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1 IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA 2 ATLANTA DIVISION 3 4 DONNA CURLING, ET AL., : : 5 PLAINTIFFS, : DOCKET NUMBER vs. 6 1:17-CV-2989-AT : BRAD RAFFENSPERGER, ET AL., : 7 DEFENDANTS. 8 9 TRANSCRIPT OF BENCH TRIAL - VOLUME 17 PROCEEDINGS 10 BEFORE THE HONORABLE AMY TOTENBERG 11 12 UNITED STATES DISTRICT SENIOR JUDGE 13 FEBRUARY 1, 2024 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 MECHANICAL STENOGRAPHY OF PROCEEDINGS AND COMPUTER-AIDED TRANSCRIPT PRODUCED BY: 22 23 OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER: SHANNON R. WELCH, RMR, CRR 2394 UNITED STATES COURTHOUSE 24 75 TED TURNER DRIVE, SOUTHWEST ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303 25 (404) 215-1383

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(...CONT'D....) FOR THE STATE OF GEORGIA DEFENDANTS: VINCENT RUSSO JOSH BELINFANTE JAVIER PICO-PRATS EDWARD BEDARD DANIELLE HERNANDEZ ROBBINS ROSS ALLOY BELINFANTE LITTLEFIELD, LLC BRYAN TYSON BRYAN JACOUTOT DIANE LAROSS DANIEL H. WEIGEL DONALD P. BOYLE, JR. TAYLOR ENGLISH DUMA

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1 PROCEEDINGS 2 (Atlanta, Fulton County, Georgia; February 1, 2024.) 3 THE COURT: Good morning. Good morning. Have a 4 seat, everybody. 5 Well, I can't say we sprinted to this day. But a lot 6 of hard work was put to get to this day by all counsel and 7 parties. 8 And I just want to say from the start, I know there's 9 a lot of passionate feelings about the issues involved in elections and in this case. And whatever the result is, it is 10 11 obviously we are -- I know that all counsel devoted everything that they had to try and present the best of their case, what 12 they view the law to be, and we're very -- for all the tensions 13 14 and conflicts in our society and in this case and courtrooms, we're still very fortunate to have a functioning legal system, 15 16 where people can actually present these conflicts and these 17 positions. 18 And the law is an evolving -- is ever evolving, and it is better than the alternatives of the street. And really 19 20 it is a -- as hard as this has been -- and sometimes apparently 21 only I felt the conflict because the lawyers were all used to 22 their -- their friendship and fighting -- that I think that 23 really that counsel did an extraordinary job in presenting their cases. 24 25 And I want to thank them. I want to thank -- say

1	that also I know that the underlying parties have strong	
2	concerns. And I completely recognize that on all sides. It is	
3	what makes this case so hard.	
4	But it also represents an effort in democracy to	
5	confront these issues. And as I said, whatever happens, it is	
6	all all an evolving piece in what is happening in our	
7	country. And I hope that everyone keeps that I mean, the	
8	media is a different thing. But I think all the citizens here	
9	who have been engaged in one form or another, at minimum, will	
10	feel that they have been heard.	
11	And hopefully they really everyone recognizes	
12	that, that they have participated in a very vigorous way.	
13	And I am looking forward to hearing oral argument.	
14	So let's proceed.	
15	The notebook manufacturers are very happy also.	
16	MR. CROSS: Paper. Lots of paper.	
17	THE COURT: I mean, the endless notebooks. I've got	
18	them stacked over there. They say more and more and more	
19	cases. All right.	
20	MR. CROSS: Your Honor, one quick question. The	
21	request on the Fortalice report, I assume you want to deal with	
22	that later?	
23	THE COURT: Thank you for raising that. I think it	
24	would make more sense to do it later unless you are	
25	MR. CROSS: We don't need it.	

1 THE COURT: I mean, I am -- I think that we're 2 relatively prepared to rule. But we had some -- just a few 3 more legal things that we wanted to check before we did. 4 MR. CROSS: Okay. 5 THE COURT: But so I want to reaffirm that the 6 question of the -- whether the 2019 Fortalice record should be 7 released to the plaintiffs so they could introduce it remains 8 an open issue. And the record remains open to the resolution 9 of that, and it may still be submitted depending on the Court's ruling. 10 11 Just as I already affirmed before, that the other 12 matters that were outstanding -- there were a few other matters 13 that were outstanding that the record remains -- has to be 14 ultimately resolved. 15 MR. CROSS: Okay. 16 THE COURT: All right. But I identified those 17 yesterday. 18 MR. CROSS: Thank you, Your Honor. 19 May it please the Court. 20 THE COURT: I want to just let the audience know what 21 they are in for. 22 I allocated two hours to each side. And they can do 23 as they fit -- see fit with that. This is because we had 24 multiple sets of attorneys. 25 Additionally, Mr. Davis retained separate counsel

1 very late in the game. But Mr. Oles has been very professional 2 about trying to assume those responsibilities and has somewhat 3 different issues that he has raised. So I'm giving him 4 15 minutes. And if he runs over some, I have told him I will be lenient. 5 6 So I don't know how you're breaking that up. We will 7 take a short lunch, slash, snack break. But it is really not 8 going to be more than about 25 minutes. We've got wonderful 9 vending machines. 10 MR. CROSS: I think we're going to try to fix the 11 technical issue real quick. 12 (There was a brief pause in the proceedings.) 13 CLOSING ARGUMENT 14 MR. CROSS: All right. Good morning, Your Honor. 15 First and foremost, thank you to the Court for the support and thank you to everyone. It has been a long and 16 17 arduous journey for everyone to get here, obviously in our 18 minds quite important, both for us, for our clients, for our 19 experts, and ultimately for the public. 20 Let me start. Your Honor is intimately familiar with 21 I'm not going to spend much time on this. What I do the law. 22 want to emphasize is the quote from the U.S. Supreme Court in 23 Reynolds v. Sims, that the right to vote includes the right to 24 have the ballot counted. And that is critically important in 25 this case.

1	Because as we have heard the State put on their case,	
2	there seems to be a dispute about that. That the State's view	
3	is the right to vote ends at casting a vote. And beyond that,	
4	nothing more is required. And, in fact, they have been	
5	explicit. The defense they offered, there is no legally	
6	protected interest in verifying one's vote or in voting on a	
7	reasonably secure system, in a world, Your Honor, where you are	
8	voting on any manner of electronic equipment, particularly	
9	where the machine itself is creating your ballot, in a world	
10	where we have advanced persistent threats, as we have heard,	
11	both from foreign and domestic actors. And we will walk	
12	through how substantial those risks are in this system in this	
13	state.	
14	If a voter cannot verify what is on their ballot, if	
15	they cannot be sure that the ballot of record reflects their	
16	selections, which is what we're talking about, then there is no	
17	right to ensure that your vote is counted as cast.	
18	And if it cannot be cast in a system that is at least	
19	reasonably secure, then the most that you have gotten from the	
20	State is the ability to cast a vote. Because a system that is	
21	not at least reasonably secure, the only alternative is	
22	unreasonably secure. And that cannot be what satisfies the	
23	constitutional right and where we are today in this world in	
24	this state with this system. But that is the State's position.	
25	Your Honor has talked about this in the past, going	

1 as far as back as 2018, emphasizing the wounds here. And where 2 we find ourselves, Your Honor, is far deeper wounds to the 3 right to vote than anyone ever anticipated. 4 Now, there are a variety of ways to vote. Georgia is 5 one of only two states that does it in this way, with these ICX 6 particular BMDs. 7 The simplest way, of course, is to do what we have on 8 the screen, which is what almost everyone else in the country 9 does. You just print a piece of paper. You fill in some 10 bubbles with a pen. Everyone is familiar with this. Probably 11 most people have taken tests in this way growing up through 12 school. It is not complicated. It is not a surprise. And it 13 works. 14 And, in fact, their own expert, Dr. Ben Adida, says this is what he recommends. He wouldn't say always, but he did 15 say 99.9 percent of the time to his own clients. 16 17 This is what they force on voters. The State does. 18 And let me be clear about this. It is the Secretary of State 19 and the State Election Board, but in particular the Secretary 20 that does this. Not the legislature. I'll explain why that 21 matters. 22 There are a variety of burdens. The first is the 23 burden of having to vote on the BMD. Completely unnecessarily 24 forcing a computer between the voter and themselves. You can 25 see how it works. You put in the voter card at the bottom.

1	You make your selection here. One of the selections they would	
2	make, constitutional amendment. This is from an actual ballot	
3	in Georgia. A voter might select no on the constitutional	
4	amendment.	
5	And then at the end, they have a review screen. So	
6	they have to make these selections on a computer screen. Then	
7	they have to review it on the computer screen.	
8	With a hand-marked paper ballot, that is not required	
9	at all. You fill it out yourself. You could review it to see	
10	if you made a mistake. But you know that the selections on	
11	there are yours.	
12	Then we get to the next burden. Now they have to	
13	review it a second time, because they have to print it, because	
14	that is what is going to be cast. And as to actually being	
15	able to review it, we get to the third burden, which is, as we	
16	have heard, they cannot actually review this.	
17	Study after study after study shows that voters	
18	either don't or can't and the most logical explanation for why	
19	most voters don't is because they know they can't or maybe they	
20	forget. But again, with a hand-marked paper ballot, none of	
21	this is required or necessary because they marked the ballot.	
22	Here, Your Honor, again they have to review their	
23	selection. Simplicity; right? On the left, simple hand-marked	
24	paper ballot, it is confirmed, voter verified, the moment they	
25	are done filling it out.	

1 On the right, they have no idea what is buried in 2 that QR code which is what gets tabulated. And then you look 3 at the selections, the text here. They are not even told the 4 information that was available to them. They are only told the 5 candidate shows up. Certainly someone is going to remember 6 whether they voted for Donald Trump or Joe Biden. But as you 7 get deeper into this and you have a variety of constitutional 8 questions, they have to remember which question is which and 9 how they answered it. And in case folks didn't notice, we swapped the 10 11 answer on constitutional Number 1. The vote that we cast on the BMD was no. Here it is yes. We'll leave it to the folks 12 13 in the room as to how many actually spotted that. 14 Imagine trying to do that as a voter in a voting 15 booth with the stress of everything going on, trying to be 16 quick and to read all of this. It is not realistic, and every 17 study shows that. 18 The other point here as a threshold matter, Your 19 Honor, is the principal defense they have offered is that the 20 voting system is air-gapped, that the BMDs are never connected to the internet. 21 22 The last thing we heard in this trial from their last 23 witness, the most senior secretary official to show up, 24 absolutely drove a truck through that. Because what he said is 25 they now have Poll Pads that are connected to the internet

1 through a cellular connection.

How does that system work? When a voter shows up,
they get a voter card that is plugged into the Poll Pad that
verifies that they are allowed to vote, that identifies the
ballot style that is supposed to show up on the screen. That
voter card is then plugged into the BMD as we just saw.
So in 2020 alone, we had what? 4, almost
5 million voters. If we expect a similar turnout this year,
that is 5 million voters. Take out the number that are
absentee, about 1.3. Let's just say millions of voters are
going to connect each BMD to the internet every single time
they vote.
And what did Dr. Halderman demonstrate? How you can
hack the machine simply through the use of putting the cards
into the machine. It will happen every time it is voted. And
this has already been happening we heard from Mr. Sterling in
elections already. They fundamentally do not understand
election security, and it is frightening.
This is what Your Honor ordered in 2019. To refrain
from the use of the GEMS DRE system in conducting elections
after 2019. The only thing that we seek different here is to
replace GEMS and DRE with the Dominion ICX and printers.
Otherwise, the relief is the same.
We'll talk through additional, lesser-included relief
that the Court can order particularly in the short-term.

1 Also, Your Honor, in your summary judgment decision, 2 you have a very great summary of sort of the four factual 3 pillars that led to your 2019 decision. Each of those factual 4 pillars is present today, but in the words of Joseph Kirk, on steroids. 5 Your Honor pointed out that voters could not verify 6 7 their ballots in the DRE system. Well, that remains true here. 8 They can't verify the QR code. And as we have seen, they can't 9 even verify the human readable text. So it still is today a ballot that is not voter verified and cannot be. 10 11 Your Honor pointed out the failure to implement 12 critical software patches to address cybersecurity 13 vulnerabilities. It is far worse here. 14 The critical vulnerabilities that Dr. Halderman has 15 identified and CISA has identified are exponentially worse than 16 what we saw with the GEMS system. Your Honor pointed out the 17 slow and ineffective response to a data breach. 18 The KSU data breach, to say that it pales in 19 comparison to Coffee County, is to put it mild. And the 20 State's reaction, even after we brought it to their attention, 21 was to say it didn't happen. 22 And then as Mr. Blanchard said, he was told don't 23 investigate this, hold off. And to this day, there has never 24 been an investigation by the Secretary's office or the SEB only 25 referring it to the GBI after we developed the record.

1 Lastly, Your Honor found an insufficient remedial 2 action. CISA has told them a dozen different things they 3 needed to do almost two years ago. They haven't done it. So 4 all of the factual pillars for the same relief we seek today 5 are present but on steroids. These are the elements, Your Honor. There is no 6 7 dispute about this. The only reason I pause here is just to say I'm not going to march through each individual element. 8 9 Because, as we have maintained and Your Honor acknowledged in the summary judgment decision, the standing elements often 10 11 overlap with the merits in this case. 12 So I am going to walk through specific elements on 13 traceability, redressability. And then, of course, the injury 14 in the Anderson-Burdick analysis overlap heavily. 15 Traceability. All we need to show, Your Honor, is a 16 fairly traceable connection between our injury and their 17 conduct. That is easily done here. It cannot be reasonably 18 disputed, Your Honor. 19 The State, the legislature, mandated election ballot 20 markers. This is where I want to be clear. They are telling 21 Your Honor that we're asking you to contravene the decision of 22 the legislature. That is not accurate. Because the 23 legislature is not the one that mandated these BMDs as they are 24 designed, configured, and administered in the State. And that 25 is all we're asking.

We're not asking Your Honor to enter an order that says BMDs cannot be used at all. It is a very precise factual record we have created.

And who chose these BMDs in this configuration? Who is responsible for maintaining them? The Secretary's office. This is the contract that the Secretary negotiated and signed.

Gabe Sterling and Ryan Germany in particular were the ones that drove this decision, that drove the terms of that gareement. And it is that contract that governs the BMDs that are used across the State and the Secretary's office mandates are used.

12 Now, we have said we would like obviously some 13 changes to that. Stop using the BMD, the ICX, and the printer. 14 Well, they say they decide that, the Secretary's office and the 15 State Election Board. Only the Secretary of State can determine whether any election equipment is modified, changed, 16 17 or upgraded. That is why they are in this case because they 18 are the ones that make that decision, having forced this on the 19 counties and the voters.

Even beyond that, Your Honor, Georgia law, in the wisdom of the legislature, recognizing that there could be a time when, in the words of Chris Harvey, the BMDs are unsafe to use. And the way the legislature decided to protect the right to vote was to say that the county superintendents make that decision. But since 2018, it has been the position of the Secretary's office that the State decides that. They are the only ones contravening Georgia law is the Secretary's office telling the counties for years that they are not allowed to do what the legislature in its wisdom to protect the right to vote told them is their decision. And the Court should enjoin them from doing that.

8 How does it -- how is it traceable to the State? I'm 9 not going to spend much time on this. Suffice to say, Your 10 Honor, they are the ones -- they actually introduced this, the 11 poll worker manual. They determine at a granular level how the 12 elections are run, from setting up the machines, how they are 13 supposed to be secured, the seals, through the election itself.

And why did they do this? Why is it so important to the Secretary's office to govern elections in this way? Well, Blake Evans said it. This is why they do it. Because allowing counties to have different systems requires that counties have more autonomy, which makes it more difficult for the Secretary to step in if a county is underperforming.

So underperforming, for example, could be allowing what happened in Coffee County. It could be allowing the use of machines with broken or missing seals. All of the things where the Secretary is the one that is supposed to step in and to protect the right to vote.

25

They don't want the counties to have autonomy. Yet

1 they have stood in this court and told Your Honor that the 2 counties are the ones with the autonomy and that they are the 3 only ones that could actually change the system in the way we 4 have asked. That narrative appears only in this courtroom and 5 not what is told to the counties day in and day out. Mr. Sterling put it quite well: Generally speaking, 6 7 if the Secretary of State's office says to do something, the 8 counties generally do it. Because they don't want to go before 9 the State Election Board for having done something wrong. These defendants control the election. The relief is 10 11 directly traceable to them. There is additional evidence here, 12 Your Honor, I'm not going to walk through. 13 They try to argue multiple actors defeat 14 traceability. Your Honor has dealt with this before. The 15 facts have not changed from what you addressed in summary 16 The Eleventh Circuit has been unequivocal on this. judgment. 17 Whether they are pointing to the Coffee County actors, whether 18 they are pointing to the counties that are acting at the 19 State's direction, it is clear that it is traceable to them. 20 The Eleventh Circuit cannot be clearer. 21 All right. Let me jump into the merits, which again 22 does overlap with the injury component of standing. What the 23 Court now has to do is weigh the character and magnitude of the burden against the State interest. I'm going to focus on the 24 25 burden, and Mr. McGuire is going to focus on the State interest

1 and some other considerations.

2	Your Honor is familiar with the law. I'm not going	
3	to spend time walking through this other than to say the	
4	Supreme Court I think most recently in the Crawford case has	
5	been explicit. This is a very flexible standard. And the	
6	Court has broad discretion in how to address this on the facts.	
7	Now, their defense is to say we have secured the	
8	election. Trust us. We know what we're doing. And it is all	
9	a policy decision.	
10	Well, the first point I would make, Your Honor, is	
11	throughout the history of our great nation there have been lots	
12	of policy decisions states have made that the Article III	
13	courts have stepped in and said stop it.	
14	School segregation in Brown. Jim Crow. Interracial	
15	marriage. Voting cases. Lots of voting cases. A policy is	
16	not a defense, even if it is the legislature. A lot of what I	
17	have just talked about was at the level of the legislature.	
18	The fact that a state makes a decision, whether	
19	legislatively or executive branch, a policy has never been a	
20	legal defense to a constitutional deprivation.	
21	But they say we understand election security so there	
22	is no burden here because we have taken all the necessary	
23	measures to protect against what we have alleged.	
24	Well, this is what they have identified, and it is	
25	fatal. Mr. Sterling says this is how his office defines	

1 election security, physical security, chain of custody, and 2 cybersecurity. And let's walk through each of those. 3 We'll start with cybersecurity. You saw in this 4 courtroom, Your Honor, that Dr. Halderman was able to get 5 superuser access within five seconds on this machine, which 6 enabled him to do whatever he wanted, edit the log files, 7 change the configurations, all by taking a pen and sticking it in a hole in the back of the machine. 8 9 And if we're in a voting booth, there is a screen 10 here. No one can see whether my hand is here or whether my 11 hand is here, unless you are directly behind me, which by law 12 is not allowed. 13 And as Joseph Kirk said, in his own precinct, often 14 these are set up, as we saw a photo, with a wall behind them. 15 So no one can see what is happening with a simple sleight of hand from here versus here. And then all of the changes are 16 17 made on the touch screen, which anybody watching would think 18 you are simply making your selections. 19 And Dr. Halderman testified that very briefly he was 20 able to train Jeffrey Schoenberg to do exactly that. We tried 21 to do a demonstration in the court. The State objected. But 22 it is in the record that Jeffrey Schoenberg was able to do it. 23 And he actually was faster at hacking the machine than he was 24 at voting on it because of the cumbersome of actually putting 25 in the selections. That's unrefuted.

1 You saw the video of the Bash Bunny. This port right 2 here, Your Honor, this is how it is set up. There is no seal. 3 This is how it is set up in an actual courtroom. You unplug 4 that. You plug in the Bash Bunny device. It all happens by 5 itself, as you saw. These are simple fixes. Why not just plug the hole if you are going to insist 6 7 on using it? How hard is that? Why not just seal this so that 8 it can't be unplugged? How hard is that? But this is the 9 intransigence of the State is to say we won't even meet you not 10 even in the middle, one percent of the way. Fix something. 11 But they won't. 12 These are the voter cards. We have already talked 13 about the voter card going from the internet-connected Poll 14 Pads through a cellular connection. The technician card, which gives you unfettered, unmitigated superuser access --15 16 Dr. Halderman created that from entirely public information. 17 Did not need the software. Did not need access to anything 18 proprietary. 19 Dr. Halderman's findings are unrefuted. As much as 20 they like to tell the public it is a load of crap, disregard 21 it, no one respects him, we all know that is not the reality. 22 Dr. Juan Gilbert said he is the guy that we go to in 23 our industry to do exactly what he did here and CISA validated 24 every single finding. 25 And interestingly enough, when the Secretary of

State's office called it a load of crap, no one in the office had ever even read the report, including Mr. Sterling who certainly led folks to believe he had read it when he called it a load of crap. Unrefuted. Well, beyond what we saw in the GEMS phase of this case.

They also dispute they claim publicly, the Secretary 6 7 himself, that you have to access every BMD device directly. 8 CISA says no, that there are multiple exploits where the 9 attacker can leverage the vulnerability to install malicious code which could also be spread to other vulnerable ICX 10 11 devices. One of them is the removal of media: Just like the voter cards we just talked about that are plugged in and out of 12 13 the machine; just like a USB that can be attached to the 14 printer; or just like the USB sticks that we have heard from 15 the State's own witnesses that they use to load the ballot definition files onto the BMDs, which Mr. Barnes testified he 16 17 plugs in to an internet-connected computer.

He has two computers. One he says is air-gapped. One is internet connected. But he plugs the same USB drive into both. And then those files ultimately are put onto the BMD.

22

The second to spread across the system --

THE COURT: This is for purposes of confusion and the public, when you are talking about Mr. Barnes, because there are two Mr. Barnes, would you just clarify that you're talking

1 about the Mr. Barnes who is head of the -- deputy head of 2 elections? 3 MR. CROSS: Right. Michael Barnes, the head of CES. 4 Not James Barnes. 5 The other is through the EMS. With the EMS, that is 6 where the data comes. Goes on to all of the equipment that is 7 used across the counties. At the state level, across the State. CISA confirmed what the State has always denied. 8 9 And importantly what did the Coffee County folks, the insiders and the outsiders get access to? Not just the 10 11 individual machines. They sat in the room with the EMS server. 12 Direct access. That was three years ago. Who knows what they 13 have designed in those three years? 14 Now, their only response to Dr. Halderman, other than trying to discredit him, is to say, well, you haven't given us 15 a precise quantification. They want a number. And you heard 16 17 from every cybersecurity expert that that is not how we do it. 18 But more importantly, Your Honor, as he said when you can hack a voting machine, when you can get superuser access 19 20 with a ballpoint pen in under five seconds, it doesn't matter 21 what standard we're using. We're not in the universe of a 22 secure system. 23 Then they tried to say with Dr. Adida, and 24 particularly with Dr. Gilbert, well, it should be software 25 independence. Okay. We can work with that as a standard.

1 Dr. Wenke Lee actually warned them as far back as 2018, as the 2 only SAFE Commission cybersecurity expert, who was selected by 3 Brian Kemp, now the Governor, that it should be software 4 independent. And Dr. Gilbert talked about this. Software 5 6 independence means that an undetectable change in the software 7 cannot cause an undetectable change in the outcome. What does 8 that mean in simple terms? 9 It means that if the BMD glitches or is hacked in some way that no one detects, you can still trust the outcome 10 11 of the -- of what comes out on the ballot because the ballot does not depend on the BMD operating accurately. We're agreed. 12 13 Simple standard. 14 But here is the problem. He acknowledges for 15 software independence every ballot has to be verified by the 16 voter. Because without voter verification, you lose software 17 independence. It is undisputed from their own study. This is 18 Dr. Adida saying the same. His whole role was to say we have 19 RLAs. 20 First of all, as he acknowledged, RLAs only go to 21 election outcomes. They don't tell us anything about whether 22 an individual ballot is accurate. So they really don't have a 23 lot of relevance in this case, for the burden we're talking 24 about. 25 But he acknowledges for an RLA to be usable, to have

1 any value, paper ballots -- it has to operate on paper ballots 2 that have been verified by the voter so that they are properly 3 counted as the voter saw them.

So everyone agrees, Your Honor, that even for their standard, going back to this, of software independence, the voter has to verify their own study that they commissioned showed that very few voters actually verify their ballot. And we'll look at that in a moment.

9 But again, as we have talked about, it is not just do 10 they but can they. Aileen Nakamura talked about how you can't 11 possibly memorize the content of these ballots that span 12 multiple pages -- and we saw one just a moment ago -- and then 13 be expected to realize whether something is missing, whether 14 something has changed.

Dr. Philip Stark talked about the studies, the unrefuted literature on this, including the Georgia study which was in Georgia elections with this system and so did Dr. Appel.

18 Just very briefly on this, Your Honor, more than 19 80 percent checked their ballots for less than five seconds. 20 So even you can see here, over half of them either did not 21 check at all or a brief glance was less than a second. So over 22 half of them looked at it for less than a second. The maximum 23 time they were allowed to study was five seconds, which is not meaningful at all. And one could infer that what this was 24 25 really designed to do was to generate probably a number, an

1 outcome, that the State could say, look, it shows that they 2 verify their ballots because by setting it at five seconds they probably thought they would get good results. 3 4 That is how bad this is. Because it is so difficult 5 for voters to do. So even at five seconds, the numbers are 6 abysmal. 7 Dr. Gilbert alone, whose profession is dealing with 8 ballots, the human interface, the simplicity of it, someone who 9 probably should be the best at this in the world, it took him nearly 20 seconds, not to verify anything, but just to identify 10 11 six selections on the ballot that were not Republican 12 candidates. Just to find them. 13 And if we were to count down five seconds right now, 14 Your Honor, someone could do the count for President of the 15 United States, vote for one, for Donald Trump; for United 16 States Senate, vote for one, for David Perdue; for United 17 States Senate, Loeffler, vote for Kelly Loeffler; public 18 commission, Jason Shaw. Pretty sure we're above five seconds. 19 We're not even a quarter of the way through the ballot. 20 Voter verification is critical for this system, even 21 by their own standard. And it is impossible to do. 22 And that is exactly what Gabriel Sterling said. Ιf 23 you have bad human beings who make decisions that are obviously 24 against the law, that is the same for every system, the threat 25 remains the same.

1 Question: Which is why it is so critically important 2 to have ballots that are verified by the voter? 3 That is one of the reasons, yes. They acknowledge that that is necessary, and their 4 5 own evidence shows it cannot be done and it isn't done, meaning 6 they don't meet their own cybersecurity standard. 7 So then we get to, well, who is actually responsible 8 for cybersecurity? Mr. Sterling said it is one of the critical 9 components of securing the system. But first Mr. Barnes says it is not him. He has no responsibility at all, which is quite 10 11 odd, since he is the guy that is responsible for the machines and the administration of the system. But it is not him. 12 He 13 says that is somebody else. Somebody else determines that. 14 And he says, well, maybe it is the Secretary of State's IT division, which would be Merritt Beaver as the CIO. 15 16 Mr. Beaver said it is not him. They have outsourced it 17 entirely to Dominion was his testimony. He says he would not 18 have even been involved in the security of the Dominion system. 19 So Mr. Barnes was wrong about that. 20 Mr. Hamilton also said, as the CISO, that has been -is handed to the vendor, Dominion. But he doesn't really know 21 22 because he said the security of the voting equipment is not 23 even in his scope of work. So he is basically guessing. Mr. Sterling also said it is Dominion but he also 24 25 said it is the county, suggesting the State itself has no

1 responsibility for this. 2 But Blake Evans, who is the State election director, 3 says, no, it is not really Dominion. Because when Dominion 4 recommends that we do things and we disagree, we just make our own decision. 5 6 And you'll recall there was a specific thing that 7 they are doing they were told not to do in an actual election. 8 They do it anyways. And Blake Evans says for our state, we 9 make our own decision. Well, who is making that decision? Is it Dominion? 10 11 Is it Barnes? Is it Beaver? Is it Sterling? 12 And that's the problem. They have not identified one person in the Secretary's office with any cybersecurity 13 14 training, any computer science background who is involved in 15 any decision on how this system gets used, whether it is 16 secure. And yet, they are disregarding the advice of the folks 17 they say they are trusting, like Dominion and others. 18 James Barnes also says contrary to what Gabe Sterling 19 said, Merritt Beaver, Mr. Hamilton, it is not Dominion. We as 20 the counties don't rely on Dominion. We go to CES. 21 Now we're back to Michael Barnes. Michael Barnes 22 says it is not him. So where do we end up, Your Honor? Nobody 23 knows. 24 I would say I paused at putting it in there because I 25 don't want to trivialize this. But this is the level of

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1	absurdity we're at, just finger-pointing and no one coming into	
2	this court.	
3	And it is one of the most important and devastating	
4	deficiencies in their defense. They told this Court in the	
5	Eleventh Circuit no one needed to hear from the Secretary. And	
6	that is fine. That is their choice to make. He was not	
7	required to show. And he made a choice not to show.	
8	But what we're left with is not one witness who took	
9	the stand and said, Judge, let me walk you through the decision	
10	we made as the Secretary of State when we adopted this system,	
11	when we vetted it, with cybersecurity professionals. Because	
12	we acknowledge, as Mr. Sterling said, that is a critical	
13	component. Let me walk you through all the decisions we have	
14	made along the way on why the system is secure, on why we don't	
15	need to do the CISA mitigations, on why we don't need to worry	
16	about Dr. Halderman's findings.	
17	Let me give you assurance on this. Not one person	
18	identified any decision made on this at any point, much less an	
19	informed decision at the level they are required to establish	
20	to show that what they are doing is necessary.	
21	And that is the standard, Your Honor, properly	
22	articulates in your summary judgment decision citing I	
23	should remember the case, but I'm bad with case names. But	
24	we'll get there.	
25	It has to be necessary. The burden they are imposing	

1	has to be necessary. They haven't shown that it is even	
2	sensible, that it complies with even the basic cybersecurity	
3	standards or election security standards, as they identify that	
4	term, much less that it is necessary.	
5	And this shows you how reckless they are and	
6	indifferent they are towards election security. Governor Kemp	
7	to his credit on January 26, 2022 the State, through their	
8	own insistence of keeping Dr. Halderman's report sealed, had	
9	kept it from the public for so long. Governor Kemp says	
10	January 26 that the Secretary should immediately gather all	
11	relevant information and this is important thoroughly vet	
12	its findings. Thoroughly vet its findings.	
13	How did the Secretary respond? The next day while we	
14	were in the middle of a conference with Your Honor, as I	
15	recall, he called on Dr. Halderman to ask Your Honor to	
16	publicly release it, which is misleading, by the way, because	
17	as Your Honor knows, Dr. Halderman had been calling for that,	
18	in fairness, for a long time.	
19	But the very next day, he asked for it to be	
20	released. What do we know? That as of January 27, the only	
21	person who could have advised the Secretary on that critical	
22	decision was Ryan Germany, the lawyer, with no computer science	
23	background, because he was the only person who had read the	
24	complete report.	
25	And the best defense he could come up with is to say,	

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1 well, there are other people who read media accounts. But that 2 was the whole point. The report was sealed. No one in the 3 media knew what the substance of it was. Certainly not anyone 4 who could thoroughly vet it, as the Governor of the State told 5 him he needed to do. Why did he do it? Politics. We heard that. Gabe 6 7 Sterling said they just got tired of it being discussed in the media. Put it out there. Put it out there. 8 9 And if they had bothered to at least talk to Merritt Beaver, the CIO, he would have said to him in his view that is 10 11 showing an ignorance of cybersecurity. Something as sensitive as the Halderman report, which identifies numerous 12 13 vulnerabilities, you don't just release that to the public. 14 That is a bad practice. It is ignorant of cybersecurity. 15 Now, he is wrong. The right way to do this is to have a reasonable measure of transparency and in particular to 16 17 get it to CISA, which is what we were always trying to do. And 18 they objected. 19 So then we are left with, Your Honor, who is advising 20 the State? Who is making these decisions? 21 It is not Dr. Wenke Lee, who warned them not to do 22 what they were doing. Vehemently objected to it in 2018. 23 It is not Michael Shamos, who said don't do QR codes 24 in 2019. It is not Theresa Payton, who has provided report 25 after report after report of massive security failures within

1 the Secretary's office, which remain unmitigated. We don't 2 know the full extent of them today because after Your Honor 3 relied on them, the reports in 2019, Mr. Beaver told her, stop 4 putting those in writing. 5 It is not Jack Cobb. As we learned in 2020, he 6 doesn't understand the basics of security. He thought that 7 hash tests -- hash testing was a way to secure the system 8 against malware. Unrefuted that it is not. 9 But more importantly, all of these people have tried to help them at least in some measure. And every single one 10 11 has disappeared from this case. Every person who tells them 12 what they don't want to hear and has the expertise to advise 13 them, they just send out to the pasture never to be seen again. 14 And so who is making the decision? At the top, we have a long list of individuals who have at least some modicum 15 16 of computer science background, many of whom are leading 17 election cybersecurity experts. They like to say they like to 18 attack Dr. Alex Halderman because his name is the author of the 19 report. But contrary to what they have the public believe, he 20 is far from alone. 21 Here you have a long list of leading election 22 security experts acknowledged by Dr. Gilbert. You also again 23 have their own experts. Dr. Ben Adida says don't do it this way. 99.9 percent of the time, hand-marked paper ballots with 24 25 one BMD for accessibility.

1 Dr. Juan Gilbert said don't do QR codes. He doesn't 2 refute any of the findings here and agrees that they need to be 3 mitigated. 4 David Hamilton had his own recommendations, get a 5 full-time CISO. He also recommended having a policy that would 6 make sure that USB removable media was secure. That policy was 7 never adopted. Merritt Beaver said don't let the software get out to 8 9 the public. That is a roadmap to hack elections. CISA. Dominion's recommendations. Disregarding 10 11 everything that anyone with any level of competency tells them. 12 And who are we left with? Maybe Secretary 13 Raffensperger. We don't know if he is involved in any decision 14 at all. 15 But everyone at the bottom. Not one of them has an iota of computer science training, much less cybersecurity. 16 17 The people making the decision on election security in the 18 State in the face of unrefuted findings on how dangerous this 19 system is. Making their own decisions, as Blake Evans told 20 you, whatever those are, whenever they are made, have no idea 21 on what they are doing. Because they are just not qualified. 22 And like we saw in the release of the Halderman 23 report, it is all driven by politics. The right to vote should 24 never be driven by politics. So that is cybersecurity. 25 And I will quickly touch on the other points that

1 Mr. Sterling said they rely on for election security. He says 2 chain of custody. Well, we know that they just started doing 3 chain of custody forms. And so that means for years in this 4 system, the BMDs, the printers, the EMS servers have been 5 moving around the State among counties without any chain of 6 custody paperwork, including when they were replaced, one that 7 James Barnes thought was potentially compromised in May of 8 2021. James Barnes also acknowledged no paperwork. They just 9 came in and took it. What else did we learn? That when there is an issue 10 11 that is raised with an EMS server, they just throw one on a truck and drive around the State to wherever they are going. 12 13 Just bouncing around in the back. 14 That is not any level of chain of custody that anyone would ever think is sensible. And it is certainly not secure. 15 Still, Your Honor, they are the ones that tell the States what 16 17 they are supposed to do. 18 THE COURT: Counties. 19 MR. CROSS: I'm sorry. Thank you. 20 The State is the one that tells the counties how to run elections. 21 22 This gets to training. The other point that 23 Mr. Sterling made is training is really important. We're good on it. 24 25 So again, they acknowledge they are doing the

1 training on traceability and redressability. But there's many 2 examples of county officials telling them time and time again 3 that they are not complying with what they are supposed to do. 4 And these are the folks they say they rely on to run the 5 elections.

Interestingly, they object to all of this as hearsay. So, you know, we don't know whether this truly happened. But it is odd that they are telling you that the very people they trust to run the elections, that when they provide reports of security problems, those reports are so unreliable that the Court has to treat them as untrustworthy.

But here you have just in a single instance in an election, Your Honor, broken seals, missing zip ties, open databases. One of the machines had a ballot cast on it. We never heard how that happened.

And when they come in and say, hey, even during logic and accuracy testing, we discovered missing seals -- so they are getting ready for an election or perhaps after an election, before the machines are going to be used again -- even the State doesn't follow its own training.

Mr. Barnes, Michael Barnes, said just throw another seal on there and keep using it. No concern about why that seal is missing or broken. The whole purpose of that seal is to ensure that it hasn't been tampered with. Just throw one on and keep using it. They said we just assume that it was a

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1	mistake by the county. You can't assume that in this
2	environment, particularly after Coffee County.
3	The last point Mr. Sterling said was physical
4	security. Well, Cathy Latham and Misty Hampton and the others
5	literally opened the door to Georgia's voting system. And not
6	just in Coffee County. These people sat down at the EMS
7	server, Your Honor, and hacked access to all of the equipment
8	there. I won't walk through that. You are intimately
9	familiar.
10	Now they try to minimize. They say it is not even
11	relevant, which is how little they regard they have for
12	election security to say that that is not even relevant to
13	whether the system is secure. That is not again what they say
14	in the ordinary course.
15	In December 2022, when there was a concern about a
16	similar request, a forensic analyst coming in, inspecting all
17	the election equipment in Butts County, this is what the
18	general counsel said at the time. It would be a huge security
19	breach to allow that to happen.
20	So while they tell you in court, Coffee County is not
21	a big deal, in the ordinary course when they were worried about
22	what was happening, they acknowledged that it would be a huge
23	security breach. And importantly, Your Honor, we have not
24	heard of anything the State has done since.
25	That poll manual they put into evidence, no changes

in response to Coffee County. No new training. No new materials to emphasize the importance of seals securing the system. Nothing new going to the counties we have heard about at all coming out of this. Their response is to say let's just pretend like it didn't happen.

6 And here you can see access to the EMS sever, the 7 SullivanStrickler on the left, and literally cutting the seals 8 on the Poll Pads on the right. Again, those are the Poll Pads 9 that are connected to the internet that the voter cards move 10 from to every BMD in the State every time there is a vote. 11 So just really quickly. So we understand the degree of what happened. This is a list of the files that 12 13 SullivanStrickler grabbed. Six different categories from 14 virtually every piece of equipment, down to the level of the 15 BMD operating software.

16 What did they do? Well, they went back. They put it on 17 their computer. Then they sent it out into the internet on a 18 ShareFile. That ShareFile then transferred those files to 19 Cyber Ninjas.

20 What did Cyber Ninjas do? Doug Logan. He created what is 21 called a virtual machine. That virtual machine lets anyone who 22 has access to it to basically pretend like they have a full BMD 23 system with all the software, everything they need, and they 24 can tinker with it. And what did Mr. Beaver tell you? That is 25 the roadmap to hack elections.

1 Then he loaded it back up to the ShareFile. So that 2 virtual machine sat there for anyone who could get access. And what do we know about access? Well, not a lot, because we have 3 4 limited information. But we do know that there are IP 5 addresses all over the world on the upload and download access, 6 including Stefanie Lambert, who is under investigation in 7 Michigan; including Ben Cotton, who got it from Stefanie Lambert in Montana. 8 9 It is literally out in the wild and has been for years. Mr. Skoqlund said this is uncontrolled distribution and it is 10 11 incredibly dangerous. What did the State do? Ignored it. Obscured it. And now 12 13 they minimize it. If they had done even a modicum of an 14 investigation, Your Honor, just based on what they knew at the 15 time -- and I'm not going to walk through each of these. Just 16 highlighting some of the facts. Not all of them. 17 Some of the facts that were known -- sorry -- I really 18 jumped ahead. 19 If they literally just paid attention to what they knew at 20 the time, even did a simple Google search on things like Cyber 21 Ninjas, they would have put the pieces together. And this is 22 what they would have found. 23 They had all the information they needed in May of 2021, a 24 long list of facts. And the only thing they did was have 25 Mr. Blanchard call James Barnes, he says. But James Barnes

1	testifies there was no such call. That after his email to
2	Chris Harvey, he never heard back from the State.
3	Even if we give them the credit of Mr. Blanchard, at most,
4	it was a 15-minute phone call in a span of a couple of hours.
5	As Michael Barnes said, while he was tasked with assessing the
6	unauthorized access of the machine, which Ms. Watson testified
7	to, Mr. Barnes said he didn't do it. The most he did was try
8	to access the password, and then he just threw it in a closet
9	and walked away.
10	That is the level at which they handled physical security,
11	which Gabe Sterling told you is a critical component of how you
12	secure the system.
13	Now, interestingly enough, in their defense, I think they
14	spent maybe the most time or certainly about the most time of
15	any witness they put on the stand was Marilyn Marks. Not their
16	own people to come in and defend their decisions. Marilyn
17	Marks.
18	And it was almost entirely about a call from Mr. Scott
19	Hall in the spring of 2021. They said if we had known that
20	somehow with all these pieces of the puzzle, if we had just
21	known that one more, we would have taken that seriously. But
22	we know that is not true. Because they had that call played
23	for them in February, and here is what Gabe Sterling said
24	two months later.
25	(Playing of the videotape.)

1	MR. CROSS: So even with all the original puzzle
2	pieces and then the Scott Hall call, they still announced to
3	the public, we investigated, and it didn't happen. He
4	acknowledges that obviously was not accurate.
5	But they also told this Court at the time,
6	repeatedly, invoking the investigative privilege, so that we
7	could get no discovery, or very little, into what they were
8	actually doing in Coffee County. In an investigation they
9	repeatedly said, with an ongoing investigation through March,
10	May, April, June, July, all the way up until August, when it
11	was finally referred to the GBI. The person who was tasked
12	with the investigation says, I was told to hold off moving
13	forward. That came from my supervisors.
14	So is it fair to say that you were never actively
15	investigating Coffee County?
16	No, sir. I never investigated the breaches.
17	There is no evidence that anyone in the Secretary's
18	office, despite the repeated representations, ever investigated
19	this at all, even when they say they had that final critical
20	piece, the Scott Hall call.
21	So where that leaves us is, when you look at the
22	pillars of what Gabe Sterling said are necessary for election
23	security, they fail at every single one, from cybersecurity to
24	physical security to training all of them and chain of
25	custody. Not one did they get anywhere close to any measure of

1 success, in a system that is as vulnerable and hackable as 2 these Dominion ICXs are in this State in the way they are 3 managed. 4 Now, the other point on Coffee County is that it 5 cannot be denied that it has greatly increased the risk. 6 Mr. Kevin Skoqlund addressed this. Merritt Beaver himself said 7 you don't want the software out into the wild. His view is the 8 best defense is to keep everything secret, talking specifically 9 about why you want to keep the software secret. This is the attorney for the State in a hearing 10 11 involving Ms. Powell's attempt to get access to a particular county in the November 2020 time frame. He says it quite well. 12 13 Security risk for Ms. Powell's minions to go in and 14 image everything, download the software and figure out for 15 future elections a way to hack, would give them the proverbial 16 keys to the software kingdom. That is the State's lawyer, the 17 Secretary's lawyer. We could not agree more. 18 And that is exactly what happened in Coffee County. 19 It was Ms. Powell's minions, as he put it. She paid for it. 20 SullivanStrickler on January 7. Exactly what he said. And the 21 important part of this is not just the keys to the software 22 kingdom. But pause on what he warned, his ominous warning to 23 figure out for future elections a way to hack in. 24 That is why the threat today is not just the foreign 25 actors where this case started years ago. It is domestic. The

1 State has long understood that what happened in Coffee County 2 with the very people that they were concerned about was a grave 3 risk for future elections because those and potentially others 4 around the world now have the keys to the kingdom, the roadmap 5 to hack future elections in a way that is incredibly simple. 6 Just get superuser access. In fact, with a ballpoint pen, you 7 don't even need what he is talking about here.

8 So their response to this, Your Honor, all of this 9 evidence is to say, it is okay. Even if it is true that it 10 could be hacked, we would detect it. A voter would detect it. 11 They would bring it to our attention.

On this, Your Honor, Dr. Appel did the math on this. Explained the probability of a voter catching this is literally less than one percent. Because if you think about, in simple terms, you've got a very small percentage of voters, if you take their own UGA study, who spend the time required to actually verify a vote and realize that something has been switched, like we did with the demonstration we started with.

First, you've got to have that voter catch it. But then if they raise it, if the hack on the BMD changes, say, every one in 20, one in 50, one in 100 ballots, which are the number of voters you have in the state, and given the margin of, say, the 2020 presidential election would be enough, if you have that close of a margin or it could be a down-ballot, close margin -- you don't need to change a lot on a percentage level.

What that means is if that voter then goes back to vote again on the same BMD, that voter is going to get a correct ballot. Because it is changing one in every 50, one in every hundred. So everyone will think, oh, that voter was mistaken.

6 So that ballot gets corrected. But for all of the 7 others that don't get caught, because voters don't or cannot do 8 this, it is just chalked up to a voter mistake on the very few 9 instances where someone might actually identify it.

10 And the chances, the probability, as Dr. Appel 11 explained, of any of all that happening is literally a small fraction of one percent. But then they say -- then they 12 13 ignore, Your Honor, the detection itself might be the goal. 14 That would lead to chaos. Mr. Sterling acknowledged, sure, 15 that absolutely could be something that a bad actor wants to 16 do, to make sure it gets detected. Because that in and of 17 itself will disenfranchise voters.

Because if you're at a point where you have a BMD or multiple BMDs that have now shown to flip votes, your entire system, at least that entire precinct, is now called into question. And so what better way to disenfranchise voters and to throw the entire voting system into chaos than to ensure that it gets caught.

This is where Dr. Ben Adida is really important. He is right. The final safety net of a good voting system is one

1	where even if the computers were infected with malware, we
2	would have a way to detect that is point one and recover.
3	We have already shown the likelihood of detecting is
4	miniscule. But the recovery there is no recovery. We asked
5	about this. I asked Mr. Sterling, what would you do if it
6	turned out one or even 20 BMDs were shown to be flipping votes?
7	He had two answers on the critical required element of
8	recovery.
9	Well, first, we would just pull those BMDs out of
10	service. He obviously has never even thought through the
11	implications of that. In a polling site where you pull even
12	one BMD out of service, what do you do for that entire polling
13	site?
14	Every BMD that came off that every ballot that
15	came off that BMD that may now be infected we know some of
16	them are they went into the same ballot box with all the
17	others. You cannot find them. You can't discern them. So
18	every vote in that precinct is now infected. It is unreliable.
19	So even if you know the other BMDs still work, your
20	collection of ballots at that point, you can't use any of them
21	because you don't know which are right and which are wrong.
22	That means you get to the next recovery mechanism,
23	which is you rerun an election and you do it on hand-marked
24	paper ballots. You can't just throw those ballots out. You
25	disregard you would disenfranchise hundreds or maybe

1	thousands of votes. You also acknowledge you can't find those
2	voters. You don't know how to find the voters whose ballots
3	are even in there, if you could somehow segregate the ones that
4	are flipped.
5	So we're left with their own expert saying you've got
6	to be able to recover. There is no recovery mechanism. And
7	even if we thought that they could go to the hand-marked paper
8	ballot as a backup, both Mr. Sterling, as the most senior
9	officer from the Secretary's office, said the State is
10	unprepared for that.
11	Even though it is mandated by law, even though Your
12	Honor ordered it in 2019, they are unprepared to use
13	hand-marked paper ballots.
14	And Mr. Mashburn, the chairman of the SEB, explained
15	why. We don't have the infrastructure. We haven't done the
16	testing. We haven't put it in place. Georgia is nowhere near
17	ready for that.
18	So Dr. Adida warns them, you've got to be able to
19	recover. And their response is we can't. Your Honor ordered
20	in 2019 a real, legitimate hand-marked backup plan. They have
21	never complied with that order. The legislature said, you've
22	got to have hand-marked paper backup as a real backup. The SEB
23	has disregarded that with a 10 percent rule that is everyone
24	is telling you does not have them ready for where we may land.
25	I think the irreparable harm part, Your Honor, really

1 should not be in dispute. I won't spend time on this. The 2 Fourth Circuit said there can be no do-over and no redress for 3 something as fundamental as the right to vote. 4 Quickly on Northampton, Your Honor, this is real 5 world. Their response is to say everything we talk about is not real world. I asked Mr. Sterling himself in that question 6 7 about whether they are prepared. What if the BMD doesn't work right? What if you 8 9 can't use it? His response, that is a hypothetical. It would 10 never happen in the real world. 11 Ironically, Mr. Sterling is the first person to ever 12 mention Northampton in this trial. Both he and their experts 13 said it was the shining example of how you deal with this. Ιt 14 is frightening. Yes, it was caught in that instance because it 15 affected every single ballot. It was not intermittent. 16 But here is the chaos of what ensued. Some shut down 17 voting entirely. Some were told to vote against their preference because at the time they thought it was flipping the 18 19 QR code and the human readable text. So if you wanted to vote 20 for candidate X, they said vote for candidate Y. That way you 21 get the right outcome. 22 That turned out to be a disaster because it turned 23 out it was flipping only part of the ballot, they think. They 24 think the QR code maybe was right. And that was done in some 25 counties and not others. So then how do you figure out which

1	ballot did they try to flip or not? It was chaos.
2	But that was inconsequential in the end. Because, if
3	I remember right, I think it was an uncontested judicial
4	position. Imagine that that is the President of the United
5	States. And imagine that the entire country is waiting for
6	Georgia to certify as the last state that pushes one candidate
7	over the other. And there is no recovery. There is nothing
8	you can do. You couldn't even go to hand-marked paper ballots
9	because they are unprepared.
10	Just briefly on the redressability, Your Honor,
11	again, I don't think there can be any reasonable dispute about
12	this. Your Honor's 2019 decision I think puts the nail in the
13	coffin of that.
14	Secretary Raffensperger himself has acknowledged both
15	in the press and in Congress that the reason that they rolled
16	out the BMD system in the way that they did at the time they
17	did is because this Court ordered it. He told Congress it was
18	the first thing that he had to do in 2019 was to get set up for
19	this because he knew Your Honor's decision was requiring that.
20	So to now say that it is not redressable is
21	inconsistent with what the Secretary himself has said. Your
22	Honor has broad discretion on the remedies here.
23	The remedies we're seeking, Your Honor, first and
24	foremost, take your 2019 decision, swap out GEMS and DREs, and
25	it is the ICX and the printer. It is that simple.

1	I will say, Your Honor, also and Mr. McGuire will
2	talk about this. There are also lesser included other things
3	that the Court should do, some of which are low-hanging fruit
4	to the point Your Honor could do it quickly. Probably within
5	days, but I know you are tired. We've been dealing with a lot.
6	But here is two things the Court could do quickly.
7	One I mean, you have ordered it before but have an order
8	that has more specifics. A real hand-marked paper ballot
9	backup plan that complies with Georgia law. I want to
10	emphasize that. We're not asking you to contravene Georgia
11	law.
12	We're asking you to order them to comply with their
13	obligations on one of the most critical components the
14	legislature had the good foresight to recognize is needed to
15	protect the right to vote. A real plan so that you don't have
16	the Secretary and the SEB saying we're unprepared for when we
17	may have to go there in today's environment.
18	And that should be ordered, a plan that is detailed,
19	that is informed by the right people, and is put together
20	within weeks. That is not difficult. And they have years to
21	do it.
22	The other thing the Court can do is to enjoin them
23	from preventing the counties to exercise the own discretion
24	that the legislature vested in the counties to determine when
25	the machines are unsafe to use. That is another mechanism that

1 the legislature decided is the right way to protect the vote. 2 Ironically, they want to tell you the counties are 3 the best positioned to run the day-to-day, to manage security, 4 to understand how this works. They say it is so much on the 5 county that it is not even -- the claims and the relief are not 6 even traceable to them or redressable. Okay. Well, if that is 7 true, then get out of the way. Stop breaking Georgia law and 8 telling counties they can't do what the legislature has told 9 them they are allowed to do. That could all be done quickly. Last thing, Your Honor. Then I am done. It is 10 11 important to note how much their defenses changed in this case. Here is why it matters. Because they keep moving the goalpost 12 13 to make it harder for us to prevail. 14 But where they started is probably the closest articulation. In 2019 when we filed this, they said we hadn't 15 shown hacking but also security vulnerabilities or other 16 17 problems. 18 By their own argument, that is all we had to show, 19 security vulnerabilities or other problems. Well, we showed 20 that with Dr. Halderman and other ways. They said, well, okay, 21 now you've got to show active security risk or hacking 22 potential. That was certainly Dr. Halderman. 23 Then they said, oh, gosh, well, now you've got to 24 show an actual breach of the BMD system. You'll never be able to do that. Then we had Coffee County. They said, oh, gosh, 25

1 we've got to try again.

2	Then they say now that we have to show that our own
3	clients' ballots or maybe any other ballots cast using a BMD
4	were not accurately counted. That is not any standard that
5	exists anywhere in the law. And if that were the standard,
6	then voting would become illusory and we would be in a world
7	which is contrary to Reynolds, where Reynolds says, it also is
8	the right to have your vote counted, not simply to be cast.
9	And all we're it is, as Your Honor said in 2019,
10	coming out of 2018, like deja vu all over again. There is a
11	Yogi Berra quote in here that we could all probably recall. It
12	is literally deja vu all over again, all over again.
13	And so, Your Honor, the last piece on this, very
14	briefly, it has been a deliberate character assault on our
15	experts and others. And let me say why this matters. Here you
16	have Mr. Hassinger saying, if you don't like our Ph.D.s in the
17	same category as the pillow salesman, tough noogies.
18	Here is why this matters. Because Gabriel Sterling
19	has now acknowledged what we always expected. They know the
20	election denier label for our clients and our experts is not
21	true because this is his definition. An election denier is a
22	person who denies the outcome of an election based not
23	necessarily on fact but on theory and not evidence.
24	The State themselves emphasized repeatedly that our
25	clients and our experts actually don't deny the outcome of any

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1	election. Our experts signed a letter with their experts on
2	2020. So they are saying something they know is not accurate.
3	And it was a communications decision. A
4	communications decision. And why, Your Honor? Because if they
5	can discredit our experts and discredit our clients, then we
6	can't even go to the legislature to get help. And that is the
7	insidiousness of this communication decision, to say that our
8	experts and our clients have so little integrity, credibility,
9	to destroy the professional reputation that they can't get help
10	anywhere outside this Court, which leaves Your Honor as the
11	last resort.
12	And the last thing I will say is, Your Honor, I could
13	not agree more with Secretary Raffensperger; that if you want
14	to know the truth, watch what happens in court. Well, the one
15	person who did not show up to watch what happens in court and
16	who matters the most was the one that makes these decisions,
17	presumably to whatever extent there was, chose not to be here.
18	And that tells you everything you need to know.
19	Thank you, Your Honor.
20	THE COURT: Thank you.
21	MR. McGUIRE: Your Honor, I have to set my computer
22	up there. It will take me a couple of minutes.
23	THE COURT: All right. If anyone needs a bathroom
24	break.
25	I just want to say to the officer, the woman who is
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1 standing there, she is welcome to come in. It is a little 2 distracting to me to have her just looking. 3 COURTROOM SECURITY OFFICER: She was coughing, Your 4 Honor. 5 THE COURT: Okay. She can -- she can come in. She 6 cannot come in. 7 COURTROOM SECURITY OFFICER: All rise. Court will be in recess for about five minutes. 8 9 (A brief break was taken at 12:04 PM.) THE COURT: Have a seat. 10 11 Go ahead. 12 CLOSING ARGUMENT 13 MR. McGUIRE: Thank you. 14 Good morning, Your Honor. My name is Robert McGuire as you know. I'm here for the Coalition for Good Governance 15 16 and the Coalition Plaintiffs. 17 On behalf of my clients and our legal team, I would 18 like to join Mr. Cross in thanking the Court and the reporter 19 and the clerks for spending the last four weeks with us. It 20 has been great. And we are just very happy that after 21 seven years of litigating this case that we're finally 22 approaching the point at which we can hopefully get relief that 23 will serve our clients and serve the public. 24 Three and a half weeks ago when we opened, I told the 25 Court that what you were going to see over the last four weeks

1	was going to fit into four different buckets. There were
2	standing and then Anderson-Burdick has two parts, the burden
3	and the State interest, and then finally relief.
4	I think we have checked off all of those boxes over
5	the last four weeks. And I would just like to briefly
6	highlight how we've done so and explain why we have given the
7	Court what it needs to be able to rule for the plaintiffs and
8	give us the relief we're requesting.
9	First of all on standing, standing is essentially, it
10	seems to us, essentially uncontested throughout this actual
11	trial. As Mr. Cross indicated, there are three elements of
12	standing: Injury-in-fact, causation by the conduct being
13	challenged, and redressability by an order from the Court.
14	And there are two different kinds of plaintiffs.
15	There are individual plaintiffs, and there is an organizational
16	plaintiff. And there is a one-plaintiff rule which applies
17	here because all of the plaintiffs are seeking the same relief
18	under the same essential causes of action.
19	My chief client, the organization, Coalition for Good
20	Governance, has to prove an injury in the nature of a diversion
21	of resources from something to something else, which it has
22	undertaken as part of challenging the conduct at issue in the
23	case, which is the requirement for voters in person to use
24	these devices.
25	You heard from Rhonda Martin in testimony that is

1 essentially been uncontradicted that Coalition for Good 2 Governance has diverted both time and money to opposing the 3 requirement that in-person voters have to use ballot-marking 4 devices when they vote. 5 The State didn't put on any evidence to contradict 6 It is undisputed. And that alone is enough to give that. 7 Coalition for Good Governance standing. The law on diversion is very clear, that an 8 9 organization can divert resources from one priority to another priority. It doesn't have to be to something that is outside 10 11 of its priorities or to something that it wasn't already hoping 12 to do. But if the conduct that is being challenged, if 13 challenging that conduct requires readjusting the priorities of 14 the organization, that is a diversion. And that is essentially 15 uncontested. 16 As far as the individual plaintiffs go, and not just 17 the individual plaintiffs, but also members of the organization 18 who lend their ability to sue to the organization through 19 associational standing, we've shown injuries that give standing 20 for those individuals as well. 21 An injury-in-fact is sufficient for standing purposes 22 if there is an invasion of a legally-protected interest which 23 is concrete and particularized and actual or imminent, as opposed to conjecture or hypothetical. The thing that we're 24 25 claiming is a burden on our constitutional rights can be an

injury. But things that are not illegal can also be injuries.
 And in this case, there are a host of injuries that you have
 heard about.

You've heard about the deprivation of secrecy that
in-person voters suffer when they have to vote on these
machines. You heard from Aileen Nakamura, Megan Missett, Laura
Digges, the other plaintiffs including the Curling plaintiffs.

8 You've heard from all the individuals that they can't 9 read the QR code on their ballot, which is the official vote 10 that is going to get tallied when they run it into the 11 tabulator. That is an informational injury to all of those 12 people, all of whom who have cognizable interest in knowing 13 what votes they are actually casting.

And finally, there are more. But the ones I want to focus on, the burden that Mr. Cross touched on, which is the burden of reviewing the BMD-printed ballot. That is an actual injury-in-fact because the law of injury-in-fact covers lots of things.

19 Standing law is famous for saying that all you need 20 to be able to invoke the jurisdiction of a court is an 21 identifiable trifle. A postage stamp. A poll tax of a 22 dollar-something. You just have to personally have some kind 23 of concrete thing that has affected you for you to be able to 24 come to court and invoke the jurisdiction of the court. 25 THE COURT: I don't think it gets to be just a

1 trifle. But go ahead. 2 MR. McGUIRE: Well, in the SCRAP case, the Supreme 3 Court calculated it --4 THE COURT: Okay. Let's proceed. I didn't mean to --5 6 MR. McGUIRE: Fair enough. 7 These burdens are injuries-in-fact. 8 And the last one I spoke about, I'm actually going to 9 talk more about, because it is not just an injury for standing. But having to review the BMD ballot is actually -- that is a 10 11 severe burden on the right to vote under Anderson-Burdick. I'm going to explain why that is true. 12 13 But just to close the loop, that injury, that burden 14 of having to review the BMD printout, that is an injury that 15 you heard testimony from Jeanne Dufort about, from Megan 16 Missett, from Aileen Nakamura. You heard about it in the more 17 abstract from the experts who talked about how poorly voters 18 are able to do that. 19 It is a cognitive challenge to voters to have to 20 review a long ballot that has lots of information. And to have 21 to do it as a requirement of being able to cast their vote is 22 certainly an invasion of a legally protected interest, of a 23 legally cognizable interest. So they have standing. 24 The other two elements of standing are causation and 25 redressability. Causation is satisfied if the injuries I just

1 talked about are traceable to the conduct being challenged, 2 which here is the requirement that these individuals have to 3 use this machinery. We're challenging that. That is causing 4 the injury. That satisfies causation and traceability. 5 And finally for redressability, the Court, if it were 6 to issue an order preventing the State from requiring in-person 7 voters to use these machines to vote in person, that will 8 redress the injuries. And that means we have standing. 9 As far as the organizational standing goes, I would also just add it is law of the case in this case that the 10 11 Coalition for Good Governance has organizational standing in the most recent appeal. The Court of Appeals in the Eleventh 12 13 Circuit held that because the Coalition had credibly made the 14 assertion that the State's policy would force them to divert 15 personnel and time to educating volunteers and voters and to 16 resolving problems that the policy presents. Because we had 17 credibly made that assertion, we had standing to bring a 18 request for injunctive relief. 19 Not only have we made the assertion, but at this 20 stage of the litigation, as our evidentiary burden has gone up, we have presented actual evidence that substantiates that those 21 22 allegations and those assertions are validated. 23 So law of the case controls here. And because of the 24 one-plaintiff rule, if Coalition for Good Governance has 25 standing, so too do the remaining plaintiffs.

1 The second bucket which I had mentioned in the 2 opening was the bucket of Anderson-Burdick. And 3 Anderson-Burdick is the governing constitutional test which 4 will help you decide on the merits, now that we're in court 5 because we have standing. We have to prove that burden on our 6 rights, the burden. Specifically I'll just quote from the case 7 law --8 THE COURT: All right. I hate to interrupt. But 9 only because we've gone through this with your co-counsel and I want to make sure you-all have enough time -- I know how able 10 11 the defense counsel are too -- I think you should go ahead and 12 skip on. 13 MR. McGUIRE: I'm perfectly happy to do that. In 14 fact, in that case, what I will do, I will just go over -- I'll 15 skip over a lot of stuff. 16 If Your Honor has questions for me, I would be happy 17 to address it. 18 THE COURT: That's fine. It is just anything that is 19 going to be duplicative, I think you should save the time. 20 MR. McGUIRE: The one thing I will note on the Anderson-Burdick standard, which I think should be borne in 21 22 mind here, is the Eleventh Circuit has held that when you look 23 at -- when you weigh the burden imposed on voting against the 24 State's legitimate interests for imposing that burden, in the 25 Democratic Executive Committee of Florida v. Lee case in

1 2019 -- it is 915 F.3d 1312 -- that court held that we must 2 take into consideration not only the legitimacy and strength of the state's asserted interests, but also the extent to which 3 4 those interests make it necessary to burden voting rights. 5 So it is not just enough that the State has an 6 interest that sounds like a good interest. That interest has 7 to be necessary. It has to be necessary to burden voting 8 rights in order to serve that interest. 9 And I think you'll find as we get through this that there is nothing about the State's burden here, the 10 11 State's interest here that makes it necessary to force voters to use this machinery to vote in person. 12 13 Once we're in the realm of the merits under 14 Anderson-Burdick, the world of burden gets bigger. When you 15 are talking about a standing injury, you have to talk about particularized injury that is experienced by the voter. 16 17 But once you move into the realm of Anderson-Burdick, 18 you are able to look more broadly as what the generalized burden on voting and on voters is. And that also is from that 19 20 Democratic Executive Committee of Florida v. Lee case. 21 They talk about -- they actually talked about the 22 burden in that case as being generalized burden on the 23 fundamental right to vote; like a poll tax, which is universal; 24 like a literacy test, which is universal. A universal 25 requirement that applies to all in-person voters can impose a

1 burden, and that universal generalized burden can be deemed to 2 outweigh any interest of the State. 3 So in this case, the burden I want to focus on right 4 now, because I think it ties together much of what Mr. Cross 5 presented and I think it gives the Court what it needs to rule 6 for us under Anderson-Burdick, is this burden of placing on 7 voters of accurately verifying the paper ballot that gets 8 printed out from the printer that is attached to the ICX BMD. 9 As Mr. Cross pointed out, there are two reviews that 10 a voter has to go through when they are casting a vote on a 11 BMD. 12 The first one, they touch their selections on the 13 Then they review all their selections on the screen. screen. That first review is presumably to make sure that they tap the 14 15 right spots and they got the right votes recorded. 16 But then they print that ballot, and they are 17 supposed to review it again. And it is not just a prudential 18 requirement. There is actually an SEB rule, which is 19 Rule 183-1-12-.11(2)(b). That rule says, upon making his or 20 her selections, the voter shall cause the paper ballot to 21 print, remove his or her paper ballot from the printer, remove 22 the voter access card from the touch screen component, and then 23 importantly review the selections on his or her printed ballot. 24 And then they go and scan them. 25 Now, that second review is not a review necessarily

to review your own choices, because you just did that on-screen. What you are doing in that second review is you are reviewing the functioning of that machine. You are reviewing the proper functioning of the ballot-marking device connected to the printer, to make sure that what it prints is what you have already reviewed.

And that is important because what you're asking the
voter to do there is verify the security of the voting system.
You're asking each individual voter to bear the responsibility
of checking whether their machine is functioning properly.

11 That is a burden separate and apart from the burdens 12 that are ordinarily incidental to voting. And because of all 13 of the things that Mr. Cross has identified about how insecure 14 the system is and how vulnerable the system is and how 15 important voter verification is for all of the safequards that 16 the State relies upon to ensure that the system is functioning 17 properly, hasn't been hacked, isn't in the process of having 18 malfunctions, all of that -- all of that responsibility is 19 placed on the shoulders of every individual voter.

And it has to be every individual voter, rather than voters collectively, because the numbers that Professor Appel and Professor Stark gave the Court show that very few ballots have to be hacked. A hack could affect one in 100, one in a 1,000. So you need every voter to be checking. And so that burden falls on everyone.

1 And it might be something that the voter has 2 absolutely no interest in. So if I'm a voter and I choose to undervote because I don't like the guys that are running for 3 whatever race I don't want to vote on -- and Mr. Sterling 4 5 admitted on the stand, that is fine. Maybe it was Sterling. 6 Maybe it was Mr. Mashburn. But one of them admitted on the 7 stand it is fine for people to undervote; they are allowed to do that. 8

9 But if I'm undervoting, I still have the legal 10 obligation that the State is foisting on me to make sure that 11 what is on that ballot in the race I had no interest in doesn't 12 contain a vote that has been added or that election contest has 13 been dropped.

And so it is a burden completely unrelated to my own personal interest in voting, and it is a substantial burden, if it is not a severe burden. We believe it is severe. But it is certainly a weighty burden. And the thing that makes it weighty is the consequences of me not doing it.

So you heard from the State's experts that catching malfunctions requires voters to do this review. The effectiveness of audits requires voters to do this review. You heard that from Joseph Kirk, who is one of the best county superintendents in the State. He is very careful to make sure his workers remind everyone to check their ballots because he emphasized how important it is for everyone to do it.

1 You heard from Dr. Adida about how important it is 2 for people to do it. Now, Dr. Adida had a relaxed view of how 3 many people have to check. He thought 50 percent was fine. 4 But even 50 percent is a lot of voters, and they all have to bear that burden. 5 You heard from Dr. Stark that everyone has to check 6 7 or else you can't trust the paper. And that's what makes more 8 sense because, given that a hack may show up very subtly, you 9 need everyone to check or else you are not serving the function 10 of checking at all. 11 Dr. Adida emphasized and he was joined by Joseph Kirk that the confidence of the public in the integrity of their 12 13 elections depends on voters checking. In fact, the whole 14 integrity of the voting system requires it. And the reason the whole integrity of the voting system requires it is because of 15 all the things that Mr. Cross pointed out earlier. 16 17 The State has ignored the Court's earlier logic and 18 accuracy ruling. Ignored it. They aren't testing the machines 19 before they are run. And why? Because the voters are the 20 test. The voters are the ones checking. 21 The State has ignored the auditing ruling by the 22 It has ignored the new auditing law actually. And that Court. 23 is a reflection of the degree to which they are relying upon 24 the voters to catch any problems. 25 The State has ignored rule-making petitions by my

client, Coalition for Good Governance, and Jeanne Dufort. They
 have obviously ignored the breaches in Coffee County. They
 have ignored the Halderman report. They have ignored CISA's
 recommendations.

5 They have placed all of their bets for making sure 6 the system is secure, safe, functioning properly on the 7 in-person voter. They rely on the voter and not just some of 8 them, but on all of them. Every voter has the independent 9 responsibility to oversee the functioning of the voting system.

10 And if you remember the Spider-Man picture, the 11 Spider-Mans are all pointing at the voter. That is who is 12 being counted on to carry the weight of ensuring election 13 responsibility -- election functionality is not compromised.

And the problem with the whole integrity of the system requiring the voter to bear this burden is that it is a fiction that they can do it and it's a fiction that they do do it.

Voters do not check. All the studies say they don't. The ones that do check can't do it. You heard that from our experts, Dr. Stark, Dr. Appel, Mr. Kevin Skoglund. You heard it from their experts, Dr. Adida, Dr. Gilbert. You heard it from the study that they commissioned, the Georgia Secretary of State's study.

You heard it from our fact witnesses. AileenNakamura talked about how hard it was. Jeanne Dufort talked

1	about how it challenged her memory to do it.
2	It is unfair to make voters who may only want to vote
3	for a top level race check every race on their ballot. It is a
4	severe burden.
5	Now, the State has said that voters can avoid these
6	burdens of using these machines. One of their defenses is
7	that is that voters don't have to do this. They can vote
8	absentee. But Your Honor has heard a lot of evidence that
9	there are injuries that come to voters who are voting absentee.
10	Your Honor has held that in earlier orders.
11	You can't vote in your own polling place. You can't
12	vote in person. You can't you have to subject yourself to
13	the risks and inconveniences of applying for and receiving a
14	ballot and then returning it, making sure it is received.
15	There is a case that we have cited a few times in
16	briefings over the years, which is an Eleventh Circuit case
17	about the State is not able to subject you to a burden and then
18	argue that it is not a burden because you can avoid it some
19	other way.
20	And it was a case where a bunch of protestors had to
21	go through a magnetometer in order to be able to attend to
22	protest where they wanted to. And the State said, well, it is
23	not a burden and illegal search because you can go a different
24	way and protest somewhere else. And the Eleventh Circuit held
25	that is not right. You can't say that the availability of a

1 choice to avoid a burden makes the burden okay. It is still a 2 burden that still can be unconstitutional. So let's turn to the other side of the 3 4 Anderson-Burdick balancing test, and that would be the State's interest in subjecting voters to these burdens. 5 The State's interest has to make it necessary for 6 7 voters to suffer these burdens, and none of the interests that 8 you have heard about during this trial meet that -- clear that bar. 9 10 The State says that they want to follow the law, 11 which requires the use of ballot-marking devices. But they ignore that the very same law that has that requirement 12 13 replaces BMDs with hand-marked paper ballots when and if the BMDs become impossible or impracticable to use. 14 15 The State argues that preventing mismarks is a goal of making people use BMDs. In other words, if you were to fill 16 17 out a paper ballot, it might be ambiguous what choice you made. 18 But if you use a touch screen, it is going to force your choice 19 into a box which is unambiguous and that somehow is a benefit. 20 Obviously, it ignores the fact that what the BMD puts 21 as your unambiguous choice may not be what you actually did on 22 That is a virtue in their opinion that it produces the screen. 23 a ballot which is unambiguous. 24 The problem is, what is that relative to? Voters who 25 use hand-marked paper ballots by mail are subject to

1 potentially having their votes disenfranchised -- being 2 disenfranchised because their marks are ambiguous. 3 You heard lots of testimony that the voters in-person 4 don't face that problem. If a voter has an ambiguous mark or 5 an overvote and they put the ballot into a scanner in a precinct, the scanner prompts them and then it is actually the 6 7 voter's choice to do that because the voter is alerted. Thev can't just do it and accidentally lose their vote. It has to 8 9 be a choice. So the advantage of BMDs in that situation, which is 10 11 in-person voting, which is the only context that we're talking 12 about, it just evaporates on that point. The mismarks is a 13 complete red herring. 14 They talk about if you go to hand-marked paper ballots you're going to have a lot of difficulties with paper 15 management in large counties during early voting. And the idea 16 17 is you have thousands of ballot styles in a place like Fulton. 18 During early voting, a voter can go to any vote center early 19 voting location. 20 And if you're using paper only, the staff has to be 21 able to find the correct ballot style and give it to the voter. 22 And Mr. Sterling insisted that there would be lots of errors in 23 that process and people could wind up getting disenfranchised. 24 So there's two problems with that argument. Problem 25 one is that most places do this just fine, including Director

1 Evans' old location, Escambia County, Florida. While it is not 2 as big as Fulton, it is a large location that has the City of 3 Pensacola. He told you that they used early voting on paper 4 and it worked perfectly smoothly. 5 He told you that they did it with Ballot on Demand 6 Every county currently has Ballot on Demand printers. 7 printers. Ballot on Demand printers are not very expensive. That is not a real obstacle. 8 9 The issue -- the second problem that Mr. Sterling talked about is this idea of confusion. What he -- what kind 10 11 of goes unmentioned in that is that when you use a BMD to get the voter's ballot style, you are relying on the computer to 12 13 give the voter the right ballot style. 14 So while it may seem like less of a problem in terms 15 of humans having to figure out how to store their paper, what 16 it introduces is a whole other problem which you are relying 17 upon the machine to show the voter the correct ballot style and 18 it -- if you thought it is hard for a voter to figure out 19 whether the printed ballot reflects what they actually voted, 20 without leaving something off or adding something, I can't 21 imagine how many voters would be able to possibly tell that 22 they have the correct ballot style on a BMD. 23 You could be seeing the completely wrong ballot 24 style. And since the ballot styles are essentially all 25 functions of the computer system, it is really an illusion to

1	say that that is somehow an improvement to let the BMD be the
2	one showing you your ballot style.
3	We talked about overvotes and undervotes. The
4	precinct scanners warn voters about that.
5	We heard about the problem of cost. There's case law
6	that cost is not a justification for violating constitutional
7	rights. I think it is Tashjian v. Republican Party I believe
8	has something to that effect. Administrative inconvenience and
9	cost are not valid reasons for a State to violate rights.
10	But even so, the testimony you heard on cost is just
11	not believable. You heard from Mr. Sterling that it would
12	somehow be more expensive to use paper ballots than it will be
13	to use 32,000 machines that have to be extensively tested.
14	They have to be maneuvered into and out of storage. They have
15	to be protected. You have to use chain of custody for them.
16	Even if you allow for the fact that they may not be
17	following all of their procedures, the procedures that they do
18	have are going to take up a lot of time that is going to be
19	saved if you switch to paper.
20	The idea that it is going to somehow cost more to use
21	preprinted ballots than using all of this machinery is a pretty
22	ludicrous contention on its face.
23	Finally, for the State, they tout the interest in
24	uniformity, the uniformity of using the same voting method for
25	everybody. But uniformity is voting method agnostic. You can
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1 uniformly not use BMDs, just as you uniformly do use BMDs. So 2 that really isn't a factor that makes it necessary to use BMDs. 3 Finally, the State suggests that Georgians must like 4 voting on BMDs because so many of them vote in person. And 5 that again is a bit of a non sequitur. Because as Mr. Sterling 6 testified to or as you saw in a clip from him, lots of people 7 like voting in person here in Georgia because of history, 8 because as he put it, pageantry of in-person voting. 9 You heard Bill Digges talking about liking voting in person maybe not for the pageantry but for other reasons. And 10 11 the idea that people who want to vote in person are somehow 12 fans of BMDs just because that is the only choice they have 13 is -- again, it is a total non sequitur. 14 So as you weigh the Anderson-Burdick, the State's interest against the burden on voting, it is important 15 16 to bear in mind that the State has just not been consistent in 17 following its own laws. None of the State's interest is 18 actually makes it necessary to have voters use these machines. 19 so turning to the last bucket, which is relief, I 20 just want to reiterate what Mr. Cross said. We -- we are 21 asking the Court to permanently enjoin the State from requiring 22 or allowing counties to use BMDs as the standard method for 23 in-person voting. That is essentially what you ordered with 24 respect to DREs but with a cut and paste of the BMD system in 25 the exact same wording.

1 What happens next is not up to us and it is not up to 2 the Court, really. It is up to Georgia law, which means it is the policy of the legislature. If BMDs are not possible to 3 4 use, the legislature has provided for what happens then. And 5 all we are asking the Court to do is enjoin BMDs because they 6 are unconstitutional and let Georgia law take effect. 7 Georgia law would require -- since BMDs would be 8 impossible, Georgia law would lead to the use of hand-marked 9 paper ballots, which are universally acknowledged by experts as 10 the most secure voting system. 11 Mr. Cross mentioned lesser-included relief. And I 12 think it is important to address why that might be something 13 the Court should consider. 14 Purcell is obviously an issue. The Purcell case and the cases that have come after it prevent federal courts from 15 16 enjoining or affecting election practices close to an election. 17 And the idea is --18 THE COURT: I know. Go ahead. 19 MR. McGUIRE: So our view of Purcell based on 20 Eleventh Circuit case law is that the outer bounds of it is 21 five months. If you look at the League of Women Voters case, 22 which is 32 F.4th at 1371, the Eleventh Circuit essentially 23 stayed an injunction that was about four months away. 24 But later the same year, in Jacksonville Branch of 25 the NAACP v. City of Jacksonville -- and that was November of

1 2022 -- the Eleventh Circuit decided not to stay an injunction 2 for elections that were five months away because doing so would extend the eve of an election farther than we have before. 3 4 And Judge Boulee in this court recently concluded 5 that *Purcell* did not bar an injunction that aimed at an 6 election six months away. That was In Re Georgia Senate Bill 202. It is a case in this court. 7 THE COURT: I know it. Go ahead. 8 9 MR. McGUIRE: So by way of comparison, when this Court enjoined DREs in August of 2019, that was about five and 10 11 a half months before the first election that was going to be affected by that injunction, which was the January 28, 2020, 12 13 special election for HD 171. 14 So within those outer bounds of *Purcell*, if the Court were to issue an order this afternoon, then five months from 15 now would be July. 16 17 So in our view elections after July, this Court 18 can -- has freedom to enjoin the equipment and have it not be a 19 problem for under Purcell. 20 But in the meantime, as Mr. Cross alluded to, there 21 are things that you can do sooner and that we would urge you, 22 respectfully, to do. One of which is enjoin them immediately 23 from stopping counties from invoking their authority to move to 24 paper ballots, as Athens-Clarke County did. 25 Second, enjoin them to prepare a real emergency paper

1 ballot plan, which they neglected to do after you have ordered 2 them to do it in 2019. And finally, I think another thing that the Court 3 4 could do is probably order them for the fewer BMDs that will 5 remain after they are enjoined for all voters is to just test 6 them more thoroughly because they are not doing a good job of 7 testing the BMDs now. And the State ignored the Court's logic and accuracy 8 9 ruling in 2019. And that needs to be revisited. 10 When it comes to entering an injunction, the Court 11 has a slightly different test in Anderson-Burdick. 12 Anderson-Burdick goes to the first part of the injunction --13 THE COURT: I just want to bring to your attention. 14 You have gone for half an hour. So if you're all trying to 15 save half an hour --MR. McGUIRE: We're going to save -- we were planning 16 to save 20 minutes for rebuttal. So I was going to maybe go 17 18 another five minutes at max. But I will try and keep it 19 tighter. 20 THE COURT: Just consider what has already been 21 covered. 22 MR. McGUIRE: Okay. Great. 23 So Mr. Cross mentioned emergency ballots is already a 24 requirement. And so therefore this is not going to be anything It is going to be perfectly feasible for them to do what 25 new.

1 they are doing now but just do it more. The public interest 2 prong is certainly satisfied by following Georgia law, which is 3 to use paper ballots.

So, Your Honor, I would just wrap up then. It is really important that we have a voting system people can trust. And the Court has said that we need a voting system that gives Georgians an accountable ballot. And an accountable ballot means that we need evidence-based elections which produce, as Professor Stark said, defensible and contestable outcomes.

10 An accountable ballot is one that gives us confidence 11 that your vote will be counted as cast, even if ballot secrecy 12 means you can never know for certain whether it is counted as 13 cast.

Confidence is the key thing. You have to know that you're voting in a system that has integrity. There has been a lot of evidence in this case that the Court can -- from which the Court can properly infer that Georgians do not trust this voting system.

Michael Barnes said he can't even talk about the fact that he works in elections any more. Joseph Kirk said he can't hire people to help with elections in Bartow County.
Mr. Sterling alluded to being personally affected.

The Court has on multiple occasions referenced the fact that we live in very acrimonious times, very partisan, very polarized times.

You have the Coffee County breaches, which those people regardless, without casting any sort of characterization of what they did, other than it was very, very poor judgment at best -- their motivations, as they have explained them, stem from mistrust of the voting system. And the problem is mistrust of the voting system is going to manifest on whichever side loses.

8 So the fact that this case might seem in some 9 respects to have taken a partisan tinge at times, either in one 10 direction or another, is purely a function of circumstance. 11 Everybody benefits by having a voting system that people can 12 trust. And I think the train, the light, that is coming at us 13 is the November 2024 election. And the question is: Are we 14 going to be ready for whatever may happen in that election?

I used a military analogy in the opening about how generals are always planning for the last war instead of the next war. But there's sort of another military analogy which I think is useful to keep in mind, which is that wars don't end because the winner declares victory. They end because the loser gives up and decides to stop fighting.

And when you have elections nobody can trust, you don't give people the ability to lay down their arms in this contest about what happened. When you give people a chance to feel like they have been beaten fair and square and to believe it, they will work to win elections. But when people suspect

1 they have been cheated, right or wrong, they aren't going to 2 take that. And eventually they are going to do worse than just 3 copy voting systems. 4 So three and a half weeks ago, I asked the Court to 5 make its decision by looking ahead to 2024, not back at 2020. 6 I told Your Honor that we understood we would be asking you to make a very hard decision. 7 8 But as I said then, and I say now, the decision is 9 not a hard one because it is hard to know what the right outcome is. What is constitutionally correct here coincides 10 11 with what is prudent. And what makes the decision a hard one is the political moment. We would ask you to keep that in mind 12 13 because 2024 is going to be the test of this decision, not 14 2020. 15 And, finally, we are asking the Court -- because I know it is a concern that has come up over and over again, 16 17 we're asking the Court to vindicate the State's sovereignty, 18 not to contravene it. We are also asking the Court to vindicate our plaintiffs' rights under the Constitution. 19 20 The law is easy. The circumstances is less so. But 21 the evils that Georgia is asking every in-person voter to take 22 on their shoulders to guard against is going to be manifested 23 eventually in an election in this country. 24 And when that happens -- and it will -- this Court's 25 decision in this case is either going to be seen as a godsend,

1 like the 2019 order, or it will be seen as a tragic missed 2 opportunity to avoid the chaos and acrimony that will 3 inevitably be the result of a voting system that has failed 4 when we needed it to work. 5 And either way, Your Honor's decision is going to be 6 a historic one. And cases like this I know are the reason why 7 people become lawyers, and I imagine that they are also the 8 reason why people become judges. 9 And so I am glad to have been a part of it. And on behalf of my colleagues, Mr. Brown and Mr. Ichter, I know we 10 11 all are. And I'm sure the entire MoFo team feels the same way. But we urge Your Honor to adopt our requested relief, 12 13 both for our good and for the good of the public. And we 14 really do thank you for the chance we have had to present our 15 case to you. 16 Thank you. 17 THE COURT: Thank you very much. 18 We're going to hear from Mr. Oles, and then we'll 19 take a little break. 20 MR. OLES: Morning, Judge. 21 THE COURT: Good morning. 22 MR. OLES: I had a nice video, but so it went. 23 THE COURT: If you want to submit your video to the 24 Court and to the parties afterwards, you are welcome to do so 25 also.

1	CLOSING ARGUMENT
2	MR. OLES: Thank you, Judge.
3	Judge, thank you once again. I said that multiple
4	times. But on behalf of my client and myself, we appreciate
5	the courtesy and the dignity that the Court has shown in
6	somewhat, I'm sure, irritating circumstances in this case.
7	It is no secret that my client has gone a bit of a
8	different taken a bit of a different tack on this. And I
9	would like to talk about that for a minute.
10	The issues as he sees it, the issues that were
11	originally set for the Court in its summary judgment order and
12	later in the pretrial order focused on the constitutional
13	deficiencies of the Dominion BMD voting system. And the Court
14	also observed that State officials' inaction can also harm our
15	constitutional rights.
16	Mr. Davis has focused on the Court's words of a
17	voting system as described in the order. So he views it as
18	embracing a little bit more than just the BMD device itself, as
19	I will explain.
20	His efforts have not changed focus since the filing
21	of the amended complaint in 2019. And that is to declare the
22	existing Dominion BMD system constitutionally deficient, enjoin
23	the State from using the system, and prohibit the State from
24	enforcing any laws that require use of the system.
25	As I'm sure the Court knows, Webster's defines a

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1	system as a group of devices and not merely one device. So
2	and he is looking at it systemically.
3	We believe that the plaintiffs have provided
4	overwhelming evidence that the Dominion BMD system is
5	irreparably unsecure. The defendants have countered that they
6	believe there is no evidence the system has been compromised
7	during live elections.
8	Mr. Davis has sought to fill that gap by
9	supplementing the plaintiffs' claims with enough evidence of
10	vote count issues from live Georgia elections to counter the
11	defendants' claim and to help his fellow plaintiffs achieve
12	judgment that they have so diligently sought for the last
13	six years.
14	While his participation was slightly limited due to
15	the late entry, we do believe still that Mr. Davis has a
16	compelling case on what he has assembled.
17	So what are the counting problems? Director Blake
18	Evans confirmed that there was a 20,000-vote drop for one
19	candidate in the span of four minutes in the 2021 U.S. Senate
20	race. Although he blamed it on the county for an older upload,
21	before admitting that he never investigated the issue, he also
22	offered no evidence as to why the other candidate's vote totals
23	did not have the same effect.
24	The DeKalb County board of election report submitted
25	by Mr. Davis and his corroborating testimony shows the Dominion
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voting system selected the wrong winner in their May 24th,
2022, District 2 commissioner primary. This was only caught
because Michelle Long Spears, the candidate, received -- noted
that she received zero votes in a precinct where she and her
own family lived and voted. And while she could understand
herself having made a different choice, she did not understand
her husband not choosing her.

8 After a machine re-count produced the same result, a 9 hand-count audit found the DVS system selected the wrong 10 winner. Mr. Barnes attributed it to human error but did not 11 explain why a ballot alignment error could cause the system to 12 fail to count another 1,805 votes.

Audit logs from the SEB -- audit logs included in the SEB 2022-348 report that has been placed into evidence includes samples of how ballots were rejected when the scanner tabulators malfunctioned.

The defendants could provide no evidence the Secretary of State ever audited another race in the State of Georgia after this happened. 20 months later, the complaint remains unresolved and unexplained.

The Court heard evidence of a QR mismatch error that causes ballots to be rejected and not counted. Mr. Evans authenticated the 2022-348 complaint that establishes this error existed in 65 of 67 counties surveyed. He also authenticated the letter from the Tennessee Secretary of State

1	recommending at least Williamson County discontinue the use of
2	Dominion ballot-marking device system without delay.
3	He tried to claim the same error did not exist in
4	Georgia before admitting that he had never investigated it.
5	Had Mr. Evans simply read the complaint, he would have seen the
6	audit log entries from the counties throughout the state all
7	showing the same QR code mismatch error in plain English.
8	I will skip over any citation of precedent in the
9	interest of moving this forward in time, Judge, and not boring
10	your
11	THE COURT: Fine. Of course, you will have the
12	opportunity to send it to me in whatever following submission
13	you do.
14	MR. OLES: Judge, as we see it, a key issue in this
15	case has been credibility of the State's witness. Blake Evans,
16	the director of election and voting systems, stated that he had
17	no knowledge of vote dilution or votes not counted as cast. He
18	then went on to admit that he was aware of the 2022 DeKalb
19	County District 2 primary that selected the wrong winner. He
20	also acknowledged that Coffee County had machine re-count
21	problems in the 2020 general election.
22	He said he was aware of the Fulton County duplicate
23	pristine ballot case that has been filed as Favorito v. Wan.
24	He also claimed that Pro V&V conducted audits in at least two
25	counties in November 2020, but no documents were produced to

show that they ever performed any audits or visited either 2 county that Mr. Evans named. Center for Election Services Director Michael Barnes 3 4 acknowledged in cross-examination a letter he wrote to Bibb 5 County election supervisor stating that she could overwrite 6 in-person voted memory cards containing election records just 7 weeks after an election. The cards contained ballot images, audit logs, and 8 9 cast vote records from the election. Under cross-examination it was shown that election records had a 22-month and 24-month 10 11 retention period, respectively. But he apparently thought it was perfectly acceptable to upload the memory card content to 12 13 the server and destroy the original data despite that. 14 Gabriel Sterling, the former political consultant 15 turned DVS implementation manager, admitted in 16 cross-examination that he told Joe Rossi -- Investigator Joe 17 Rossi, that he was 100 percent certain that ballots had not 18 been tallied multiple times. 19 Governor Kemp's 36-point study showed examples of 20 many ballots being repeatedly scanned or repeatedly reported in 21 the audit. 22 Lawyer, former Secretary of State Attorney Ryan 23 Germany and Blake Evans both admitted that there were 24 doubled-scanned ballots in Fulton County. One of the State's experts, Ben Adida -- Ben Adida 25

1

praised Georgia as the first state to conduct a risk-limiting audit in the 2020 general election presidential contest. This, despite Dr. Stark's extensive testimony, that RLAs cannot be used for BMD elections. Several defendants acknowledge that Georgia actually conducted a full hand-count, which is not, in fact, an RLA.

7 Another State expert, Dr. Juan Gilbert, admitted that 8 an RLA cannot detect what the ballot-marking device shows to 9 the voter. Governor Kemp's study found that the audit had 36 major discrepancies. These included hundreds of double-scanned 10 11 ballots, thousands of reported ballots. For years, the office of Secretary of State claimed the hand-count audit confirmed 12 13 machine counted election results but not one defendant was 14 willing to say that under oath.

15 The State relies heavily on Lawyer Ryan Germany's 16 testimony. But it is not believable. It was Germany who wrote 17 in a superficial 2017 report claiming that it was standard 18 procedure to wipe out the statewide election preparation 19 servers in the former Center for Election Services at Kennesaw 20 State.

21 And I will skip over that. The Court is well
22 familiar with that.

23 Mr. Germany also minimized the claimed exposure and 24 that it did not affect the 2016 election. However, the record 25 already reflects that the entire Georgia election preparation

1 system was wide open for anyone in the world to hack during 2 this 2016 election. The record also shows that the exposure 3 was due to an open source Drupal web content manager system 4 defect that had never been updated since it was originally installed back in 2003. 5 This -- this is truly the most significant 6 7 cybersecurity incident in Georgia history because it was during a live election. And the evidence shows previous elections 8 9 were also vulnerable to external worldwide hacking for over a decade. 10 11 Mr. Germany and Investigator Frances Watson implied 12 to the Court without evidence that Scott Hall's affidavit about 13 duplicate pristine ballots was false. This was in the -- in 14 Fulton County in 2020. But Mr. Germany attempted to retract 15 his statement when challenged on cross-examination. 16 Mr. Evans acknowledged that the Attorney General's 17 office submitted an amicus brief on behalf of the Secretary of 18 State attempting to block the ballots from being inspected in a related active case. 19 20 Defendants opposed rebuttal evidence from a senior 21 poll manager that would have -- would have corroborated 22 Mr. Hall's assertions. Mr. Evans acknowledged during 23 cross-examination that there was no policy to mitigate 24 illegitimate ballots. 25 Now the Court is being asked to rely upon

1 Mr. Germany's email claiming Eric Chaney's testimony to the 2 House Government Affairs Committee included false statements. 3 Chaney said that the Secretary of State's office was not 4 helping Coffee County resolve their machine re-count problems. 5 Adverse witness Frances Watson attempted to rescue 6 Mr. Germany by saying she had no reason to believe his email 7 was inaccurate. In reality, calls for forensic audits started no 8 9 later than an email from now Lieutenant Governor Burt Jones to Butts County election supervisor as far back as November 2nd, 10 11 2020. The request for forensic exams in several counties was 12 included in the Pearson v. Kemp relief, which the Secretary of 13 State's office chose to fight. 14 Had they done their diligence to conduct the forensic 15 audits necessary to protect Georgia voters, the Coffee County 16 episode might never have occurred. 17 Frances Watson stated as an adverse witness that she 18 went to Coffee County and determined the machine re-count 19 problems were due to batches of ballots not being separated 20 properly. 21 While it is -- while neither she nor Joshua Blanchard 22 presented credentials that would qualify her to make such a 23 determination, no defense witness ever claimed that the size of 24 batches affected the accuracy of counting. 25 Third, if true, that alone would seem to prove that

1 the Dominion voting system is constitutionally deficient. 2 Problems reported by the Coffee County Board of Elections to the Secretary of State's office and the Georgia 3 4 General Assembly are thoroughly documented in Chaney's letter, 5 which is part of the record now as Exhibit 208. The spreadsheet included communications clearly 6 7 showing the Dominion voting system machine re-count added 39 votes to presidential election results with no changes in the 8 9 number of votes cast. It then failed to recognize any votes for another 185 additional ballots that were found and included 10 11 in the subsequent re-count. Ryan Germany was forced to concede 12 this on cross-examination. 13 If that is not a constitutional deficiency in the 14 Dominion voting system, then what is? 15 Now that Mr. Davis has completed the record, the Court may conclude that the real reason Coffee County election 16 17 personnel sought a forensic exam of the county server is 18 because the Secretary of State's office failed to do its job 19 and order an exam as soon as the system failed to re-count in 20 November of 2020 twice. 21 Coffee County Election Board Chair Ernestine Clark 22 explained the problems clearly to Secretary Raffensperger in her December 4th, 2020, letter; although it is not clear why 23 24 she apparently accompanied the State to later depositions in 25 this case.

1 Paul Maggio testified that SullivanStrickler 2 imaged-copied the software on all major Dominion components but was never successful in imaging the ballot-marking device. 3 4 Thus, constraining the plaintiffs' relief to the replacement of 5 the ballot-marking device alone simply ignores the extensive 6 security risks to all the other components of the Dominion 7 voting system, including the scanners and the county's central 8 server. 9 Does anyone really believe that merely replacing the ballot-marking device when the entire system was imaged would 10 11 solve the security risks and credibility issues raised in this 12 trial? 13 Dr. Halderman testified that his greatest concern was 14 not the ICX BMD but the spreading of malware from the election 15 preparation server through county servers. He stated in his security analysis that an attacker who infiltrates the facility 16 17 where Dominion prepares elections could modify the election 18 definitions distributed to all counties and thereby spread 19 malware to every ICX used in the State of Georgia. 20 It is self-evident that malware spread from servers at the counties or the center for election servers shows that 21 22 they themselves are infected and can also infect every other 23 component in the county for every election. 24 Dr. Halderman summed up Georgia's dilemma with the

25 Dominion ballot-marking device in his security analysis when he

1 said, it was developed without sufficient attention to security 2 during design, software engineering, and testing. He 3 concluded, in my view, it would be extremely difficult to 4 retrofit security into a system that was never initially 5 produced with such a process. We ask the Court to take note that after 6 7 three years -- three years after Dr. Halderman hacked a BMD in 8 front of the Court, the Secretary's office still ignored his 9 findings. Now, after multiple elections have been conducted on 10 this vulnerable system, he has returned to the Court and hacked 11 it again. 12 This should be enough to prove the Secretary of 13 State's office simply cannot protect Georgia voters from the 14 risks and vulnerabilities that are largely undetectable in the 15 conduct of an election. If we have not learned anything else 16 from this trial, we know that the Secretary of State's office 17 is incapable of overseeing and directing any election that 18 relies on electronic voting components. 19 Perhaps the most outstanding revel -- astounding 20 revelation uncovered -- which was uncovered by Plaintiff Davis, is that no one in the Secretary of State's office admits 21 22 responsibility for cybersecurity. And I won't go over the 23 finger-pointing which both prior counsel have already mentioned. 24 25 Perhaps the most profound truthful statement came

1 from Dr. Juan Gilbert. He stated there is no known way to 2 secure a digital ballot image. VOTER GA reports submitted by 3 Mr. Davis for the record provides evidence that the digital 4 balloting images from Fulton County's 2020 election were 5 electronically altered prior to final certification. 6 In fact, both this report and Dr. Stark's findings in his March 9th, 2020, declaration show that Fulton County 7 8 certified over 17,000 votes that have no corresponding ballot 9 image at all. 10 THE COURT: All right. To the extent that it is not 11 actually in the evidence, you know, I can't consider that. 12 MR. OLES: Yes, Judge. I know that some of these are 13 still pending. 14 THE COURT: Yes. 15 MR. OLES: Thank you. Dr. Appel stated in rebuttal, the consensus among 16 17 experts is to use hand-marked paper ballots and scanners. 18 Because if scanners don't tabulate correctly, we can always 19 just count the ballots. While this may be the consensus among 20 experts in the field, it is not true in the State of Georgia. 21 Here the government opposes sunshine for cast 22 ballots. And Georgians have waited over three years to see 23 legally sealed mail-in ballots from the Fulton County 2020 24 election. Even after a State Supreme Court victory, the public 25 is still unable to verify how many ballots -- counterfeit

1 ballots may have been there nor verify Fulton County's 2 electronic results. Dr. Gilbert had it right when he said, you can check 3 4 your bank account but not your vote. 5 The Georgia legislature, judicial system, and 6 executive branch refused to protect Georgians' constitutional 7 rights. The legislature mandated ballot-marking devices and 8 HB 316 over security objections from many nationally recognized 9 experts. The Secretary of State's office has proven to be 10 11 wholly inept, if not worse, its resolving the ensuing problems. 12 Georgia State courts have already ignored this Court's previous 13 conclusions that the Dominion ballot-marking device voting 14 system violates two Georgia laws. 15 The Court has urged the parties to resolve this matter, but the State continues to delay resolution after 16 17 six years. This case has probably amassed the most 18 comprehensive set of evidence ever assembled in a Georgia 19 election case. 20 But if plaintiffs are not granted full relief from 21 the Dominion BMD system, this case may be remembered for the 22 evidence that Mr. Davis was -- was not able to obtain instead 23 of the evidence that was actually uncovered. 24 Georgia's Dominion Democracy Suite 5.5 BMD system has 25 already been discontinued in Tennessee, replaced in Colorado,

1 and it was rejected in Texas before it was purchased in 2 Georgia. 3 We all want to secure our 2024 general elections. 4 Georgia's approach to auditing elections is totally inadequate 5 to ensure constitutionally sufficient protection for voters. And it is self-evident that the State is unwilling 6 7 and unable to alleviate the constitutional infirmities from deficient auditing practices and secretive storage of election 8 9 ballots. While the Court cannot dictate the precise solution 10 11 needed, it can conclude that the entire Dominion ballot-marking 12 BMD system is constitutionally deficient. 13 THE COURT: I think you're at more than 20 minutes at 14 this point. 15 MR. OLES: Okay. 16 THE COURT: So I think I've got the gist of your 17 argument. Don't I? 18 MR. OLES: You've got it, Judge. THE COURT: Okay. I had one --19 20 MR. OLES: Thank you once again. 21 THE COURT: You're very welcome. 22 And you referenced Governor -- the Governor's 3600 23 or --24 MR. OLES: 36-point. 25 I was wondering what you were referencing THE COURT:

1 specifically in that -- his 36-point study or whatever. What 2 was the document you were referencing? 3 MR. OLES: The particular point? 4 THE COURT: Well, what was -- is there a document 5 that you were referencing in that connection? 6 MR. OLES: There is -- attached to the Governor's 7 letter is his -- is the 36-page -- well, it is 36 pages --8 study that his staff undertook. And that is what I was 9 referencing. THE COURT: All right. Can you give me the document 10 11 number later? MR. OLES: Yes, Judge. 12 13 THE COURT: All right. Thank you. 14 MR. CROSS: Your Honor, there is one quick important 15 point I just need to clarify so the State has accurate 16 information for when they respond. Mr. McGuire made a 17 reference to individuals in Coffee County potentially doing 18 what they did because they distrust the system. 19 I want to be crystal clear about this. For the 20 Curling plaintiffs, we are not in any way suggesting that a 21 constitutional standard must satisfy the distrust of bad 22 actors. 23 I don't think that is what Mr. McGuire was 24 suggesting. But to the extent there is any confusion about 25 that, we have articulated the standard on voter verification

1 and reasonable security. That is the standard. Not satisfy people peddling election fraud. 2 3 I want to be very clear about that so the State 4 understands our position. 5 MR. McGUIRE: And since I said it, I'll echo that. 6 That certainly wasn't the gist of what I was saying. The gist 7 of what I was saying is that we need trustworthy elections. That is it. 8 9 THE COURT: All right. Well, it is basically 1:14, 10 1:15 for purposes of anything else. Let's start in 30 minutes then. 11 COURTROOM SECURITY OFFICER: All rise. Court will be 12 13 in recess for 30 minutes. 14 (A lunch break was taken.) THE COURT: I don't think Ms. Marks and her counsel 15 are here. 16 (There was a brief pause in the proceedings.) 17 18 THE COURT: Before we proceed with the -- with the 19 defendants' argument, I just wanted to say at the conclusion I 20 would like to talk about findings of fact, other things that we 21 have to get done and less -- I mean, it doesn't mean you can't 22 breathe, congratulate yourselves for being through. But don't 23 leave because we still have to deal with the issues of what is next in terms of work. 24 25 And so I just wanted to flag that because I could see

1 losing control of this right at the end. 2 Okay. All right. 3 MR. TYSON: Your Honor, if I could approach? I do 4 have copies of our presentation for you. 5 THE COURT: Okay. Another set of notebooks. How wonderful? 6 7 MR. TYSON: Okay. 8 THE COURT: Am I jumping in between or --9 MR. TYSON: They are all together, Your Honor. All together? 10 THE COURT: 11 MR. TYSON: No. I'm sorry --12 They are duplicates. I don't have THE COURT: 13 two notebooks, no Volume I and Volume II. 14 That is what I was worried about. 15 CLOSING ARGUMENT 16 MR. TYSON: Well, thank you, Your Honor. Bryan Tyson 17 for the State. 18 It is obviously, as I think others have mentioned, a 19 privilege to reach this point in the case. I do think I'm the 20 first person, maybe besides Mr. Oles, who is a Georgia voter, who, like other Georgians' votes on the BMDs, is proud to do 21 22 so. And I want to present our -- just our view in terms of 23 this case, and we have reached a long journey to get here. 24 And we obviously have Hamilton back at the Fox. And 25 I ran across a quote from Alexander Hamilton about the right to

1 He said, a share in the sovereignty of the state, which vote. 2 is exercised by the citizens at large, in voting at elections 3 is one of the most important rights of the subject, and in a 4 republic ought to stand foremost in the estimation of the law. 5 And as Your Honor knows, I have represented election 6 officials at the State level and the county level in dozens of 7 cases. Those officials uniformly take incredibly seriously 8 their role in protecting the right to vote of Georgia citizens. 9 Over the course of the plaintiffs' presentations today, Your Honor, we have heard those officials called inept. 10 11 We have had them accused of breaking Georgia law. We had 12 statements about how they have so little regard for election 13 security. 14 And, Your Honor, I just want to emphasize at the 15 beginning the most important of rights, the right to vote, 16 matters as much to these election officials as it does to any 17 Georgia voter. 18 We've heard testimony from election officials in 19 Georgia who talked about they don't tell their children what 20 they do for a living because of how toxic this environment has gotten. We have heard from an election official with pride who 21 22 took her daughter to vote for the first time and how proud she 23 was of that. So in the midst of all of this, I just think the 24 25 accusations and the innuendos against election officials needs

to be careful. The NASEM report that we have talked about here talked in its beginning about those who cast doubt on the integrity of the election process. It talked about dedicated and enlightened election officials from across the nations at all levels of government who are working tirelessly to ensure the integrity of the results of elections.

And so as we approach the issues in this case, these issues are serious and they are serious because they have -you have dedicated people working hard to get this right, often at great personal sacrifice as we saw in both 2018 and in 2020 in Georgia.

So we're here to talk about the right to vote. 12 But 13 we're also here to talk about the particular location where 14 we're having this conversation. In federal courts, as this Court is aware, are courts of limited jurisdiction. You do 15 have a lot of power in crafting an injunction. Federal courts 16 17 often do have good ideas about how to run elections. But the 18 boundaries of what you are able to do is the Court is 19 constrained by the Constitution.

Because when we begin with the Constitution, we see that Article I Section 4 says the primary branch of government that deals with questions regarding elections is the states, by the legislature thereof.

24 So the primary place where election decisions and 25 decisions about election administration are made is in the

1 political branches of government. That is the primary 2 location. 3 And even if a particular election practice or system 4 isn't perfect, as we went through in detail in the Fair Fight 5 Action case, Judge Jones found the system wasn't perfect but it didn't violate the Constitution. 6 7 As you have done in Georgia Shift and have indicated 8 in this case as well, you can't and no one can guarantee a 9 flawless election. We obviously stand behind the hard work of election officials and election results in Georgia. We have 10 11 confidence in those results. But at the end of the day, the question for the Court, because you can't oversee the 12 administrative details of an election, is does Georgia's 13 14 system -- its reasonable and nondiscriminatory rules violate 15 the Constitution. And that is the question we're here to 16 answer. 17 So in terms of how we're going to approach the 18 structure of our closing today, I'm going to begin with my 19 favorite subject, which is standing. I know that is not 20 everybody's favorite topic. Judge Jones told us I think when 21 Mr. Belinfante was discussing standing in Fair Fight he was 22 most surprised to not see me making that argument. But I'll be 23 making that argument today. If I can't convince you on jurisdiction, 24 25 Mr. Belinfante will cover the Anderson-Burdick and merits

1 issues. 2 And then Mr. Miller will cover the other factors of 3 the permanent injunction and the remedy side of things. 4 THE COURT: Am I supposed to vote at each section? I 5 think they are coming up, no matter what, though. 6 MR. TYSON: Probably so. 7 So, Your Honor, obviously I don't want to belabor the 8 test. We know what standing is. 9 THE COURT: Thank you. 10 MR. TYSON: And I was a little surprised to hear 11 Mr. McGuire say it was uncontested, of course. 12 I was surprised too. THE COURT: 13 We believe it is contested. MR. TYSON: 14 We know the three-part test we have to deal with. 15 And the plaintiffs have to show an injury for each claim and 16 for each form of relief that they are seeking. And so again, I 17 know we've had a discussion about different types of injuries. 18 We have to work through the injury side. 19 We also for a corporation have to work through 20 diversion of resources. The diversion has to be from City of 21 South Miami about something that is concrete and imminent. So 22 we'll talk about those pieces. 23 And then once we get past the injury prong, we then 24 have to answer the question about traceability. We have talked 25 about the role of states and counties in elections.

1 Unfortunately, you're going to hear a little bit more about 2 that today. 3 It matters in terms of what types of orders this 4 Court can enter. And again, as we saw in the 2020 election --5 post election litigation, often counties were the entities that 6 needed to be sued but someone would sue the Secretary instead. 7 Finally for redressability, there must be a 8 likelihood, not just merely speculative, that the injury will 9 be redressed by a decision from the Court. 10 So, Your Honor, what I want to do is begin with the 11 injuries that have been alleged and the evidence that is before you and go to your summary judgment order where you discussed 12 13 the substantial risk of injury to CGG's members' right to have 14 their votes counted as cast, if they are required to vote on 15 the BMD system. 16 And so we want to get into that because it does again 17 matter at trial. Even if there has been a sufficient showing 18 earlier in the case, the plaintiffs must now come forward with 19 evidence at trial of their standing. 20 And we do so out of a lens of the recognition that if 21 a single voter is specifically disadvantaged, if a vote is 22 counted improperly, even if that affects an outcome, the 23 Eleventh Circuit has told us that is a generalized grievance 24 that is not particularized to that individual voter. 25 So plaintiffs' injury cannot be that there is a

chance that someone else's vote was counted improperly or that the improper tabulation of the vote might affect the outcome. And the reason for that is it is ultimately shared by every Georgia voter. That's what Judge Grimberg found in the *Wood* cases after the 2020 elections. There is nothing unique to that because it is suffered equally by all voters.

7 And third, if irregularities in tabulation are not 8 the answer, because those are also affecting all voters 9 equally, back to the Eleventh Circuit, the irregularities don't affect anybody differently than anyone else. And if the 10 11 allegation just is the law is not being followed -- and I heard a lot in the plaintiffs' claim that there is some provisions of 12 13 Georgia law that are not being followed. If the allegation is 14 Georgia law is not being followed, then the Eleventh Circuit 15 tells us that is a generalized grievance and is not 16 particularized and appropriate to show an injury in this court.

So what does the evidence that you have before you show? First, the plaintiffs have uniformly agreed that they have no idea how a hand-marked paper ballot is tabulated by a scanner. In other words, they do not have the ability to determine if their vote is counted as cast on their preferred method of voting of hand-marked ballots.

23 Ultimately there is a trust that happens in the 24 system. You put the ballot into the scanner. Each of the 25 plaintiffs testified about this. And there cannot then be an

1 injury if in every voting system the voter is unable to verify 2 if their vote is counted as cast. Now, the primary response is, well, I marked -- I 3 4 know I marked the ballot versus I don't know what the ballot-marking device ballot said. Again, the scanner is not 5 6 reading -- it is reading a point. 7 We have heard on questions of vulnerability the 8 scanner could be affected. And then if there is a question, 9 you go back to the ballot. If there is a question in the ballot, you go back on the BMD ballot to the human readable 10 11 portion, on the hand-marked ballot to the mark made by the 12 voter. 13 So, Your Honor, we would submit initially there 14 cannot be an injury for counted as cast unique to the BMD 15 system because that is shared by all voting systems as the 16 plaintiffs themselves have told you. 17 Further, it emphasizes the point that Mr. McGuire 18 made trust in elections matters. And ultimately what the 19 plaintiffs have said in this case at trial is they don't trust 20 the BMD system to count their votes. 21 Secondly, the plaintiffs and their experts have told 22 you they have no evidence that any vote cast on a BMD has ever 23 been incorrectly counted or that any BMD in any election has 24 actually been hacked. 25 And to Mr. Oles' credit, I think he at least has made

1 that allegation. The Curling and the Coalition plaintiffs have 2 not. 3 So that means the only possible basis for an injury 4 based on some misprogramming or hacking of a BMD has to be a 5 possible future harm because it hasn't occurred before. 6 And what have the plaintiffs themselves and their 7 experts told you about possible future harm when there is 8 vulnerabilities? Again, in the letter they signed -- the 9 experts signed after the 2020 election, they said merely citing the existence of technical flaws does not establish that an 10 11 attack occurred, much less that it altered an election outcome. 12 And then here is how they phrased it, it is simply 13 speculation. 14 THE COURT: When you say experts say, who are you 15 referring to? 16 So, Your Honor, this is the letter that MR. TYSON: 17 Dr. Halderman, Dr. Appel, Dr. Gilbert, Mr. Hursti, and others 18 signed after the November 2020 election about allegations for 19 that election. 20 THE COURT: All right. Is it an exhibit in the 21 record? 22 MR. TYSON: It is. Defendants' Exhibit 67, and it is 23 in evidence. 24 THE COURT: Okay. 25 So, Your Honor, Mr. McGuire proposed a MR. TYSON:

1 few additional possible injuries.

2	The injury as a result of ballot secrecy, which
3	either means that people can see the screen and how you are
4	voting. I believe in the Coalition plaintiffs' view or in the
5	Curling plaintiffs' view that no one could see the screen and
6	so you could implement a hack on the device or QR code is an
7	informational injury. Again, these are all generalized
8	grievances because they are shared by all Georgia voters.
9	There is nothing particularized to the plaintiffs in this case.
10	Similarly, the idea that reviewing a BMD ballot is an
11	injury is likewise something that would be shared by every
12	in-person voter in Georgia, which would also be a generalized
13	grievance and not sufficient as an injury.
14	So, Your Honor, we would submit that the evidence at
14 15	So, Your Honor, we would submit that the evidence at trial has shown that counted as cast is either a generalized
15	trial has shown that counted as cast is either a generalized
15 16	trial has shown that counted as cast is either a generalized grievance that is shared by all voters, which can't be an
15 16 17	trial has shown that counted as cast is either a generalized grievance that is shared by all voters, which can't be an injury, or it is not an injury at all. Because no voting
15 16 17 18	trial has shown that counted as cast is either a generalized grievance that is shared by all voters, which can't be an injury, or it is not an injury at all. Because no voting system can provide the kind of assurance the plaintiffs say
15 16 17 18 19	trial has shown that counted as cast is either a generalized grievance that is shared by all voters, which can't be an injury, or it is not an injury at all. Because no voting system can provide the kind of assurance the plaintiffs say lacking it is an injury. Or that the plaintiffs have only
15 16 17 18 19 20	trial has shown that counted as cast is either a generalized grievance that is shared by all voters, which can't be an injury, or it is not an injury at all. Because no voting system can provide the kind of assurance the plaintiffs say lacking it is an injury. Or that the plaintiffs have only shown a speculative future injury, using their expert's words,
15 16 17 18 19 20 21	trial has shown that counted as cast is either a generalized grievance that is shared by all voters, which can't be an injury, or it is not an injury at all. Because no voting system can provide the kind of assurance the plaintiffs say lacking it is an injury. Or that the plaintiffs have only shown a speculative future injury, using their expert's words, not that the injury is certainly impending, which is the
15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22	trial has shown that counted as cast is either a generalized grievance that is shared by all voters, which can't be an injury, or it is not an injury at all. Because no voting system can provide the kind of assurance the plaintiffs say lacking it is an injury. Or that the plaintiffs have only shown a speculative future injury, using their expert's words, not that the injury is certainly impending, which is the requirement to have an injury in the court.

1	Georgia's election results in 2018, 2020, and 2022. This,
2	again, is a jurisdictional issue and was the basis for
3	dismissal of, I think, all of the post 2020 litigation that was
4	brought about Georgia's election system.
5	So that is the individual plaintiffs.
6	Moving to the Coalition for Good Governance,
7	Mr. McGuire has cited two possible bases for standing. The
8	first is associational standing. And that places us squarely
9	into the City of South Miami case. The issue here is that the
10	plaintiffs would suffer the Coalition would suffer the same
11	infirmities of an injury that an individual would.
12	So in associational standing, since they are standing
13	in the shoes of an individual, if an individual was not able to
14	bring those claims, the organization could not bring it on
15	their behalf either.
16	The Eleventh Circuit has also explained that the
17	you cannot have associational standing based on a subjective
18	fear of harm, which again gets us back into the same basis of
19	the fear of hacking speculation about an alteration of election
20	results and possible future harm.
21	So for those, Your Honor, even if we get past that as
22	a legal matter, the evidence at trial, which is the evidence to
23	be considered here, still does not support associational
24	standing. Again, we have the same problems with individuals
25	for an associational standing claim.

1 In addition, you have CGG members who are plaintiffs 2 which raises questions about statutory standing, separate from 3 Article III, and third-party standing if you have members who 4 are plaintiffs, which we do, does the organization have a right 5 to bring that, especially when it does not have its own, 6 obviously, right to vote in that situation under 1983. 7 But the evidence also showed that CGG cannot identify its members. It doesn't know if it has members in every 8 9 county. This is unlike other associational standing cases where there was evidence of the NAACP, for example, that had 10 11 members in each Georgia county and could assert these types of 12 claims. 13 So we would submit there is no basis to conclude 14 associational standing exists. 15 Moving to organizational standing, which is what this Court discussed in the motion for summary judgment order, 16 17 again, that was when it was -- you had to cast presumptions in 18 favor of the plaintiffs. The Eleventh Circuit in City of 19 South Miami quoted the Sixth Circuit favorably in that case 20 where it said an organization can no more spend its way into 21 standing based on speculative fears of future harm than an 22 individual can. 23 And when we look at that Sixth Circuit case that the 24 Eleventh Circuit cited, we see what the allegations were there. 25 It was system vulnerabilities with the voting system. It was

1 previous equipment malfunctions, past election mistakes. 2 And what the Sixth Circuit concluded in the case the Eleventh Circuit relied on was that past occurrences of 3 4 unlawful conduct do not create standing sufficient to get an 5 injunction against the risk again of future unlawful conduct. 6 So applying that legal standard to the evidence you 7 have before you here, at summary judgment you recognized the plaintiffs had to carry their burden of standing at this point 8 9 without presumptions in their favor. And they have not. The evidence shows the right to have their votes counted as cast 10 11 cannot be vindicated on any election system under the evidence 12 that is before you. 13 The imminence of the potential harm was also 14 construed in the plaintiffs' favor at summary judgment. And as we get into some of the merits, the changes that the State made 15 Mr. Belinfante will discuss, I think go to the imminent 16 17 question as well. And ultimately, it is not law of the case. 18 Again, the plaintiffs have to show at each stage that they have 19 met the continuing need to have a jurisdiction for this Court. 20 The facts also showed that there is not a diversion 21 of resources that is legally cognizable here. So the facts 22 show CGG, to the extent it is diverting resources, is doing that based on speculative fears, just like the individual 23 24 plaintiffs. Again, that does not meet the imminence 25 requirement.

1 And the evidence on diversion is that the diversions 2 are the result of CGG's spending on this litigation. Its 3 efforts to counteract the State policy it opposes or the State 4 practice it opposes are this lawsuit. It is not generally 5 engaged based on the evidence before you in other activities. And as the Sixth Circuit explained, again, in the 6 7 Shelby case, spending on litigation is not enough to get you to 8 an injury that opens the door to federal court. 9 The last point I'll make about the organizational standing piece, the post 2020 cases as I referenced were 10 11 uniformly decided on a lack of a particularized injury to individuals. And it would be a strange way, I think, to read 12 13 the law that if Ms. Powell or Mr. Wood or others who brought 14 post election litigation in 2020 had just incorporated an 15 entity to file the lawsuits -- we could call it Kraken, Inc. --16 that somehow that would have converted their non-justiciable 17 generalized grievances into justiciable particularized 18 injuries, especially when you have a corporation that doesn't 19 have a right to vote, unlike an individual who does. 20 So that is essentially the evidence you have before CGG exists to litigate. And that alone cannot transform 21 you. 22 speculative future harm that an individual couldn't bring to 23 this Court into a particularized injury. 24 So we would submit that at this stage, with no 25 presumptions applied, the plaintiffs have not shown an injury

1 to them as individuals, to associational interests, or to the 2 organizational interests. And we would submit the Court should 3 apply the same approach as the post 2020 cases and dismiss for 4 lack of a particularized injury. 5 Moving to traceability and redressability, the Court 6 discussed the various challenges that could be brought, 7 different meaningful relief short of ordering hand-marked paper 8 ballots in its summary judgment order. 9 But as we'll discuss as we get into the day-to-day, the evidence at trial has foreclosed those possibilities. 10 The 11 evidence that you have heard is that eliminating QR codes will not address the plaintiffs' injuries. Not adding audits. 12 Not 13 adding additional logic and accuracy testing. Not doing 14 upgrades to software that would remediate vulnerabilities. 15 The plaintiffs have provided you with no evidence that there is anything that will redress their claimed injuries 16 17 short of banning the use of ballot-marking devices. 18 Now, we have heard discussions about the role of states and the role of counties for the traceability and 19 20 redressability point. It is critically important that this 21 Court recognize that as a matter of law, as a matter of 22 practice counties run elections in Georgia with assistance from 23 the State. We've had the Fair Fight decision that covered that. 24 25 And ultimately, again in a post *Jacobson* world, you can't bind

1 the counties through the Secretary because the counties have 2 their own independent legal obligations for how they conduct 3 elections.

In addition, I think it is also important to distinguish between traceability as a matter of jurisdiction, which is the *Carnival Corporation* case the Court relied on at summary judgment addressed and causation under 1983. We'll talk a little bit more about that as we move along.

9 Plaintiffs have also now proposed a few different 10 options for lesser relief. Again, relief that requires 11 compliance with Georgia law throws us back into generalized 12 grievances. And enjoining of 21-2-300 I'll talk about in a 13 minute.

And then in order just to more thoroughly do existing types of testing, as Mr. McGuire proposed, again not only places this Court in the administrative details of an election but also raises an issue with who is doing the particular testing. The evidence shows logic and accuracy testing is carried out by counties, not by the State. And we have no counties left in this case.

So in terms of the evidence that you have heard, the evidence also shows that any sort of relief that plaintiffs are asking for would generally be costs on the counties, whether that is the purchase of additional printers, whether that is other things they would have to do. Those would be costs borne

1 by counties.

2 And enjoining 21-2-300 where nonparty counties could then decide to use a different voting system, for example, than 3 4 the ballot-marking device system would still not redress the 5 plaintiffs' injuries because the counties would still be able 6 to choose whether to use the BMD system or not. If every 7 county chose to use that BMD voting system in the future, an 8 order enjoining the Secretary does not get to a redress of the 9 plaintiffs' injuries.

Finally, on audits, the evidence also shows that audits are carried out by counties. And the Secretary has no authority to order counties to conduct more audits under the current legal structure today.

And so, Your Honor, the remedies that have been proposed run headlong into a *Jacobson* problem, which is you are unable to bind the counties by binding the Secretary and the State Election Board.

Last point for me, Your Honor, is the one-plaintiff rule. This Court rooted its decision in summary judgment on the rule that as long as one plaintiff has standing you don't need to address the standing of other plaintiffs.

And in looking at the cases the Court relied on for that, the cases involved single complaints. So even in the *Shaw* case that you discussed regarding fee issues, the only reason the intervenors, who were a separate group, were allowed

1 in the case and to recover fees was because they were allowed 2 to intervene on the condition they adopt the plaintiffs' 3 complaint. 4 So we would submit that at this point in the trial, 5 especially hearing some of the differences in the relief that 6 is being sought, between the Curling plaintiffs and the 7 Coalition plaintiffs, that when this Court writes its order, it will need to address the standing of Curling, Coalition, and 8 9 Mr. Davis in terms of the ability to bring these cases. At the very least, we submit you would need to find 10 11 the Curling plaintiffs lack standing because they are only 12 individuals even if the Coalition plaintiffs do have organizational standing. So we'll discuss more about those 13 14 different parts of relief as we get into the remedy side of the 15 equation this afternoon. 16 But we would submit that the plaintiffs who lack the 17 ability to invoke this Court's jurisdiction should be dismissed 18 from the case. 19 THE COURT: Could you hold there for one second? 20 (There was a brief pause in the proceedings.) 21 MR. TYSON: Your Honor, with that, I'm going to hand 22 things off to Mr. Belinfante. I did just want to, since this may be the last time I have a chance to address the Court in 23 24 this trial, just to thank you, thank the staff, everybody's 25 hard work along this way. I know it has been a long journey

1 for all of us. 2 It is a privilege to get to represent election 3 officials who work really hard. And I have the privilege to 4 get to stand before you and argue this case. 5 So thank you, Your Honor. THE COURT: Thank you, sir. 6 7 CLOSING ARGUMENT 8 MR. BELINFANTE: Good afternoon, Your Honor. 9 THE COURT: Good afternoon. 10 MR. BELINFANTE: Like Mr. Tyson, I want to start by 11 thanking the Court and your staff. I know that y'all have received communications from us at night, on the weekends. 12 13 They have not always been flowery toward one another. We 14 appreciate your patience and your time with this case for sure. 15 We know it is a difficult one. And we know that it is one that the Court has spent a very long time with in a very 16 17 significant record. 18 But what we heard today -- I, frankly, have had to 19 change a fair amount of what I had been prepared to say. And 20 unfortunately it is because what we have seen is plaintiffs and 21 their own experts who have acknowledged that there is no 22 evidence that a vote in Georgia was not counted as cast. 23 Further, they have all acknowledged that their 24 preferred choice -- and I'll get to why it is the only thing 25 they want -- hand-marked paper ballots -- you still don't know,

1 they still don't know if they are counted as cast. It is a 2 policy debate. And when there is no actual injury, they fall 3 back on risk. And when there is no evidence quantifying that 4 risk, it turns into an attack on public officials and 5 misrepresentations. We've seen this before. In Fair Fight, there were 6 7 unfounded claims of voter suppression, racially motivated policies, and attack on State officials like I just sat through 8 9 for the first hour and on of the day. Judge Jones heard the evidence in six weeks of trial 10 11 and ruled completely for the State and upheld the integrity of 12 Georgia's elections. 13 In *Pearson*, we heard what is the next logical step of 14 the plaintiffs' argument. Recall that the plaintiffs told this 15 Court in their complaints that the Dominion machines are, quote, inherently unsafe and must be presumed to be hacked. 16 17 The *Pearson* plaintiffs just went the next step and said that 18 they were. Judge Batten dismissed the case. 19 In the Anderson v. Raffensperger case, Judge Brown 20 heard arguments about lines in Fulton County, Bibb County, 21 Chatham County, and a few others in Georgia. He dismissed the 22 State because he recognized that the problems were 23 county-based, not that of the State. And he also recognized 24 that the plaintiffs in that case were attempting to substitute 25 the views of an academic, in Judge Brown's words, for the

1 wisdom of the State legislature.

Now we have a case with far less evidence than Fair
Fight. We have attacks on Georgians, who unlike the
plaintiffs, choose to vote on machines. And you have heard
testimony that 91 percent of Georgians vote on ballot-marking
devices. You've heard that Georgians -- we don't read ballots.
We don't check them. The UGA report says that 80 percent do.
So what happens then? You attack UGA.

9 They say that our government officials break the law and they don't like that they have been reelected. And now we 10 11 get pictures of Spider-Man representing public servants who 12 have done immense work in incredibly challenging times who just 13 simply don't agree with their expert and like Georgians, and 14 like the General Assembly, and like the SAFE Commission, as the 15 evidence has shown again and again, do not agree with the 16 plaintiffs.

That is not a constitutional injury. And the evidence makes that clear. We can look at Georgia elections overview and see one of the glaring problems with the plaintiffs' complaint. They are suing for what they claim -or what they say are State issues of which the State has no control.

Yes, Dr. Halderman came into court and in a situation like this, where there is no poll watcher who sits and makes sure and is sworn to an oath to see that individuals don't

1	tamper with machines, was able to reach behind with a pen.
2	Because Dr. Halderman knew exactly what to do. And he
3	explained it. He is a professor at Michigan. No one questions
4	that Dr. Halderman is a very intelligent man.
5	Remember the law Mr. Cross told you says you can't be
6	near someone. It is six feet. Six feet away. About as far as
7	I am now. There's poll watchers. There's poll managers.
8	There's poll workers. There's other voters. We're supposed to
9	presume, because they have no evidence, that someone is not
10	going to notice someone unplugging a USB cord, plugging
11	something in and we saw on the video has a screen that
12	looks like the Matrix with things going back and forth that you
13	know are not supposed to be on the screen. This is why they
14	focus on risk.
15	So when you look at the Secretary of State versus the
16	State Election Board and County Election Superintendents, it is
17	important to recognize the size of the Secretary of State's
18	office. The Secretary's position was called today an
19	absurdity. They have \$7 million in their budget approximately
20	for the elections division. They have 25 full-time employees.
21	Many of whom were attacked today needlessly.
22	They say in their slide on Page 20 the Curling
23	plaintiffs say that they are not challenging the BMDs
24	generally. The evidence does not support that. Their experts
25	do not support that. There is no solution, as Mr. Miller will

1 tell you, that their experts say will resolve the question of a 2 risk of a vote not being counted as cast, except for what this 3 Court said it cannot do, which is require hand-marked paper 4 ballots. 5 They cite an August 1, 2018, in their closing, letter 6 from then Secretary Kemp, and say that the State is violating 7 the law because the State is the only one taking the position of whether the machines are inherently dangerous or not. 8 There 9 is no evidence because Mr. Sterling said he was unaware of the current policy. But it made for good fodder. 10 11 The Secretary's role is far more limited than they would have the Court believe. Yes, the Secretary does 12 13 determine modifications, upgrades, and changes to election 14 equipment. You heard testimony from both Blake Evans and 15 Gabriel Sterling as to why upgrading to a new level of software 16 for Dominion now is simply not practical and would cost \$25 million but would not be available for the November 2024 17 18 election regardless. 19 Yes, they authorize the movement of voting system 20 equipment. And you heard from Gabriel Sterling about how that 21 process has been enhanced recently. 22 You didn't hear it from the other side. But now look 23 These are the rules affecting counties and governing at this. 24 what counties do and county election superintendents. This is

not passing the buck. This is not pointing fingers. This is

25

1 the law. 2 So let's look in that environment at the plaintiffs' substantive claims. The Court is aware of them. 3 There are two 4 constitutional claims for both the Curling and the Coalition 5 plaintiffs. That would include Mr. Davis at this point. 6 And the summary judgment order, the pages I have 7 used, Your Honor, are from the Westlaw version, not the docket 8 version. There is no argument -- and we're all in agreement --9 that the Anderson-Burdick is the test that will apply to the entirety of plaintiffs' claims. 10 11 And we are at trial to determine factually what is 12 the character and magnitude of the burden that plaintiffs claim 13 imposes on their right to vote and then weigh that burden against uncontested State interests. The only people that 14 15 offered evidence on State interests was the State itself. 16 And the only people that offered evidence on actually 17 administrating elections in Georgia, whether it be the 18 Secretary of State's office or Mr. Kirk from Bartow County, was 19 the State. 20 But the first factor as the Court noted on Page 45 is really three: What is the burden? How is it imposed or 21 22 causation? And what is the allegedly unconstitutional conduct? 23 And we'll go through those. 24 The alleged burden. We know from Burdick that if a 25 State regulation that is challenged is reasonable and

nondiscriminatory, it will generally be upheld on a light review. Here, I am guessing, that the policy that is being challenged is 21-2-300, which requires the uniform use of voting equipment and specifically ballot-marking devices for in-person voting in Georgia. Hand-marked emergency paper ballots remain available.

7 If it is an ordinary and widespread burden, it is not 8 subject to strict scrutiny. Now, that begs the question: What 9 would a discriminatory restriction be? And in many cases it is 10 about exactly that. It could be like in *Fair Fight*, the exact 11 match policy that was challenged and said that was 12 discriminatory via disparate impact.

But let me offer you another hypothetical. The plaintiffs have told the Court time and time again these machines are not good enough for Georgia voters. They are inherently risky. They must be presumed to be hacked. But if someone is disabled and cannot complete a hand-marked paper ballot, these will do just fine.

Now, imagine that, Your Honor. A law that says the disabled must vote on an unconstitutional machine but everybody else gets to use a constitutional method of voting. It is why Dr. Gilbert testified and said separate is not equal.

Here the Court understood -- and this is the Court's identifying of what the injury is -- the risk of harm of their ability to cast an effective accurately counted vote. Here the

plaintiffs, again, do not challenge a specific State policy,
 law, or regulation.

Judge Jones answered the same thing in Fair Fight. 3 4 There the challenge was because the State had -- one of the 5 challenges. Because the State had not updated the poll worker 6 manual that that was the policy being challenged. But what 7 Judge Jones said on Page 1203 of the order is that the failure 8 to update and change materials were not the implementation of a 9 state statute, regulation, or policy. Accordingly, the Court finds that the Anderson-Burdick analysis is not applicable. 10

Here, they are asking the State to update its own policies. Why? Because Dr. Halderman said so. Under Fair *Fight*, that is not an Anderson-Burdick claim. But this is the environment in which plaintiffs bring their claim. The Court has recognized and each of the plaintiffs who testified has as well that no election is flawless. It is undisputed.

17 The Court has also said that it is true electronic 18 voting systems are not per se unconstitutional. And numerous 19 times throughout the trial the plaintiffs argued that that 20 wasn't their argument. They weren't saying that. But here's 21 the key. In this environment, the Court said on Page 2 of the 22 Westlaw version of the order, quite simply the Court has the 23 legal authority to identify constitutional deficiencies with 24 the existing voting system, but it does not have the power to 25 prescribe or mandate new voting systems, i.e., a paper ballot

system to replace the current legislatively enacted system.
So what did the plaintiffs do? They came to you and
they said, Your Honor, we're not asking you to impose
hand-marked paper ballots. We just want you to prevent these
machines from being used for everyone but the disabled. What
does that leave counties with, Your Honor? The DREs are gone.
They are not certified. That leaves hand-marked paper ballots.
To his credit, Mr. Oles and Mr. Davis are being
intellectually honest about it and saying, we want hand-marked
paper ballots. That is where the case ends. If there was any
doubt of that, at least for the Coalition's concerns, Ms. Marks
tells everyone on May 2nd, 2021, that South Carolina is like
Georgia. It uses unauditable BMD touch screen machines. We
can never, ever know who won in South Carolina or Georgia
because the use of these machines in polling places,
Defendants' Exhibit 194.
She also agrees that BMDs and the Coalition should
not be used by voters who are able to mark an optical scan
ballot with a pen. Why? Because you'll never know how the
election works. As Mr. Miller will talk about, Dr. Stark says
the same. You can't audit an election that uses any BMD.
And so it is no wonder Mr. McGuire says when people
suspect they have been cheated, right or wrong, they aren't
going to take that and eventually they are going to do worse

1 So what is the burden on voting again? The Court 2 identified three things to look at here: The 2021 Halderman 3 report, the CISA 2022 report, and Coffee County. Obviously I 4 know the Court will look at more. But these were the things 5 highlighted in the summary judgment order that had changed at 6 least since the time of the preliminary injunction order.

7 What hadn't changed though? No witness knows of any 8 Georgia ballot not being counted. They need you to presume so 9 they can overcome their burden of proof to presume something 10 has happened or at least presume the risk is high, even though 11 no one has seen it and they know this. This is why the 12 testimony is we will never know one way or the other. They are 13 seeking to shift the burden improperly on the State to disprove 14 the negative.

And how do we know that there is no way to know anyway? Because each of the plaintiffs will tell you, even with a hand-marked paper ballot, they still don't know at the time they entered that ballot into a scanner if it is counted as cast.

And remember the exercise we all saw Dr. Halderman hack it with a pen. Remember Dr. Gilbert used a pen too and marked a sample ballot and showed how you invalidate an affirmative vote and how you invalidate a nonvote. And it didn't take a Ph.D. from Michigan and a hack-around thing with malware perhaps posted on a device.

1 That is why no election is perfect. No State witness 2 knew of it either. 3 Now, here is another important one. There is no 4 quantification of risk. They say, well, Dr. Halderman says you 5 can't quantify risk. Well, that is why it is a policy 6 argument, Your Honor. In a medical malpractice case, there are 7 experts who will quantify the risk that something would have happened but for the misdiagnosis. You see that in tort cases 8 9 I'm sure all the time. Here when they point out there is no way a 10 11 quantification of the risk, what we're told is, well, the 12 malware could be there and we would never know it and then it 13 would delete itself so we could never find it. That is not an 14 appropriate burden of proof to try to impose on the State when 15 the State is the defendant, to begin with. 16 So then what do we hear from the plaintiffs on this? 17 Well, Gabriel Sterling said the State is not prepared for an 18 election. The Court will remember. I said yesterday this 19 would happen. I asked Mr. Sterling right after that: 20 Question: When you said the State would not be 21 prepared -- because he had been talking about EMPs with 22 Mr. Brown -- what were you envisioning? 23 Answer: A wild scenario that would never happen in 24 real life. Only a few things, major catastrophe, nuclear 25 attack, terrorist attack. Any series of those things that

1 could shut everything down at one time. 2 This is what is happening in the Court. Now we heard 3 a new theory that they somehow, because the Poll Pad checks 4 individuals through cellular-based information, that you can 5 now insert the card in the Poll Pad and take the Poll Pad card to the computer or the BMD and there is a virus on it and 6 7 you'll never see it or never know it and it is going to change 8 someone's vote, even though no one has ever seen that happen in the United States. The other problem is there is no expert 9 10 testimony on how that would happen or where it would happen. 11 But remember the testimony you did hear. 12 The only way it could change a ballot that is counted 13 as cast is because the ballots are built to the specific 14 election. There is a window of time that that happens. And one would have to have access the ballot file. 15 16 Is it possible --17 THE COURT: You need to get closer. 18 MR. BELINFANTE: Is it possible? Yes. 19 But so is the things identified by Mr. Sterling: 20 Nuclear attack, terrorist attack, EMPs. We're not saying it is 21 not possible. But the reason they won't quantify the risk for 22 you is because they can't. 23 And I'm not saying and the State is not saying that that doesn't mean their concerns aren't valid. What it means 24

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is that their concerns should be raised in a different branch

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1 of government.

2	We spent a lot of time talking about the CISA
3	recommendations and the adoption or its focus on
4	Dr. Halderman's June report from 2021. But unlike the
5	plaintiffs, you heard testimony from both Elections Director
6	Evans and COO and CFO Gabe Sterling, that when the State makes
7	election policy it has to look at things other than just
8	cybersecurity. And you heard that from the plaintiffs as well.
9	Physical security, ease of administration, how do you
10	train people on something like this? Access and accessibility.
11	Popularity and how Georgians choose to vote one way or the
12	other. Budget. There is a broad range of things the State
13	concerns, not just cybersecurity concerns. And this is where
14	the Anderson case becomes relevant.
15	What Judge Brown wrote there was that the Court could
16	not strip State officials of their constitutionally enshrined
17	authority over elections and reassign that authority to an
18	academic instead, 467 F. Supp. 3d 1300 at 1331. And that does
19	not mean that Dr. Halderman's concerns should be attacked, and
20	it does not mean that the State is doing so.
21	But what it means is the State has to consider more
22	than what one of someone who has dedicated their lives to
23	trying to prove the vulnerability of machines says.
24	As Gabe Sterling told you yesterday, you could have
25	the safest machine in the world, but if no one could use it or

1 vote on it, it doesn't do any good. 2 So let's look at CISA and their recommendations. The first one was to ensure that all affected devices are 3 4 physically protected during and after voting. 5 Actually I think the slides got mixed up, Your Honor. The first one we spent a lot of time on. And it was 6 7 to contact Dominion Voting Systems to determine which software 8 and/or firmware updates need to be applied. 9 And the State was very transparent on this. Director Evans, as well as Mr. Sterling, told this Court what they told 10 11 the Georgia State Senate in November of last year. It cannot update to 5.17 now. Georgia law requires -- and there is 12 13 discussion in the Senate about changing this -- that updates to 14 software need to be EAC certified. 15 And by the time that the 5.17 was ready to go, Georgia could not do it. It did test a pilot, as Director 16 17 Evans indicated in his testimony. But as Mr. Miller will tell 18 you, even if the State had done what CISA requested or 19 recommended -- and, again, it is just a recommendation -- their 20 own experts say it is not good enough. 21 So then we looked at VVSG 2, which no system in the 22 United States is running on VVSG 2. But we spent a lot of time 23 talking about it. In terms of the affected devices and whether 24 they are protected before, during, and after voting, this is 25 one where I think the Court probably was most either frustrated

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1	or just tired with me. This is where we walked through every
2	time the word sealed appeared in the poll worker manual.
3	And remember this poll worker manual was from May of
4	2021, well before the CISA report. And that is why the
5	language of the CISA report says, CISA recommends election
6	officials continue to take and further enhance defense
7	mechanisms to reduce the risk of exploitation. And
8	specifically for each election, election official should and
9	it identifies continue to take. Georgia has been doing
10	this.
11	And Your Honor's summary judgment order said there
12	was no evidence we had. That is the fault of counsel. I will
13	stand before the Court and say, if we did not convey that to
14	the Court, that is on us. The testimony you heard is that the
15	State is doing it.
16	They also brought in Homeland Security, as Director
17	Evans talked about, to go and do checks of the physical
18	security of voting machines across the State. Yes, they were
19	questioned, was it good enough? We don't know. Why don't we
20	know? Because the plaintiffs didn't offer any expert on
21	whether it was good enough or not. They just attacked them and
22	said, well, we thought you should do more.
23	The next one. Ensure compliance with chain of
24	custody procedures through the election cycle. We walked
25	through the poll worker manual that does just that. There is a

1	form. It is administered by the county. So even if the
2	plaintiffs had problems with the chain of custody and the
3	compliance, they should have brought counties into the lawsuit.
4	They sued the wrong party.
5	And Gabe Sterling testified and told you I'm sorry
6	the cite is not there. It just wasn't prepared at the time we
7	were able that they have enhanced their chain of custody
8	requirements at the State.
9	Next, ensure that ImageCast are not connected to
10	external networks. Notice it says, ImageCast and the EMS.
11	What did they talk about today in a manner to distract? The
12	Poll Pads. It is not the same.
13	But in addition to that, it is addressed in a State
14	Election Board rule. And who is to enforce that? The
15	counties. Now, does that mean the State does nothing? No.
16	As Matt Mashburn told you, as Rebecca Sullivan told
17	you, as Ryan Germany told you, and Gabe Sterling and Blake
18	Evans, if counties don't follow SEB rules, they can be brought
19	before the SEB. The plaintiffs spent plenty of time going to
20	SEB meetings and bringing things to the SEB and the SEB
21	disagrees with their policy almost every time. They don't file
22	complaints, that I have seen, or that they have brought to the
23	Court in evidence and said we found a county that wasn't doing
24	this.
25	They could have. Maybe they did. But I didn't see

1 it in evidence in the Court.

Next, ensure that the security devices have things on them. Examples, locks, seals, et cetera. Again, obligation of the counties. The State trains on how to do it. It is in the manual.

And so what did we hear? That there is all this evidence of emails coming into the State saying this didn't happen. One incident or maybe two, since 2020. Temple Emanu-El down the street in Dunwoody from me. And the other one that where you heard today, well, Michael Barnes said just put another one on it. That was in the first general election that the machines were used.

And this is exactly like *Fair Fight*, Your Honor. If they wanted -- if the problem were systemic, if the risk were to be quantified as tremendous and as bad as they say it is, they certainly would have found more evidence of it. They put two emails before the Court on problems with the seals at trial.

19There is another one. Close the background20application. Your Honor, I apologize that the answer is not21there. It is also in Defendants' Exhibit 1245, the poll worker22manual. And it talks about booting up. That is where the23information is. And one program going at the time.24Again, what is the significance of the poll worker25manual? It shows action taken before the CISA report. And the

1 argument advanced for the first time today that the poll worker 2 manual shows that the State is responsible for the 3 vulnerabilities that are impacted or decided at the county 4 level is simply wrong. 5 This is the same argument the plaintiffs advanced in 6 Fair Fight and lost. Why? They have not shown any causation 7 because they didn't call any county officials. They didn't 8 call any poll workers. They didn't call the person identified 9 in the two emails they have and say, did you see that the seals were on there and that was a fault of training? Were you not 10 11 trained because of that? They didn't put any evidence before the Court. In fact, they didn't even call the person who wrote 12 13 it. 14 So the evidence is admitted not for the truth of the 15 matter asserted. The Court can't even say that what the person 16 was saying is true. 17 But you did hear from Joseph Kirk who said his 18 training was effective. And here are the things that should be 19 done and here is what is done. Is Mr. Kirk one of the best? 20 Yes. They put up the picture with Secretary Raffensperger to 21 try to suggest or imply that he got an award the day before his 22 testimony. That was planned long ago. No one disputes that 23 Joseph Kirk is one of the finest public servants in the State 24 of Georgia. 25 Next, use read-only media to update and install

files. You heard Michael Barnes say, we have gone to CD burn.
It is burn once, read several, I think, was the phrase. I'm
the last person that should be talking about that. I hear CDs
and I think of things that I still have that can be played in
my car.

The next one is use separate and unique passcodes for 6 7 poll worker cards. This is where it was asked of Mr. Evans, 8 did you know that you could go on Google and figure out how to 9 prevent or do these counterfeit worker cards? Mr. Evans 10 surprisingly had not checked to see if you could do that. But 11 what he did tell you is that there are ways to prevent double 12 voting. We walked through and explained if someone had a 13 counterfeit card why that wouldn't work.

14 He also explained there were concerns with unique 15 tabulator security keys. And this is another part of the CISA 16 that the State has admittedly not adopted. The plaintiffs, who 17 spend a ton of time criticizing Dominion, said, well, Dominion 18 said you have to do it and you didn't do it. You must not be 19 taking security seriously. It is not what Blake Evans said. 20 It is not what Michael Barnes said. It is not what Gabriel 21 Sterling said.

This is the problem when your sole focus is cybersecurity as a plaintiff, but the State has to look at other things. And what did they tell you was the reason? That if there are several passwords for every different poll worker

1 to use, something is going to go wrong. Someone is going to 2 forget it. Someone is going to do it. Then what happens? We 3 have lines. 4 Director Evans told you that one of the policies of the State is to avoid lines. And I know the Court remembers 5 6 the general primary from 2020 and in Fulton County during, in 7 particular, to a lesser extent the general election of 2020. 8 Those are concerns that the State doesn't have the luxury to 9 ignore. 10 Next, make sure they are subject to pre and post 11 rigorous testing. Again, SEB rule imposes that on the They put an email in front of Director Evans, 12 counties. 13 Plaintiffs' Exhibit 606, where he says, please, please, please 14 make sure these counties get this done on this L&A testing. 15 That was before the November 2020 general election. They didn't ask him if it was done. They didn't put 16 17 any evidence up that it wasn't done. But, Your Honor, again, 18 as Mr. Miller will tell you, it wouldn't matter. Their own 19 experts say L&A doesn't matter unless you are using hand-marked 20 paper ballots. 21 But what it shows is that the State is taking it 22 seriously. The State is doing what it can. And the only email 23 they have is one from 2020 right before the general election. 24 They have not met their burden. 25 This is the tabulator unifier -- unify tabulator

security key, which was what I just talked about and just blended together. And here's the quote from Mr. Evans. Because he was asked Dominion says you have to do this and you're not doing it. He says, well, we have to look at the environment that we're operating in and then mitigate risks -all the risks involved as best we can.

Number 11, as recommended by Dominion Voting Systems
supplemental -- and use supplemental method to encourage hashes
on the applications, audit log exports, excuse me, and
application reports. Michael Barnes testified about the hash
testing that is there.

And, again, here the argument from the plaintiffs is hash testing doesn't work if there is double secret malware involved and you can't find it and it doesn't work if it has been compromised. But their own experts tell you it doesn't matter as long as there is a BMD. Mr. Miller will get to that as well.

Again, Your Honor, it is not minimizing the arguments. But it is showing why this forum is the inappropriate place to have them because this is not a constitutional violation.

And what the evidence has shown is that the State is doing -- taking reasonable steps. And if the machines were so unconstitutional, we know two things would have happened. They would have had evidence of one changing a vote or they wouldn't

1 say it is okay for the disabled to use them, just not others. 2 Number 12, encourage voters to verify human readable 3 votes on a printout. This is where they had experts saying 4 nobody reads their ballots. They have not argued, 5 interestingly enough, that having to verify your ballot is a 6 burden on voting; or if they have, I have missed it. 7 But this part is what is the State doing about it? 8 Counties are obligated. There's rules about having both 9 signage and someone there to tell you to check your vote. Kirk 10 says he does it, the only election administrator. The UGA 11 study says 80 percent do it while they are at the voting booth, 12 which is a short distance from the scanner. 13 THE COURT: But there is a time limit too; right? 14 MR. BELINFANTE: There was a time limit, Your Honor. 15 THE COURT: Five seconds. MR. BELINFANTE: But there is no one quantifying if 16 17 that is inappropriate or not. 18 THE COURT: I'm just sort of --19 MR. BELINFANTE: Sure. Sure. 20 THE COURT: I'm trying to -- let's be straight about 21 that too. But I'm not trying to make a judgment on it. I'm 22 just saying --23 MR. BELINFANTE: Understood. 24 But, again, that falls back to why is it the fault of 25 a machine and how does that render a machine unconstitutional

1 for a voter? Because remember the injury, to know their vote 2 was counted as cast. 3 Mr. Schoenberg at least was honest about it and 4 throughout his whole testimony -- I'm not implying he was not 5 honest. That didn't come out right. You remember I asked Mr. Schoenberg, why didn't you 6 7 read the ballot if voting was so important to you? And he was honest about it. Well, I don't think the machine is going to 8 9 count it the right way anyway, so it wouldn't matter. 10 Your Honor, the testimony you heard from voters, 11 those that were voting on the machines, nobody prevented them from reading their ballot. Nobody -- they are allowed to bring 12 13 sample ballots in. In fact, the rule is you're supposed to have sample ballots at the thing -- at the polling place. If 14 15 they don't, then that is a claim against the counties. It is 16 not a claim against the State to bring a claim against the 17 county through the SEB. 18 Moving on, conducting rigorous post election 19 tabulation audits. I'm going to let Mr. Miller carry the 20 weight on most of this one. But you can see through the laws of what is there. Director Evans talked about the audits that 21 22 are performed. Dr. Adida talked about the audits that are 23 performed and I believe said Georgia was among maybe three 24 states that conduct these type of audits. 25 And while the plaintiffs at one level criticize the

1 audits and say they are ineffective, at the next, as Mr. Miller 2 will point out, say it doesn't matter because it is not a 3 hand-marked paper ballot. 4 That is the paper that we went and discussed with 5 Ms. Marks in her examination when they said the audits on a BMD 6 just don't matter, among others who said the same. 7 So what is, again, the burden, looking at this 8 through audits? Now, this is where it gets interesting. 9 Remember they have told you they are not challenging election 10 results. Yet they are claiming an injury to their risk of harm 11 or their risk because the election itself isn't audited. Not that their own individual ballot isn't audited. But the 12 13 election itself. That doesn't speak to whether their vote was 14 accurately counted as cast. That speaks to election result. 15 Here, it shows why again it wouldn't matter. The Coalition told you the machines are inherently unauditable. 16 17 Dr. Stark told you that they are unauditable. The plaintiffs 18 say that even if that is true, the disabled community should be 19 able to use them. And Dr. Adida talked about the contrary and 20 so did director -- or excuse me, Director Kirk, who is the only 21 election administrator who has actually testified from the 22 county level. 23 It is about hand-marked paper ballots. It is not 24 about a risk of a vote being counted as cast. 25 So then let's look at the burden on voting again,

1	shifting now to if we are not looking at statute, what is the
2	Secretary's actions that are being challenged. We have a few
3	emails, 608, 607, 609, and generally not after 2021.
4	We have Director Evans' testimony explaining each of
5	those. That was Temple Emanu-El. The other person from
6	North Georgia who said that the ballot came out with only the
7	QR code on it. And Director Evans testified he never saw that
8	again happen again and immediately asked Dominion. And
9	remember all of these things are happening within hours of the
10	emails coming in. Maybe a day at the most. You can't argue
11	the State isn't responsive.
12	Here is an interesting one. Spalding County. Spent
13	a fair amount of time on Spalding County. In Spalding County,
14	the county attorney contacted the State and said someone is
15	coming to try to image the system. And you saw the email
16	exchanges, that is illegal. Don't do that.
17	Then we understood that there may have been an
18	attempt, and the State went and got it because the State had
19	all the information.
20	You heard about Ware County. Mr. Sterling was
21	testifying about that. Mr. Cross asked him on examination,
22	well, in Ware County something was supposed to happen. And
23	Mr. Sterling testified that there were calls placed down. And
24	remember this was November, December of 2020 when a bunch of
25	disinformation was coming in about what was happening in

1 Georgia elections. 2 Mr. Sterling said it was resolved with a phone call. 3 So then we get more of the same. Well, did you open an 4 investigation into it? No, because it was resolved. And at 5 the time, that is what happened. Then we heard Butts County, but we never saw anything 6 7 with it. THE COURT: Let's go back to Spalding County for a 8 9 second. MR. BELINFANTE: Yes, Your Honor. 10 11 THE COURT: What did it mean when you said after Spalding County, that you said the county attorney contacted 12 13 the State and said someone is coming to try to image the system 14 and you saw the email exchanges, that is illegal. Don't do 15 that? 16 This is the sentence I'm asking you about. Then we 17 understood that there may have been an attempt -- the State --18 and went and got it -- I think you are saying the State went 19 and got it because the State had all the information. 20 MR. BELINFANTE: They picked up the server because 21 there was -- there was a potential thought that somebody -- and 22 it was never demonstrated, you know. There were concerns about 23 what was there. So they went down, picked it up, and put new 24 ones there. They resolved it. 25 THE COURT: Did they examine it?

1 MR. BELINFANTE: I'm sorry? 2 THE COURT: Did they examine it? I didn't think 3 the --4 MR. BELINFANTE: I mean, certainly there is no 5 evidence in the trial that there was anything on the Spalding server. And Lord knows we had enough discovery disputes that 6 7 I'm sure if the plaintiffs wanted to do that they would have 8 told you. 9 THE COURT: All right. Go ahead. 10 MR. BELINFANTE: So then we get to Coffee County. We had three separate investigations. And you'll recall when 11 12 Michael Barnes was on the stand. This is where kind of we spent so much time with it and thought of it. The State always 13 14 viewed this at the Secretary's office as three separate investigations. 15 16 The first was the failure to certify the elections. 17 The letter went, I believe, to the State on December 5. And 18 the State responded on December 9. They certified their 19 elections. 20 But at that point, the next one was a YouTube disclosure of the password. This is the Post-it note on the 21 22 computer. Ryan Germany testified that they opened up an 23 They went down. But by that time Misty investigation. 24 Hampton, who was the elections deputy I believe at the time, 25 had resigned or had been terminated. And so they do -- they

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1	deemed that largely resolved because it was an individual
2	person.
3	The SullivanStrickler breach that happens in January
4	the State does not learn about until February when we hear the
5	tape sprung on Gabe Sterling during his deposition, which was
6	recorded on March 7, 2021, almost an entire year before.
7	And there has been so much criticism levied by
8	plaintiffs against the State for not knowing SullivanStrickler.
9	But let's look at what the evidence was. It was the
10	Cyber Ninja card from Doug Logan that the new director in
11	Coffee County saw, contacted Chris Harvey, Chris Harvey said,
12	as Russ Willard did and you heard that from the <i>Pearson</i>
13	thing it would not be good. It would be the keys to the
14	kingdom. It would be bad no one is disputing that if a
15	third party were able to come in and image the software or the
16	hardware.
17	There was a Dominion release that came out at that
18	time. But there was also and the plaintiffs put it into
19	evidence the Pearson evidentiary hearing before
20	Judge Batten, which the witnesses testified they knew about.
21	Everyone knew about the <i>Pearson</i> case. It was not a secret. As
22	much as they spent time criticizing the investigation, they
23	didn't offer any expert testimony on whether it was a good
24	investigation or not. They didn't call any other police
25	individuals. They didn't call any investigators at all.

1	THE COURT: What investigation?
2	MR. BELINFANTE: The investigation of Joshua
3	Blanchard going down, meeting with Misty Hampton. Their
4	argument was he should have recognized the person coming out of
5	the office. He said he presumed that because he was there that
6	he was there with the permission of Misty Hampton.
7	I mean, in plaintiffs' world they were supposed to
8	presume that the county officials were doing exactly what we
9	now know only in hindsight that they were. We have no idea
10	whether there was sufficient investigation or not under the
11	circumstances. We only heard the testimony of Mr. Blanchard.
12	So what the State had was the Cyber Ninja card, the
13	Dominion release, and that someone walked out the door.
14	Plaintiffs had more.
15	Mr. Montgomery, do you want to play what plaintiffs
16	had?
17	(The audiotaped recording was played.)
18	MR. BELINFANTE: March 7, 2021, that was Scott Hall
19	and Ms. Marks on the phone. The State did not hear that until
20	February of 2022. Yet you heard from Director Evans, you heard
21	from director former Director Harvey, you heard from Joshua
22	Blanchard, had they heard that, it would have opened things
23	more than simply seeing the Cyber Ninja card and the Dominion
24	release.
25	In hindsight, does it look like perhaps there should

1	have been more done? Yes. But that is why we don't judge the
2	constitutionality of something with such a limited picture.
3	But here is the problem, Your Honor. If the
4	plaintiffs remember also what Ms. Marks told you, that she
5	didn't think Scott Hall was credible so she didn't believe him.
6	She told and so but she thinks the State should have
7	believed it was the gospel the minute it happened. And that is
8	her criticism and the plaintiffs' criticism throughout this
9	whole time.
10	THE COURT: I don't think that is a fair
11	characterization. But that's go ahead. The last thing you
12	said. But that is fine. That
13	MR. BELINFANTE: That was the AJC reporting of her
14	quote, which she acknowledged. That's where I'm getting it. I
15	understand the Court may disagree with me on that. I didn't
16	want the Court to think I was making it up.
17	So when Mr. Cross put up his puzzle on slide roughly
18	86 and said, look at all the State knows, it left it is
19	presuming that because of those things, they are supposed to
20	know that a county election official is going to break the law
21	with the county party head at the time, a former county
22	election board member who had to resign because he wouldn't
23	certify an election that Secretary Raffensperger won.
24	All of these people are having communications with
25	Ms. Marks at the time. I'm not implying or suggesting they

1 told her it happened, but they were -- they were the ones 2 talking, not the State. And so if Coffee County is being used as evidence 3 4 that the machine in front of you is unconstitutional, these are 5 the wrong plaintiffs to make that argument. But here is the other thing. Like everything else in 6 7 this case, remember the testimony of Dr. Halderman that the 8 information that they got at Coffee County was already on the 9 web anyway. He had already testified to that. And remember the slide that they showed you of how you have the EMS going 10 11 down to a central piece there, going down to the BMD, all the 12 arrows went down. 13 So the evidence in order for Coffee County to be 14 significant, you still have the physical security problem. You 15 have to be able to put the -- if it is going to spread, you would have to put the USB in an infected BMD, take that, put it 16 17 into the county one, which is still isolated, and then take 18 that to a county somewhere else. 19 So Mr. Cross asked a witness -- you may remember 20 this -- well, it will only take ten votes on 3,000 machines or 21 whatnot. But that gets back in terms of quantifying the risk. 22 Remember you would have to have the ballot build or the ballot 23 file for each one and find it at a particular time, insert it 24 with that many county employees, poll workers, voters thinking nothing of it. And even then, that doesn't address the 25

1 plaintiffs' issue of not knowing if their vote was counted as 2 cast because their alternative does the same thing. 3 It brings us to causation. Here under 1983, unlike 4 standing, they have to show proximate cause, that the State is 5 the proximate cause of what they are alleging are the 6 unconstitutionality of the machines. They have not shown that. They cite for you the very 7 case we said don't cite in the middle of trial. The Carnival 8 9 Corporation, the Court was correct in citing it for standing purposes because traceability and causation are different 10 11 things. Traceability is easy -- easier. Causation requires proximate cause. That is why the 12 13 Anderson-Burdick test says you have to see what policy or rule 14 of the State is imposing something that is violating their rights and they have not shown anything from the State that 15 16 does it other than the existence of the BMDs themselves. 17 Intervening criminal conduct that severs the causal 18 chain. They have put up posters of you and shown you that 19 people, including the gentleman on the phone, who have either 20 pled guilty or been indicted. That breaks the causal chain for 21 the State. And why? Because what happens when the State has 22 the information? That is what the other examples tell us. 23 Independent of that, independent acts or an action of counties, also sever the claim. If the concern is physical 24 25 security and that is a county obligation, which it is -- and

1 there is no argument that the training has been insufficient 2 because there has been no testimony from someone linking any 3 problem at Coffee County to training -- then that breaks the 4 causal chain. And that ends their constitutional argument. 5 So then they say, well, the government is not -- the 6 State is just not doing enough or they are just inept. All of 7 the case law in this area says that State inaction is not a 8 basis of 1983 liability. 9 Now, I have compare here at the bottom because it was 10 cited as part of the argument there, albeit at summary judgment 11 when the presumptions flow in the plaintiffs' favor. When this case was up in 2019 to the Eleventh Circuit, it was addressing 12 the ex parte Young doctrine, which is not the same standard 13 14 that is going to apply when looking at liability. That looks 15 to jurisdiction. 16 The cases cited above where it is Fair Fight, Smith, 17 or DeShaney talk about how government inaction is not a basis 18 of liability. And we're not saying that the government was 19 inactive. We're saying, even if the plaintiffs convince the 20 Court otherwise, that it is not a basis of liability. But I think we've shown the State went down, took the 21 22 server out before it even knew of the call from Coffee County. 23 So then what is the State rule? Now we hear for the 24 first time that the State is not following its own law. The 25 Court has already dismissed a claim similar to that. It is

1	Footnote 74 in its summary judgment order. That was the
2	Coalition's argument. And if that is where they are limiting
3	their argument, the plaintiffs, it can be dismissed at that
4	point.
5	This is again, what is the State law being
6	challenged? The State law being challenged is the uniformity
7	requirement that all in-person voting, which is what 95 percent
8	or 91 percent of Georgians do, is unconstitutional based on
9	something that has never been demonstrated, unlike what we saw
10	with the hand-marked paper ballot.
11	They say it is not a facial challenge. But it is
12	because they tell you repeatedly that it is the machine that
13	can't be audited. And the security piece is just a side of
14	that. Remember BMDs is their position cannot be audited.
15	But here is another problem with that. Even if
16	Coffee County were somehow, you know, such significant
17	evidence and it is a real problem. Please understand we're
18	not saying it is not. But in terms of establishing liability,
19	sporadic incidents do not represent policy. Four emails about
20	problems with BMDs that have been introduced into evidence do
21	not represent State policy.
22	That was litigated in Fair Fight. And Judge Jones
23	was right that the Gamza binding precedent says exactly that.
24	Here is another place. We really disagree with
25	plaintiffs. They told you

1 We really, really. THE COURT: 2 MR. BELINFANTE: I strenuously object. 3 THE COURT: For any of us who have had children, I'm 4 really, really, really, really mad. 5 MR. BELINFANTE: I'm not suggesting that you have 6 thought that on some of our calls together. And I mean all of 7 us. 8 THE COURT: I meant collectively, of course. 9 I'm really, really, really sick of this discussion. MR. BELINFANTE: You've heard a lot from me in the 10 11 past three days. I don't blame you. 12 THE COURT: Not of this discussion. 13 MR. BELINFANTE: All right. 14 Your Honor, this is one -- again part of the reason 15 the State kept pressing on what are the remedies the plaintiffs 16 are seeking is because it is part of their case. What 17 Judge Jones found in -- in the Fair Fight case, citing the 18 Nipper decision from the Eleventh Circuit in 1994, and 19 importantly not limiting it but applying it to the Anderson-Burdick conduct or the Anderson-Burdick claims, it 20 21 precludes liability under the totality of the circumstances. 22 And that makes sense. 23 If you are weighing the injury and the magnitude and 24 severity of the injury against the State's interest, you kind 25 of have to see where it is going. If the injury is that I

1 can't -- you see where I'm going, Your Honor. 2 THE COURT: I do. MR. BELINFANTE: You do. So that is where --3 4 I really, really do. THE COURT: MR. BELINFANTE: Mr. Miller will talk about remedies 5 6 more specifically. But that is part of their claim. 7 So again, we look at the State interest. In the 8 existing system, you heard about uniformity, ease of 9 administration from both Director Evans and Gabe Sterling. You 10 heard about the preference for our current audit system and the 11 benefit of having county partners as opposed to full top-down 12 from Gabriel Sterling. 13 Then you heard Matt Mashburn just answer a tremendous 14 amount of questions about what is the State's policy or benefit 15 of the current matters. 16 The State has an interest in the current system. Ιt 17 believes -- and you have heard testimony -- that it is more 18 secure than hand-marked paper ballots. It doesn't have to be, 19 you know, infinitely more secure. Again, remember what 20 Dr. Gilbert did with his hand-marked paper ballot. And Gabe 21 Sterling couldn't tell you which was right and which was wrong. 22 And that didn't -- that took a pen. And that didn't take a 23 tremendous amount of work. 24 And so from where the State is, there are provisions 25 here, including the QR codes, which make the retabulation,

1 which is different from the audits -- but the retabulation 2 easier. 3 So then the last slide from me, Your Honor, in 4 looking at the State's interest, there was literally zero 5 evidence on whether an election administrator could do this 6 from the plaintiffs. Instead, you heard Mr. Kirk say that 7 having both hand-marked paper ballots there as they -- the 8 equal or means of in-person voting would be problematic. I 9 think he described it more strongly than that. You heard no county official talk about it. You 10 11 heard no poll worker talk about it. You almost never even heard of someone in terms of their experts who vote in Georgia 12 13 and the use of the actual BMD machines. 14 And so at the end of the day, plaintiffs may be -- I have no doubt and the State has no doubt that plaintiffs feel 15 very strongly about their doubts of the BMD system. And I know 16 17 the Court has ruled that it is not a bullet shot defense or 18 bulletproof defense that hand-marked paper ballots are there as 19 an alternative. 20 But this is, again, where looking at the remedy matters. Because if the Court were to enjoin the use of the 21 22 BMDs, that leaves only the hand-marked paper ballot. And that 23 is the only evidence before the Court anyway. And it would be 24 one thing if the plaintiffs told you, I have absolute 25 confidence that when my hand-marked paper ballot goes in that

1	scanner I know it is being counted correctly. But they didn't.
2	They were candid. They were honest. You can't.
3	Because anytime, as they will tell you, a machine is
4	involved, you just don't know but the only way to protect
5	privacy to have the machine there as opposed to filling in a
6	glass jar. That is why the inherent risk that they tell you of
7	the machines does not make and we're not saying there is
8	inherent risk. They're describing inherent risk does not
9	make the BMDs, which are used in Georgia and South Carolina and
10	parts of and BMDs generally, because that is what is there.
11	Tennessee, Los Angeles, Orange County I think we heard about
12	they are made available across the country.
13	But at the end of the day, even if the plaintiffs
14	were right, that the BMDs are so risky that they are
15	unconstitutional, you can't then say, but you have to have them
16	available for the disabled community as HAVA requires. That is
17	what would violate Anderson-Burdick. Not the use of the
18	machines.
19	With that, Mr. Miller will finish out and will be
20	talking shorter than me, as usual, Your Honor.
21	THE COURT: Thank you.
22	Before he begins, because I think we also have
23	some we're going to have a rebuttal, I'm going to use the
24	facilities for a few minutes.
25	So if anyone else wants to right beforehand and then

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT OFFICIAL CERTIFIED TRANSCRIPT

1 we'll resume with you. 2 (A brief break was taken at 3:20 PM.) CLOSING ARGUMENT 3 4 MR. MILLER: Thank you, Your Honor. I want to begin 5 by pointing out what Mr. Belinfante and Mr. Tyson mentioned. 6 This has been an extremely difficult case for a number of 7 reasons. But I am very honored for the way that Your Honor has 8 handled it, to allow us to get through it, to be able to 9 practice here in this Court. And it continues to give me pride to represent the 10 11 folks in the Secretary of State's office and on our State 12 Election Board. Because, Your Honor, it is -- I think one of 13 the others left off with the term war. And it got like that 14 for a little while. But we've gotten through trial. We're 15 here on the evidence now. 16 And, Your Honor, as Mr. Tyson and Belinfante pointed 17 out, plaintiffs' claims fail both for lack of standing and on 18 the merits. But if this Court moves beyond those failures, we 19 get to the same problem that Judge Jones pointed out in the 20 Fair Fight case. 21 It is a necessity to be able to demonstrate an 22 administrable remedy whether Anderson-Burdick or as part of the 23 traditional preliminary injunction factors -- or excuse me, 24 permanent injunction factors. 25 So, Your Honor, I know the Court is well familiar

1 with it. But, of course, the plaintiffs must not only 2 demonstrate an irreparable injury, absent the issuance of an injunction, but the lack of an adequate remedy at law. 3 Thev 4 must demonstrate that the balance of the equities weighs in 5 their favor. And they must also demonstrate that the public 6 interest would not be disserved by a permanent injunction. 7 Your Honor, we spent a lot of time in this four-week 8 trial trying to pin down what the remedy was here. Of course, 9 the Court was very clear prior to trial about what it viewed it could and could not order, what it could and could not look at. 10 11 And so let's start with who was challenging what so that we can place together what the potential remedies will be 12 13 relative to these pieces of the in-person voting election 14 equipment. 15 The Coalition and the Curling plaintiffs, of course, both challenging the ballot-marking devices themselves, 16 17 potentially maybe the ballots themselves, the paper themselves 18 due to QR code -- but, Your Honor, one thing that is noticeably 19 missing from the stand here is the scanner. Now, I believe 20 Mr. Davis to his credit is challenging all of the above. But I must also show what is not either on this table 21 22 nor on this TV but that we have talked about throughout the 23 course of this case but for which no evidence was presented at 24 trial. And plaintiffs have abandoned their claims regarding 25 these issues to the extent they were there in the first place

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1	and no injunction is warranted on these matters.
2	Your Honor heard nothing about the voter registration
3	database. Your Honor heard nothing on the Poll Pads other than
4	somebody watched Netflix on them. Your Honor heard nothing on
5	the EMS servers themselves. Your Honor heard no evidence
6	whatsoever that any supposed malicious code had, in fact
7	well, first of all, had been present on the old DRE GEMS
8	system, and then had, in fact, navigated its way into the
9	Dominion BMD system.
10	And this is in spite of the fulsome examination this
11	Court granted to the plaintiffs of the DRE memory cards, of the
12	GEMS databases, of the DRE components themselves, and of the
13	forensic image of the Kennesaw State server.
14	And Your Honor, of course, the State and we
15	actually fielded an inquiry from it from a former defendant
16	county in this case are still storing DREs.
17	Now, this matters with respect to the remedies
18	because any injunction must be narrowly tailored to remedy the
19	particular asserted constitutional violation. There is no such
20	thing as simply a suit for injunction. If the plaintiffs'
21	rights have not been violated, then they are not entitled to
22	relief, injunctive or otherwise.
23	The plaintiffs cannot determine their preferred
24	remedy and work backward from there to try and identify
25	something to get them there. It is not COVID that gets them to

1 their preferred remedy of hand-marked paper ballots. It is not 2 simply the fact that a computer exists presumably. They must 3 identify what it is that then causes what we are now hearing as 4 enjoining the uniformity requirement some injury that results 5 in an injunction that flows from that.

And it must be no broader than necessary to remedy the constitutional violation. So as a result, it is not enough for the plaintiffs to say that the illegal acts of Misty Hampton and others in Coffee County occurred. It is separate and apart from causation. They have got to show how that then results in their entitlement to injunctive relief.

12 This is because nothing about enjoining the mandatory 13 use of the BMD system for in-person voters has any direct 14 relation to Coffee County whatsoever. There has been no 15 evidence of malware being found in Coffee County and no actual 16 election fraud or tampering being committed.

And that is not to say, to be clear, the State in no way, shape, or form condones anything that occurred in relation to it. But with respect to challenging 21-2-300 is a different matter.

Of course throughout the progression of this case prior to trial, we have known what the plaintiffs wanted. But as I mentioned earlier, we narrowed things heading into trial. This Court recognized that granting such sweeping relief as a mandatory injunction for mandated use of hand-marked paper

1 ballots across the State was something that was beyond the 2 Court's direct authority. But the Court did envision at summary judgment what 3 4 it called pragmatic sound remedial policy measures that could 5 be ordered or agreed upon by the parties. That is at the 6 summary judgment motion at five. 7 I'm sorry, the order at five. 8 Obviously, of course, the latter did not happen. We 9 have been here over the course of the month, having a lot of fun with each other and litigating over this case. And given 10 11 that, the fact that we could not get there on sound remedial policy measures, perhaps unsurprisingly the plaintiffs have 12 13 offered this Court no half measures. 14 Their own experts have told this Court that these 15 pragmatic sound policy measures that it envisioned will not 16 change their concerns and will change nothing about the 17 problems they see with the use of the Dominion ballot-marking 18 device system. 19 Now, with respect to these -- your contemplated 20 pragmatic measures, the Court in its mind thought about three of them here: Providing for the use of printed ballots for 21 22 vote counting without the QR codes, expanding the scope of 23 election audits, and implementing other essential cybersecurity 24 measures and policies. 25 Your Honor, I'll take a minute to walk through all of

1	them and where the evidence landed to the extent it was there
2	at all.
3	Your Honor, with respect to eliminating the QR codes,
4	again, there is no testimony in the record that this will
5	remedy the alleged burden occurring. And plaintiffs' own
6	expert says he considers it an improvement but he can't
7	quantify the degree and he won't say that at that point he is
8	fine with it. That if it is a full-face ballot, if it looks
9	likes an absentee ballot, that there is no issue. He wouldn't
10	go that far.
11	Now, on the other hand, Mr. Sterling provided
12	unrebutted testimony on the issues involved here. New software
13	is required that the State cannot do right now. New printers
14	are required, given the length of the ballots and particularly
15	in multilingual jurisdictions. A 25 million-dollar total cost
16	imposed. And perhaps most crucially and which I'll get to in a
17	minute, the time required for implementation. This is not
18	something that flips on a switch.
19	As a consequence, the State's evidence showing the
20	opposite, that there is no substantial advantage to leaving the
21	QR code stands alone. Dr. Adida informed the Court in response
22	to plaintiffs' questioning that from a technical perspective
23	the QR code does not matter whatsoever.
24	THE COURT: Not from a technical matter. From his
25	auditing perspective.

1 Yes, Your Honor. He went to testify in MR. MILLER: 2 response to again plaintiffs eliciting testimony in their cross-examination about the substance of viewing these ballots. 3 4 And that is also where Dr. Gilbert fits in, a nationally 5 recognized voting systems expert, a member of the NASEM 6 Committee that we have discussed so many times, and the only human-computer interaction expert that testified in this case. 7 8 The power of one he said, he said back in 2021. Your 9 Honor heard about this Northampton, Pennsylvania. What Northampton showed us -- in fact, just yesterday, Mr. Skoglund 10 11 came back for the rebuttal case, slash, Zoom conference and 12 confirmed the only one thing of significance, that the polls 13 opened at 7:00 A.M. and the voters reported the issue -- the issue was reported back to the county at 7:15 A.M. on a 14 15 down-ballot, judicial retention race, that you've heard nobody 16 cares about, nobody looks at, because it is so burdensome to 17 read what you're voting for. 18 That's just simply not the case that has been borne 19 out not only by the expert testimony but what we have seen in 20 factual evidence elsewhere. Notably too, as Dr. Adida pointed 21 out, and Dr. Gilbert, you think not one of these stories if 22 this were occurring would have been reported in the 2020 23 presidential race as contentious as it was? 2022 governor's race? There was none of that. 24 25 And, Your Honor, I can tell you that it stands in

stark contrast to, frankly, what we heard about the DREs. We heard plenty about pristine ballots and bamboo fibers. But there is not a single affiant in the *Kraken* case that we did right across the hallway that came in there and said, my vote flipped on my BMD.

6 There were relying on Dr. Halderman. They know about 7 his theories on it. Not a single one of them. Your Honor, how 8 about the broader scope and number of election audits? On that 9 front, once again, there are no half measures for these folks. 10 Dr. Halderman testified that there is no commercial BMD 11 available today that would produce ballots that would be 12 strongly auditable as a record of voters' intent.

13 Dr. Stark went a step further. Dr. Stark says there 14 is just simply no way you can audit an election in which a 15 substantial number of votes are cast using ballot-marking devices. Of course, he made this opinion despite not having 16 17 reviewed any of these procedures and offered these tweaks to 18 audits about compliance auditing and change of custody and all 19 this sort of stuff. He didn't review a single bit of it. Ιt 20 was attached to his declaration. He didn't look at it.

But let's be clear about where Georgia stands in relation to audits. Georgia's one of only six states in the entire country auditing statewide elections to confirm the outcome. As Dr. Adida informed the Court, it was the second state in the country to do so to carry out a statewide

1 risk-limiting audit.

2	And what the Court heard is that, well, you can't
3	base this on having one statewide audit. It doesn't help
4	anything. Well, again, the testimony that plaintiffs elicited
5	from Dr. Adida says that the risk of an audit substantially
6	changes the risk analysis of a hack on this whole QR code
7	verifiability issue. Just the fact that it could happen
8	because you would be caught. That is the whole thing we've
9	been talking about this whole time, undetectable malicious code
10	that will delete itself that you will never be able to find.
11	The Court also heard from Joseph Kirk in Bartow
12	County. And, Your Honor, Joseph Kirk was the only county
13	elections official to testify in this case. He did so over
14	plaintiffs' objection, and he told the Court about additional
15	audits he performs, how he reminds voters to check their
16	ballots. It came right after a series of questioning that the
17	State's elections director, objecting to hearsay and lack of
18	personal knowledge, because he is saying this is what State
19	Election Board rules require. Mr. Kirk comes in and says,
20	yeah, that is exactly what I do. Not only do I do that, I
21	think as Mr. Cross pointed out, he does this risk-limiting
22	audits on steroids. And he does it to build the confidence of
23	his community in the election system.
24	And he trains other county election officials,
25	informs them what he is doing, not only statewide level. He

1 trains them on both, how to conduct the statewide audit and, 2 hey, why don't you guys -- why don't I tell you guys about what 3 I'm doing in Bartow, above and beyond the minimum that is 4 required.

And the only thing that plaintiffs had to question him on is the Secretary giving him an award. And as Mr. Belinfante noted, of course, the Secretary is awarding who is undoubtedly one of the shining stars of election administration in the State, the folks that go above and beyond. That doesn't show bias. That shows a Secretary of State encouraging the locals to do what they need to be doing.

Your Honor, cybersecurity measures and policies. You've heard the testimony. Software updates isn't feasible for 2024. No plaintiff has examined the procedures required or plaintiffs' expert has examined these procedures required by Georgia law. These forms were produced to the plaintiffs back in 2021.

18 Your Honor, instead of these sound pragmatic 19 reasonable policy measures, instead we're here talking about 20 enjoining the uniformity requirement, which Your Honor will 21 recall. As I pointed out at the summary judgment hearing, this 22 is -- this is a facial challenge. As much as plaintiffs want 23 to change it, there is no version of electronic ballot markers 24 to be utilized for in-person voting that is going to resolve 25 their injury concerns. Nonetheless, it is not injunctive

relief tailored to their purported injury to the extent that it
 is alleged as an as-applied.

There is no evidence of what any county would do if 3 4 this is enjoined as a starting point. All of these counties 5 have Dominion voting equipment sitting in their office. They have been trained on it. It is ready to go. The Court can 6 7 enjoin the State if they can carry their burden. The Court can enjoin the State from enforcing 21-2-300. But the counties 8 9 have an independent legal obligation to supply their polling 10 places. Some of them may go to paper ballots. I don't know. 11 None of that testimony was elicited, much less that any of the counties in which the plaintiffs vote in would do so. 12

13 It still wouldn't provide any means to verify 14 individual votes counted as cast, except that is now their 15 claim. We have a secret ballot system. Your Honor had a claim 16 about it in front of it. There is no system in which you can 17 maintain a secret ballot and have a voter be able to go look up 18 their ballot and see on the MVP page, that, oh, yeah, that is 19 exactly who I voted for.

The only county election official to testify described offering both is the worst of both worlds. The only county election official to testify discussed these infrastructure and cost demands. Not only that, it overrides the State policy decision that has been in place for 20-plus years and voters that just haven't voted a hand-marked paper

1 ballot in Georgia since 2001.

Your Honor, it also doesn't resolve the issues that you were dealing with here. It is just a different kind of vulnerability. Two different kinds of vulnerability. One, that it is subject to fear mongering because it is electronic. Another, that it is subject to conspiracies because somebody can toss the boxes of ballots in the river or go mark them in the back end.

9 None of that makes either unacceptable or unconstitutional. It is simply a policy decision. And it does 10 11 nothing to talk to the administrative and financial burden imposed on nonparty counties. This Court can't -- the Court 12 13 could enjoin us and enjoin my clients from enforcing 21-2-300. 14 The Court cannot blue pencil the statute to require that the 15 Secretary of State provide this equipment, provide this new 16 choice that completely overrides the legislature's decision.

Your Honor, other remedies -- I'll be honest. It is at least cleared up to some extent now. We've now gotten -after four weeks of trial, we've got to closing argument to finally hear that, oh, we're back to square one. We want your 20 gotter, just do it again.

But let's go back to the logical premise of what plaintiffs are seeking. It is based upon the idea that the BMDs themselves, the votes cast upon them, are intrinsically unknown, inherently unauditable. And that is what Dr. Stark

1 testified. That if you had a one -- he talks about this one 2 If there is one voter on a BMD in there, he says vote margin. 3 I can't confirm the outcome with my statistical formula. It is 4 just an absurd premise to take. 5 As Dr. Gilbert put it, a separate but unequal system. Your Honor, this is what brings us to the important 6 7 policy decisions. This is what is going on down the street. 8 When we talked about this at summary judgment, I suggested to 9 Your Honor that this is a debate that needs to be happening 10 under the gold dome a few blocks away. It is a debate that is 11 happening under the gold dome a few blocks away. 12 It is the arena in which the legislature -- the 13 legislators can consider the appropriate factors and issues relative to implementing these important policy decisions. 14 15 And finally, Your Honor, I want to talk about something that was brought up in plaintiffs' argument about 16 17 this idea of chaos. It is no secret we are headed in -- we are 18 in the midst of yet another contentious presidential election 19 cycle. 20 The idea that Purcell has some outer limit of five months, while all of these 159 counties -- not only are 21 22 they going to now decide -- if the Court grants the relief, not 23 only are they now going to decide what kind of system they want 24 to use, train their employees on it, implement it, and run a 25 presidential preference primary, a general primary, two special

1 elections as of right now and a November general election -- it 2 is just nonsensical.

The idea that the chaos will be, you know, brought about by not ordering something, it skips the step of saying, look, this is the most battle-tested and stress-tested election system in the country, without a doubt.

7 Your Honor knows what occurred in the 2020 primary. 8 We rolled out an entirely new statewide voting system in the 9 midst of COVID. All the poll places moving around. And we get 10 to the 2020 election, and we have got the closest election that 11 we have seen in decades.

The President of the United States calling my client, demanding that he find votes, a complete hand count of the election and rolled right into another contentious election in 2022. Your Honor, the idea that this system -- chaos would result. That we have already seen what happens when you stretch it to its limit but that we can come up with something entirely new, creates a serious, serious logical fallacy.

Your Honor, I want to end -- I know I'm running short on time -- on a note from the National Academies report. Your Honor has heard this before. That by the time this committee met for the first time in April of 2017, it was clear the most significant threat to American elections was coming not from faulty or outdated technologies, but from efforts to undermine the credibility of the elections.

And, Your Honor, I do not mean to ascribe ill intent to any plaintiff in this room. But the fact of the matter is, the claims and the outlandish nature of the claims have taken on a life of their own, just as we discussed in a hearing in this courtroom back in November of 2021. And that is simply where we are. But it has come full circle.

7 Because as Your Honor will recall, this case began 8 with the plaintiffs alleging the Georgia's Sixth Congressional 9 District voters can never know who was legitimately elected on 10 June 20th, 2017, to become their representative in the 115th 11 Congress. They know only the output of an undeniably 12 compromised voting system that, according to plaintiffs and many of the nations most qualified experts, generated a result 13 that cannot reasonably be relied upon. To declare that result 14 15 to be the will of the voters as the defendants have done is to engage in farce. 16

17 That is how this case started as an election contest 18 challenging the election of Karen Handel over then candidate, 19 now Senator, John Ossoff. And, Your Honor, I respectfully 20 submit we don't need to go back there by trying to find a 21 remedy to -- or imposing a remedy that they want and then 22 finding a burden after the fact to match it. 23 Thank you. 24 THE COURT: Thank you very much. 25 Mr. Cross, are you handling all of the rebuttal?

1 I think so. Unless Mr. Oles has MR. CROSS: 2 something, the plan is for me to do it. I'm sure Mr. McGuire 3 will yell at me if I miss something. 4 If you would give me just a moment. 5 THE COURT: Okay. CLOSING ARGUMENT 6 If it please the Court. 7 MR. CROSS: THE COURT: 8 Yes. 9 MR. CROSS: Mr. Miller said the Court could enjoin the State from enforcing 21-2-300. Well, it is good that we're 10 11 agreed on that. To be clear again, that is not what we're asking. What we're asking is to enjoin the particular ICX 12 13 machines and the printers that the Secretary selected and has 14 imposed on the voter. It is that simple. 15 They argue uniformity is a major interest. The legislature has identified the backup system in place that they 16 17 have the option to go to, that the counties themselves should 18 be free to choose. It is a uniform system. 19 Now, we've heard a lot about how seriously officials 20 take the issues here. We heard that State officials uniformly 21 take incredibly seriously their role in protecting the right to 22 vote in Georgia. That may well be true, Your Honor. But we 23 didn't have election officials coming in and talking through 24 that. Again, not one election official identified a single 25 moment in time where they made any decision addressing any of

1 the issues that have been raised in this case. 2 They say we're casting aspersions. It is not an 3 attack on anyone's character. It is just a dereliction of 4 duty. And that is what we allege in every constitutional case 5 throughout the history of the great nation. Sometimes state 6 officials, no matter how well intended, and no matter how 7 qualified they may be to do lots of things they do, fall short, 8 in any variety of reasons. So for example, Your Honor, when I 9 said, looking at the board we had earlier, that people at the State were making these decisions on election security, which 10 11 includes cybersecurity as Mr. Sterling said, were not competent to make that decision, my point is they don't have the computer 12 13 science competency. I'm not addressing their competence as 14 individuals. There is a very particular competency that 15 Mr. Sterling identified that is part of that. 16 And I checked the transcript. At no point did I call 17 anyone inept. I'm not quite sure where that is coming from. Ι 18 want to be really clear. We're not attacking anyone's 19 It is just they have a duty to do certain things character. 20 and we have shown that they haven't done it, Your Honor. 21 On the generalized grievance, Your Honor, I'll just 22 direct Your Honor to the decision out of the Eleventh Circuit, 23 Judge Pryor I think was the one who wrote it, where he talks about the historical U.S. Supreme Court case and he 24 25 acknowledges the poll tax. A poll tax that applied to everyone

1 across the board the Supreme Court found was unconstitutional 2 and an unconstitutional burden.

By their standard that is absolutely a generalized grievance. There is no shortage of voting cases throughout the history of the country where the court found the fact that everyone is suffering the same harm does not render it -- does not leave the people without standing.

8 Now let's be clear. They continue to get our case 9 wrong. We have heard repeatedly that our injury is we have to know our vote was counted as cast, we don't know if our ballot 10 11 counted accurately. We have been very precise. The injury is that when you use this machine as it is configured, as it is 12 13 used in the state, the voter has no way to know if the ballot 14 of record reflects their selections. They can't confirm that 15 QR code that is tabulated. As we have seen, they cannot 16 confirm in the human readable text.

17 We have heard no justification of that burden at all. 18 And, in fact, if we talk about the State interest that they 19 identified, there was a slide that Mr. Miller put up that 20 talked about the State interest, none of those State interests 21 have anything to do with what we're talking about. Because on 22 that slide, it is all Mr. Sterling talking about what it would 23 cost and the burdens of updating the system to 5.17. We're not asking for that. No one has offered 5.17 as a mitigation. 24 25 Candidly, we thought that's where they were going to

1 go and why we filed our motion. We might ultimately withdraw 2 They have not offered it as a mitigation. They have told it. 3 you they can't even do it. So the State interest they offer is 4 not responsive to us as at all. Because if you eliminate the 5 ICX and the printer, you don't need 5.17 on the ICX or the 6 printer and all of that disappears. 7 They also -- on the point of -- their other state 8 interest is uniformity. Again, it would be a uniform backup 9 system. Their other is cost. There is nothing in the 10 11 evidence here on the cost of doing what we have asked to do. Mr. Sterling is a CFO. He knows how to build robust cost 12 13 documents. No one brought that in to the Court, Your Honor. 14 A lot about Powell, Wood. I'll just say those are election cases on election outcomes. This is not that. 15 16 They talked how the Coalition exists only to That is not accurate. What we didn't hear was the 17 litigate. 18 Eleventh Circuit's finding that the Coalition has 19 organizational standing. None of the facts have changed from 20 what the Eleventh Circuit held. That is binding, respectfully, 21 Your Honor. 22 THE COURT: Well, an argument was made that -- that I 23 know you heard that, of course, you have to prove standing and many other things, of course, again and again and again, as you 24 25 are going through the course of litigation.

1 MR. CROSS: Right. 2 I mean, so that was the argument that THE COURT: 3 simply he couldn't just say it was the law of the case under 4 the circumstances --5 MR. CROSS: Right. THE COURT: -- since it is a fundamental 6 7 jurisdictional requirement. MR. CROSS: Exactly right. That's why I wasn't 8 9 arguing the law of the case. The point I was making, they haven't argued that any of the facts the Eleventh Circuit found 10 11 were sufficient for standing that those facts are no longer in 12 the record. That is my --13 THE COURT: That is what you are arguing? 14 MR. CROSS: Yes. Those facts still stand unrefuted 15 in the record. There was a claim that there are differences in the 16 17 relief between Curling Plaintiffs and Coalition Plaintiffs. No 18 differences were identified. There are not. 19 We also heard that in our complaints that we say you 20 have to presume that the machines are hacked. We checked, just 21 to confirm, that does not appear. In fact, we could not find 22 the word hack in our complaints at all. 23 They say that our case is the next logical step of 24 the Pearson and Kraken case. We will try not to take offense 25 to that. It doesn't make any sense, Your Honor.

1 They said that -- this is the point about us 2 presuming a hack. Again, we have not alleged any past hack or 3 any past vote being flipped. And they say that is dispositive, 4 but it is not. 5 We heard from witnesses on the stand. We all know 6 it. Your Honor knows from common experience. Sometimes 7 computers fail. Sometimes people get access to computers in 8 the way they shouldn't. The fact that something may have 9 worked a million times in the past, tells us nothing about whether it is going to work in the future, particularly when 10 11 you have here, the CISA findings that stand unmitigated. 12 And on that, Your Honor, I say a lot of respect for 13 Mr. Belinfante walking through the CISA mitigations. The 14 problem is nothing he said is evidence. He didn't cite Your 15 Honor to a witness who did that. Not one expert did that. Not 16 one State witness. There is no official that came in and said 17 we sat down with all the right people and thought through all 18 of this and here are the mitigations. 19 So nothing he said Your Honor can even consider. It 20 is argument. It is not evidence. We should have heard that during the course of the trial. 21 22 They tell the UGA report, 80 percent reviewed. It is 23 80 percent of five seconds. It is meaningless. 24

On the review point, they say that we attack the UGA study. We embraced the study. We think it is devastating for

1 In fact, the only one who attacked it was when they them. 2 argued that it was not peer-reviewed. 3 We argued that it is still quite reliable. Again, we 4 heard a lot about scientific standards. Their experts talked 5 about software independence. And they have not met that 6 standard themselves. And we have shown through the words of 7 their own experts that when voters don't and can't verify the 8 ballots, it is not software independent. 9 On the policy of whether they're keeping counties from making their own decisions on whether to use these 10 11 machines or not, Mr. Belinfante said that Mr. Sterling 12 testified he was unaware of the policy that Mr. Harvey 13 articulated in 2018. That is not quite exactly what he said. 14 What he said was he was unaware whether that policy had 15 changed. 16 As the second-most senior official in the office and 17 the most senior official in this trial, certainly if it had 18 changed, one would expect him to know that, because that would 19 be a major position change. And there is no evidence that they 20 have communicated a different decision to the counties. 21 THE COURT: I'm sorry. The policy being? 22 MR. CROSS: The policy being when Mr. Harvey sent an 23 email -- or a memo actually, to the counties in 2018 saying we, the State, will decide when it is unsafe to use the machines 24 25 under the statute that says actually the county superintendents

1 make that decision.

2

THE COURT: All right.

3 MR. CROSS: His testimony wasn't that he simply 4 didn't recall it. He said he wasn't aware of that being 5 changed. So as that stands in the record, that is the only and 6 last communication to the counties. Again, we do have Ryan 7 Germany's email saying explicitly the counties cannot change, 8 update, or alter the equipment without the State's permission, 9 which is entirely consistent with what Mr. Harvey had conveyed. We have heard about the difficulty of making any kind 10 11 of change. But the evidence doesn't support that. Mr. Sterling said in the -- in ten months they rolled out an 12 13 entirely new system, from the point of taking possession of 14 30,000 ICX, 30,000 printers, training, and everything. They 15 got it all done in ten months, including, as we have heard, 16 during a global pandemic. 17 Well, we have about ten months until the November 18 election. What we're asking for is far simpler. Just remove 19 the ICX, remove the printer, and go forward with everything 20 else you have, which they are supposed to be ready and trained 21 on under the statute for the backup system. 22 Secretary Raffensperger told Congress they actually 23 rolled the system out in six months. If they can roll out a 24 whole new system in six months, they can remove some equipment 25 in a fraction of that time.

1 Briefly on the disability point, Your Honor, this one 2 hits hard, the notion -- this whole notion of separate but 3 The references today to disabled people, as one of the equal. 4 probably only people in this room with a disability, let's just 5 say that voters and individuals with disabilities have been 6 exploited enough. And there has been no suggestion in this 7 case through its history that this was in any way a significant decision-maker here. 8

9 The last point I'll say on this is that Blake Evans 10 testified that in Florida voters did what we're asking. He 11 also admitted that even in Georgia voters with disabilities are 12 already voting on different equipment. The argument has no 13 merit.

14 They say we're asking to update their own policies because Dr. Halderman said so. We're not actually asking them 15 16 to update any policy because we have never seen a policy that 17 defends what they are doing. There is no written policy they 18 have provided the Court. And more importantly, it is CISA that 19 said you need to do this. It is not simply Dr. Halderman. As 20 they told you, they simply choose when they listen to CISA or 21 Fortalice or Dominion and when they don't.

And importantly, not one expert has ever examined this equipment and endorsed it. That should be fatal. If it was just a policy disagreement, if it was just at the margins of is it reliable or is it not, they should bring in at least

1 one expert who has looked at it and says it is fine. 2 The only expert we know retained by the State that 3 actually examined the equipment to do hacking, they withheld 4 that report. Regardless of what Your Honor rules on that, at 5 the very least, I think we can all infer that they withheld it 6 for a reason. If it was helpful to them, we no doubt would see 7 it. 8 The response on hacking is to hold up their 9 Demonstrative 3. Again, Your Honor, as Mr. Sterling said, that 10 is not going to be accepted in any scanner in any precinct. It 11 is just a made-up false equivalence. It is not a real ballot that would ever get tabulated. The overvote would get kicked 12 13 back, and the voter would be able to fix it. 14 The other point is when they are talking about hacking paper ballots, this was clear from all of the witnesses 15 16 including their experts. It is only after it is tabulated. 17 Because the chain of custody is the voter controls it until it 18 is tabulated. And so that means, even if you can alter it, it 19 has got to be an insider, not someone from the random public, 20 not an outsider like Coffee County, the people who came in and 21 it has already been scanned. 22 So at the very least, you have an image that you can 23 compare to that. And so someone would have to hack the paper 24 ballot and hack the scanner to alter that, which is obviously 25 more difficult than just hacking the BMD with a hack that would

1 not be detected.

2	Briefly on VVSG 2.0, Your Honor, I don't think it is
3	a huge point, but it is worth noting. But again, Dr. Adida
4	went to EAC and said that all machines should be using this
5	today because, as he said, the current standard goes back
6	before the iPhone was created. There was a suggestion that
7	this wasn't available at the time, the 5.17, if they were to go
8	there. But actually, Your Honor, 5.17 was submitted in October
9	of 2022. VVSG 2.0 was adopted in October of 2021. Mr. Evans
10	testified to that.
11	THE COURT: And it provides for what? Just remind
12	me.
13	MR. CROSS: It has higher standards, one of which in
14	particular is penetration testing. So it would be an EAC
15	standard that voting equipment would have to survive
16	penetration testing. Basically what they did, with Fortalice
17	with the BMD and the report that we have not seen, it is
18	hacking to figure out, is it hackable? Can you penetrate? The
19	kind of stuff Fortalice has done in the past. But it would be
20	required on voting equipment, which has not yet been required.
21	The seals, the missing seals and the broken we
22	heard it was two emails. It is a lot more than that. Your
23	Honor can review the evidence.
24	We heard that Mr. Barnes on that they have
25	physical security, we heard, because now they burn CDs. But

1	that didn't happen until the end of 2023. That is new. So all
2	of the equipment has been used without that measure for years.
3	We heard about Mr. Barnes' mentioning hash testing.
4	Your Honor actually struck that because he did not have the
5	foundation. He has no cybersecurity training. So he could not
6	speak to the efficacy of hash testing. The people who have are
7	Dr. Halderman and Kevin Skoglund. So even if the team is
8	miss misremembering and that is actually in evidence, the
9	only person with the only people with the expertise to speak
10	to that have said it is easily circumvented.
11	We heard about Mr. Schoenberg's testimony that he
12	said he didn't review the ballot because there was no point
13	because he doesn't believe in the machine. That is not what he
14	said. At Volume 1 at Page 88, he was asked why he didn't
15	review it. He said, probably some combination of forgetting
16	and I will tell you, a psychological sense that you are done
17	when the machine prints your ballot and you are finished
18	expressing your vote. He is not alone.
19	Blake Evans at Volume 2, Page 244, as the State
20	election director, said, yes, that is something we know about.
21	That happens.
22	That with this ICX the way it works, voters often
23	think like the old DRE they cast their ballot and then they are
24	done and the paper ballot is something they take with them. It
25	is another burden imposed on the voter to have to remember, no,

1	I actually have to review this and I have to tabulate it, which
2	they know they have to do if it is there marked by hand.
3	We keep hearing that Joseph Kirk is the only county
4	election supervisor to testify. That is not right. Blake
5	Evans testified. And he testified about how easy and seamless
6	hand-marked paper ballots with a BMD for accessibility is in
7	Florida.
8	We also heard from James Barnes as a county election
9	supervisor, who had testimony in important ways, was not
10	consistent with what we heard from state officials about their
11	investigation.
12	We also heard from Misty Hampton, as a State as a
13	county election supervisor. Obviously, an example of how you
14	can't simply rely on an oath, which we heard a lot about as a
15	measure of protection.
16	On what the Secretary's office knew in May of 2021.
17	We heard that the puzzle I put up meant that the Secretary of
18	State should have known about the breach. To be quite clear,
19	that is not the point of the puzzle. The point of the puzzle
20	is they should have investigated. That given everything that
21	they knew in that puzzle, in May of 2021, State officials that
22	are taking election security seriously at the level of your
23	duty would have done more than a short phone call to James
24	Barnes and then stick the EMS server in a closet and walk away,
25	which is the testimony of Mr. Michael Barnes.

1 And again, James Barnes says he never heard from the 2 The point is not that they should have known but State at all. they should have investigated and then they would have known. 3 4 We did not say that Blanchard -- Investigator 5 Blanchard should have known who Lenberg was when he ran into 6 him in the office in January of 2021. Our point is that when 7 he came in investigating a county already for election misconduct and he found someone in the office with the only 8 9 access to the EMS server room, particularly what was known at 10 that time about individuals trying to get access to county 11 equipment -- you remember Mr. Willard, the State's lawyer, just 12 weeks before talked about how Sidney Powell's minions were 13 trying to do that -- it should have a big red flag that a 14 stranger was in that office. 15 But again, what this shows is the officials responsible for election security are not taking their duties 16 17 seriously enough to protect the system when they say physical 18 security is what we need. 19 Briefly on Coffee County, Your Honor, we're not 20 saying the evidence of Coffee County renders the ICX 21 unconstitutional. It is in very significant part a direct 22 rebuttal to their defense that things like physical security, 23 chain of custody, training, and an oath protect the system. 24 Coffee County shows those things cannot be relied on. 25 And that is their only defense as to why they have not done

1	what CISA said with the serious vulnerabilities in place. If
2	that is your fallback, it is not a reliable fallback.
3	The other significance of Coffee County as Kevin
4	Skoglund and others testified, Dr. Halderman, is that by having
5	that software out in the wild for years, we're now in a
6	position which is exactly what Mr. Willard said on behalf of
7	the State: It is the proverbial keys to the kingdom and risk
8	is that those people now are looking to do something in the
9	future, which is exactly what he said.
10	THE COURT: I think you're at 20 minutes and a little
11	bit.
12	MR. CROSS: Okay. If I could pick like two points.
13	THE COURT: Two points but not more than 30 seconds.
14	MR. CROSS: I'm almost done.
15	THE COURT: I won't when you are quiet, I won't
16	count that against you.
17	MR. CROSS: Last point then, Your Honor.
18	We heard the only witness who talked about the burden
19	of doing what we've proposed, which would be hand-marked paper
20	ballots and a BMD for accessibility, was Mr. Kirk. He said it
21	would be difficult, expensive.
22	But as Mr. Belinfante acknowledged, that is not
23	actually right. What Mr. Kirk was responding to was a
24	question, when Mr. Belinfante acknowledged, it would be BMDs
25	and hand-marked paper ballots in equal use. So you would have

1 to have a lot of BMDs and a lot of hand-marked paper ballots. 2 They don't have any election worker who is saying 3 what we propose, what Dr. Adida endorses, and what Blake Evans 4 says works great in Florida would be in any way difficult or 5 costly at the level to warrant the burdens. The last point, Your Honor, that I will make is the 6 7 scalability point because we've heard a lot about hacking 8 BMD -- I'm sorry, hacking paper ballots. The degree to which 9 paper ballots can be hacked versus the BMD ballots is massively 10 different. It is exactly what CISA says that things like malware and other manipulations can propagate through the 11 12 And it allows you to alter ballots on a massive scale. system. 13 It also can be done by voters, members of the public. On the 14 hand-marked paper ballot side, again, it is an insider that has 15 to do it. They have told you --16 THE COURT: I have heard that. So I'm going to -- as 17 a matter of fairness, I'm going to --18 MR. CROSS: Okay. That's it. Thank you, Your Honor. 19 THE COURT: -- end at this point. 20 Thank you very much. Excellent arguments. Really 21 I won't say they were never redundant. But they were superb. 22 creative and well-divided. Thank you very much. 23 Would you-all confer between yourselves about what 24 you want to do about proposed findings of fact and conclusions 25 of law and a time schedule? Then if you have a problem, you

1 know, send -- if you agree, send me the proposal. 2 And the one thing I would say is one of the reasons 3 the summary judgment motion that you filed took so long to 4 resolve, besides the fact that I was trying to do the fee order 5 that I didn't get to finish, was they were so long and complex. 6 And I realize the case is long and hard. 7 But anything you can do to make them a little bit 8 more manageable, which is not necessarily easy. But don't send 9 me 5 million extra materials, et cetera. And no matter what, we would want a Word version. 10 11 And if you're thinking about you're going to have responses to proposed findings of fact and conclusions of law, that will 12 13 take us forever and you forever. So I do not encourage that at 14 this juncture. 15 I mean, there is a way in which the case has gotten dragged down simply by the fact of the volume of the evidence. 16 17 So let's try to avoid that. 18 I'm anticipating you are all going to get back --19 some of you are going to get back to me about that outstanding 20 matter with the consulting expert, et cetera. 21 MR. KNAPP: Yes, Your Honor. 22 THE COURT: And I'm available if you do it -- if 23 you're going to do that relatively soon, I'm available until 24 Wednesday afternoon, but then I'm not available until the next 25 week.

1	And then we will work on the one other outstanding			
2	matter that we discussed in the morning.			
3	Is there anything else we need to address?			
4	MR. TYSON: Not for the defendants, Your Honor.			
5	MR. BROWN: Not for the plaintiffs, Your Honor.			
6	THE COURT: Anything from you, Mr. Oles?			
7	MR. OLES: Not that I'm aware of, Judge.			
8	THE COURT: Okay. You-all went through the evidence			
9	also with Harry before so that things are organized or not?			
10	MR. BROWN: I believe so, yes, Your Honor.			
11	THE COURT: You did both have a great document			
12	management team, I have to say. And they work like a team.			
13	Though on different sides, they were just marvelous. And I			
14	know that Harry so enjoyed working with them. Bravo to them as			
15	well.			
16	MR. OLES: Judge, I think I do. I owe you a response			
17	on the about			
18	THE COURT: Governor Kemp's report, that he			
19	referenced what the document was and he can send that in.			
20	MR. RUSSO: Your Honor, I think we also owe you a			
21	response on 5.17 exclusion unless the plaintiffs are			
22	THE COURT: Unless you-all agree. I think you'll			
23	talk about that.			
24	MR. CROSS: Sorry. With closing, we haven't talked,			
25	but we will.			

1 THE COURT: Okay. 2 MR. TYSON: And, Your Honor, one other just 3 logistical detail. If we clear everything out of the courtroom 4 tonight and put it into the rooms, can we clean those out tomorrow? Will that work? 5 6 THE COURT: Sure. Of course. 7 MR. TYSON: Thank you. 8 THE COURT: You can get in and out, I assume. But 9 anyway if somebody gets locked out, we'll -- I'll get somebody up here since Harry won't be here tomorrow either. He was sure 10 11 that you were going to be through by the day he took -- and I 12 was not so sure but I said it is okay. He does an incredible 13 job. So I'm grateful for him for everything. 14 Okay. Well, I don't know what you-all have planned 15 for your lives for the next few days. I hope you're going to 16 have a life and that you're going to give your brain some --17 some breathing room and some attention to your children. 18 And I would like to know when Dr. Halderman's baby is 19 born also since it is always an exciting thing. I always try 20 to find out about your baby -- the babies on defendants' side, 21 which seem to be rolling out all the time. 22 MR. MILLER: Your Honor, I have heard there is a 23 population crisis. THE COURT: Well, obviously there are two of you 24 25 firmly committed to addressing that.

1	So well, thank you, everybody. Have a wonderful
2	afternoon that is left. At least we have some sun for a while.
3	It has been a fascinating day.
4	And farewell. We are through.
5	COURTROOM SECURITY OFFICER: All rise. Court is in
6	recess.
7	(The proceedings were thereby concluded at 4:24
8	PM.)
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1	CERTIFICATE
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3	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
4	NORTHERN DISTRICT OF GEORGIA
5	
6	I, SHANNON R. WELCH, RMR, CRR, Official Court Reporter of
7	the United States District Court, for the Northern District of
8	Georgia, Atlanta Division, do hereby certify that the foregoing
9	184 pages constitute a true transcript of proceedings had
10	before the said Court, held in the City of Atlanta, Georgia, in
11	the matter therein stated.
12	In testimony whereof, I hereunto set my hand on this, the
13	2nd day of February, 2024.
14	
15	Drannox R. Welch
16	SHANNON R. WELCH, RMR, CRR
17	OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
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	1245 [1] 128/21	24th [1] 80/1
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[4] 52/3 52/7 93/12 184/5	1300 [1] 124/18	25 million-dollar [1] 155/15
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