			SWINGLE
DEMOCRATIC	MALINOWSKI		COHEN		DRIVER	JEREMY LONG	JESSICA HAND	E. ANTHONY "TONY"
NOMINATION BY PETITION	JOHN DOE Moderate Party							
NOMINATION BY PETITION								
NOMINATION BY PETITION								
NOMINATION BY PETITION								
NOMINATION BY PETITION								
NOMINATION BY PETITION								
WRITE-IN								

# **OFFICIAL SCHOOL ELECTION BALLOT**

FLEMINGTON-RARITAN REGIONAL SCHOOL DISTRICT



# ILLUSTRATIVE BALLOT FOR LITIGATION PURPOSES ONLY



Exhibit D - Expected appearance of a mail-in ballot under existing state law



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# **OFFICIAL PROVISIONAL BALLOT**

GENERAL ELECTION • November 8, 2022 • Hunterdon County, NJ • 7<sup>th</sup> Congressional District FLEMINGTON BOROUGH



### **IMPORTANT INSTRUCTIONS TO VOTERS**

Please read the following before marking your ballot:

- Use ONLY a pencil or ink pen (black or blue) to mark your ballot. Do not use red ink.
- Completely fill in oval to the right of each of your selections.

MARK BALLOT LIKE THIS: John DOE  $\rightarrow \bigcirc$ 

- 3. To vote for any person whose name is not printed on this ballot, darken the oval by the words "write-in" for the office in which you want to write-in. Write the name of the person for which you wish to vote on the blank line.
- If you tear deface or incorrectly mark this ballot,return it to the Hunterdon County Clerk's Election Office and obtain a new ballot.

#### UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Vote for One (1) • Two (2) Year Term

Том MALINOWSKI Democratic	<b>→</b> ⊂
THOMAS H. KEAN JR. Republican	<b>→</b> C
VICTORIA FERNANDEZ Of, By, For	<b>→</b> ○
WRITE-IN	<b>→</b> C

SHERIFF Vote for One (1) • Three (3) Ye	ar Term
Dominick PUZIO Democratic	<b>→</b> ⊂
FREDERICK W. BROWN Republican	→⊂
WRITE-IN	→C

#### BOARD OF COUNTY COMMISSIONERS Vote for Two (2) • Three (3) Year Term

	(-)
HOPE COHEN Democratic	→⊂
DonaLD BECKER	<b>→</b> ○
<b>Јонн E. LANZA</b> Republican	<b>→</b> C
Zachary T. RICH Republican	→C
Write-In	→C
WRITE-IN	→C

MAYOR Vote for One (1) • Three (3) Year Term	
BETSY DRIVER → Democratic	$\bigcirc$
MARCIA A. KARROW → Republican	$\bigcirc$
WRITE-IN →	$\bigcirc$

## BOROUGH COUNCIL

Vote for Iwo(2) • Inree (3) year lerm		
<b>JEREMY LONG</b> Democratic	→	C
<b>Jessica HAND</b> Democratic	<b>→</b>	C
Donald ECKEL Republican	<b>→</b> (	С
James WEINTRAUB Republican	<b>→</b>	C
WRITE-IN	<b>→</b>	С
Write-In	<b>→</b>	С

BOROUGH COUNCIL Vote for One(1) • Two (2) Year Unexpired Term		
E. ANTHONY "TONY" PARKER Democratic	<b>→</b> ○	
Melissa SWINGLE Republican	<b>→</b> ○	
Write-In	<b>→</b> ○	

# OFFICIAL SCHOOL ELECTION

FLEMINGTON-RARITAN
REGIONAL SCHOOL DISTRICT
MEMBERSHIP TO THE BOARD OF EDUCATION
FLEMINGTON BOROUGH
Vote for One (1) • Three (3) Year Term

CANDIDATE B	

**CANDIDATE A** 

WRITE-IN

# LLUSTRATIVE BALLOT FOR LITIGATION PURPOSES ONLY

BALLOT CONTINUES IN NEXT COLUMN

BALLOT CONTINUES IN NEXT COLUMN

BALLOT CONTINUES ON OTHER SIDE

**SAMPLE BALLOT** 

299a

Exhibit E - Expected appearance of a mail-in ballot if fusion voting was legal and congressman Malinowski appears on ballot as the nominee of the Moderate Party

Exhibit E

# 

# **OFFICIAL PROVISIONAL BALLOT**

GENERAL ELECTION • November 8, 2022 • Hunterdon County, NJ • 7th Congressional District **FLEMINGTON BOROUGH** 



### **IMPORTANT INSTRUCTIONS TO VOTERS**

Please read the following before marking your ballot:

- 1. Use ONLY a pencil or ink pen (black or blue) to mark your ballot. Do not use red ink.
- 2. Completely fill in oval to the right of each of your selections.

MARK BALLOT LIKE THIS: John DOE→●

- 3. To vote for any person whose name is not printed on this ballot, darken the oval by the words "write-in" for the office in which you want to write-in. Write the name of the person for which you wish to vote on the blank line.
- 4. If you tear deface or incorrectly mark this ballot, return it to the Hunterdon County Clerk's Election Office and obtain a new ballot.

#### **UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES** Vote for One (1) • Two (2) Year Term

Том MALINOWSKI Democratic	<b>→</b> ○
THOMAS H. KEAN JR. Republican	<b>→</b> ○
Том MALINOWSKI Moderate Party	<b>→</b> ○
VICTORIA FERNANDEZ Of, By, For	<b>→</b> ○
WRITE-IN	<b>→</b> ○



### **BOARD OF COUNTY COMMISSIONERS** Vote for Two (2) • Three (3) Year Term

HOPE COHEN Democratic	→C
Donald BECKER Democratic	<b>→</b> ○
<b>Јонн E. LANZA</b> Republican	<b>→</b> ⊂
ZACHARY T. RICH Republican	<b>→</b>
WRITE-IN	<b>→</b> ⊂
Write-In	

MAYOR Vote for One (1) • Three (3) Year Term	
BETSY DRIVER	$\bigcirc$
MARCIA A. KARROW -	$\sim$
WRITE-IN -	$\circ$

#### **BOROUGH COUNCIL** Vote for Two(2) • Three (3) Year Term

JEREMY LONG Democratic	→(
Jessica HAND Democratic	<b>→</b> (
Donald ECKEL Republican	<b>→</b> ⊂
JAMES WEINTRAUB Republican	<b>→</b> (
WRITE-IN	<b>→</b> (
WRITE-IN	<b>→</b> (

BOROUGH COUNCIL Vote for One(1) • Two (2) Year Unexpired Term		
E. ANTHONY "TONY" PARKED	R →○	
MELISSA SWINGLE Republican	<b>→</b> ○	
WRITE-IN	→○	
OFFICIAI		
SCHOOL ELEC	TION	
FLEMINGTON-RARI REGIONAL SCHOOL DI MEMBERSHIP TO THE BOARD ( FLEMINGTON BORD	STRICT OF EDUCATION	

**CANDIDATE A** 

**CANDIDATE B** 

WRITE-IN

#### P USIKA

BALLOT CONTINUES IN NEXT COLUMN

BALLOT CONTINUES IN NEXT COLUMN

BALLOT CONTINUES ON OTHER SIDE

# SAMPLE BALLOT

301a

Exhibit F - Expected appearance for a mail-in ballot under existing state law but "John Doe" is the nominee of the Moderate Party

Exhibit F

# 

# **OFFICIAL PROVISIONAL BALLOT**

GENERAL ELECTION • November 8, 2022 • Hunterdon County, NJ • 7<sup>th</sup> Congressional District FLEMINGTON BOROUGH



### **IMPORTANT INSTRUCTIONS TO VOTERS**

Please read the following before marking your ballot:

- 1. Use ONLY a pencil or ink pen (black or blue) to mark your ballot. Do not use red ink.
- 2. Completely fill in oval to the right of each of your selections.

MARK BALLOT LIKE THIS: John DOE  $\rightarrow \bigcirc$ 

- 3. To vote for any person whose name is not printed on this ballot, darken the oval by the words "write-in" for the office in which you want to write-in. Write the name of the person for which you wish to vote on the blank line.
- If you tear deface or incorrectly mark this ballot,return it to the Hunterdon County Clerk's Election Office and obtain a new ballot.

#### UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Vote for One (1) • Two (2) Year Term

Том MALINOWSKI Democratic	<b>→</b> ○
THOMAS H. KEAN JR. Republican	<b>→</b> ○
<b>Јони DOE</b> Moderate Party	<b>→</b> ○
VICTORIA FERNANDEZ Of, By, For	<b>→</b>
WRITE-IN	<b>→</b> ○

 SHERIFF

 Vote for One (1) • Three (3) Year Term

 Dominick PUZIO
 →

 Democratic
 →

 FREDERICK W. BROWN
 →

 Republican
 →

 WRITE-IN
 →

#### BOARD OF COUNTY COMMISSIONERS Vote for Two (2) • Three (3) Year Term

Hope COHEN Democratic	→(
Donald BECKER	<b>→</b> ⊂
John E. LANZA Republican	<b>→</b> ⊂
ZACHARY T. RICH Republican	→ (
WRITE-IN	→C
WRITE-IN	→C

MAYOR Vote for One (1) • Three (3) Year Term		
BETSY DRIVER	<b>→</b> (	2
MARCIA A. KARROW	<b>→</b> (	2
Republican WRITE-IN	<b>→</b> (	-

## BOROUGH COUNCIL

vote for Iwo(2) • Inree (3) year lerm	
JEREMY LONG Democratic	<b>-</b> C
Jessica HAND Democratic	<b>→</b> ⊂
Donald ECKEL Republican	→⊂
JAMES WEINTRAUB Republican	<b>→</b> ⊂
WRITE-IN	<b>→</b> ⊂
Write-In	<b>→</b> ⊂

BOROUGH COUNCIL Vote for One(1) • Two (2) Year Unexpired Term		
E. ANTHONY "TONY" PARKER Democratic	→○	
MELISSA SWINGLE Republican	<b>→</b> ○	
Write-In	<b>→</b> ◯	

# OFFICIAL SCHOOL ELECTION

CANDIDATE A

CANDIDATE B

WRITE-IN

# LUSTRATIVE BALLOT FOR LITIGATION PURPOSES ONLY

BALLOT CONTINUES IN NEXT COLUMN

BALLOT CONTINUES IN NEXT COLUMN

BALLOT CONTINUES ON OTHER SIDE

# SAMPLE BALLOT

303a

Petitions nominating Rep. Tom Malinowski, filed June 7, 2022 (relevan 2022, GENERAL ELECTION - U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

# PETITION FOR MEMBER OF THE UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

50 Signatures Required (N.J.S.A. 19:13-5)

## PETITION OF DIRECT NOMINATION FOR THE GENERAL ELECTION

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

By checking this box, I acknowledge that I have confirmed my congressional district at the following link: <u>https://www.njredistrictingcommission.org/adoption2022map.asp</u>. I further acknowledge the congressional district listed above is the district I intend on being a candidate in as a result of re-districting.

To the Honorable Secretary of State: (N.J.S.A. 19:13-3)

Each signer of this petition certifies that the following statements are true:

1) I reside in the State of New Jersey in the <u>Seventh</u> (7th) Congressional District;

- 2) I am a qualified voter therein;
- 3) I have not signed any other petition of nomination for the primary or for the general election for such office; and
- 4) I request that you cause to be printed upon the official general election ballot the name of the candidate listed below. (N.J.S.A. 19:13-4).

Name of Candidate: Tom Maline	owski	· .	
(Name must appear the same on all petition booklets to be filed.)	(Please print or type name)	<u> </u>	
15 Welisewitz Rd.	Ringoes	08851	
Residential Address	City	Zip Code	
P.O. Box 263	Somerville	08876	
Post Office Address	City	Zip Code	<u></u>
tpmalinowski@gmail.com		,	
(Candidate Email Address)			

Total Number of Signatures on this Petition

For Division of Elections Use:

Total Number of Signatures on all Petitions \_

ALL INFORMATION ABOVE MUST BE COMPLETED PRIOR TO CIRCULATION



### OATH OF ALLEGIANCE Candidate Need Only Sign This Page Once for All Petitions

#### QUALIFICATIONS FOR CANDIDATE FOR THE OFFICE OF MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

Shall have attained the age of 25 years by the day of the swearing into office United States Citizen for 7 years by the day of the swearing into office Resident of New Jersey as of the day of the General Election

State of New Jersey

County of Hunterdon

: SS.

I, <u>TOM Malinowski</u>, do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution

(Print Name of House of Representative Candidate)

of the State of New Jersey; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same and to the Governments established in the United States and in this State, under the authority of the people.

So help me God.

Sworn and subscribed to before me in

N.J., on

(List County where Oath was signed and notarized)

this (Month) (Year)

(Signature of House of Representative Candidate)

LISA MANDELBLATT Notary Public, State of New Jersey My Commission Expires February 23, 2027

(My Commission Expires)

(Place Notary Stamp in the area above)

#### CERTIFICATE OF ACCEPTANCE TO BE SIGNED BY CANDIDATE (N.J.S.A. 19: 13-8)

I, the undersigned, hereby certify that I accept the nomination herein and that I am a resident of and a legal voter in the jurisdiction of the office for which the nomination is being made. \* SEE TEXT BELOW

(Signature of House of Representative Candidate)

Tom Malinowsky

(Printed or Typewritten Name of House of Representative Candidate)

Ringoes, NT OFSS City or Towne Zip Code of House of Representative Candidate

#### Candidate Must Sign an Oath of Allegiance and Certificate of Acceptance

I am aware of the provisions of N.J.S.A. 19:13-8 which state that the petition for direct nomination such as this one may not by be accompanied by a candidate's acceptance if the candidate "has signed an acceptance for the primary nomination or any other petition of nomination under this chapter for such office." I am also aware of the provisions of N.J.S.A. 19:13-4 and other applicable laws that operate to bar nominating petition endorsements from multiple parties. I have previously certified that I intend to accept the nomination for the Democratic Party for this office if I am successful in the primary. I have an honest, sincere, and good-faith belief that the provisions of N.J.S.A. 19:13-8, -4, and other applicable laws are unconstitutional and unenforceable under the New Jersey Constitution and therefore there is no bar to filing this petition. If the Secretary of State determines that she may only accept one petition of nomination, then I request that my nomination for the Democratic Party, if given, be processed. However, I, and/or the petitioners who are nominating me to appear on the ballot under the slogan, "Moderate Party," reserve the right to challenge any such rejection of this petition.

# PETITION FOR MEMBER OF THE UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

50 Signatures Required (N.J.S.A. 19:13-5)

PETITION OF DIRECT NOMINATION FOR THE GENERAL ELECTION

7th CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

By checking this box, I acknowledge that I have confirmed my congressional district at the following link: <u>https://www.njredistrictingcommission.org/adoption2022map.asp</u>. I further acknowledge the congressional district listed above is the district I intend on being a candidate in as a result of re-districting.

To the Honorable Secretary of State: (N.J.S.A. 19:13-3)

Each signer of this petition certifies that the following statements are true:

- 1) I reside in the State of New Jersey in the <u>Seventh</u> (7th) Congressional District;
- 2) I am a qualified voter therein;
- 3) I have not signed any other petition of nomination for the primary or for the general election for such office; and
- 4) I request that you cause to be printed upon the official general election ballot the name of the candidate listed below. (N.J.S.A. 19:13-4).

Name of Candidate: Tom Mal.	inowski	
(Name must appear the same on all petition booklets to be filed.)	(Please print or type name)	
15 Welisewitz Rd.	Ringoes	08851
Residential Address	City	Zip Code
P.O. Box 263	Somerville	08876
Post Office Address	City	Zip Code
tpmalinowski@gmail.com		
(Candidate Email Address)		

# ALL INFORMATION ABOVE MUST BE COMPLETED PRIOR TO CIRCULATION

Petition filing deadline - Before 4 p.m. on June 7, 2022 (N.J.S.A. 19:13-9)

For Division of Elections Use:

Total Number of Signatures on this Petition \_\_\_\_

Total Number of Signatures on all Petitions \_\_\_\_\_

SIGNATURE SHEET Residence Address (Number, Street, City, Zip Code) - Signature Print Name 923 Academy Ter. 1. Maria Felix Unden NJ. 07036 Offse Academy 2. Indela Jantos 5 Rinoley IVD \$735 497 Seminary Are. 3. Kelly Freeman Charles Rahway N 07065 901 Academy Terrare ANT Linder, NO 7036 4. Starey McClary ne 1133B University tur 5. C. Endus Linden, NU 2 UNIVERITY LINCON 6. R. Pona 9A Jeneversely Kerele Maria BONZalez Lorder M Q 0 7036 Plarin , 85 Brown St, Newarks NJ 02036 Lobin teven Steven Lubin 9 Rick in silking. 1032 A NORTH STUES 10 1715 ERVING >1

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and the second 
Signature	SIGNATURE SHEET Print Name	Residence Address (Number, Street, City, Zip Code)
11.		
Abishane	Abishane Mariampillai	620, Fulton Street, Elizabeth, 07,206
12. Miloury .	Helany Reyes Lazá	212, E Jersey 07206
13. Oulu	Mapy Schnil	7E Garden Dr. Ros-elle UT203
14. Zhankan	Eticina Hymon	1231 EHenryst Linden
15. Stephonie Variza	Stephanie Mafinejad	1212 Bower Street Linden, NJ 0703
	Shylor 19-11e	315 Harrison Ave Roselle
17. Jona fornand	Sara Hernandez	1074 Anna St. Elizabeth
18. CAAAA	Stephanie Quinonez	960 Latquette Elizabeth Not
19. Altop	Autor Smoth	
20. Domingip Garris	Dominique farrs	685 South 19th St.
ALL INFORMATION IS REQUIRED TO BE COMPLETED	310a	

SIGNATURE SHEET Signature Residence Address (Number, Street, City, Zip Code) Print Name 21. VIDDINIO C13elGravke 329 KINGSC 8 Delynny 22. HerbertColley 12 W12 St LINCON obert Colley 23. Camilla Camilla santos 414 Niles St Elizabeth Santo 210 Hayes St anpenVatentin Laurph inder NI 07036 205 Ansteidam Ave 25. TerrellWilliams Korelle, NJ, 07203 ZIT West hell, 26. 1. Vil to Valentin Joshan W 15eln N) 88840 27. 422 Gable Carl Sheilt Presley ula Linden , 21 9 07026 1939 Baune HSt 28. JOCELYA FUINTA 1601 Colon but 29. PARISH Wilson Rahway 7 Treacy Avenue 30. John Harre pm Newyoll





SIGNATURE SHEET				
Signature	Print Name	Residence Address (Number, Street, City, Zip Code)		
51.				
Max Landon	Mice LABSon	546 union est Linden 57636		
52. Auton	Learline Ladson	329 Ralsey Street hjoren		
53.	R	245 Cameron Ave		
E. Danks	Beittany Danks	Plainfield NJ 07060		
54. Jauls Des	Ageel S. Pennis	93 GRANDVIEW AVE		
55. Havalle	Paul Perrella	El Dratin Unicu Cranfort NJ 04016		
56. Joure Jum	Jope Lynn	11 tray clrive, Spring Hald, NJ 07081		
57. Der sont	Robert Dasti	2-7 Forest Dr. Springfield 07081		
58. J Adiron Hymn	Lauran Lynn	1077 Richard BIVOL, RANNAY, NJ 07065		
59. Jourdan Toureny	Vordan Lowerey	3 Ferimore Dr. Scotch Plains 07076		
60. And And	Rebecca Doyle	12+5 Main St Banway 07005		

e 4 .

### AFFIDAVIT OF PERSON WHO CIRCULATES THIS PETITION AND WITNESSES SIGNATURES

(N.J.S.A. 19:13-7)

The circulator/witness taking the affidavit below must be the person who obtained the names on this set of signatures or several sets of signatures. The circular/witness must take the affidavit for each set he/she solicits and sign in the presence of a person authorized to administer affidavits (e.g., notary public).

State of New Jersey

County of HUNterdon:

\_\_\_\_\_, being duly sworn, upon my oath say that I personally circulated the petition and saw all the

(Print Name of Circulator/Witness) signatures made thereto and verily believe that the signers are duly qualified voters. I am at least 18 years of age, a resident of this State, a citizen of the United States, and not otherwise disgualified from voting under the State Constitution or election laws of New Jersey.

Sworn and subscribed to before me in

N.J. on (List County where Affidavit was signed and notarized)

: SS.

this dav of (Dav) (Month) (Year) (Notary Signature) (My Commissión Expires)

Rya Savis

(Signature of Circulator/Witness)

(Residence Address of Circulator/Witness)

or Town of Circulator/Witness

LISA MANDELBLATT Notary Public, State of New Jersey **My Commission Expires** February 23, 2027

(Place Notary Stamp in the area above)

# CANDIDATE'S REQUEST FOR SLOGAN ON THE OFFICIAL GENERAL ELECTION BALLOT

The candidate named in this petition requests that there be printed on the general election ballot the following slogan: (Slogan must not exceed three words and must be in accord with <u>N.J.S.A.</u> 19:13-4. If slogan includes the name of any person other than the candidate or any incorporated association of this State, written consent of such person or incorporated association of this State must be attached.)

	<u>County</u>	<u>Slogan</u> (Please Print or Type)
1	Hunterdon	Moderate Party
2	Morris	Moderate Party
3.	Somerset	Moderate Party
4	Sussex	Moderate Party
5.	Union	Moderate Party
6	Warren	Moderate Party

NOTE: There are up to six counties in a congressional district, so enough lines are provided above for the purpose of identifying slogans in each county where the nominee is a candidate.
# PETITION FOR MEMBER OF THE UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

50 Signatures Required (N.J.S.A. 19:13-5)

PETITION OF DIRECT NOMINATION FOR THE GENERAL ELECTION

7th

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

By checking this box, I acknowledge that I have confirmed my congressional district at the following link: <u>https://www.njredistrictingcommission.org/adoption2022map.asp</u>. I further acknowledge the congressional district listed above is the district I intend on being a candidate in as a result of re-districting.

To the Honorable Secretary of State: (N.J.S.A. 19:13-3)

Each signer of this petition certifies that the following statements are true:

- 1) I reside in the State of New Jersey in the <u>Seventh</u> (7th) Congressional District;
- 2) I am a qualified voter therein;
- 3) I have not signed any other petition of nomination for the primary or for the general election for such office; and
- 4) I request that you cause to be printed upon the official general election ballot the name of the candidate listed below. (N.J.S.A. 19:13-4).

Name of Candidate:	Tom Malinc	wski		
(Name must appear the same on all petition booklets to be filed.)		(Please print or type name)	•	
15 Welisewitz 1	Rd.	Ringoes	08851	
Residential Address	- <u></u>	City	Zip Code	
P.O. Box 263		Somerville	08876	
Post Office Address	<u></u>	City	Zip Code	

## tpmalinowski@gmail.com

(Candidate Email Address)

## ALL INFORMATION ABOVE MUST BE COMPLETED PRIOR TO CIRCULATION

Petition filing deadline - Before 4 p.m. on June 7, 2022 (N.J.S.A. 19:13-9)

For Division of Elections Use:

Total Number of Signatures on this Petition \_\_\_\_

Total Number of Signatures on all Petitions \_

### SIGNATURE SHEET Residence Address (Number, Street, City, Zip Code) Signature Print Name 1. 31 Simmer Rd Fleninghi UJ 2. 2010 in 3. LARRY Schmather 1 Bromley Ferrace Hypernhom Lany 4. 57 N. Cluson St James Ritz 200 Brass Castle Rd 5. Wash, NJ 07882 Mawken O'Donnel Marente Flantisons 6. 3005 Watt, + 0774 Ave, 273 Eyland 7. L'amille Gyallelmo Succasurina NJ 07876 8. 4 Whight Ct . W succasunna NJ 07870 9. 18 Mountainview Rd Emily Christe Succescinia NJ,07876 232 POSIS St Dove Plaskow 10. RUCKAWYNJ 07501

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Sur.

SIGNATURE SHEET				
Signature	Print Name	Residence Address (Number, Street, City, Zip Code)		
11. Williams	Jenniter Williams	35 Peny St. 0853 Lansertville, NJ		
12. Die prod	Bill BEVICH	31 Femp St. Lanbertuille, NJ 08530.		
13.	VIVION BEVICIT	BIFERRY ST LAMBERTVILLE, NO 08530		
14. L=ZZ	Eric Rode	67 5 Franklin st. Lambotuille NJ 08532		
15.	Share Smith	65 F. South Frankinst Lanbrestville, NJ 08531		
16. Frankracher .	1Ka Budihastants	65C South Franklin Street Lamber Tville, NJ 08530		
17. Vincent Daniel Kollan	Voncent Daviel Kollar	650 South Frenchin Rt. Jambestralle NJ 08530		
18. Gregn Follon	GREGORY KOLLAR	65 = SOUTH FRANKLIN 57 LAMBERTVILLE, NJ. 88530		
19. Mar	MARIAM MCLANGHUN	30 SWAN ST. LAMBERTVILE NJ 08530		
20. Hatan	Hope tay lor	495. Franklin 54 Lambortville NY 0850		
ALL INFORMATION IS REQUIRED TO BE COMPLETED	319a			

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	SIGNATURE SHEET			
Signature	Print Name	Residence Address (Number, Street, City, Zip Code)		
21. han anne Brze	MARY ANNE BORGE	5 CROFTON COURT LAMBERTVILLE, NJOPJ30		
22. Jeff W. Worth	SEFFREY W. WORTHINGTON	5 OROFTON CT LAMBERTVILLE, NS OFFED		
23.	Gira TURNAR	6 Waterford Ct. Cambreding NJ 08530		
24.	Carie Chester	7 Waterford Ct. Lawbertville NJ 08537		
25. Japhind	Tapewindush	2 sturbridge Ct Lamber VIII NJ0853		
26.				
27.				
28.				
29.				
30.				

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#### AFFIDAVIT OF PERSON WHO CIRCULATES THIS PETITION AND WITNESSES SIGNATURES

(N.J.S.A. 19:13-7)

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State of New Jersey

: SS.

5

County of Hunterlan

Michor (Print Name of Circulator/Witness)

being duly sworn, upon my oath say that I personally circulated the petition and saw all the

signatures made thereto and verily believe that the signers are duly qualified voters. I am at least 18 years of age, a resident of this State, a citizen of the United States, and not otherwise disgualified from voting under the State Constitution or election laws of New Jersey.

Sworn and subscribed to before me in

N.J., on

(List County where Affidavit was signed and notarized)

day of this (Dav)

Ine (Month) (Year)



TERRY J. CASWELL (My Commission Expires) INTARY PUBLIC OF NEW JERSEY My Commission Expires 1/8/2025

(Signature of Circulator/Witness)

(Residence Address of Circulator/Witness)

(City or Town of Circulator/Witness)

(Zip Code)

(Place Notary Stamp in the area above)

## CANDIDATE'S REQUEST FOR SLOGAN ON THE OFFICIAL GENERAL ELECTION BALLOT

The candidate named in this petition requests that there be printed on the general election ballot the following slogan: (Slogan must not exceed three words and must be in accord with <u>N.J.S.A.</u> 19:13-4. If slogan includes the name of any person other than the candidate or any incorporated association of this State, written consent of such person or incorporated association of this State must be attached.)

County	<u>Slogan</u> (Please Print or Type)	
Hunterdon	Moderate Party	
Morris	Moderate Party	
Somerset	Moderate Party	
Sussex	Moderate Party	
Union	Moderate Party	
Warren	Moderate Party	
	Morris Somerset Sussex Union	HunterdonModerate PartyMorrisModerate PartySomersetModerate PartySussexModerate PartyUnionModerate Party

**NOTE:** There are up to six counties in a congressional district, so enough lines are provided above for the purpose of identifying slogans in each county where the nominee is a candidate.

## PETITION FOR MEMBER OF THE UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

50 Signatures Required (N.J.S.A. 19:13-5)

## PETITION OF DIRECT NOMINATION FOR THE GENERAL ELECTION

7th

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

By checking this box, I acknowledge that I have confirmed my congressional district at the following Ink: <a href="https://www.njredistrictingcommission.org/adoption2022map.asp">https://www.njredistrictingcommission.org/adoption2022map.asp</a>. I further acknowledge the congressional district listed above is the district I intend on being a candidate in as a result of re-districting.

To the Honorable Secretary of State: (N.J.S.A. 19:13-3)

Each signer of this petition certifies that the following statements are true:

- 1) I reside in the State of New Jersey in the <u>Seventh (7th)</u> Congressional District;
- 2) I am a qualified voter therein;
- 3) I have not signed any other petition of nomination for the primary or for the general election for such office; and
- 4) I request that you cause to be printed upon the official general election ballot the name of the candidate listed below. (N.J.S.A. 19:13-4).

Name of Candidate: Tom Mal	inowski		
(Name must appear the same on all petition booklets to be filed.)	(Please print or type name)		
15 Welisewitz Rd.	Ringoes	08851	
Residential Address	City	Zip Code	
P.O. Box 263	Somerville	08876	
Post Office Address	City	Zip Code	

tpmalinowski@gmail.com

(Candidate Email Address)

## ALL INFORMATION ABOVE MUST BE COMPLETED PRIOR TO CIRCULATION

Petition filing deadline - Before 4 p.m. on June 7, 2022 (N.J.S.A. 19:13-9)

### ALL INFORMATION IS REQUIRED TO BE COMPLETED

For Division of Elections Use:

Total Number of Signatures on this Petition

2022 SIGNATURE SHEET Print Name Signature Residence Address (Number, Street, City, Zip Code) 913 Academy terr Somenation Mercad ant -inten (57038 ₽. 911B Acadence Tara Ce Fonteena J Tandy 3. 1141 A UNIVERSITY TER ELENIGA TERZIEVA 4. University 5. Sequerah Underwood 17 University circle 6. hanman adine cusche niversity 7. UNIVERTY (m me 9. linder 10. PLONS KI 1012A N stiles Ave MARCIN

A second s



Signature	SIGNATURE SHEET Print Name	Residence Address (Number, Street, City, Zip Code)
21. Ronald Lee	Ronald Lee	143 W Milton ave, Rahway, NJ, 07065
22. Rito Lee	Rita Lee	15 Green Way New Providence, NJ 07974
23.		445 Midway Ave, Fanwood N. 107023
Water-Brott	Walter Scoft	
24. And Role	Bypan Shade	HTGSYCAMIRESF Rabuar 7005
25. A Latonan Kotstman	Latoya Troutman	543 Morris ave, springfield, MJ 07081
26.		37 4.19 St. Linder 07036
HERINA Pitanen	Johnny Pitman	
27. Livra Little	Kiera Little	47 Hawthorne PI. Summit 07901
28. Archarden	Charles Mackey	966 Rabbon Ter Rohway 07065
29. Chistolex Markey	Christopher Mackey	966 Rayhon Ter Rahway 07065
30. Aug banda	Potrack Johnston	56I Finch Clesfield 57080

· · · ·	SIGNATURE SHEET	
Signature	Print Name	Residence Address (Number, Street, City, Zip Code)
31. Lier Kaplier	Sheri Kaplan	130 Sweet Byer Drive Clark 07066
32. Alexander DU	Alet and er Ju	110 Cedar Green In Bertweter 07922
33. Down Harve	"Dennis Kene	911 Montague Ave. 7076
34. Lisa Sphilt	Lisa Schill	814 Neu Providence 07090
35. Biring Scheller	Brian Schiller,	814 Centra Ave Ney Providerce
36. Lu		
37.		
38.		
39.		
40.		

### AFFIDAVIT OF PERSON WHO CIRCULATES THIS PETITION AND WITNESSES SIGNATURES

(N.J.S.A. 19:13-7)

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State of New Jersey

: SS.

5

Countr of Hunterdon

I, <u>Hunterdan</u>, Ryan Davis, being duly sworn, upon my oath say that I personally circulated the petition and saw all the (Print Name of CirculatorWitness)

signatures made thereto and verily believe that the signers are duly qualified voters. I am at least 18 years of age, a resident of this State, a citizen of the United States, and not otherwise disqualified from voting under the State Constitution or election laws of New Jersey.

Sworn and subscribed to before me in

N.J., on

(List County where Affidavit was signed and notarized)



(Signature of Circulator/Witness)

9.40

(Residence Address of Circulator/Witness)

(City or Town of Circulator/Witness) (Zip Code)



(Place Notary Stamp in the area above)

## CANDIDATE'S REQUEST FOR SLOGAN ON THE OFFICIAL GENERAL ELECTION BALLOT

The candidate named in this petition requests that there be printed on the general election ballot the following slogan: (Slogan must not exceed three words and must be in accord with <u>N.J.S.A.</u> 19:13-4. If slogan includes the name of any person other than the candidate or any incorporated association of this State, written consent of such person or incorporated association of this State must be attached.)

County	<u>Slogan</u> (Please Print or Type)
Hunterdon	Moderate Party
Morris	Moderate Party
Somerset	Moderate Party
Sussex	Moderate Party
Union	Moderate Party
Warren	Moderate Party
	Morris Somerset Sussex Union

**NOTE:** There are up to six counties in a congressional district, so enough lines are provided above for the purpose of identifying slogans in each county where the nominee is a candidate.

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## PETITION FOR MEMBER OF THE UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

50 Signatures Required (N.J.S.A. 19:13-5)

### PETITION OF DIRECT NOMINATION FOR THE GENERAL ELECTION

#### 7th CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

By checking this box, I acknowledge that I have confirmed my congressional district at the following link: <u>https://www.njredistrictingcommission.org/adoption2022map.asp</u>. I further acknowledge the congressional district listed above is the district I intend on being a candidate in as a result of re-districting.

To the Honorable Secretary of State: (N.J.S.A. 19:13-3)

Each signer of this petition certifies that the following statements are true:

1) I reside in the State of New Jersey in the \_\_Seventh (7th)\_ Congressional District;

2) | am a qualified voter therein;

3) I have not signed any other petition of nomination for the primary or for the general election for such office; and

4) I request that you cause to be printed upon the official general election ballot the name of the candidate listed below. (N.J.S.A. 19:13-4).

lame of Candidate: Tom Farth	(Please print or type name)	
15 Welisewitz Rd.	Ringoes	08851
esidential Address	City	Zip Code
P.O. Box 263	Somerville	08876
ost Office Address	City	Zip Code
tpmalinowski@gmail.com		
Candidate Email Address)		

330a

For Division of Elections Use:

Total Number of Signatures on this Petition

Total Number of Signatures on all Petitions

2022 GENERAL ELECTION - U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES SIGNATURE SHEET Print Name Residence Address (Number, Street, City, Zip Code) alure OBINS 67 ASHINGTON SI NILES ሯ ACH JESS 9 WOUDS OPPAL CRY 3. 4. Helen Hahn all le NT 08530 5. L.Ct isan h NJ08930 USAN Same 6. MR 9 Sturbridge Ct 7. CRA smine Lambertville A Sturbridge Œ 12 alma Zunlan ALMA QUINLAN Lambertville, NJ 08530 9. 10. PAGE 2 ALL INFORMATION IS REQUIRED TO BE COMPLETED

### AFFIDAVIT OF PERSON WHO CIRCULATES THIS PETITION AND WITNESSES SIGNATURES (N.J.S.A. 19:13-7)

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State of New Jersey

: SS.

:

County of Hunferden

Zack Elwell

being duly sworn, upon my oath say that I personally circulated the petition and saw all the

(Print Name of Circulator/Witness)

signatures made thereto and verily believe that the signers are duly qualified voters. I am at least 18 years of age, a resident of this State, a citizen of the United States, and not otherwise disqualified from voting under the State Constitution or election laws of New Jersey.

Sworn and subscribed to before me in N.J., on (List County where Affidavit was signed and notarized) (Signature of Ci ulator/Wit this day of (Day) (Residence Address of Circulator/Witness) (Month) (Year) (City or Town of Circulator/Witness) (Zip Code) (Notary Sign (My Commission Expires) (Place Notary Stamp in the area above) TERRY J. CASWELL NOTARY PUBLIC OF NEW JERSEY My Commission Expires 1/8/2025 ALL INFORMATION IS REQUIRED TO BE COMPLETED

PAGE 12

## CANDIDATE'S REQUEST FOR SLOGAN ON THE OFFICIAL GENERAL ELECTION BALLOT

The candidate named in this petition requests that there be printed on the general election ballot the following slogan: (Slogan must not exceed three words and must be in accord with <u>N.J.S.A.</u> 19:13-4. If slogan includes the name of any person other than the candidate or any incorporated association of this State, written consent of such person or incorporated association of this State must be attached.)

<u>(</u>	County	<u>Slogan</u> (Please Print or Type)
1	Hunterdon	Moderate Party
2	Morris	Moderate Party
3.	Somerset	Moderate Party
4	Sussex	Moderate Party
5.	Union	Moderate Party
6.	Warren	Moderate Party
··	······································	

NOTE: There are up to six counties in a congressional district, so enough lines are provided above for the purpose of identifying slogans in each county where the nominee is a candidate.

# PETITION FOR MEMBER OF THE UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

50 Signatures Required (N.J.S.A. 19:13-5)

PETITION OF DIRECT NOMINATION FOR THE GENERAL ELECTION

<sup>7th</sup> CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

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- 4) I request that you cause to be printed upon the official general election ballot the name of the candidate listed below. (N.J.S.A. 19:13-4).

Name of Candidate:	Tom Malino	owski		
(Name must appear the same on all petition booklets to be filed.)		(Please print or type name)		_
15 Welisewitz	Rd.	Ringoes	08851	
Residential Address	,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,	City	Zip Code	
P.O. Box 263		Somerville	08876	
Post Office Address	<u></u>	City	Zip Code	<u> </u>

### tpmalinowski@gmail.com

(Candidate Email Address)

## ALL INFORMATION ABOVE MUST BE COMPLETED PRIOR TO CIRCULATION

Petition filing deadline - Before 4 p.m. on June 7, 2022 (N.J.S.A. 19:13-9)

For Division of Elections Use:

Total Number of Signatures on all Petitions \_\_\_\_



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Signature	SIGNATURE SHEET Print Name	Residence Address (Number, Street, City, Zip Code)
11. Lawrence La Ferl	Lawrence La Ferre	21 Amsterdam Rd Milford, NJ 0P848
<sup>12</sup> Robert J. Raid <sup>13</sup> Michiele Garay	ROBERT REID	65 TRENTON AVE. FRENCHTOWN, NJ 08825
<sup>13.</sup> Mechelle Garay	Michelle Garay	100 SKY MANOR Rd. Pittstown NJ 08867
14.		
15.		
16.		
17.		
18.		
19.		
20.		

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## AFFIDAVIT OF PERSON WHO CIRCULATES THIS PETITION AND WITNESSES SIGNATURES

(N.J.S.A. 19:13-7)

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State of New Jersey

miche.

: SS.

County of HUNTERDON

(Print Name of Circulated Witness)

signatures made thereto and verily believe that the signers are duly qualified voters. I am at least 18 years of age, a resident of this State, a citizen of the United States, and not otherwise disqualified from voting under the State Constitution or election laws of New Jersey.

Sworn and subscribed to before me in

N.J., on

(List County where Affidavit was signed and notarized)

this512	day of
(Day)	
JUNE 20	22
(Month)	(Year)
Man	
(Notary Signature)	
Feb 23, 2027	
(My Commission Expires)	

(Signature of Circulator/Witness) 160 (Residence Address of Circulator/Witness)

or Town of Circulator/Witne



(Place Notary Stamp in the area above)

## CANDIDATE'S REQUEST FOR SLOGAN ON THE OFFICIAL GENERAL ELECTION BALLOT

The candidate named in this petition requests that there be printed on the general election ballot the following slogan: (Slogan must not exceed three words and must be in accord with <u>N.J.S.A.</u> 19:13-4. If slogan includes the name of any person other than the candidate or any incorporated association of this State, written consent of such person or incorporated association of this State must be attached.)

9	County	<u>Slogan</u> (Please Print or Type)
1	Hunterdon	Moderate Party
2	Morris	Moderate Party
3	Somerset	Moderate Party
4	Sussex	Moderate Party
5.	Union	Moderate Party
6	Warren	Moderate Party
		Moderate Party

NOTE: There are up to six counties in a congressional district, so enough lines are provided above for the purpose of identifying slogans in each county where the nominee is a candidate.

# PETITION FOR MEMBER OF THE UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

50 Signatures Required (N.J.S.A. 19:13-5)

## PETITION OF DIRECT NOMINATION FOR THE GENERAL ELECTION

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

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Name of Candidate: Tom Maline	Malinowski	
(Name must appear the same on all petition booklets to be filed.)	(Please print or type name)	
15 Welisewitz Rd.	Ringoes	08851
Residential Address	City	Zip Code
P.O. Box 263	Somerville	08876
Post Office Address	City	Zip Code

(Candidate Email Address)

## ALL INFORMATION ABOVE MUST BE COMPLETED PRIOR TO CIRCULATION

Petition filing deadline - Before 4 p.m. on June 7, 2022 (N.J.S.A. 19:13-9)

Total Number of Signatures on this Petition \_\_\_\_

Total Number of Signatures on all Petitions \_\_\_\_

SIGNATURE SHEET Signature Print Name Residence Address (Number, Street, City, Zip Code) Delorah Macy Deborah W Macy 1 West MAINST. GROOKSIDE 19E. MAIN ST. BrochesipE Ming William J. DEMDSET Carol S. Dempsey 19 E. Main St Carol D. Dempsey Brookside, NJ PAtricin T. Zimsierman Jerce f. of 2 W. Marn St. Brookside aus 125 Mendham Road 5. Longthan D. Hotthecho ONATHAN A. GOTTSCHO Bernavolgville. NJ 07924 180 Thomas Rd. John & Inuchers John K. Lundberg Mendham, NJ 07945 180 Thomas Rd 7. Bonnie Fi Lemolhera BONNIE F LUNDBERG Mendham NJ07945 5 Indian Hollow Rd Margaret H. Parker Margaré H Parker Mencham n.J 07945 5E MAIN ST ALISONA BRIFGN BROOKSIDE, NJ 07926 MALING MOMMETOWN, NJ 07960 7 Robert Road 10. Kenneth Donovan Brooks 12 NJ 07926



### AFFIDAVIT OF PERSON WHO CIRCULATES THIS PETITION AND WITNESSES SIGNATURES

(N.J.S.A. 19:13-7)

The circulator/witness taking the affidavit below must be the person who obtained the names on this set of signatures or several sets of signatures. The circular/witness must take the affidavit for each set he/she solicits and sign in the presence of a person authorized to administer affidavits (e.g., notary public).

State of New Jersey

: SS.

2

County of

CRAIG C SHRADER

being duly sworn, upon my oath say that I personally circulated the petition and saw all the

(Print Name of Circulator/Witness)

signatures made thereto and verily believe that the signers are duly qualified voters. I am at least 18 years of age, a resident of this State, a citizen of the United States, and not otherwise disgualified from voting under the State Constitution or election laws of New Jersey.

Sworn and subscribed to before me in

N.J., on

(List County where Affidavit was signed and notarized)

this day of (Day) 20 (Month) (Year) (Notary Signature) (My Commission Expires)

(Signature of Circulate

(Residence Address of Circulator/Witness)

(City or Town (Zin Code)

LISA MANDELBLATT Notary Public, State of New Jersey **My Commission Expires** February 23, 2027

(Place Notary Stamp in the area above)

## CANDIDATE'S REQUEST FOR SLOGAN ON THE OFFICIAL GENERAL ELECTION BALLOT

The candidate named in this petition requests that there be printed on the general election ballot the following slogan: (Slogan must not exceed three words and must be in accord with <u>N.J.S.A.</u> 19:13-4. If slogan includes the name of any person other than the candidate or any incorporated association of this State, written consent of such person or incorporated association of this State must be attached.)

<u>q</u>	County	<u>Slogan</u> (Please Print or Type)
1	Hunterdon	Moderate Party
2	Morris	Moderate Party
3	Somerset	Moderate Party
4	Sussex	Moderate Party
5	Union	Moderate Party
6	Warren	Moderate Party

NOTE: There are up to six counties in a congressional district, so enough lines are provided above for the purpose of identifying slogans in each county where the nominee is a candidate.

# PETITION FOR MEMBER OF THE UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

50 Signatures Required (N.J.S.A. 19:13-5)

## PETITION OF DIRECT NOMINATION FOR THE GENERAL ELECTION

7th CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

By checking this box, I acknowledge that I have confirmed my congressional district at the following link: <u>https://www.njredistrictingcommission.org/adoption2022map.asp</u>. I further acknowledge the congressional district listed above is the district I intend on being a candidate in as a result of re-districting.

To the Honorable Secretary of State: (N.J.S.A. 19:13-3)

Each signer of this petition certifies that the following statements are true:

- 1) I reside in the State of New Jersey in the <u>Seventh</u> (7th) Congressional District;
- 2) I am a qualified voter therein;
- 3) I have not signed any other petition of nomination for the primary or for the general election for such office; and
- 4) I request that you cause to be printed upon the official general election ballot the name of the candidate listed below. (N.J.S.A. 19:13-4).

Name of Candidate: Tom Mal	n Malinowski		
(Name must appear the same on all petition booklets to be filed.)	(Please print or type name)		_
15 Welisewitz Rd.	Ringoes	08851	
Residential Address	City	Zip Code	
P.O. Box 263	Somerville	08876	
Post Office Address	City	Zip Code	

## tpmalinowski@gmail.com

(Candidate Email Address)

## ALL INFORMATION ABOVE MUST BE COMPLETED PRIOR TO CIRCULATION

Petition filing deadline - Before 4 p.m. on June 7, 2022 (N.J.S.A. 19:13-9)

Total Number of Signatures on this Petition \_\_\_\_

Total Number of Signatures on all Petitions \_\_\_\_



Signature	SIGNATURE SHEET Print Name	Residence Address (Number, Street, City, Zip Code)
11. Mar & Freedom	MaryBFreedman	37 Perry St Lamberturile, NJ OP530
12. Refer	RICHARD FREEDMAN	37 PERRY ST LAMBERTATILE NJ 08530
13. Junt	Francine Vitagharb	29 Clivitan St Lambertville NJ 28536
14. Edward A. Hoag	Edward Hoag	417 Scrgeant Dr. Lambertville NJ 08530
15. MA	Mason Bursac	1564 Horbourdon Rockform Rd Lambertville NS
16. All Le	Ryan MCKeown	145 Taylor Ave Hillsborough NJ
Fing Chill	Jennifer Cahlul	27 Wilson St. og Lambarrille NJ 30
$^{18}$ m m	Margo Richardson	Lamon ville 150
19. Amt HAMM	ANNE KEFFER	55 S. MAIN ST. LAMBERTVILLE, NJ 68530
20. By CU	ISAIA CROSSON	55 5 MAIN ST LAMBERTVILLE, NJ, 08539

-

SIGNATURE SHEET			
Signature	Print Name	Residence Address (Number, Street, City, Zip Code)	
21. Uni Milite	Christopher Meletti	63 S. Main St Cambertville NJ 08530	
22.			
23.			
24.			
25.			
26.			
27.			
28.			
29.			
30.			

### AFFIDAVIT OF PERSON WHO CIRCULATES THIS PETITION AND WITNESSES SIGNATURES

(N.J.S.A. 19:13-7)

The circulator/witness taking the affidavit below must be the person who obtained the names on this set of signatures or several sets of signatures. The circular/witness must take the affidavit for each set he/she solicits and sign in the presence of a person authorized to administer affidavits (e.g., notary public).

State of New Jersey

: SS.

2

County of Junter for

\_\_\_\_\_, being duly sworn, upon my oath say that I personally circulated the petition and saw all the

signatures made thereto and verily believe that the signers are duly qualified voters. I am at least 18 years of age, a resident of this State, a citizen of the United States, and not otherwise disqualified from voting under the State Constitution or election laws of New Jersey.

Sworn and subscribed to before me in

N.J. on

(List County where Affidavit was signed and notarized)

(Print Name of Circulator/Witness)

this day of (Dav) (Month) (Notary Signature) (My Commission Expires)

(Signature of Circulator/Witness)

(Residence Address of Circulator/Witness)

(City or Town of Circulator/Witness) (Zip Code)

DONNA M EMBLEY Notary Public - State of New Jersey My Commission Expires Jun 14, 2023

(Place Notary Stamp in the area above)

## CANDIDATE'S REQUEST FOR SLOGAN ON THE OFFICIAL GENERAL ELECTION BALLOT

The candidate named in this petition requests that there be printed on the general election ballot the following slogan: (Slogan must not exceed three words and must be in accord with <u>N.J.S.A.</u> 19:13-4. If slogan includes the name of any person other than the candidate or any incorporated association of this State, written consent of such person or incorporated association of this State must be attached.)

9	County	<u>Slogan</u> (Please Print or Type)	
1	Hunterdon	Moderate Party	
2.	Morris	Moderate Party	
3.	Somerset	Moderate Party	
4	Sussex	Moderate Party	
5	Union	Moderate Party	
6	Warren	Moderate Party	

**NOTE:** There are up to six counties in a congressional district, so enough lines are provided above for the purpose of identifying slogans in each county where the nominee is a candidate.

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# PETITION FOR MEMBER OF THE UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

50 Signatures Required (N.J.S.A. 19:13-5)

PETITION OF DIRECT NOMINATION FOR THE GENERAL ELECTION

7th

ľ

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

By checking this box, I acknowledge that I have confirmed my congressional district at the following link: <u>https://www.njredistrictingcommission.org/adoption2022map.asp.</u> I further acknowledge the congressional district listed above is the district I intend on being a candidate in as a result of re-districting.

To the Honorable Secretary of State: (N.J.S.A. 19:13-3)

Each signer of this petition certifies that the following statements are true:

- 1) I reside in the State of New Jersey in the <u>Seventh</u> (7th) Congressional District;
- 2) I am a qualified voter therein;
- 3) I have not signed any other petition of nomination for the primary or for the general election for such office; and
- 4) I request that you cause to be printed upon the official general election ballot the name of the candidate listed below. (N.J.S.A. 19:13-4).

Name of Candidate: Tom Maline	nowski		
(Name must appear the same on all petition booklets to be filed.)	(Please print or type name)		
15 Welisewitz Rd.	Ringoes	08851	
Residential Address	City	Zip Code	
P.O. Box 263	Somerville	08876	
Post Office Address	City	Zip Code	
tpmalinowski@gmail.com			
(Candidate Email Address)			

## ALL INFORMATION ABOVE MUST BE COMPLETED PRIOR TO CIRCULATION

Petition filing deadline - Before 4 p.m. on June 7, 2022 (N.J.S.A. 19:13-9)

ALL INFORMATION IS REQUIRED TO BE COMPLETED

For Division of Elections Use:

Total Number of Signatures on this Petition \_\_\_\_

Total Number of Signatures on all Petitions \_

SIGNATURE SHEET Signature Print Name Residence Address (Number, Street, City, Zip Code) MCHARD B MC GRYNN 30 HURLINGHAM CLUB KD Richard & Mylemn FARHIUSNJ07931 165 Stirling Rd. 2. John Andrew Hokenson Watching NJ 07269 165 stirling Road Watching NJ 07069 Donovan Kathy 21 RYNCHISON RUNJ 4. Richard A. Wolfe Stockton, NJ 08559 21 Rynearson Rd. Kathleen Wolfe attillen Waye Stockton, NJ 08559 55 Main 54 6. Neverder Kilaler Ų Alexander Kihler Califon NJ 01830 55 Main St 7. WILLIAM G. KIBLER alifon Nor 07830 7 Erick Ct. Michael Tomosco chester, NJ 07930 9 434 Everson Pl. Westfield, NJ 07090 Gregory W. Kasko 10.

AFFIDAVIT OF PERSON WHO CIRCULATES THIS PETITION AND WITNESSES SIGNATURES

(N.J.S.A. 19:13-7)

The circulator/witness taking the affidavit below must be the person who obtained the names on this set of signatures or several sets of signatures. The circular/witness must take the affidavit for each set he/she solicits and sign in the presence of a person authorized to administer affidavits (e.g., notary public).

State of New Jersey

: SS.

County of Winferdim

being duly sworn, upon my oath say that I personally circulated the petition and saw all the

(Print Name of Circulator/Witness)

signatures made thereto and verily believe that the signers are duly gualified voters. I am at least 18 years of age, a resident of this State, a citizen of the United States, and not otherwise disgualified from voting under the State Constitution or election laws of New Jersey.

Sworn and subscribed to before me in

N.J., on

(List County where Affidavit was signed and notarized)

this day of (Day) 20 (Month) (Year) (Notary Signature) 4.6 (My Commission Expires)

(Signature of Circulator/Witness)

(Residence Address of Circulator/Witness)

08530 (City or Town of Circulator/Witness) (Zip Code)



(Place Notary Stamp in the area above)
The candidate named in this petition requests that there be printed on the general election ballot the following slogan: (Slogan must not exceed three words and must be in accord with <u>N.J.S.A.</u> 19:13-4. If slogan includes the name of any person other than the candidate or any incorporated association of this State, written consent of such person or incorporated association of this State must be attached.)

9	County	<u>Slogan</u> (Please Print or Type)
1	Hunterdon	Moderate Party
2	Morris	Moderate Party
3	Somerset	Moderate Party
4	Sussex	Moderate Party
5.	Union	Moderate Party
6	Warren	Moderate Party

NOTE: There are up to six counties in a congressional district, so enough lines are provided above for the purpose of identifying slogans in each county where the nominee is a candidate.

# PETITION FOR MEMBER OF THE UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

50 Signatures Required (N.J.S.A. 19:13-5)

## PETITION OF DIRECT NOMINATION FOR THE GENERAL ELECTION

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

By checking this box, I acknowledge that I have confirmed my congressional district at the following link: <u>https://www.njredistrictingcommission.org/adoption2022map.asp</u>. I further acknowledge the congressional district listed above is the district I intend on being a candidate in as a result of re-districting.

To the Honorable Secretary of State: (N.J.S.A. 19:13-3)

Each signer of this petition certifies that the following statements are true:

- 1) I reside in the State of New Jersey in the <u>Seventh</u> (7th) Congressional District;
- 2) I am a qualified voter therein;
- 3) I have not signed any other petition of nomination for the primary or for the general election for such office; and
- 4) I request that you cause to be printed upon the official general election ballot the name of the candidate listed below. (N.J.S.A. 19:13-4).

Name of Candidate: Tom Maline	Malinowski		
(Name must appear the same on all petition booklets to be filed.)	(Please print or type name)		
15 Welisewitz Rd.	Ringoes	08851	
Residential Address	City	Zip Code	
P.O. Box 263	Somerville	08876	
Post Office Address	City	Zip Code	

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tpmal	IDOWS	מאוד מ	oma i		്രന
C P mort	<b>TTTC WC</b>		Surger		

(Candidate Email Address)

## ALL INFORMATION ABOVE MUST BE COMPLETED PRIOR TO CIRCULATION

Petition filing deadline - Before 4 p.m. on June 7, 2022 (N.J.S.A. 19:13-9)

Total Number of Signatures on this Petition \_

Total Number of Signatures on all Petitions

13



ALL INFORMATION IS REQUIRED TO BE COMPLETED

#### 2022 GENERAL ELECTION - U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SIGNATURE SHEET Signature Print Name Residence Address (Number, Street, City, Zip Code) 11. 71 N Union Christian Landis 12. Laura Mc Water York St correct St 13. LUL TUBOZ Ahl 14. MAGGIE ZACKHEIM S. 28 YORK 15. 29 Clinton Young Joanne ZKMAO 16. MAND 1564 Hauboutza Kock twin RD 17. CALOLE BURSAC 18. Elizabeth Cenavar 805 Partridge Jrive Bridgewater 19. Narry Wo Fer Kennedy 17 Swan Lambertonthe, N) Sy S. Main Louibritu 20. DIANAL, ROBINSON o ls,

		2022 GENERAL ELECTION - U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Signature	SIGNATURE SHEET Print Name	Residence Address (Number, Street, City, Zip Code)
21. AAV. AA	Robert Chesbro	83 S. Main, Lambertville NT
22.		
23.		
24.		
25.		
26.		
27.		
28.		
29.		
30.		

### AFFIDAVIT OF PERSON WHO CIRCULATES THIS PETITION AND WITNESSES SIGNATURES

(N.J.S.A. 19:13-7)

The circulator/witness taking the affidavit below must be the person who obtained the names on this set of signatures or several sets of signatures. The circular/witness must take the affidavit for each set he/she solicits and sign in the presence of a person authorized to administer affidavits (e.g., notary public).

State of New Jersey

: SS.

County of

Emily MCGrath, being duly sworn, upon my oath say that I personally circulated the petition and saw all the

(Print Name of Circulator/Witness)

signatures made thereto and verily believe that the signers are duly qualified voters. I am at least 18 years of age, a resident of this State, a citizen of the United States, and not otherwise disgualified from voting under the State Constitution or election laws of New Jersey.

Sworn and subscribed to before me in

Hunter don N.J., on

(List County where Affidavit was signed and notarized)

day of this (Dav)

June (Year) (Month)

(Notary

2025 TERRY J. CASWELL NOTARY PUBLIC OF NEW JERSEY (My Commission Expires) My Commission Expires 1/8/2025

(Signature of Creditator/Witness)

(Residence Address of Circulator/Witness)

(City or Town of Circulator/Witness)

(Zip Code)

(Place Notary Stamp in the area above)

The candidate named in this petition requests that there be printed on the general election ballot the following slogan: (Slogan must not exceed three words and must be in accord with <u>N.J.S.A.</u> 19:13-4. If slogan includes the name of any person other than the candidate or any incorporated association of this State, written consent of such person or incorporated association of this State must be attached.)

	County	<u>Slogan</u> (Please Print or Type)
1	Hunterdon	Moderate Party
2.	Morris	Moderate Party
3	Somerset	Moderate Party
4.	Sussex	Moderate Party
5.	Union	Moderate Party
6	Warren	Moderate Party
-		

NOTE: There are up to six counties in a congressional district, so enough lines are provided above for the purpose of identifying slogans in each county where the nominee is a candidate.

# PETITION FOR MEMBER OF THE UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

50 Signatures Required (N.J.S.A. 19:13-5)

### PETITION OF DIRECT NOMINATION FOR THE GENERAL ELECTION

7th CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

By checking this box, I acknowledge that I have confirmed my congressional district at the following link: <u>https://www.niredistrictingcommission.org/adoption2022map.asp</u>. I further acknowledge the congressional district listed above is the district I intend on being a candidate in as a result of re-districting.

To the Honorable Secretary of State: (N.J.S.A. 19:13-3)

Each signer of this petition certifies that the following statements are true:

1) I reside in the State of New Jersey in the <u>Seventh (7th)</u> Congressional District;

2) I am a qualified voter therein;

3) I have not signed any other petition of nomination for the primary or for the general election for such office; and

4) I request that you cause to be printed upon the official general election ballot the name of the candidate listed below. (N.J.S.A. 19:13-4).

Name of Candidate: Tom Maline	owski	
(Name must appear the same on all petition booklets to be filed.)	(Please print or type name)	······································
15 Welisewitz Rd.	Ringoes	08851
Residential Address	City	Zip Code
P.O. Box 263	Somerville	08876
Post Office Address	City	Zip Code

### tpmalinowski@gmail.com

(Candidate Email Address)

## ALL INFORMATION ABOVE MUST BE COMPLETED PRIOR TO CIRCULATION

Petition filing deadline - Before 4 p.m. on June 7, 2022 (N.J.S.A. 19:13-9)

For Division of Elections Use:

Total Number of Signatures on this Petition \_\_\_\_

Total Number of Signatures on all Petitions \_\_\_\_

2022 GENERAL ELECTION - U.S. HOUSE OF REAL

Signature	SIGNATURE SHEET Print Name	Residence Address (Number, Street, City, Zip Code)
1 SAQ	Elizabeth A. Kelly	50 Airport Rol Rittstown, NJ 08867
2. alart & Walf	Aloxander G. Wolfson	351 Crack Road Franchtown NJ 08825
3. Augure man	1 Suzance M Shyde	351 Creek Rd Frenchtorn, NJ 08828
Moine Zeyl	Marie Zengel	340 Creek Rd, Frenchtonn, NJ 08825
5. Mengia Mucha	Georgia Muks	343 Creek Rd Frenchtown, N.T. 08825
6. Phyllis & Epio	TRyllis La Sapio	509 A Harrison J. Frenchtown, N.J. 08825
"Isabelle LoSupio	Isabelle LoSapio	509A Harrison St. Frenenfourn, NJ 08825
8. Merente le hells	Margarete E. Kelly	50 Airport Rd Pittotown NJ 08867
"Goog Juhn	George J. LeBlanc	729 Sweet Hollow Rd. Bloomsbury NJ 08804
10. July J. Kh	Linda J. Kuhn	451 Sweet Hollow Rt. Bloomsburg, NJ 08804

ļ.

2022 GENERAL ELECTION -- U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

# SIGNATURE SHEET

Signature	SIGNATURE SHEET Print Name	Residence Address (Number, Street, City, Zip Code)
11. mike	Mark Kehn	451 Sweet Hullon R. Blooksburg NJ. Oypoy
12. Imm Gran	Jessani Gordon	729 Sweet Hollow Fd. Bloomsbury, NJ 08804
Jacob Buenherti	JACEK BUCZKOWSKI	735 SWEET HOLLOW RD. BLOOMSBURY N.J. 08804
14. Marta Harasymovicz	MARTA HARASYMONICZ	735 sweet hollow Rol Bloomsbury, NJ 8804
15. Katherine Ballontine	Katherine Ballantyne	757 Sweet Hollow Rd Bloomsbury NJ 08804
16. Touch M J Vel	Randolph J Kelly	SO AISPORT RD Pittstown, NJ 09867
17. Perderoherto	Paige B. D. Roberto	55 Cooks Crass Pittstown, NJ 08867
18. Walnut	Noah D. Roboto	55 Cooks Cross Pittetown, NS 08867
19. Georgia Dibobioto	Georgia Di Roberto	55 COOKS Cross Rd Pittstown, NJ 088767
20. Juance & anenod	shanice Homeward	342 Mechlin Corner Rd Pittstown,NJ 08867

\_\_\_\_

#### 2022 GENERAL ELECTION - U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Signature	SIGNATURE SHEET Print Name	Residence Address (Number, Street, City, Zip Code)
21. Vaige Kelly	Paige Ping Kelly	50 tipports Rd pittatown 08867
22.		
23.		
24.		
25.		
26.		
27.		
28.		
29.		
30.		

#### AFFIDAVIT OF PERSON WHO CIRCULATES THIS PETITION AND WITNESSES SIGNATURES

(N.J.S.A. 19:13-7)

The circulator/witness taking the affidavit below must be the person who obtained the names on this set of signatures or several sets of signatures. The circular/witness must take the affidavit for each set he/she solicits and sign in the presence of a person authorized to administer affidavits (e.g., notary public).

State of New Jersey

: SS.

:

County of Hinterdon

Elizabeth Kelly, being duly sworn, upon my oath say that I personally circulated the petition and saw all the (Print Name of Circulator/Witness)

signatures made thereto and verily believe that the signers are duly qualified voters. I am at least 18 years of age, a resident of this State, a citizen of the United States, and not otherwise disqualified from voting under the State Constitution or election laws of New Jersey.

Sworn and subscribed to before me in

N.J., on (List County where Affidavit was signed and notarized)

this day of (Day) SUL (Month) (Year) (Notary Signature) (My Commission Expires)

(Signature of Circulator/Witness)

R'Hstown 50 Avroant

(Residence Address of Circulator/Witness)

08867 (City or Town of Circulator/Witness) (Zin Code)

LISA MANDELBLATT Notary Public, State of New Jersey **My Commission Expires** February 23, 2027

(Place Notary Stamp in the area above)

The candidate named in this petition requests that there be printed on the general election ballot the following slogan: (Slogan must not exceed three words and must be in accord with <u>N.J.S.A.</u> 19:13-4. If slogan includes the name of any person other than the candidate or any incorporated association of this State, written consent of such person or incorporated association of this State must be attached.)

County		<u>Slogan</u> (Please Print or Type)
1	Hunterdon	Moderate Party
2	Morris	Moderate Party
3.	Somerset	Moderate Party
4	Sussex	Moderate Party
5.	Union	Moderate Party
6	Warren	Moderate Party

NOTE: There are up to six counties in a congressional district, so enough lines are provided above for the purpose of identifying slogans in each county where the nominee is a candidate.

# PETITION FOR MEMBER OF THE UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

50 Signatures Required (N.J.S.A. 19:13-5)

PETITION OF DIRECT NOMINATION FOR THE GENERAL ELECTION

7th

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

By checking this box, I acknowledge that I have confirmed my congressional district at the following link: <u>https://www.njredistrictingcommission.org/adoption2022map.asp</u>. I further acknowledge the congressional district listed above is the district I intend on being a candidate in as a result of re-districting.

To the Honorable Secretary of State: (N.J.S.A. 19:13-3)

Each signer of this petition certifies that the following statements are true:

- 1) I reside in the State of New Jersey in the <u>Seventh</u> (7th) Congressional District;
- 2) I am a qualified voter therein;
- 3) I have not signed any other petition of nomination for the primary or for the general election for such office; and
- 4) I request that you cause to be printed upon the official general election ballot the name of the candidate listed below. (N.J.S.A. 19:13-4).

Name of Candidate: Tom Malino	Malinowski		
(Name must appear the same on all petition booklets to be filed.)	(Please print or type name)		
15 Welisewitz Rd.	Ringoes	08851	
Residential Address	City	Zip Code	
P.O. Box 263	Somerville	08876	
Post Office Address	City	Zip Code	

### tpmalinowski@gmail.com

(Candidate Email Address)

### ALL INFORMATION ABOVE MUST BE COMPLETED PRIOR TO CIRCULATION

Petition filing deadline - Before 4 p.m. on June 7, 2022 (N.J.S.A. 19:13-9)

For Division of Elections Use:

Total Number of Signatures on this Petition \_

Total Number of Signatures on all Petitions \_\_\_\_

#### 2022 GENERAL ELECTION - U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SIGNATURE SHEET				
Signature	Print Name	Residence Address (Number, Street, City, Zip Code)		
1.	Luca Frimento	30 N Gate Road Mendham, NJ 07945		
2.	Jean A. Helly	2 Woodstream Ct. Cumbertville, NJ 08530		
3. ah m	Etraseth weinan	2 Woodstream Cr Lambertuille, NJ 08538		
4.				
5.				
6.				
7.				
8.				
9.				
10.				

#### AFFIDAVIT OF PERSON WHO CIRCULATES THIS PETITION AND WITNESSES SIGNATURES

(N.J.S.A. 19:13-7)

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State of New Jersey

: SS.

:

County of

being duly sworn, upon my oath say that I personally circulated the petition and saw all the

(Print Name of Circulator/Witness) signatures made thereto and verily believe that the signers are duly qualified voters. I am at least 18 years of age, a resident of this State, a citizen of the United States, and not otherwise disgualified from voting under the State Constitution or election laws of New Jersey.

(Signature of Circulator/Witness)

(Residence Address of Circulator/Witness)

(City or Town of Circulator/Witness)

Sworn and subscribed to before me in

N.J. on

(List County where Affidavit was signed and notarized)

day of this (Day)

m (Month) (Year)

(Notary Signature) (My Commission Expires

TERRY J. CASWELL VOTARY PUBLIC OF NEW JERSEY My Commission Expires 1/8/2025

(Zip Code)

(Place Notary Stamp in the area above)

The candidate named in this petition requests that there be printed on the general election ballot the following slogan: (Slogan must not exceed three words and must be in accord with <u>N.J.S.A.</u> 19:13-4. If slogan includes the name of any person other than the candidate or any incorporated association of this State, written consent of such person or incorporated association of this State must be attached.)

<u>c</u>	County	<u>Slogan</u> (Please Print or Type)	
1	Hunterdon	Moderate Party	
2	Morris	Moderate Party	
3.	Somerset	Moderate Party	
4	Sussex	Moderate Party	
5	Union	Moderate Party	
6	Warren	Moderate Party	

NOTE: There are up to six counties in a congressional district, so enough lines are provided above for the purpose of identifying slogans in each county where the nominee is a candidate.

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