



**STRATEGY
RESEARCH
PROJECT**

The views expressed in this paper are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Department of Defense or any of its agencies. This document may not be released for open publication until it has been cleared by the appropriate military service or government agency.

**UNBLOCK THE VOTES:
MILITARY/OVERSEAS ABSENTEE VOTING**

BY

**LIEUTENANT COLONEL ANN E. MOORE
United States Air Force**

**DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A:
Approved for Public Release.
Distribution is Unlimited.**

USAWC CLASS OF 2001



U.S. ARMY WAR COLLEGE, CARLISLE BARRACKS, PA 17013-5050

20010605 121

USAWC STRATEGY RESEARCH PROJECT

Unblock the Votes: Military/Overseas Absentee Voting

by

ANN E. MOORE, Lt Col
USAF

EDWARD J. FILIBERTI, Colonel, US Army
Project Advisor

The views expressed in this academic research paper are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the official policy or position of the U.S. Government, the Department of Defense, or any of its agencies.

U.S. Army War College
CARLISLE BARRACKS, PENNSYLVANIA 17013

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A:
Approved for public release.
Distribution is unlimited.

ABSTRACT

AUTHOR: Lt Col Ann E. Moore

TITLE: Unblock the Votes: Military/Overseas Absentee Voting

FORMAT: Strategy Research Project

DATE: 1 April 2001 PAGES: 33 CLASSIFICATION: Unclassified

The brouhaha over the U.S. 2000 presidential election's military/overseas absentee ballots questioned the voting rights' sanctity, but more importantly, it revealed partisan bias within the military. The complex and disparate voting rules of states and territories coupled with an ineffectual DoD voting assistance apparatus fueled a media and political frenzy over military absentee votes and indirectly alluded to a military "vote-block" that linked military personnel with the Republican Party. To avoid the disastrous consequences associated with a perceived or actual partisan military, DoD must deliberately work to avoid this recurrence. To eliminate excessive publicity about military voting preferences, military absentee voting problems must be resolved. Additionally, military affiliate advocacy groups should deliberately focus on candidates' issues and avoid party-focused rhetoric. In short, impediments to military/overseas absentee voting should be unblocked and DoD should eschew establishment or perceptions of special interest military vote-blocks.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	iii
UNBLOCK THE VOTES: MILITARY/OVERSEAS ABSENTEE VOTING.....	1
BACKGROUND/HISTORY.....	5
CURRENT ISSUES.....	9
IMPACT.....	11
RESPONSE(S): WHAT HAS BEEN DONE/SAID THUS FAR?.....	12
WHAT NEXT?.....	13
ENDNOTES.....	15
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	25

Unblock the Votes: Military/Overseas Absentee Voting

Democracy's ceremonial, its feast, its great function, is the election.

—H.G. Wells

More than merely a ceremonial, a feast or a great function, the 2000 United States (U.S.) federal election and its aftermath evolved into a media brouhaha. During the ballot counting debacle, the previously not-so-perceptible politicization of the U.S. military became unmistakably evident to the public. Rather than appearing as an apolitical sector of the citizenry or even as a generally bipartisan reflection of the current American population, the U.S. military surfaced as strongly supportive of the Republican Party, adding credence to previous academic accusations of military politicization.¹ Negative ramifications of a partisan military include perceptions that the military can and will leverage "vote-blocks" in response to specific issues. With U.S. public support split close to 50-50 between the two major parties, vote-blocks can carry profound influence in national as well as local elections to significantly impact national policies. However, this prospect of targeted military vote-blocks may backfire, fulfilling Samuel Huntington's observation that power revealed is power reduced.² Military vote-blocks may also jeopardize the existing imperative that professional soldiers remain "above politics" by not overtly displaying partisanship.³

More than other election issues, military personnel have deep-seated interests in voting for candidates whose policies will best support national security concerns. Each military serviceperson takes an oath to support and defend the Constitution and obey the orders of designated leaders. Though not often required to give their lives in support of their commitments, servicepersons must be prepared to make that ultimate sacrifice. During close elections, vote-blocks can be decisive. Yet, the perception of military vote-blocks erodes the very principle of military separation from political activity.⁴ Apolitical military service is critical for the Department of Defense (DoD) to credibly promote military interests and provide objective national security policy advice while expending large portions of the federal budget pursuing nonpartisan national interests.⁵ Political participation undermines both military professionalism and its perceived objectivity.⁶

Candidates' stands on national security issues may profoundly affect military operational readiness, contingency operations and engagement activities.⁷ With this in mind, the Military Coalition (TMC) and other military-affiliate groups should promote

policies that best posture the U.S. for success in future operational and strategic environments. Representing 31 organizations comprising over 5.5 million uniformed services' members—active, reserve, retired, survivors, veterans—and their families, TMC and other military-affiliate groups demand attention.⁸ When differences exist in candidates' outlooks affecting important national security issues, these organizations could extol the merits of the apposite views. Through their actions and influences, these groups generate de facto military vote-blocks.

Because of the nature of their service, military members give up many rights which other U.S. citizens enjoy. Among these relinquished rights, military members are precluded by law from soliciting votes for any particular party. However, military-affiliate interest/support groups can surface priority issues for politicians to address while keeping voters informed of the comparative benefits of each candidate's platform, thereby enabling DoD to avoid partisanship while ensuring military issues have a prominent place in campaign debates. Nevertheless, military vote-blocks perceptively politicize the military, shedding skepticism on the notion of U.S. civilian supremacy limits to the proffering of military advice or expression of dissent concerning national defense policies.⁹ Even when informed about the full spectrum of election issues from national security to non-defense domestic matters, individual servicepersons' collective votes can still impact election results and create images of powerful vote-blocks. The partisan flavor of these military vote-blocks jeopardizes objective treatment by the U.S. government's politicized legislative and executive branches.

A watershed event, the 2000 election campaign brought the military vote-block to national prominence. Using military ballots as political footballs, both political parties extolled military servicepersons' rights to vote. Due to Republican bias of the military vote, many politicians on that side of the aisle attempted permissive interpretations or tried to relax state absentee voting standards. At the same time, Democrats deliberately promoted strict application of military/overseas absentee voting requirements while simultaneously pushing liberal interpretations of questionable non-absentee ballots from predominantly Democratic voting districts. Each side's political rhetoric played on patriotic military sentiments while advancing their own political agendas:

- Senator Bob Graham: "...military votes should not be discounted simply because they lacked a postmark. Election officials should 'bend over backward' to have military votes count...The federal law provides that a postmark is not required for overseas stationed military personnel."¹⁰

- Representative Steve Buyer: "The men and women of our military, who literally put their lives on the line every day in defense of our right to vote, had their votes thrown out...I will continue to determine whether this was a blatant violation of [federal law] that protects against abuses of this kind."¹¹ "Floridians serving in uniform, who may live and work in dangerous locations around the world, should not be disenfranchised because of circumstances requiring the delivery of their ballots without a postmark."¹²
- Secretary of Defense (SECDEF) William S. Cohen: "The last thing we want to do is make it harder for those wearing our uniform and serving overseas to be able to cast a ballot."¹³
- General Colin S. Powell: "We shouldn't disenfranchise our GIs if there's anything we can do to avoid it. All those GIs in Broward County, Florida, are going to learn that 75 percent of their absentee ballots were thrown aside..."¹⁴
- Montana Governor Marc Racicot: "I am very sorry to say that the Vice President's lawyers have gone to war in my judgment against the men and women who serve in our armed forces."¹⁵
- Marine General Charles Krulak: "If you have people serving in a combat zone or an area with some exclusion [on mail service] and that mail doesn't have a postmark, that [ballot rejection] is a disgrace...Then you have people in harm's way who aren't being counted...There is something wrong with a situation where those people who are out serving their country are disenfranchised."¹⁶
- Representative Neil Abercrombie: "If a federal absentee ballot is otherwise properly executed, it should be counted, even if the postmark is in question."¹⁷
- Senator John Warner, Co-chair, Senate Armed Services Committee: "Fundamental principles of equity, long established in our jurisprudence, should be invoked to ensure that the ballots of our overseas military personnel are counted despite the absence of a postmark, or some other technicality. It is a fact, regrettably, that a number of absentee ballots from overseas U.S. military personnel do not bear postmarks, although those ballots were received in the voter's state by the deadline set by state law."¹⁸
- General H. Norman Schwarzkopf: "It's a very sad day for our country when the men and women of the armed forces are serving abroad and facing danger on a daily basis...yet because of some technicality out of their control they are denied the right to vote for the president of the United States who will be their

commander in chief...For the sake of fairness alone these armed forces ballots should be allowed to be tallied.”¹⁹

- Bob Ingram, Medal of Honor Winner: “If they’re going to count a dimple, then they need to count a vet’s vote.”²⁰
- Florida State Attorney General Robert A. Butterworth, Co-chair, Vice President Al Gore’s Florida Campaign: “...no man or woman in military service to this nation should have his or her vote rejected solely due to the absence of a postmark.”²¹
- Representative Joe Scarborough: “I’m calling on the 67 counties of this great state...to count the ballots of servicemen and women.”²² “Men and women in the military have every right to vote on who their next Commander-in-Chief will be; if something was done to inhibit their ability to vote, the public has a right to know.”²³
- Senator Zell Miller: “Any ballot from a man or woman in the military who is serving this country should be counted—period.” “I don’t care when it’s dated, whether it’s witnessed or anything else. If it is from someone serving this country and they made the effort to vote, count it and salute them when you do it.”²⁴
- former Senator Bob Dole: “And they have a right to vote, they have a right (sic) to defend us, but their vote’s not counted...”²⁵ “But the point is, let’s count their votes, let’s count their votes, let’s count their votes.”²⁶
- Senator Joseph I. Lieberman: “...if I was there, I would give the benefit of the doubt to ballots [coming in from military personnel], generally...And if they have the capacity, I’d urge them to go back and take another look. Because, again, Al Gore and I don’t want to ever be part of anything that would put an extra burden on the military personnel abroad who want to vote...”²⁷ “Let me just say that the vice president and I would never authorize, and would not tolerate, a campaign that was aimed specifically at invalidating absentee ballots from members of our armed services...We ought to do everything we can to count the votes of our military personnel overseas...”²⁸
- Jim Post, Duval County Republican Party lawyer: “This was a systematic, heavy-handed effort by the Democrats to eliminate military absentee ballots.”²⁹
- Representative Bob Barr: “We’re asking for these people to be allowed to vote now.”³⁰
- Representative Gene Taylor: “I am greatly disturbed by the perception the Democratic Party is trying to keep the military from voting.”³¹

- former Representative Sonny Montgomery, Co-chair, Republican Veteran Outreach Committee: "Governor Bush's campaign put much emphasis on getting the overseas military vote...They made a special effort to get the military vote.."32

Eventual consequences of the election's military absentee voting controversy and the inference of a "Republican Armed Forces" have yet to be realized. Clearly, some possible short-term negative ramifications were avoided by the election of a Republican President. Nevertheless, should military "fortunes" become tied to specific political parties or candidates, the actual politicization of the military cannot be far behind with obvious dire consequences stemming from the military's growing political influence and stake in political outcomes. Resolution of military/overseas absentee voting problems should help ensure each military vote counts regardless of political issues. DoD should emphasize that U.S. soldiers are citizens first, with interests for which they have the right to promote with their votes. Similarly, military voters must understand the issues and how candidates will champion their concerns irrespective of party affiliation and divorced from special interest-group influence. Elimination of election controversy and public awareness of military political tendencies/biases support our military and national interests. To avoid controversy, DoD should play a central role in ensuring military personnel meet state absentee voting requirements rather than seeking relaxed standards. Moreover, DoD should deliberately avoid the image of affiliating with any political party.

BACKGROUND/HISTORY

The right of election is the very essence of the Constitution.

—Junius 11

Valuing democratic practices, Americans exercise their voting rights as specified in Article II as well as in certain amendments to the U.S. Constitution.³³ Although the post-election ballot recounting process seemed a crisis of democracy, SECDEF William S. Cohen told international leaders that the U.S. "is not dealing with a constitutional crisis but with a constitutional process."³⁴ Military/overseas voting right concerns are not new.

About 250,000 men and women in the Armed Forces are of voting age at the present time. Many of those in uniform are serving overseas, or in parts of the country distant from

their homes. They are unable to return to their States either to register or to vote. Yet these men and women, who are serving their country and in many cases risking their lives, deserve above all others to exercise the right to vote in this election year. At a time when these young people are defending our country and its free institutions, the least we at home can do is to make sure that they are able to enjoy the rights they are being asked to fight to preserve.

—President Truman's 1952 Letter to Congress

With the U.S. in the midst of the Korean War, President Truman, reflecting longstanding sentiments about military/overseas absentee voting, beseeched Congress to ensure military servicepersons retained their voting rights.³⁵ Since then, the number of people eligible to vote military/overseas' absentee has mushroomed to over six million, including American servicepersons and their families stationed away from their homes of record as well as other U.S. citizens living abroad.³⁶ Federal and state voting rights' legislation has also evolved since 1952.

To supplement the Soldiers' and Sailors' Relief Act and other voting rights' legislation, in the early 1980s the federal government asked some states to allow overseas voters more time.³⁷ Florida eventually agreed to distribute ballots 45 days before elections and give 10-day extensions for returning overseas ballots.³⁸ Enacted in 1986, the Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act (UOCAVA) covers military servicepersons as well as merchant marines and their families serving away from their homes of record in the continental U.S. (CONUS) or overseas, and other U.S. citizens residing outside the U.S.³⁹

DoD administers UOCAVA through the Federal Voting Assistance Program (FVAP).⁴⁰ Providing voting rights information to U.S. citizens worldwide, FVAP fosters voting participation and protects/enhances federal, state and local electoral processes.⁴¹ In short, FVAP encourages and simplifies military/overseas voting.⁴² FVAP also provides ombudsman services to further enhance accessibility and resolve difficulties.⁴³

For feedback on how to improve military/overseas absentee voting processes, Gallup conducts FVAP post-election surveys for 20,000 servicepersons worldwide, 10,000 overseas non-federal government employees, 2000 overseas federal government employees, 2400 military Voting Assistance Officers (VAOs), 200 embassy/consulate VAOs, and 500 local election officials.⁴⁴ 1996 survey results indicate the total military voting participation rate was 64% (including in-person, absentee, and attempted-vote voters) compared to 49% of the general public.⁴⁵ FVAP does not track

complaints from voters who did not receive their ballots in time and the survey's executive summary fails to note problems concerning rejected ballots.⁴⁶

The 2000 surveys were distributed in November; reminders to complete them were published; and survey results will be available in late 2001.⁴⁷ The local election officials' survey contains questions about ballot requests and ballots received too late to be counted.⁴⁸ Though the surveys conclude with open-ended requests for comments on any questionnaire topic and/or how to improve the FVAP, there are no direct requests for other possible ballot rejection causes and no plans to distribute supplemental surveys.⁴⁹

Increased potential for voter fraud and other absentee voting problems prompt many states to count absentee ballots last.⁵⁰ Military absentee voting raises residency and legitimacy concerns.⁵¹ In 1996, military absentee voter problems occurred in Texas' Val Verde County, where pilot training had been conducted at Laughlin Air Force Base.⁵² There, two candidates won seats during the local election, but were overturned when 800 absentee ballots, mostly from military officers, were counted.⁵³ A law suit was filed and the U.S. House of Representatives conducted a hearing to address challenged residency requirements and corresponding military voting rights.⁵⁴ Though the consensus was that military servicepersons must retain voting rights, misgivings concerning military voter residency lingered.⁵⁵ Absentee voter problems extend beyond the military. In 1998, Miami-Dade County faced non-military absentee voter fraud while, that same year, non-fraud absentee voting problems plagued Nevada.⁵⁶

Like Val Verde County's military absentee voters, many servicepersons claim residency and vote in states where they do not reside and have not for some time, attracting certain allegations of tax evasion and/or voter fraud and increasing general public apprehensions.⁵⁷ Often, servicepersons retain their home of record in the state from which they first entered military service or change to the state of a subsequent duty assignment, as long as they continue to meet state-established residency requirements.⁵⁸ Many servicepersons establish residency in states with numerous military installations and no state income tax, such as Florida or Texas. Over 12% (140,000-180,000) of today's 1.4 million servicepersons claim Florida residency, more than any other state.⁵⁹ Voter fraud or residency ambiguity predicaments are particularly ironic while prominent Americans assist other nations in certifying their democratic elections as free and fair.⁶⁰ Encouragingly, FVAP is leading probes into possibilities and implications of electronic voting and other innovations which may alleviate some high-profile absentee voting disparities.⁶¹

To reduce fraud and other problems, some state voting laws are more exacting than federal requirements, specifying that absentee ballots cannot be counted unless they are postmarked, or signed and dated.⁶² Ballots are not typically postmarked since they must be mailed postage-free and there are no federal postage-free postmarking requirements.⁶³ States that allow signing and dating in lieu of postmarking do not always provide adequate areas or instructions.⁶⁴ Although DoD requires postmarking of all mail, not all Army Post Office/Fleet Post Office (APO/FPO) facilities have postmarking capabilities.⁶⁵ Even at locations that can postmark, it is not always done.⁶⁶ Additionally, overseas un-postmarked military mail is sometimes postmarked at CONUS ports of entry.⁶⁷ The lack of (overseas) mail postmarking is not news to DoD.⁶⁸ Consequently, for the last election, FVAP reminded voters to have their ballots hand-stamped; yet, APO/FPO workers received no special instructions to meet this requirement.⁶⁹

Since the 55 individual states/territories control voting, each has specific and, in some cases, disparate procedures.⁷⁰ With 30 various ballot-return requirements and procedures, voting law differences create extra challenges for military servicepersons.⁷¹ Four states required voted-ballot return prior to the election with the strictest stipulating return four days before election day, necessitating overseas mailing many days prior.⁷² Most (33) states/territories required voted-ballot receipt by election day, still compelling overseas posting well before the election, while ten states/territories allowed mailing by election day and receipt up to 15 days after the election.⁷³ Eight states/territories, to include Florida, had mixed CONUS' and overseas' mailing requirements.⁷⁴ Dissimilarities in absentee voting policies can be particularly puzzling for military servicepersons who are often first-time state voters.⁷⁵ Voting requirements and procedures, published by state voting offices, can be found in FVAP's Voting Assistance Guide and the October issue of Voting Information News.⁷⁶

Although there is evidence that early voting has little effect on election outcomes, military/overseas voters who must vote days prior to the election may be deprived of the benefits of responding with their vote to late-season information disclosures.⁷⁷ Compensating for this disadvantage, 44 U.S. states/territories allow voters to register, request/receive ballots, and return ballots by fax.⁷⁸ Overseas absentee voters who have requested but not received state ballots may cast federal write-in ballots (FWIBs) for federal offices, while some states allow FWIBs to also be used for state/local elections.⁷⁹

CURRENT ISSUES

It's not the voting that's democracy, it's the counting.

—Tom Stoppard

Even before the most recent vote-counting dilemma, some overseas servicepersons experienced trouble receiving and mailing ballots. Consequently, the day following the election, Representative Joe Scarborough requested a Congressional inquiry.⁸⁰ Initially, the Navy, unaware of widespread or organized complaints, disputed internet (discussion groups, online news services) accounts concerning thousands of military absentee ballots languishing aboard ships in Aden, saying reports were exaggerated because only about a dozen ballots were delayed.⁸¹ One veterans' affairs attorney claimed he was inundated with e-mail messages from overseas servicepersons who complained that they did not receive requested absentee ballots.⁸² Republicans Abroad International received some complaints while Democrats Abroad noted no significant problems.⁸³ Subsequently, the Navy, though still avoiding allegations about troops not receiving ballots, confirmed delayed voted-ballots from about 3000 sailors and Marines aboard three ships would hence be expedited for on-time delivery.⁸⁴

Florida election officials said many problems were nothing new since similar ballot rejections occurred or would have occurred in previous elections.⁸⁵ Miami-Dade County threw out 209 of 312 ballots while the Brevard County Supervisor of Elections stated, "In the past, we have not counted ballots that didn't have a postmark...this is the first year anybody has told us something different."⁸⁶ Perhaps unaware of all extant problems, FVAP cautioned voters to watch for:

- inadequate or no legal voting residence address;
- inadequate or illegible current mailing address;
- illegible writing;
- application to wrong jurisdiction;
- failure to indicate party preference;
- no signature;
- received too late; and
- form in general not completed.⁸⁷

While absentee voting is often replete with problems, this election's troubles seemed disproportionate. The 1996 absentee ballot rejection rate was over 20%.⁸⁸

With historical 2% rejection rates in presidential races, Florida's 3% rejection rate in the 2000 election was only slightly higher.⁸⁹ Nevertheless, approximately 41% (1527 of 3726-3733) of Florida's absentee ballots were disqualified ranging from 29%-60% rejections in various counties.⁹⁰ In the 2000 election, a large number of military absentee ballots were rejected for myriad reasons:

- no/late postmark;
- lateness;
- voter not a county resident;
- improper voter registration;
- failure to request ballot within required 30 days;
- used FWIB, but no record of requesting Florida ballot;
- unmatched signatures;
- lacking signature in correct place;
- lacking voter signature;
- ballot improperly witnessed;
- inadequate witness' address (not as detailed as desired);
- lack of proper signatures;
- voter sent in more than one absentee ballot; or
- improper mailing from within CONUS.⁹¹

Though some problems may not have been new, since absentee ballots are often counted after elections, previous national elections were not impacted. Consequently, state/local election officials had possibly not closely examined absentee ballots nor reported consistently recurring or potential problems to FVAP. Yet, in the close 2000 election, these same election officials expressed frustration at seemingly conflicting laws and inconsistent guidance on how and what to count or reject.⁹²

Overall, the nation in general and military personnel specifically were surprised about the voting problems and concerned that many military/overseas absentee votes possibly never count. The name of one USS O'Kane sailor, an Escambia County homeowner and absentee voter, was included on a list of challenged ballots.⁹³ Unaware of any prior voting problems, this sailor thought his ballot instructions were easy-to-follow.⁹⁴ Bewildered over snafus about his and other military/absentee ballots, he felt disappointed that his ballot was not counted and hoped it would not be used in "some kind of political role..."⁹⁵ Ultimately, Escambia County election officials reconsidered

some absentee ballots, accepting 160 and rejecting 112, with many military/overseas absentee voters unsure whether their vote eventually counted.⁹⁶

Many military/overseas ballot challenges seemed partisan. Some Republicans objected to technicalities listed on a five-page memo synthesizing election law written for, but later disclaimed by, Democratic Party ballot-counting observers.⁹⁷ Though Florida's Attorney General requested that counties reconsider rejected military absentee ballots, pervasive partisan animosity still correlated military voters with the Republican Party accusing the Democratic Party of systematically seeking to discredit military absentee ballots.⁹⁸ Military-affiliate support groups joined prominent Republicans in criticizing Democratic Party legal challenges, requesting that Florida election officials rescind military/overseas ballot rejections.⁹⁹ Republican attorneys urged one U.S. District Judge to declare military absentee ballots valid even if they were undated, lacked postmarks, were postmarked in the U.S., or were not requested on time or at all.¹⁰⁰ The Republican Party established a special advisory committee of retired admirals/generals, while the media quoted many of these four-stars as well as Congressional Medal of Honor winners, showcasing military leader support.¹⁰¹ Unfortunately, these events helped cement the image of military alignment with the Republican Party. This consequence could have been avoided if DoD had ensured mail handling and postal procedures met all state mandates and conducted focused campaigns to ensure servicepersons met state voting requirements.

IMPACT

Your voice, your choice: Vote/Make your mark: Vote¹⁰²

The 2000 national election exposed multiple issues:

- military/overseas votes were largely rejected for various reasons, possibly disenfranchising many military servicepersons;
- state and federal voting legislation differs and sometimes conflicts;
- military members are sometimes perceived as tax evaders or fraudulent voters who claim residency in states with no state income taxes; and
- unlike other citizenry, military members seem to overwhelmingly identify themselves as Republican, possibly furthering civil/military alienation.

The closeness of the 2000 presidential election revealed that voting Americans are nearly evenly split among the two major parties, yet the military leans heavily toward the Republican Party.¹⁰³ One Naval Reserve officer, who was also the military voting rights coordinator for the American Veterans and Defense Alliance, reported:

“The media and the Internet are crackling with anger about the Democrats’ concerted challenge to military voting rights in Florida. This is not the first time that the Democrats have sought to overturn an election result by disenfranchising the brave young men and women who are away from home and prepared to lay down their lives in defense of our country...our national government clearly has the authority and the responsibility to ensure that its military personnel are not disenfranchised by the circumstances of their service...Recent results in Florida and elsewhere reaffirm that military personnel are among the most reliable supporters of the Republican Party.”¹⁰⁴

This officer further purports [italics mine] “We simply cannot afford to allow ill-considered philosophical compunctions to stand in the way of enfranchising *our* party’s most reliable voters.”¹⁰⁵ Some claim the military vote delivered Florida and the presidency since Florida’s military/overseas ballots were last to be counted.¹⁰⁶ Such conclusions stoke fears of military servicepersons being used as “pawns in a partisan battle” which Representative Neil Abercrombie suspects “risks politicizing the military in a manner antithetical to democracy.”¹⁰⁷ During December in a seemingly unrelated matter, Senate Democrats were criticized for holding-up a bill to allow polling places on remote domestic military bases.¹⁰⁸ While Democrats denied the accusations, Republicans continued to elicit angry anti-Democrat objections from servicepersons accusing the Democratic Party of seeking revenge against the military.¹⁰⁹ It is in our country’s vital interest to overcome these military partisan paradigms. By refining the systems to meet state-mandated absentee voting requirements, DoD can at least avoid the media hype and negative political consequence associated with high-profile voting controversies.

RESPONSE(S): WHAT HAS BEEN DONE/SAID THUS FAR?

Leadership responses to military/overseas absentee voting problems vary. A Congressional investigation was solicited to explore military members not receiving requested ballots.¹¹⁰ A group of retired officers chastised the SECDEF for not taking up his troops’ cause.¹¹¹ The SECDEF responded by directing an Inspector General (IG)

investigation to ensure DoD has a system that makes every vote count and to recommend changes that DoD should implement to secure military voting rights.¹¹² The IG will analyze absentee voting processes to suggest feasible changes to improve efficiency, fairness, inclusiveness, and simplicity.¹¹³ Although the SECDEF may have procrastinated in initiating the IG investigation, many consider it a positive step in developing needed reforms.¹¹⁴ Similarly, the American Legion National Commander wanted Legionnaires to work with Congress and local/state legislators to introduce/enact appropriate legislation to avoid the “partisan politics we’ve seen in play this election with regard to military absentee ballots” so that “military absentee ballots are handled uniformly and accurately across the nation.”¹¹⁵ One presidential historian opined “We’ve got to have a uniform ballot. There should be the same ballot, the same machinery in every state...”¹¹⁶ Fortunately, FVAP has promoted pilot programs to improve absentee voting through increased fax services and potential internet procedures.¹¹⁷

Democrats defended their ballot challenges saying that they were seeking only to enforce pre-existing rules, that local election boards made the final decisions, and that “you have to follow the rules to cast a valid vote...both sides have been challenging the validity...it’s not aimed at military or overseas civilians...It’s aimed at valid voting.”¹¹⁸ Meanwhile, the Deputy Director of the nonprofit Center for Defense Information thought that even though Republicans hyped the absentee ballot issue for their own benefit, the election fracas showed hypocrisy and cynicism on both sides, with Democratic insistence on strict adherence to absentee ballot rules mirroring Republican insistence on strict adherence to voter recount rules and deadlines.¹¹⁹ Immediate Congressional hearings were called to address military/overseas absentee voting and balloting processes to guide future legislation.¹²⁰

WHAT NEXT?

Every absentee voter is entitled to the same treatment...

——Representative Neil Abercrombie¹²¹

SECDEF/FVAP should:

- continue work on new initiatives;
- encourage states to share best practices that are no more restrictive than federal specifications;

- resurvey local elections officials to better garner lessons learned;
- initiate internal DoD changes to help servicepersons comply with state requirements;
- conduct/publicize military/overseas voter training; and
- discourage military vote-blocks.

Military-affiliate groups should:

- edify candidates and voters about relevant national security issues;
- emphasize the importance of private non-partisan issues-oriented voting;
- educate servicepersons concerning how to become informed about pertinent issues; and
- encourage military servicepersons to exercise their right to vote.

In the final analysis to ensure their votes count, servicepersons need education about voting mechanics and technicalities. As good citizens/voters, they also need to understand election issues, especially those that are important to national security, and exercise their rights to vote. DoD should ameliorate obstructions to military/overseas absentee voting by working with states/territories to simplify diverse legislation. Military-affiliate organizations can assist with legislative reforms and focus efforts at informing candidates and voters about critical national security issues. However, military voters must contemplate the entire plethora of election issues, from national security to non-defense domestic policies, when considering how to cast their votes. Otherwise public perceptions that the military will leverage partisan, or even nonaligned issues-oriented, vote-blocks may foster distrust in the military. Moreover, a military whose “fortunes” become tied to any political party necessarily portends increased military involvement in that party. This growing politicization of the military is anathema to both our military profession and constitutional processes. DoD should avoid appearances of interest-group partisan/nonpartisan vote-blocks to preserve military professionalism and credibility. Hopefully, with clear military voting rights solidified, we can live up to Senator Robert Kerry’s hope that “In the military, we accept responsibility for our mistakes. We don’t blame it on somebody else...Personally, I think the military should not be treated any differently than any other citizen.¹²² In short, we need to un-block obstacles to military/overseas absentee voting and avoid special treatments or formations of military vote-blocks.

word count: 4930

ENDNOTES

¹ Thomas E. Ricks, "The Widening Gap between the Military and Society," Atlantic Monthly, July 1997, p 67-78; and Ole R. Holsti, "A Widening Gap between the U.S. Military and Civilian Society? Some Evidence, 1976-96," International Security, Winter 1998/99, Vol 23, No 3; p. 10-11; and "Project on the Gap Between Military and Civilian Society: Digest of Findings and Studies," Durham NC, Duke University: Triangle Institute for Security Studies, p. 187.

² Samuel P. Huntington, American Politics: the Promise of Dishonor, Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1981, 76; and Holsti, p. 8.

³ Morris Janowitz, The Professional Soldier: A Social and Political Portrait, New York: The Free Press, 1960, 233.

⁴ Malham M. Wakin, War, Morality, and the Military Profession, Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1979, 25.

⁵ Janowitz, 233.

⁶ Samuel P. Huntington, The Soldier and The State, Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1957, 71.

⁷ National Military Strategy of the United States of America. Office of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1997. p. i.

⁸ The Military Coalition, The Military Coalition website, available from <http://www.themilitarycoalition.org/>, Internet, accessed 9 March 2001. Currently, TMC represents the following organizations: Army Aviation Association of America (AAAA), Air Force Association (AFA), Air Force Sergeants Association (AFSA), Association of Military Surgeons of the United States (AMSUS), Association of the United States Army (AUSA), Chief Warrant Officer and Warrant Officer Association, (CWO&WOA), United States Coast Guard, Commissioned Officers Association of the United States (COA), Public Health Service, Inc., Enlisted Association of the National Guard of the United States (EANGUS), Fleet Reserve Association (FRA), Gold Star Wives of America (GSW), Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America (JWV), Marine Corps League (MCL), Marine Corps Reserve Officers Association (MCROA), Military Chaplains Association of the United States of America (MCA), Military Order of the Purple Heart, National Guard Association of the United States (NGAUS), National Military Family Association (NMFA), National Order of Battlefield Commissions (NOBC), Naval Enlisted Reserve Association (NERA), Naval Reserve Association (NRA), Navy League of the United States (NLUS), Non Commissioned Officers Association (NCOA), Reserve Officers Association (ROA), The Retired Enlisted Association (TREA), The Retired Officers Association (TROA), Society of Medical Consultants to the Armed Forces (SMCAF), United Armed Forces Association (UAFA), United States Army Warrant Officers Association (USAWOA), USCG Chief Petty Officers Association (CPOA), Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW), Veterans' Widows International Network.

⁹ Janowitz, 234.

¹⁰ Ed Offley, "Rejected Military Votes Spark New Furor In Florida Election Count," Stars and Stripes Omnimedia, 20 November 2000; available from <<http://ebird.dtic.mil/Nov2000/s20001121rejected.htm>>; Internet; accessed 1 December 2000.

¹¹ Rowan Scarborough, "Military Delivers Key Votes for Bush," The Washington Times, 4 December 2000, p. 12.

¹² Peter Jennings, "Military Ballot Controversy," ABC World Tonight, ABC TV, 21 November 2000.

¹³ Associated Press. "U.S. Election Concerns Cohen On His Final Persian Gulf Visit," European Stars and Stripes, 20 November 2000, p. 7; and Offley, "Rejected Military Votes Spark New Furor In Florida Election Count."

¹⁴ Dave Boyer, "Republican Hope Fades for Military Vote Tally," The Washington Times, 22 November 2000, p. 1.

¹⁵ Ed Offley, "'Tremendous Anger' Over Rejected Military Absentee Ballots;" and "Rejected Military Votes Spark New Furor In Florida Election Count," Stars and Stripes Omnimedia, 28 and 20 November 2000; available from <<http://ebird.dtic.mil/Nov2000/s20001129tremendous.htm>>; Internet; accessed 1 December 2000.

¹⁶ Offley, "Rejected Military Votes Spark New Furor In Florida Election Count."

¹⁷ Audrey Hudson, "Military Ballot Hearings Sought," The Washington Times, 8 December 2000, p. 10.

¹⁸ Offley, "Rejected Military Votes Spark New Furor In Florida Election Count."

¹⁹ Tim Russett, "Interview with Senator Joe Lieberman," NBC News' Meet The Press, NBC TV, 19 November 2000; transcript available from <<http://www.msnbc.com/news/492416.asp?cp1=1.htm>>; Internet; accessed 3 December 2000; and Offley, "Rejected Military Votes Spark New Furor In Florida Election Count."

²⁰ "GOP Launches New Campaign to Count Military Absentees," NBC Nightly News, NBC TV, 25 November 2000.

²¹ Susan Schmidt, "Military Ballot Review Is Urged," Washington Post, 21 November 2000, p. 1.

²² Dana Milbank, "Bush Sues 13 Counties Over Ballots of Military," Washington Post, 23 November 2000, p. 28.

²³ Joe Scarborough, "Scarborough Demands Investigation of Military Absentee Complaints," 8 November 2000; available from <<http://www.freerepublic.com/forum/a3a0e163d4a37.htm>>; Internet; accessed 21 December 2000.

²⁴ Schmidt, p. 1.

- ²⁵ Russett, "Interview with Senator Joe Lieberman."
- ²⁶ Margaret Warner, "Republicans Protest Withholding Military Votes," and "Bush Continues Push for Military Ballot Recounts," News Hour with Jim Lehrer, PBS TV, 24 November 2000.
- ²⁷ Russett, "Interview with Senator Joe Lieberman;" and Schmidt, p. 1; and Offley, "Rejected Military Votes Spark New Furor In Florida Election Count;" and Richard Pérez-Peña, "A Second Look Urged for Votes Cast by Military," and alternate title: "Lenient Review Urged for Votes Cast by Military," New York Times, 20 November 2000, p. 1.
- ²⁸ Russett, "Interview with Senator Joe Lieberman;" and Pérez-Peña, p. 1.
- ²⁹ Offley, "'Tremendous Anger' Over Rejected Military Absentee Ballots."
- ³⁰ Boyer, p. 1.
- ³¹ Hudson, p. 10.
- ³² Scarborough, "Military Delivers Key Votes for Bush," p. 12.
- ³³ U.S. Constitution
- ³⁴ "U.S. Election Concerns Cohen On His Final Persian Gulf Visit," p. 7.
- ³⁵ Samuel F. Wright, Captain, USNR, "Military Personnel Deserve the Right to Vote," Undated; available from <<http://www.roa.org/ballot-milvoteright.html>>; Internet; accessed 21 December 2000.
- ³⁶ Federal Voting Assistance Program (FVAP), "Meet the FVAP," available from <<http://fvap.ncr.gov/fvap.html>>; Internet; accessed 3 December 2000.
- ³⁷ Larry Wheeler and David Tortorano, "Pentagon: No Absentee Ballot Problems," Pensacola News Journal, 16 November 2000; and Samuel F. Wright, "Law Review Number 23: Military Voting Rights," The Officer, March 2001, 52.
- ³⁸ Wheeler and Tortorano, "Pentagon: No Absentee Ballot Problems."
- ³⁹ Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act (UOCAVA), 42 U.S. Code 1973ff, Title 1, (1986).
- ⁴⁰ FVAP, 2000-01 Voting Assistance Guide, 3.
- ⁴¹ FVAP, "Meet the FVAP."
- ⁴² Larry Wheeler, "Military Voters Can Enlist Help Abroad," Pensacola News Journal, 16 November 2000; and Kenneth H. Bacon, "DoD News Briefing," Pentagon, 28 November 2000.
- ⁴³ FVAP, 2000-01 Voting Assistance Guide, 4.

- ⁴⁴ FVAP, "Post Election Survey," available from <<http://www.fvap.ncr.gov/othertools/survey.html>>; Internet; accessed 1 December 2000; and Dave Eberhart, "DoD Warned Overseas Voters About Postmark/Date Requirement," Stars and Stripes Omnimedia, 20 November 2000; available from <<http://ebird.dtic.mil/Nov2000/s20001121rejected.htm>>; Internet; accessed 1 December 2000; and Beth Reinhard, "Election Fever Rises as Requests for Absentee Ballots, Registrations Surge (in Blue-Hair Utopia)," The Miami Herald, 31 October 2000, p. 1.
- ⁴⁵ FVAP, "FVAP's 15th Report to the President and Congress: 1992-1996, Executive Summary," available from <<http://www.fvap.ncr.gov/othertools/15thReport.html>>; Internet; accessed 3 December 2000.
- ⁴⁶ Chuck Vinch, "Stalemate Puts Focus On Absentee Voting Process," Stars and Stripes, 10 November 2000; available from <<http://www.pstripes.com/ed111000f.html>>; Internet; accessed 21 December 2000.
- ⁴⁷ FVAP, "Reminder to U.S. Citizens to Complete the 2000 Post-election Survey," and "U.S. Citizens Encouraged to Complete the 2000 Post-election Survey," 15 and 8 December 2000; available from <<http://www.fvap.ncr.gov/press/2000/09-2000.html>>; Internet; accessed 25 January 2001.
- ⁴⁸ FVAP, "2000 Post-Election Voting Survey of Local Election Officials," OMB No. 0704-0125 (Expires 9/30/2001).
- ⁴⁹ Ibid.
- ⁵⁰ Reinhard, p. 1.
- ⁵¹ Dave Eberhart, "Lost At Sea: Profile of a Military Overseas Voter," Stars and Stripes Omnimedia, 28 November 2000; available from <<http://ebird.dtic.mil/Nov2000/s20001129lost.htm>>; Internet; accessed 1 December 2000.
- ⁵² Samuel F. Wright, Captain, USNR, "Topic Number 3: Military Voting Rights," Undated, available from <<http://www.roa.org/members/lawrev3.html>>; Internet; accessed 21 December 2000.
- ⁵³ Samuel F. Wright, "Military Votes Must Count," Washington Times, 15 December 2000.
- ⁵⁴ Hearing on H.R. 699, the Military Voting Rights Act of 1997, 4 June 1997; available from <http://www.commdocs.house.gov/committees/vets/hvr060497.000/hvr060497_0.htm>; Internet; accessed 15 January 2001.
- ⁵⁵ Wright, "Law Review Number 23: Military Voting Rights," 52.
- ⁵⁶ James P. Lucier, "Voters Caught in the Miami Vice," Insight on the News, 16 March 1998, p. 7; and Paul M. Rodriguez and Jennifer G. Hickey, "Government Blunder Colors Voting Process," Insight on the News, 7 December 1998, p. 6.

⁵⁷ Vinch, Chuck, "Stalemate Puts Focus On Absentee Voting Process;" and Eberhart, "Lost At Sea: Profile of a Military Overseas Voter."

⁵⁸ Hearing on H.R. 699, the Military Voting Rights Act of 1997.

⁵⁹ Robert Pear, "Those Serving in the Military Run Obstacles to Balloting," New York Times, 20 November 2000, p. A18; and Vinch, "Stalemate Puts Focus On Absentee Voting Process," and Dave Moniz and Jessie Halladay, "Election Officials List Reasons for Rejected Ballots," USA Today, 21 November 2000, p. 4.

⁶⁰ Christopher Hitchens, "Our Rigged Elections," Minority Report, 15 November 2000; available from <<http://past.thenation.com/issue/991115/1115hitchens.html>>; Internet; accessed 29 January 2001.

⁶¹ Paul Stone, "DoD to Test Online Absentee Voting," 28 June 1999; available from <http://www.af.mil/news/Jun1999/n19990628_991262.html>; Internet; accessed 3 December 2000; and Robert Gehrke, "Online Absentee Voting Program to be Tested Tuesday;" The Nando Times, 4 Nov 2000; available from <<http://www.nandotimes.com/election2000.html>>; Internet; accessed 15 January 2001; and "Internet Absentee Voting: An Attempt to Help Americans Overseas," Election Results 2000, 8 November 2000; available from <http://www.elections.belointeractive.com/story_newsenators.html>; Internet; accessed 15 January 2001; and Vinch, "Stalemate Puts Focus On Absentee Voting Process;" and Wheeler and Tortorano, "Pentagon: No Absentee Ballot Problems."

⁶² Paul Richter and Eric Bailey, "Pentagon Reacts to Absentee Ballot Outcry," Los Angeles Times, 29 November 2000, p. 6.

⁶³ Pérez-Peña, p. 1.

⁶⁴ Boyer, p. 1.

⁶⁵ Joyce Howard Price, "Military Mail Often Lacks Postmark," The Washington Times, 19 November 2000, p. C4.

⁶⁶ Bill Gertz and Rowan Scarborough, "Inside the Ring: Military Votes," Washington Times, 15 December 2000; and Kelly Matthews (Web Master), "Military Absentee Voting," undated, available from <<http://www.roa.org/ballot.html>>; Internet; accessed 25 November 2000.

⁶⁷ "GOP Lawyers Focus on Military Ballots," The Washington Times, 6 December 2000, p. 13.

⁶⁸ Richter and Bailey, p. 6.

⁶⁹ Bill Gertz and Rowan Scarborough, "Inside the Ring: Pentagon Vote Woes," Washington Times, 1 December 2000; Price, p. C4; and Pear, p. A18; and Moniz and Halladay, p. 4.

⁷⁰ Wright, "Law Review Number 23: Military Voting Rights," 52.

⁷¹ FVAP, "Make Sure Your Voted Ballot Arrives in Time To Be Counted..." Voting Information News, Vol. 10, No. 10, October 2000, p. 1-4:

Alabama, Mississippi, North Carolina	Voted Ballot must arrive by 5:00 pm on 6 Nov 00.
Alaska	Voted Ballot must be postmarked by 7 Nov 00 and sent by mail service equal to first class. Voted Ballots mailed from outside the U.S., including APO and FPO addresses, must be returned by 22 Nov 00. Voted Ballots mailed stateside must be returned by 17 Nov 00.
American Samoa, Connecticut, Hawaii, Kansas, Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, New Mexico, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Vermont, Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming	Voted Ballot must arrive by close of polls on 7 Nov 00.
Arizona, Colorado, Georgia, Nevada, Oklahoma	Voted Ballot must arrive by 7:00 pm on 7 Nov 00.
Arkansas	Voted Ballot must be postmarked by 7 Nov 00 and arrive by 5:00 pm on 17 Nov 00.
California	Voted Ballot must arrive by the close of polls (8:00 pm) on 7 Nov 00.
Delaware	Voted Ballots arriving by Noon on 6 Nov 00 will be counted in their entirety (full ballot). Ballots for Federal offices received after Noon on 6 Nov 00 but before the close of polls on 7 Nov 00 will be counted.
District of Columbia	Voted Ballot must be postmarked by midnight on 7 Nov 00 and arrive by 17 Nov 00.
Florida	Voted Ballot must be received by the close of polls on 7 Nov 00. The federal office portion of a ballot mailed from outside the U.S. will be counted if it is postmarked (or dated) by 7 Nov 00 and received by 17 Nov 00.
Guam, Idaho, Montana, Oregon	Voted Ballot must arrive by 8:00 pm on 7 Nov 00.
Illinois	Voted Ballot must arrive in sufficient time for it to be delivered to polling place by 7:00 pm on 7 Nov 00.
Indiana	Ballot must arrive in sufficient time for it to be delivered to the precinct election board before the close of polls on 7 Nov 00. It is recommended that the ballot be returned by 4 Nov 00.
Iowa	Ballot must be postmarked by 6 Nov 00 and arrive by noon on 13 Nov 00.
Louisiana	Ballot must arrive by 7 Nov 00.
Maryland, Kentucky	Ballot must be postmarked by 6 Nov 00. Ballots mailed from outside the U.S. must be received by 4:00 pm on 17 Nov 00. Ballots mailed stateside must be received by 4:00 pm on 8 Nov 00.

Massachusetts	Ballots mailed from within the U.S. must arrive by 8:00 pm on 7 Nov 00. Ballots mailed from outside the U.S. must be received by the close of polls (8:00 pm) on 7 Nov 00 to be counted in their entirety. The federal office portion of a ballot mailed from outside the U.S. will be counted if it is postmarked by 7 Nov 00 and received by 17 Nov 00.
Missouri	Voted Ballot must arrive before 7:00 pm on 7 Nov 00.
Nebraska	Voted Ballot must be received by 10:00 am on 9 Nov 00.
New Hampshire	Voted Ballot must arrive by 5:00 pm on 7 Nov 00.
New York	Voted Ballot must be postmarked by 6 Nov 00 and be received by 14 Nov 00.
North Dakota	Voted Ballot postmarked by 6 Nov 00. Ballots received before the canvassing board meets will be counted (canvassing board meets from 3-6 days after the election).
Ohio	Voted Ballot must arrive by the close of polls on 7 Nov 00. Ballots mailed from outside the U.S. will be counted if signed and postmarked by the close of polls on 7 Nov 00 and received by 17 Nov 00.
Pennsylvania	Voted Ballot must arrive by 5:00 pm on 3 Nov 00.
Puerto Rico	Voted Ballot must be postmarked by 7 Nov 00 and be received before 3:00 pm on 7 Nov 00.
Rhode Island	Voted Ballot must arrive by 9:00 pm on 7 Nov 00.
Texas	Voted Ballot must be received by the close of polls on 7 Nov 00. Ballots mailed from outside the U.S. will be counted if postmarked by 7:00 pm on 7 Nov 00 and received by 12 Nov 00.
Utah	Voted Ballot must be postmarked by 6 Nov 00 and be received by noon on 13 Nov 00.
Virgin Islands	Voted Ballot must be postmarked by 7 Nov 00 and be received by 17 Nov 00.
Washington State	Voted Ballot must be postmarked by 7 Nov 00 and be received by 22 Nov 00.
West Virginia	Voted Ballot must arrive by the close of polls on 7 Nov 00. However, ballots arriving before the start of canvassing with a U.S. postmark on or before 7 Nov 00 will be counted (start of canvassing is 3 to 5 days after the election).

State/Territory Absentee Balloting and Postmarking Requirements

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Pear, p. A18.

⁷⁶ FVAP, p. 1-4.

⁷⁷ Robert M Stein, "Early Voting," Public Opinion Quarterly, Volume 62, Spring 1998, p. 57-69.

⁷⁸ Eberhart, "DoD Warned Overseas Voters About Postmark/Date Requirement."

- ⁷⁹ Vinch, "Stalemate Puts Focus On Absentee Voting Process."
- ⁸⁰ Scarborough, "Scarborough Demands Investigation of Military Absentee Complaints."
- ⁸¹ Dave Eberhart, "Election May Hinge on Florida's Military Absentee Ballots," Stars and Stripes Omnimedia, 15 November 2000; and Wheeler and Tortorano, "Pentagon: No Absentee Ballot Problems."
- ⁸² Boyer, p. 1.
- ⁸³ Wheeler, "Military Voters Can Enlist Help Abroad;" and Scarborough, "Military Delivers Key Votes for Bush," p. 12.
- ⁸⁴ Jamie Dettmer, "AWOL Military Ballots Cause Controversy," Insight on the News, 11 December 2000, p. 6.
- ⁸⁵ Richter and Bailey, " p. 6.
- ⁸⁶ Pérez-Peña, p. 1.
- ⁸⁷ Eberhart, "DoD Warned Overseas Voters About Postmark/Date Requirement."
- ⁸⁸ Ibid.
- ⁸⁹ Anabelle de Gale, Lila Aruza, and Curtis Morgan, "If the Vote Were Flawless....," Miami Herald, 3 December 2000.
- ⁹⁰ "U.S. Election Concerns Cohen On His Final Persian Gulf Visit," p. 7; and Eberhart, "DoD Warned Overseas Voters About Postmark/Date Requirement;" and Milbank, p. 28; and Offley, "Rejected Military Votes Spark New Furor In Florida Election Count;" and "The War on Military Ballots."
- ⁹¹ Pérez-Peña, p. 1; and Eberhart, "Lost At Sea: Profile of a Military Overseas Voter;" and Richter and Bailey, p. 6; and Jim Garamone, "Cohen Directs IG to Examine Military Absentee Balloting," 29 November 2000; available from <http://www.defenselink.mil/news/Nov2000/n11292000_200011294.html>; Internet; accessed 1 December 2000; and Pear, p. A18; and Rowan Scarborough, "Disqualification of Ballots by Democrats 'Systematic,'" The Washington Times, 21 November 2000, p. 1; and Moniz and Halladay, p. 4.
- ⁹² Richter and Bailey, p. 6.
- ⁹³ Eberhart, "Lost At Sea: Profile of a Military Overseas Voter."
- ⁹⁴ Ibid.
- ⁹⁵ Ibid.
- ⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Scarborough, "Disqualification of Ballots by Democrats 'Systematic,'" p. 1; and Milbank, p. 28; and Offley, "Rejected Military Votes Spark New Furor In Florida Election Count;" and Mark Herron, "Overseas Absentee Ballot Review and Protest," Drudge Report, 15 November 2000; available from <<http://www.freerepublic.com/form/a3a18c3363fbe.htm>>; Internet; accessed 23 January 2001.

⁹⁸ Offley, "'Tremendous Anger' Over Rejected Military Absentee Ballots;" and Boyer, p. 1.

⁹⁹ Scarborough, "Disqualification of Ballots by Democrats 'Systematic,'" p. 1; and Boyer, p. 1.

¹⁰⁰ "GOP Lawyers Focus on Military Ballots," p. 13.

¹⁰¹ Bill Gertz and Rowan Scarborough, "Inside the Ring: Bush's Heroes." Washington Times, 2 February 2001; and Rowan Scarborough, "Daschle Blocks Bill on Military Voting," The Washington Times, 12 December 2000, p. 1; and Scarborough, "Military Delivers Key Votes for Bush," p. 12.

¹⁰² Pear, p. A18; and FVAP, 2000-01 Voting Assistance Guide.

¹⁰³ Dave Zweifel, "Military Tilts Right for Wrong Reasons," Madison (WI) Capital Times, 4 December 2000, p. 8.

¹⁰⁴ Samuel F. Wright, "Military Votes Must Count," Washington Times, 15 December 2000.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Scarborough, "Military Delivers Key Votes for Bush," p. 12.

¹⁰⁷ Hudson, p. 10.

¹⁰⁸ "GOP Lawyers Focus on Military Ballots," p. 13; and Scarborough, "Daschle Blocks Bill on Military Voting," p. 1.

¹⁰⁹ Rowan Scarborough, "Daschle Denies Blocking Bill on Military Voting," The Washington Times, 13 December 2000, p. 1; and "Congress: Muzzling the Military," Florida Times-Union (Jacksonville), 13 December 2000; and Rowan Scarborough, "Democratic Objections Doom Bill on Voting Booths," The Washington Times, 19 December 2000, p. 1.

¹¹⁰ Scarborough, "Scarborough Demands Investigation of Military Absentee Complaints."

¹¹¹ Rowan Scarborough, "Pentagon to Examine Military Balloting," The Washington Times, 29 November 2000, p. 1.

¹¹² Bacon, "DoD News Briefing;" and Garamone, "Cohen Directs IG to Examine Military Absentee Balloting."

¹¹³ Scarborough, "Pentagon to Examine Military Balloting;" and Richter and Bailey, p. 6; and Garamone, "Cohen Directs IG to Examine Military Absentee Balloting;" and Bacon, "DoD News Briefing."

¹¹⁴ Robert F. Dorr, "A Caretaker and a Gentleman: Defense Chief Must Be More," Air Force Times, 18 December 2000, p. 62.

¹¹⁵ Jennifer Harper, "The Hidden Bloc," Washington Times, 15 December 2000.

¹¹⁶ Russett, "Interview with Senator Joe Lieberman."

¹¹⁷ Stone, "DoD to Test Online Absentee Voting;" and Gehrke, "Online Absentee Voting Program to be Tested Tuesday;" and "Internet Absentee Voting: An Attempt to Help Americans Overseas;" and Vinch, "Stalemate Puts Focus On Absentee Voting Process;" and Wheeler and Tortorano, "Pentagon: No Absentee Ballot Problems."

¹¹⁸ Schmidt, p. 1.

¹¹⁹ Offley, "'Tremendous Anger' Over Rejected Military Absentee Ballots."

¹²⁰ Boyer, p. 1; and Hudson, p. 10.

¹²¹ Hudson, p. 10.

¹²² Jennings, "Military Ballot Controversy;" and Scarborough, "Pentagon to Examine Military Balloting," p. 1.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Associated Press. "U.S. Election Concerns Cohen On His Final Persian Gulf Visit." European Stars and Stripes, 20 November 2000, p.7.
- Bacon, Kenneth H. "DoD News Briefing." Pentagon, 28 November 2000.
- Boyer, Dave. "Republican Hope Fades for Military Vote Tally." The Washington Times, 22 November 2000, p.1.
- "Congress: Muzzling the Military." Florida Times-Union (Jacksonville), 13 December 2000.
- de Gale, Anabelle, Lila Aruza, and Curtis Morgan. "If the Vote Were Flawless..." Miami Herald, 3 December 2000.
- Dettmer, Jamie. "AWOL Military Ballots Cause Controversy." Insight on the News, 11 December 2000, p.6.
- Dorr, Robert F. "A Caretaker and a Gentleman: Defense Chief Must Be More." Air Force Times, 18 December 2000, p.62.
- Eberhart, Dave. "DoD Warned Overseas Voters About Postmark/Date Requirement." Stars and Stripes Omnimedia, 20 November 2000. Available from <<http://ebird.dtic.mil/Nov2000/s20001121rejected.htm>>. Internet. Accessed 1 December 2000.
- _____. "Election May Hinge on Florida's Military Absentee Ballots." Stars and Stripes Omnimedia, 15 November 2000.
- _____. "Lost At Sea: Profile of a Military Overseas Voter." Stars and Stripes Omnimedia, 28 November 2000. Available from <<http://ebird.dtic.mil/Nov2000/s20001129lost.htm>>. Internet. Accessed 1 December 2000.
- Federal Voting Assistance Program. "2000 Post-Election Voting Survey of Local Election Officials." OMB No. 0704-0125 (Expires 9/30/2001).
- Federal Voting Assistance Program. 2000-01 Voting Assistance Guide.
- Federal Voting Assistance Program. "FVAP's 15th Report to the President and Congress: 1992-1996, Executive Summary." Available from <<http://www.fvap.ncr.gov/othertools/15thReport.html>>. Internet. Accessed 3 December 2000.
- Federal Voting Assistance Program. "Make Sure Your Voted Ballot Arrives in Time To Be Counted..." Voting Information News, Vol. 10, No. 10, October 2000, p.1-4.
- Federal Voting Assistance Program. "Meet the FVAP." Available from <<http://fvap.ncr.gov/fvap.html>>. Internet. Accessed 3 December 2000.
- Federal Voting Assistance Program. "Post Election Survey." Available from <<http://www.fvap.ncr.gov/othertools/survey.html>>. Internet. Accessed 1 December 2000.

- Federal Voting Assistance Program. "Reminder to U.S. Citizens to Complete the 2000 Post-election Survey." and "U.S. Citizens Encouraged to Complete the 2000 Post-election Survey." 15 and 8 December 2000. Available from <<http://www.fvap.ncr.gov/press/2000/09-2000.html>> Internet. Accessed 25 January 2001.
- Garamone, Jim. "Cohen Directs IG to Examine Military Absentee Balloting." 29 November 2000. Available from http://www.defenselink.mil/news/Nov2000/n11292000_200011294.html. Internet; Accessed 1 December 2000.
- Gehrke, Robert. "Online Absentee Voting Program to be Tested Tuesday." The Nando Times, 4 Nov 2000. Available from <<http://www.nandotimes.com/election2000.html>>. Internet. Accessed 15 January 2001.
- Gertz, Bill, and Rowan Scarborough. "Inside the Ring: Bush's Heroes." Washington Times, 2 February 2001.
- _____. "Inside the Ring: Military Votes." Washington Times, 15 December 2000.
- _____. "Inside the Ring: Pentagon Vote Woes." Washington Times, 1 December 2000.
- "GOP Lawyers Focus on Military Ballots." The Washington Times, 6 December 2000, p.13.
- "GOP Launches New Campaign to Count Military Absentees." NBC Nightly News, NBC TV, 25 November 2000.
- Harper, Jennifer. "The Hidden Bloc." Washington Times, 15 December 2000.
- Hearing on H.R. 699, the Military Voting Rights Act of 1997, 4 June 1997. Available from <http://www.commdocs.house.gov/committees/vets/hvr060497.000/hvr060497_0.htm>. Internet. Accessed 15 January 2001.
- Herron, Mark. "Overseas Absentee Ballot Review and Protest." Drudge Report, 15 November 2000. Available from <<http://www.freerepublic.com/form/a3a18c3363f3be.htm>>. Internet. Accessed 23 January 2001.
- Hitchens, Christopher. "Our Rigged Elections." Minority Report, 15 November 2000. Available from <<http://past.thenation.com/issue/991115/1115hitchens.shtml>>. Internet. Accessed 29 January 2001.
- Holsti, Ole R., "A Widening Gap between the U.S. Military and Civilian Society? Some Evidence, 1976-96," International Security, Winter 1998/99, Vol 23, No 3.
- Hudson, Audrey. "Military Ballot Hearings Sought." The Washington Times, 8 December 2000, p.10.
- Huntington, Samuel P. American Politics: the Promise of Dishonor. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1981.

Huntington, Samuel P. The Soldier and The State. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1957.

"Internet Absentee Voting: An Attempt to Help Americans Overseas." Election Results 2000, 8 November 2000. Available from <http://www.elections.belointeractive.com/story_newsenators.html>. Internet. Accessed 15 January 2001.

Janowitz, Morris. The Professional Soldier: A Social and Political Portrait. New York: The Free Press, 1960.

Jennings, Peter. "Military Ballot Controversy." ABC World Tonight, ABC TV, 21 November 2000.

Lucier, James P. "Voters Caught in the Miami Vice." Insight on the News, 16 March 1998, p.7.

Matthews, Kelly (Web Master). "Military Absentee Voting." Undated. Available from <<http://www.roa.org/ballot.html>>. Internet. Accessed 25 November 2000.

Milbank, Dana. "Bush Sues 13 Counties Over Ballots of Military." Washington Post, 23 November 2000, p.28.

The Military Coalition. The Military Coalition website. Available from <<http://www.themilitarycoalition.org/>>. Internet. Accessed 9 March 2001.

Moniz, Dave and Jessie Halladay. "Election Officials List Reasons for Rejected Ballots." USA Today, 21 November 2000, p.4.

Offley, Ed. "Rejected Military Votes Spark New Furor In Florida Election Count." Stars and Stripes Omnimedia, 20 November 2000. Available from <http://ebird.dtic.mil/Nov2000/s20001121rejected.htm>. Internet. Accessed 1 December 2000.

_____. "'Tremendous Anger' Over Rejected Military Absentee Ballots." Stars and Stripes Omnimedia, 28 November 2000. Available from <<http://ebird.dtic.mil/Nov2000/s20001129tremendous.htm>>. Internet. Accessed 1 December 2000.

National Military Strategy of the United States of America. Office of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1997.

Pérez-Peña, Richard. "A Second Look Urged for Votes Cast by Military." and alternate title: "Lenient Review Urged for Votes Cast by Military." New York Times, 20 November 2000, p.1.

Pear, Robert. "Those Serving in the Military Run Obstacles to Balloting." New York Times, 20 November 2000, p.A18.

Price, Joyce Howard. "Military Mail Often Lacks Postmark." The Washington Times, 19 November 2000, p.C4.

- "Project on the Gap Between Military and Civilian Society: Digest of Findings and Studies." Durham NC, Duke University: Triangle Institute for Security Studies, p. 186-198.
- Reinhard, Beth. "Election Fever Rises as Requests for Absentee Ballots, Registrations Surge (in Blue-Hair Utopia)." The Miami Herald, 31 October 2000, p.1.
- Richter, Paul, and Eric Bailey. "Pentagon Reacts to Absentee Ballot Outcry." Los Angeles Times, 29 November 2000, p.6.
- Ricks, Thomas E. "The Widening Gap between the Military and Society." Atlantic Monthly, July 1997, p.67-78.
- Rodriguez, Paul M., and Jennifer G. Hickey. "Government Blunder Colors Voting Process." Insight on the News, 7 December 1998, p.6.
- Russett, Tim. "Interview with Senator Joe Lieberman." NBC News' Meet The Press, NBC TV, 19 November 2000. Transcript available from <<http://www.msnbc.com/news/492416.asp?cp1=1>>. Internet. Accessed 3 December 2000.
- Scarborough, Joe. "Scarborough Demands Investigation of Military Absentee Complaints." 8 November 2000. Available from <<http://www.freerepublic.com/forum/a3a0e163d4a37.htm>>. Internet. Accessed 21 December 2000.
- Scarborough, Rowan. "Daschle Blocks Bill on Military Voting." The Washington Times, 12 December 2000, p.1.
- _____. "Daschle Denies Blocking Bill on Military Voting." The Washington Times, 13 December 2000, p.1.
- _____. "Democratic Objections Doom Bill on Voting Booths." The Washington Times, 19 December 2000, p.1.
- _____. "Disqualification of Ballots by Democrats 'Systematic'." The Washington Times, 21 November 2000, p.1.
- _____. "Military Delivers Key Votes for Bush." The Washington Times, 4 December 2000, p.12.
- _____. "Pentagon to Examine Military Balloting." The Washington Times, 29 November 2000, p.1.
- Schmidt, Susan. "Military Ballot Review Is Urged." Washington Post, 21 November 2000, p.1.
- Stein, Robert M. "Early Voting." Public Opinion Quarterly, Volume 62, Spring 1998, p. 57-69.
- Stone, Paul. "DoD to Test Online Absentee Voting." 28 June 1999. Available from <http://www.af.mil/news/Jun1999/n19990628_991262.html>. Internet. Accessed 3 December 2000.

Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act (UOCAVA), 42 U.S. Code 1973ff, Title 1, (1986).

U.S. Constitution

Vinch, Chuck. "Stalemate Puts Focus On Absentee Voting Process." Stars and Stripes. 10 November 2000. Available from <<http://www.pstripes.com/ed111000f.html>>. Internet. Accessed 21 December 2000.

Wakin, Malham M. War, Morality, and the Military Profession. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1979.

"The War on Military Ballots." Washington Times. 20 November 2000.

Warner, Margaret. "Republicans Protest Withholding Military Votes." and "Bush Continues Push for Military Ballot Recounts." News Hour with Jim Lehrer, PBS TV, 24 November 2000.

Wheeler, Larry. "Military Voters Can Enlist Help Abroad." Pensacola News Journal, 16 November 2000.

Wheeler, Larry, and David Tortorano. "Pentagon: No Absentee Ballot Problems." Pensacola News Journal, 16 November 2000.

Wright, Samuel F., Captain, USNR. "Law Review Number 23: Military Voting Rights." The Officer. March 2001, 52-57.

_____. "Military Votes Must Count." Washington Times, 15 December 2000.

_____. "Military Personnel Deserve the Right to Vote." Undated. Available from <<http://www.roa.org/ballot-milvoteright.html>>. Internet. Accessed 21 December 2000.

_____. "Topic Number 3: Military Voting Rights." Undated. Available from <<http://www.roa.org/members/lawrev3.html>>. Internet. Accessed 21 December 2000.

Zweifel, Dave. "Military Tilts Right for Wrong Reasons." Madison (WI) Capital Times, 4 December 2000, p.8.