

# Exhibit L

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
FOR THE DISTRICT OF NEW JERSEY

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE, *et al.*

Plaintiffs,

v.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE, *et al.*

Defendants.

Civil Action No.: 81-3876

Judge John Michael Vazquez

DECLARATION OF ROBERT A. GLEASON JR.

Pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1746, I, Robert A. Gleason Jr., declare as follows:

1. My name is Robert A. Gleason Jr. I am over the age of 18, have personal knowledge of the facts stated in this declaration, and can competently testify to their truth.
2. I am a U.S. citizen and the Chairman of the Republican Party of Pennsylvania ("Pennsylvania GOP"), and have served in this position since June 2006.
3. Under Rules 1(a) and 3(b) of the Republican National Committee ("RNC"), by virtue of my position as Chairman of the Pennsylvania GOP, I am also a member of the RNC. As explained by RNC General Counsel John Ryder in his email dated October 19, 2016, RNC members are not "agents" of the RNC, especially in terms of authorizing or carrying out ballot security or voter fraud prevention activities. A true and correct copy of Mr. Ryder's e-mail to me and other RNC members is attached as Exhibit A.

November 2, 2016  
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4. Other than communications related directly to this declaration, the Pennsylvania GOP has not had any communications with the RNC regarding poll watching for this election, nor has the RNC provided any financial or personnel resources to the Pennsylvania GOP, county, or local parties designated for poll watching in the state.

5. On October 22, 2016, I was quoted in a *Washington Post* article regarding a lawsuit filed by the Pennsylvania GOP challenging the constitutionality of a Pennsylvania state law concerning poll watching for this election. As the article itself notes, I made the comment in my capacity as Chairman of the Pennsylvania GOP. I did not make the comment on behalf of the RNC. My comments in no way indicate the RNC's intent to participate in poll watching or involvement in the lawsuit, nor did I intend my comments to be construed in such a way. A true and correct copy of the *Washington Post* article (*Pennsylvania Republicans sue to allow poll watchers to cross county lines*) dated October 22, 2016 is attached as Exhibit B.

6. To the extent that the Pennsylvania GOP has been involved with any poll watching, it has been without the participation or assistance of the RNC.

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true.

Executed on November 2, 2016.

  
Robert A. Gleason Jr.

# Exhibit A

**Tabas, Lawrence**

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**From:** John Ryder - General Counsel <JRyder@gop.com>  
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 19, 2016 4:07 PM  
**To:** John Ryder - General Counsel  
**Cc:** RNC Counsel  
**Subject:** Important Message from John Ryder, General Counsel

RNC Members,

Please take a few minutes to read this important information. With early and absentee voting under way and Election Day approaching, I wanted to remind you of the restrictions placed on the RNC by the consent decree in the case *Democratic National Committee v. Republican National Committee*.

*The Consent Decree prohibits the RNC – or anyone acting on the RNC's behalf – from engaging in “ballot security” activity, which includes, but is not limited to, efforts to prevent or remedy vote fraud, unless advance notice is given to the DNC and the U.S. District Court that enforces the Consent Decree grants permission.*

The effect is that **no RNC employees or RNC members acting in their capacity as members may engage in any way** with certain Election Day and pre-Election Day activities. Examples of things you are prohibited from doing in your role as an RNC member include:

- Preparing challenge lists
- Poll watching
- Recruiting or training poll watchers
- Making contact with voters at the polls
- Taking pictures or recording video at poll sites
- Informing potential voters that vote fraud is a crime
- Assisting, training or advising others who are participating in any of these activities
- Recruiting others to participate any of these activities

The prohibition on the RNC's involvement in these activities also means that no RNC resources may be used for these activities, and that you may not use your RNC title, letterhead, business cards, or other indicia of RNC membership in connection with these activities.

*If the RNC is found to violate the Consent Decree, its provisions will extend for another eight years. Currently, it is set to expire in December 17, and I ask your full cooperation in making sure that it is not extended.*

Given the seriousness of the Consent Decree and the severe consequences of a violation, you are encouraged not to engage in “ballot security” activities even in your personal, state party, or campaign capacity. If you elect to do so, please be aware that the RNC in no way sanctions your activity. You are not an agent of the RNC for any such purpose.

Adherence to the Consent Decree is of the utmost importance. If you have questions, please do not hesitate to ask.

Best regards,

John Ryder

General Counsel

# Exhibit B

Post Politics

# Pennsylvania Republicans sue to allow poll watchers to cross county lines

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By David Weigel October 22

Stymied in their efforts to pass a bill allowing more freedom to Election Day poll watchers, Pennsylvania Republicans have filed a lawsuit, arguing that their activists have First and 14th Amendment rights to watch polls anywhere.

“Republicans are not a majority of registered voters in any ward in Philadelphia County,” the Republicans said in the lawsuit. “As a result of the Commonwealth's arbitrary restriction on poll watchers, candidates, political parties and political bodies are unjustifiably burdened in their attempts to locate available, qualified registered electors who can serve as poll watchers.”

The lawsuit, which comes as Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump makes several campaign stops in the battle for the commonwealth, claims that Democrats are also disadvantaged by current laws that restrict volunteer poll watchers to the counties they live in. But Democrats, who have won every presidential election in the state since 1992, have not raised serious doubts about their Election Day operations in deep red counties.

The loudest complaints about the poll-watcher system have come from Republicans, who have said for years that potential voter fraud in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania's largest city, was making the state unwinnable.

“You want me to tell you the election in Philadelphia and Chicago is going to be fair?” said Rudolph W. Giuliani, a Trump surrogate who has suggested that Democrats will fraudulently get voters to drive around the city and cast multiple ballots, after this week's presidential debate. “I would have to be a moron to say that.”

Egged on by Trump, Pennsylvania Republicans have encouraged members to become poll watchers, allowing them to challenge the credentials of any voters in their jurisdiction. In an interview two months ago, when Trump first floated the idea that vote-rigging in Philadelphia would steal Pennsylvania away from him, state GOP chairman Rob Gleason said that Republicans were credentialing more poll watchers in the city than ever before.

But Republicans, badly outnumbered in the Philadelphia, are seeking a way to bring poll watchers in from the suburbs. In the lawsuit, they point to the fact that every congressional district spills into multiple counties to argue that the home-county rule



“arbitrarily and unreasonably distinguishes between voters within the same electoral district by allowing some, but not others, to serve as poll watchers.”

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Pennsylvania Democrats responded to the lawsuit this morning, with Pennsylvania Democratic Party Chairman Marcel L. Groen calling it a "publicity stunt" that would be "found unconstitutional" in short order.

“This is just another way for the Republicans to avoid talking about issues," said Groen. "Pennsylvanians must know that their sacred right to vote will be defended; more people will vote in this election than any in our history, and we expect it to be easier than ever for Pennsylvanians to cast their ballots on November 8. For the Pennsylvania Republicans to take their nominee's conspiracy theories and thinly veiled racism to heart by trying to change the law two weeks from Election Day shows just how unfit they are to lead.”

Rick Hasen, a University of California at Irvine law professor who watches election rules, said that the lawsuit looked like “weak tea.” In a blog post, [he explained that](#) the lawsuit — which presents the problem as one of equal protection, not of immediate fraud — comes too late and doesn't suggest a compelling interest. (That Republicans have introduced a bill on the poll watcher issue is cited, in the lawsuit, as a proof that a need is there.)

“I cannot see how this severely burdens voters’ rights,” Hasen wrote, “and nothing in the complaint demonstrates that it does. I don’t think the federal arguments have much of a chance of going anywhere.”

If it doesn't, Republicans who don't live in Philadelphia will not be able to challenge voters at the city's 1,000-plus precincts. But in 2008, after a highly publicized backlash to the community organizing group ACORN filing bogus voter registrations, conservative activists had little problem traveling around polling places to publicize potential issues. Mike Roman, who is helping the Trump campaign build an election-watching program, tweeted a reminder this week of the 2008 poll watchers' biggest coup — a video of two New Black Panther Party activists skulking outside a heavily Democratic precinct. That video ran around the clock on Fox News and led to a years-long investigation and several legal actions.

David Weigel is a national political correspondent covering the 2016 election and ideological movements.

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