

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
WESTERN DISTRICT OF MISSOURI
CENTRAL DIVISION

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U.S. DISTRICT COURT
WESTERN DISTRICT OF MISSOURI
CENTRAL DIVISION

Constance [REDACTED] Kramer,

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Plaintiff,

v.

Case No. _____

Denny Hoskins, in his official capacity
as Secretary of State of Missouri,
Office of the Secretary of State
600 W. Main Street
Jefferson City, Missouri 65101

Defendant.

VERIFIED COMPLAINT FOR DECLARATORY AND INJUNCTIVE RELIEF

(42 U.S.C. § 1983 – Violation of HAVA Title III Rights; Procedural Due Process;
First Amendment Petition Clause)

INTRODUCTION

1. Plaintiff brings this action to set aside and enjoin the Missouri Secretary of State's unlawful refusal to accept and adjudicate her notarized HAVA Title III complaint. The Secretary dismissed the filing for "loss of jurisdiction," asserting a 30-day post-certification deadline and falsely claiming Plaintiff failed to provide the name and address of the violator. Both grounds are unlawful, the second is factually incorrect, and together they deny Plaintiff her federal statutory right to enforce HAVA § 303's mandate that Missouri maintain a single, official statewide voter registration list.

2. Plaintiff seeks (i) a declaration that the Secretary's as-applied 30-day bar and dismissal conflict with HAVA's administrative-complaint framework and are preempted; (ii) a mandatory injunction compelling the Secretary to accept, docket, and adjudicate Plaintiff's HAVA complaint on the record and to issue a final determination within HAVA's 90-day timeframe; and (iii) preservation orders for relevant statewide MCVR data pending resolution.

3. All references to the Help America Vote Act of 2002 ("HAVA") in this Complaint cite to Title 52 of the United States Code, where HAVA is currently codified. HAVA was originally enacted as Public Law 107-252 and was initially codified at 42 U.S.C. §§ 15301 et seq., but has been recodified to 52 U.S.C. §§ 20901 et seq.

JURISDICTION AND VENUE

4. This action arises under the Constitution and laws of the United States, including the Supremacy Clause (U.S. Const. art. VI, cl. 2), 42 U.S.C. § 1983, and 52 U.S.C. § 21083 (HAVA § 303). This Court has jurisdiction under 28 U.S.C. §§ 1331, 1343(a)(3)–(4), and 2201–2202.

5. Venue is proper in the Western District of Missouri because Defendant resides and performs official duties in Jefferson City, Missouri, and the events at issue occurred here. 28 U.S.C. § 1391(b).

PARTIES

6. Plaintiff Constance ("Connie") Kramer is a registered Missouri voter and taxpayer who participates in federal elections. She voted in the November 2024 federal general election and intends to vote in both the August 2026 federal primary election and the November 2026 federal

general election. She filed a notarized HAVA Title III administrative complaint with the Missouri Secretary of State on October 14, 2025, and requested an on-the-record hearing with a 90-day determination as provided by 52 U.S.C. § 21112(a)(2).

7. Defendant Denny Hoskins is the Secretary of State of Missouri. He is sued in his official capacity for prospective relief under *Ex parte Young*, 209 U.S. 123 (1908).

LEGAL BACKGROUND

8. HAVA Title III § 303 requires Missouri to maintain a single, uniform, official, centralized statewide voter-registration list as the official list for all federal elections. 52 U.S.C. § 21083(a)(1)(A)–(B). This provision creates individual federal rights enforceable under 42 U.S.C. § 1983. *Colón-Marrero v. Conty-Perez*, 813 F.3d 1, 14–22 (1st Cir. 2016); *Sandusky County Democratic Party v. Blackwell*, 387 F.3d 565, 573 (6th Cir. 2004).

9. HAVA § 402, codified at 52 U.S.C. § 21112, requires states to provide an administrative complaint procedure under which any person who believes a violation "has occurred, is occurring, or is about to occur" may file a notarized complaint, obtain a hearing on the record upon request, and receive a final determination within 90 days of filing (absent an agreed extension). 52 U.S.C. § 21112(a)(2)(B)–(D).

10. The term "person" under HAVA § 402 encompasses natural persons such as Plaintiff, a registered Missouri voter. 52 U.S.C. § 21112(a)(2)(B). As a "person" within the plain meaning of § 402, Plaintiff has standing to seek enforcement of HAVA's requirements through both the administrative complaint process and this § 1983 action.

FACTUAL ALLEGATIONS

A. Plaintiff's Participation in Federal Elections and Concrete Injury

11. Plaintiff is a registered voter in St. Louis, Missouri. She cast her ballot in the November 5, 2024 federal general election at her designated polling place in St. Louis.

12. Plaintiff also voted in the November 2022 federal general election and intends to vote in both the August 2026 federal primary election and the November 2026 federal general election.

13. Plaintiff's vote in the November 2024 federal election is recorded in Missouri's statewide computerized voter registration database, the Missouri Centralized Voter Registration system ("MCVR"), which is maintained by the Missouri Secretary of State pursuant to HAVA § 303. 52 U.S.C. § 21083(a)(1).

14. Based on official state and federal reports showing irreconcilable discrepancies among voter turnout numbers, Plaintiff cannot verify that her vote was accurately recorded and counted in the official election results. When three different "official" sources report three materially different totals for the same election, no single official list exists, and individual voters - including Plaintiff - cannot confirm their votes were properly counted in the official tally.

15. Specifically, three authoritative sources report three different totals for voter turnout in the November 2024 federal general election:

a. The U.S. Election Assistance Commission ("EAC") Election Administration and Voting Survey ("EAVS") reports Missouri's "Total Voter Turnout" as 3,126,837 for the November 2024 general election (published June 30, 2025);

b. The Missouri Secretary of State's official certified results webpage reports "Total Votes" of 2,995,327 for the November 2024 general election (announced December 5, 2024); and

c. The MCVR system records 3,022,817 voters as having "voted" in the November 2024 general election (based on post-election snapshot and voter history data).

16. These three numbers differ by 131,510 votes (EAC vs. SOS), 104,020 votes (EAC vs. MCVR), and 27,490 votes (SOS vs. MCVR). Because these three "official" sources cannot all be correct, one or more of these official tallies is necessarily inaccurate. Because Plaintiff's vote is part of the dataset reflected in these conflicting numbers, she cannot confirm whether her vote was properly counted in the official results.

17. The same pattern of irreconcilable discrepancies exists for the November 2022 federal general election, in which Plaintiff also voted:

a. The EAC EAVS reports Missouri's "Total Votes" as 2,304,250 for November 2022 (published June 2023);

b. The Missouri Secretary of State's official certified results report "Total Votes" of 2,069,130 for November 2022 (announced December 9, 2022); and

c. The MCVR system records 2,022,368 voters as having voted in November 2022 (based on voter history data from the three-month post-election upload window allowed under Missouri law).

18. These 2022 figures show differences of 235,120 votes (EAC vs. SOS), 281,882 votes (EAC vs. MCVR), and 46,762 votes (SOS vs. MCVR). The pattern of systemic discrepancies across multiple federal election cycles demonstrates an ongoing structural failure, not isolated errors.

19. These systemic discrepancies violate HAVA § 303's requirement that Missouri maintain "a single, uniform, official, centralized, interactive computerized statewide voter registration list" that serves as "the official voter registration list for the conduct of all elections for Federal office in the State." 52 U.S.C. § 21083(a)(1)(A)(i), (B). When the official list (MCVR), the official certified results (SOS), and the official federal report (EAC) do not reconcile by over 100,000 votes, there is no "single" official list as required by federal law.

20. As a registered Missouri voter whose votes in the 2022 and 2024 federal elections are recorded in this defective system, Plaintiff has a concrete and particularized interest in ensuring that Missouri complies with § 303. The ongoing database integrity failures directly affect Plaintiff by preventing her from verifying that her vote counted, undermining her confidence in the integrity of Missouri's election system, and threatening the same problems in the upcoming federal elections in 2026.

21. The defect is structural and continuing. Unless corrected, the same § 303 violation that affected Plaintiff's ability to verify her 2022 and 2024 votes will recur in the August 2026 primary and November 2026 general election, when Plaintiff intends to vote. The HAVA § 402 administrative complaint process is the federal mechanism Congress provided to obtain timely correction of such ongoing violations before the next federal election cycle.

B. Plaintiff's HAVA Administrative Complaint

22. On October 14, 2025, Plaintiff filed a sworn and notarized Title III HAVA Elections Complaint Form with the Missouri Secretary of State's Elections Division. The complaint alleged that Missouri is not maintaining a single, official, centralized statewide voter-registration list as required by 52 U.S.C. § 21083(a)(1)(A)–(B), because official state and federal datasets for the same federal elections do not reconcile.

23. Plaintiff's complaint expressly identified the Respondent on page 3 of the complaint form as: "Missouri Secretary of State – Elections Division, 600 W. Main Street, Jefferson City, MO 65101." It is public knowledge that Denny Hoskins is the Secretary of State of Missouri. The complaint thus identified both the office and its location with specificity.

24. Plaintiff's filing included specific statewide numbers showing the internal inconsistencies among (i) the EAC EAVS report, (ii) the Secretary of State's official certified results, and (iii) the MCVR "voters who voted" counts, as described in ¶¶ 14–18 above. The complaint was supported by exhibits including:

- a. Exhibit A – EAC 2024 EAVS "at-a-Glance" table (statewide Total Voter Turnout: 3,126,837; published June 30, 2025);
- b. Exhibit B – Missouri SOS 2024 Official Results page (statewide "Total Votes": 2,995,327; announced December 5, 2024);
- c. Exhibit C – Missouri 2024 General Election Validity Scorecard showing MCVR statewide voters who voted: 3,022,817;
- d. Exhibit D – MCVR 2024 data files with snapshot deltas showing backdated changes;

e. Exhibit E – EAC 2022 EAVS table (statewide "Total Votes": 2,304,250; published June 2023);

f. Exhibit F – Missouri SOS 2022 Official Results page (statewide "Total Votes": 2,069,130; announced December 9, 2022);

g. Exhibit G – Missouri 2022 General Election Validity Scorecard; and

h. Exhibit H – Missouri 2022 General Election voter history data (statewide voters who voted: 2,022,368); and

i. Exhibit I – Affidavit from data analyst Daniel Hume documenting MCVR extraction methodology and vote-history totals.

25. Plaintiff alleged in her administrative complaint that this § 303 violation is ongoing and prospective—that is, the violation "is occurring" and "is about to occur" within the meaning of 52 U.S.C. § 21112(a)(2)(B). Plaintiff sought remedies to ensure compliance before the 2026 federal primary and general elections.

26. Plaintiff specifically objected in her administrative complaint to Missouri's self-imposed 30-day post-certification filing limit. Plaintiff noted that this limit is impossible to satisfy for data-grounded complaints because the official EAC EAVS data necessary to document the § 303 violation was not published until June 30, 2025—more than six months after the December 2024 certification of Missouri's election results. HAVA § 402 expressly permits complaints alleging violations that "are occurring" or "are about to occur," which by their nature cannot be tied to a past certification date. 52 U.S.C. § 21112(a)(2)(B).

27. Plaintiff requested an on-the-record hearing as provided by 52 U.S.C. § 21112(a)(2)(D) and a final determination within 90 days of filing as required by § 21112(a)(2)(C).

C. The Secretary's Unlawful Dismissal

28. On October 20, 2025, the Secretary of State, through the Elections Division, dismissed Plaintiff's administrative complaint in a one-page letter. The dismissal asserted "loss of jurisdiction" on two grounds:

a. The complaint was not filed "within 30 days of the certification of the election in which the alleged violation occurred" as required by 15 CSR 30-12.010; and

b. Plaintiff failed to "provide the name and address of the person or persons alleged to have committed the violation" of Title III of HAVA.

29. The dismissal letter stated: "The regulation explicitly states that complaints must be filed within 30 days of certification of the election and provide the names and addresses of the person or persons alleged to have committed the violation. Also, the regulation provides no mechanism for the Secretary of State to waive these requirements. As a result of these shortcomings this complaint is dismissed due to loss of jurisdiction."

30. The Secretary's assertion that Plaintiff failed to provide the name and address of the alleged violator is factually false. Page 3 of Plaintiff's administrative complaint expressly identifies the Respondent as "Missouri Secretary of State – Elections Division, 600 W. Main Street, Jefferson City, MO 65101." This information appears on the face of the complaint form in the designated "Respondent" section.

31. Moreover, the alleged violation—failure to maintain a single, official, centralized statewide voter registration list as required by 52 U.S.C. § 21083(a)(1)—is a systemic database integrity failure for which the Missouri Secretary of State is directly responsible under HAVA § 303. The Secretary is the state official charged with maintaining the MCVR as Missouri's official statewide voter registration list. The dismissal's assertion that Plaintiff failed to identify the violator is not only factually incorrect but legally nonsensical.

32. The Secretary's application of a 30-day post-certification deadline to a complaint alleging a violation that "is occurring" and "is about to occur," and that necessarily relies on official datasets released months after certification, directly conflicts with HAVA § 402's administrative-complaint design.

33. HAVA § 402 requires states to provide a complaint procedure for violations that "have occurred, are occurring, or are about to occur." 52 U.S.C. § 21112(a)(2)(B). The Secretary's own dismissal letter quotes this language but then enforces a post-certification deadline that makes no sense for ongoing or prospective violations. If a violation "is occurring" (e.g., continuing failure to maintain a single authoritative list across multiple federal election cycles), or "is about to occur" (in the 2026 federal elections), there is no past certification date that can trigger a 30-day filing clock.

34. Furthermore, the 30-day post-certification bar operates as an obstacle to HAVA's remedial scheme because it forecloses Title III complaints based on official federal data that is published months after state certification. The EAC EAVS data for the November 2024 election was published on June 30, 2025 - more than six months after Missouri certified its election results in early December 2024. A complainant seeking to document discrepancies between state and

federal official data - as required to show a § 303 violation - cannot possibly satisfy a 30-day post-certification filing deadline when the comparison data does not exist until months later.

35. HAVA § 402 requires states to provide an on-the-record hearing upon request and a final determination within 90 days of filing. 52 U.S.C. § 21112(a)(2)(C)–(D). By refusing to docket and adjudicate Plaintiff's complaint on the record, the Secretary deprived Plaintiff of the process HAVA mandates and denied her the statutory path to remedies directed at future federal elections.

D. Standing and Concrete Injury

36. Plaintiff is a registered Missouri voter who voted in the November 2022 and November 2024 federal elections, and who will vote in the August 2026 federal primary and November 2026 federal general election. She invoked HAVA § 402's administrative complaint process by filing a sworn, notarized complaint on October 14, 2025, and requesting an on-the-record hearing and a final determination within 90 days.

37. The Secretary refused to provide that process, citing a 30-day post-certification bar under state regulation 15 CSR 30-12.010 and falsely claiming the complaint lacked the violator's name and address. The denial of the § 402 hearing and determination is a concrete procedural injury that directly impairs Plaintiff's ability to obtain timely remedies to protect the integrity of her vote before the 2026 federal elections.

38. The injury is fairly traceable to the Secretary's October 20, 2025 dismissal. But for the Secretary's refusal to accept and adjudicate the complaint, Plaintiff would have access to the hearing, investigation, and determination process that HAVA mandates, including the ability to

request preservation of critical MCVR data and to obtain findings and remedial orders before the 2026 election cycle.

39. The injury is redressable by an order from this Court compelling the Secretary to accept, docket, and adjudicate Plaintiff's administrative complaint on the record; to schedule a prompt hearing; and to issue a final determination within 90 days. Such relief would restore Plaintiff's access to the § 402 process and provide a pathway to remediate the database integrity failures before the August 2026 primary election.

40. Plaintiff's interest is particularized to her as an individual voter. She is recorded in the MCVR as a voter who cast ballots in the 2022 and 2024 federal elections. Her individual votes are part of the dataset that produced irreconcilable discrepancies of over 100,000 votes among three "official" sources. She will be subject to the same defective system when she votes in 2026 unless the § 303 violation is corrected. The Secretary's refusal to provide the § 402 process prevents the investigation, reconciliation, and preservation steps necessary to protect the integrity and verifiability of her vote in the next federal cycle.

41. These injuries are redressable by this Court. An order compelling the Secretary to accept and adjudicate Plaintiff's administrative complaint would restore Plaintiff's access to the § 402 process, enable vindication of her § 303 rights, and provide a pathway to remediate the database integrity failures before the 2026 federal elections commence.

CLAIMS FOR RELIEF

COUNT I 42 U.S.C. § 1983 – Violation of HAVA Title III Rights

(Supremacy Clause / Ex parte Young)

42. Plaintiff realleges and incorporates by reference ¶¶ 1–40.

43. HAVA § 303 creates individual federal rights enforceable under 42 U.S.C. § 1983. *Colón-Marrero v. Conty-Perez*, 813 F.3d 1, 14–22 (1st Cir. 2016) (holding that HAVA § 303's requirement of a centralized statewide voter registration list creates individual rights enforceable under § 1983); *Sandusky County Democratic Party v. Blackwell*, 387 F.3d 565, 573 (6th Cir. 2004) (recognizing implied right of action under HAVA Title III).

44. Section 303 requires Missouri to maintain "a single, uniform, official, centralized, interactive computerized statewide voter registration list" that serves as "the official voter registration list for the conduct of all elections for Federal office in the State." 52 U.S.C. § 21083(a)(1)(A)(i), (B).

45. This provision satisfies the three-part test under *Blessing v. Freestone*, 520 U.S. 329, 340–41 (1997), for determining whether a federal statute creates individually enforceable rights under § 1983:

a. Intended beneficiary: Section 303 is intended to benefit individual registered voters such as Plaintiff by ensuring that a single, accurate, official statewide list properly records their voter registrations and votes. The statute's purpose is to protect individual voters' rights to have their votes accurately recorded and counted.

b. Not vague and amorphous: The right conferred by § 303 is concrete and specific—the right to have one's voter registration and vote recorded in a single, uniform, official, centralized statewide list that serves as the authoritative source for all federal elections. When three "official" sources report three different vote totals for the same election, this right is violated.

c. Binding obligation: Section 303 imposes a mandatory, binding obligation on states. The statute uses the mandatory term "shall" and specifies detailed requirements for the statewide list. The obligation is not discretionary.

46. Missouri is violating § 303 by failing to maintain a single, uniform, official statewide voter registration list. When the MCVR (3,022,817 voters who voted), the SOS official certified results (2,995,327 "Total Votes"), and the EAC federal report (3,126,837 "Total Voter Turnout") produce three materially different totals for the same federal election - differing by over 100,000 votes in some comparisons - there is no "single" official list as § 303 requires.

47. Plaintiff, as a registered voter whose votes in the 2022 and 2024 federal elections are part of this defective system, has an individual federal statutory right under § 303 to have Missouri maintain a single, accurate, official statewide list that allows her to verify that her vote was properly recorded and counted.

48. HAVA § 402 requires states to establish and maintain an administrative complaint procedure through which "any person" who believes a Title III violation "has occurred, is occurring, or is about to occur" may seek a remedy. 52 U.S.C. § 21112(a)(2). The § 402 administrative complaint procedure is not merely a procedural nicety—it is the principal federal mechanism Congress provided for individual voters to enforce HAVA's substantive requirements, including the § 303 mandate for a single official statewide list.

49. The § 402 procedure requires states to provide: (i) a written complaint process; (ii) an on-the-record hearing at the complainant's request; and (iii) a final determination within 90 days of filing (or such longer period as the parties may agree). 52 U.S.C. § 21112(a)(2)(C)–(D). This process must be available for violations that "are occurring" or "are about to occur," not just for past violations tied to a specific past election. *Id.* § 21112(a)(2)(B).

50. Missouri's enforcement of a rigid 30-day post-certification deadline under 15 CSR 30-12.010, as applied to Plaintiff's ongoing and prospective § 303 claim, stands as an obstacle to the accomplishment and execution of Congress's purposes and objectives under HAVA.

Specifically:

a. The 30-day post-certification bar categorically forecloses complaints alleging ongoing or prospective violations that rely on official federal data (EAC EAVS reports) published months after state certification. This makes it impossible to document § 303 violations through comparison of state and federal official data.

b. The 30-day post-certification bar transforms HAVA § 402's "is occurring" and "is about to occur" language into a narrow, backward-looking post-election challenge window, contrary to Congress's remedial intent that the administrative process be available to prevent future violations.

c. The 30-day bar denies complainants the on-the-record hearing and 90-day determination that § 402 expressly mandates. The state cannot condition access to a federally required process on a state-created deadline that conflicts with the federal statutory framework.

d. The 30-day bar forecloses the primary federal mechanism for individual voters to vindicate their substantive § 303 rights before the next federal election cycle, defeating the statute's prophylactic and remedial purposes.

51. The Secretary's dismissal of Plaintiff's administrative complaint under Missouri's conflicting 30-day rule is preempted under the Supremacy Clause. U.S. Const. art. VI, cl. 2. When state law "stands as an obstacle to the accomplishment and execution of the full purposes and objectives of Congress," the state law is preempted. *Crosby v. National Foreign Trade Council*, 530 U.S. 363, 373 (2000); *Hines v. Davidowitz*, 312 U.S. 52, 67 (1941).

52. The Secretary's additional ground for dismissal—the false assertion that Plaintiff failed to provide the name and address of the alleged violator—independently violates federal law. The administrative complaint identifies "Missouri Secretary of State – Elections Division, 600 W. Main Street, Jefferson City, MO 65101" on page 3. For a systemic database integrity violation under § 303, the responsible official is the Secretary of State, who maintains the MCVR. Dismissing a facially compliant complaint based on a demonstrably false factual assertion denies the complainant the federal process HAVA guarantees.

53. The Secretary's refusal to accept, docket, and adjudicate Plaintiff's § 402 administrative complaint forecloses the only federal mechanism by which Plaintiff can vindicate her substantive § 303 rights. Without access to the § 402 process, Plaintiff cannot obtain:

- a. An investigation and on-the-record hearing to document the § 303 violation;
- b. Preservation of critical MCVR snapshots, voter history data, and audit logs necessary to analyze and remedy the discrepancies;

c. A final determination and remedial order requiring Missouri to reconcile its official data sources and maintain a single authoritative list going forward; or

d. Timely correction of the § 303 violation before Plaintiff votes in the August 2026 primary and November 2026 general election.

54. Acting under color of state law, Defendant deprived Plaintiff of her federally protected rights under HAVA §§ 303 and 402 by:

a. Refusing to provide the § 402 administrative complaint process through which Title III rights are enforced;

b. Applying pretextual and conflicting procedural bars—the preempted 30-day post-certification rule and the factually false "no name/address" assertion—to deny Plaintiff access to the federal process; and

c. Thereby preventing investigation, hearing, determination, and remedy of the ongoing § 303 violation before the 2026 federal election cycle.

55. Plaintiff seeks prospective declaratory and injunctive relief, not money damages. The Eleventh Amendment does not bar this claim because Plaintiff seeks only prospective relief compelling a state official to comply with federal law going forward. *Ex parte Young*, 209 U.S. 123 (1908). The requested relief does not seek to enjoin the Secretary from enforcing state law generally, but rather seeks to enjoin application of a state regulation (15 CSR 30-12.010) that conflicts with and is preempted by federal law as applied to Plaintiff's HAVA complaint.

COUNT II 42 U.S.C. § 1983 – Procedural Due Process

56. Plaintiff realleges and incorporates by reference ¶¶ 1–54.

57. To the extent HAVA § 402's administrative complaint procedure creates a federally protected entitlement separate from and in addition to the underlying § 303 substantive rights, Defendant deprived Plaintiff of that procedural entitlement without due process of law in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment.

58. A liberty or property interest protected by the Due Process Clause may arise from the Constitution itself or from state or federal statutes. *Board of Regents v. Roth*, 408 U.S. 564, 577 (1972). HAVA § 402 creates a federal statutory entitlement to access an administrative complaint process that includes an on-the-record hearing upon request and a timely final determination. 52 U.S.C. § 21112(a)(2). This is a protected interest.

59. The Secretary deprived Plaintiff of this federal statutory entitlement by dismissing her properly filed, notarized administrative complaint without providing the hearing and determination that § 402 requires. The dismissal was arbitrary, irrational, and based on demonstrably false factual assertions.

60. Specifically, the Secretary's dismissal is arbitrary and violates due process because:

a. Factual misrepresentation: The dismissal asserts that Plaintiff "failed to provide the name and address of the person or persons alleged to have committed the violation," when page 3 of Plaintiff's complaint expressly identifies "Missouri Secretary of State – Elections Division, 600 W. Main Street, Jefferson City, MO 65101." Depriving a complainant of a federal statutory process based on a demonstrably false factual premise violates due process.

b. Impossible time-bar: The dismissal enforces a 30-day post-certification deadline that makes it impossible to file complaints about ongoing or prospective violations, and impossible to file complaints grounded in official federal data (EAC EAVS reports) that is not published until months after state certification. Applying an impossible-to-satisfy deadline to foreclose access to a federal statutory entitlement is arbitrary and irrational.

c. Conflict with federal statute: The dismissal applies a state procedural rule (15 CSR 30-12.010) in a manner that directly contradicts the federal statute's authorization of complaints for violations that "are occurring" or "are about to occur." 52 U.S.C. § 21112(a)(2)(B). Mechanically applying a conflicting state rule to defeat a federal statutory entitlement, without any consideration of the federal statute's text and purpose, is arbitrary.

61. When a state official deprives an individual of a federal statutory entitlement based on factual misrepresentations and irrational or impossible procedural rules, procedural due process is violated. *Logan v. Zimmerman Brush Co.*, 455 U.S. 422, 429–30 (1982) (holding that state's erroneous termination of complainant's statutory right to hearing violated due process); *Cleveland Board of Education v. Loudermill*, 470 U.S. 532, 541–42 (1985) (property interest in government benefit cannot be removed arbitrarily).

62. Plaintiff seeks prospective relief compelling the Secretary to provide the process HAVA § 402 requires: acceptance and docketing of the administrative complaint, an on-the-record hearing as requested, and a timely final determination.

COUNT III 42 U.S.C. § 1983 – First Amendment Right to Petition

63. Plaintiff realleges and incorporates by reference ¶¶ 1–61.

64. The First Amendment protects the right of citizens "to petition the Government for a redress of grievances." U.S. Const. amend. I. This right applies to petitions directed to the legislative, executive, and administrative branches. *BE&K Construction Co. v. NLRB*, 536 U.S. 516, 524–25 (2002).

65. HAVA § 402 establishes an administrative forum through which "any person" may petition state election officials for redress of Title III violations. 52 U.S.C. § 21112(a)(2). By filing her notarized administrative complaint on October 14, 2025, Plaintiff exercised her First Amendment right to petition the Missouri Secretary of State for investigation and remedy of an ongoing federal statutory violation.

66. The Secretary closed the administrative forum to Plaintiff by enforcing an illogical, impossible-to-satisfy time-bar (the 30-day post-certification rule) and by misstating the contents of Plaintiff's filing (falsely claiming she failed to provide the violator's name and address). These actions burden Plaintiff's right to petition for redress of a federal statutory violation.

67. The government may not deny access to an administrative forum on arbitrary or pretextual grounds. *McDonald v. Smith*, 472 U.S. 479, 485 (1985); *California Motor Transport Co. v. Trucking Unlimited*, 404 U.S. 508, 510–13 (1972). Here, the Secretary's stated reasons for dismissal are both legally invalid (the preempted 30-day rule) and factually false (the "no name/address" claim), making the denial of access arbitrary and pretextual.

68. The Secretary's actions chill Plaintiff's exercise of her First Amendment right to petition. By making clear that administrative complaints will be dismissed on pretextual grounds even when facially compliant with federal law, the Secretary discourages Plaintiff and other Missouri voters from invoking the HAVA § 402 process to redress Title III violations.

69. Plaintiff seeks prospective relief compelling the Secretary to accept and adjudicate her petition (the administrative complaint) on its merits, thereby vindicating her First Amendment right to petition for redress.

IRREPARABLE HARM, BALANCE OF EQUITIES, AND PUBLIC INTEREST

70. Plaintiff will suffer irreparable harm absent injunctive relief. The harms are imminent, concrete, and not compensable through money damages:

a. Time-sensitive process: The HAVA § 402 administrative process is time-sensitive. Federal law requires a final determination within 90 days of filing (October 14, 2025). 52 U.S.C. § 21112(a)(2)(C). Continued refusal to provide this process means Plaintiff will be denied the federal mechanism for obtaining timely remedies before the 2026 federal elections.

b. Loss of critical evidence: Critical MCVR data, audit logs, voter history records, and database snapshots from the 2022 and 2024 federal elections are ephemeral. Without preservation orders, these records are at risk of being overwritten, deleted, or altered as the system is updated for the 2026 election cycle. Once lost, this evidence cannot be recreated.

c. Imminent 2026 elections: Voter registration for the August 2026 federal primary election will open in spring 2026. Plaintiff intends to vote in both the August 2026 primary and November 2026 general election. Once the 2026 election cycle begins in earnest, the opportunity

to remediate systemic database integrity failures from prior cycles will be effectively lost. The harm is imminent.

d. Deprivation of federal rights: The deprivation of federally protected statutory rights - here, Plaintiff's rights under HAVA §§ 303 and 402 - constitutes irreparable injury. *Elrod v. Burns*, 427 U.S. 347, 373 (1976) ("The loss of First Amendment freedoms, for even minimal periods of time, unquestionably constitutes irreparable injury."); see also *Gordon v. Holder*, 721 F.3d 638, 653 (D.C. Cir. 2013) (deprivation of voting-related statutory rights is irreparable harm).

71. The balance of equities and the public interest favor injunctive relief. The requested relief does not disturb any certified election results, order any recount, or require the State to adopt any particular substantive policy regarding election administration. The injunction merely compels the Secretary to follow federal law by providing the administrative complaint process that HAVA mandates.

72. Requiring the Secretary to accept and adjudicate Plaintiff's administrative complaint, schedule an on-the-record hearing, and issue a timely determination imposes no significant burden on the State. These are actions the Secretary is already required to perform under federal law. The State has no legitimate interest in refusing to provide a federally mandated process.

73. By contrast, denying injunctive relief would allow the State to nullify a federal statutory right through conflicting state procedural rules and factual misrepresentations. This harms not only Plaintiff but all Missouri voters who might seek to invoke HAVA's administrative process to remedy Title III violations.

74. The public interest is strongly served by ensuring that state officials comply with federal election-integrity statutes and that individual voters have meaningful access to the enforcement mechanisms Congress created. Public confidence in election administration depends on transparency, accountability, and adherence to the rule of law. Allowing election officials to close the door to federal oversight through pretextual dismissals undermines that confidence and violates the constitutional principle that federal law is supreme.

75. Ordering preservation of relevant MCVR data, logs, and audit trails serves the public interest by ensuring that accurate evidence is available for the administrative proceeding and any further proceedings. Preservation of electronic records does not burden the State and is necessary to prevent spoliation of critical evidence.

PRAYER FOR RELIEF

WHEREFORE, Plaintiff Constance ("Connie") Kramer respectfully requests that this Court:

A. Issue a Temporary Restraining Order and/or Preliminary Injunction:

1. Enjoining Defendant from refusing to accept, docket, and adjudicate Plaintiff's HAVA Title III administrative complaint filed October 14, 2025;

2. Ordering Defendant to schedule an on-the-record hearing on Plaintiff's administrative complaint within fourteen (14) days of this Court's order, or such other time as the Court deems appropriate;

3. Ordering immediate preservation of all statewide and county-level MCVR database snapshots, export files, voter history records, audit logs, and audit trails related to the November

2022 and November 2024 federal elections, and for the 2026 election cycle, pending completion of the HAVA administrative proceeding and any further order of this Court;

B. After hearing and upon final judgment:

4. Declare that Missouri's application of the 30-day post-certification filing bar in 15 CSR 30-12.010 to Plaintiff's HAVA Title III administrative complaint alleging ongoing and prospective violations is preempted by federal law, conflicts with 52 U.S.C. § 21112, and violates the Supremacy Clause;

5. Declare that Defendant's dismissal of Plaintiff's administrative complaint based on the false assertion that Plaintiff failed to provide the name and address of the alleged violator violates Plaintiff's rights under HAVA §§ 303 and 402, the Fourteenth Amendment, and the First Amendment;

6. Permanently enjoin Defendant to accept, docket, and adjudicate Plaintiff's HAVA Title III administrative complaint on the record;

7. Permanently enjoin Defendant to provide an on-the-record hearing as requested by Plaintiff under 52 U.S.C. § 21112(a)(2)(D);

8. Permanently enjoin Defendant to issue a final determination on Plaintiff's administrative complaint within ninety (90) days of the original filing date (October 14, 2025), or within such time as the parties may agree consistent with 52 U.S.C. § 21112(a)(2)(C);

9. Award Plaintiff costs and reasonable fees under 42 U.S.C. § 1988, should Plaintiff retain counsel; and

10. Grant such other and further relief as the Court deems just and proper.

Respectfully submitted,

Date: 11/06/2025

[REDACTED]
Constance ("Connie") Kramer
Plaintiff, Pro Se
[REDACTED]

VERIFICATION

I, Constance ("Connie") Kramer, declare under penalty of perjury pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1746 that I have read the foregoing Verified Complaint for Declaratory and Injunctive Relief and that the factual allegations set forth in paragraphs 10–75 are true and correct to the best of my personal knowledge, information, and belief.

I am a registered voter in Missouri. I reside at [REDACTED] I voted in the November 8, 2022 federal general election and in the November 5, 2024 federal general election. I intend to vote in the August 2026 federal primary election and the November 2026 federal general election.

On October 14, 2025, I filed a notarized HAVA Title III administrative complaint with the Missouri Secretary of State's Elections Division. My complaint identified the Missouri Secretary of State – Elections Division, 600 W. Main Street, Jefferson City, MO 65101, as the Respondent on page 3 of the complaint form. I requested an on-the-record hearing and a determination within 90 days as required by federal law.

On October 20, 2025, the Missouri Secretary of State dismissed my administrative complaint for "loss of jurisdiction," asserting that I failed to file within 30 days of certification and that I failed to provide the name and address of the alleged violator.

The official election data from the U.S. Election Assistance Commission (EAC), the Missouri Secretary of State's certified results, and the Missouri Centralized Voter Registration (MCVR) system show the discrepancies alleged in this complaint. For the November 2024 election, the EAC reports 3,126,837 total voter turnout, the Secretary of State's official results report

2,995,327 "Total Votes," and the MCVR records 3,022,817 voters who voted. For the November 2022 election, the EAC reports 2,304,250 total votes, the Secretary of State reports 2,069,130 total votes, and the MCVR records 2,022,368 voters who voted.

Because these three "official" sources report materially different totals for the same elections, I cannot verify that my vote in the 2022 or 2024 federal elections was accurately recorded and counted in the official results. The same defective system will affect my ability to verify my vote when I vote in the 2026 federal elections unless the violation is corrected.

I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States of America that the foregoing is true and correct. 28 U.S.C. 1746.

Executed on November 6th, 2025.



Constance ("Connie") Kramer

EXHIBIT LIST

The following exhibits are attached to and incorporated into this Verified Complaint:

Exhibit 1: Letter from Missouri Secretary of State dated October 20, 2025, dismissing Plaintiff's HAVA administrative complaint (1 page)

Exhibit 2: Plaintiff's notarized HAVA Title III Elections Complaint Form filed October 14, 2025, with all attachments and (16 pages total), including:

- Page 3 identifying Respondent as "Missouri Secretary of State – Elections Division, 600 W. Main Street, Jefferson City, MO 65101"
- Exhibit A: EAC 2024 EAVS at-a-Glance table
- Exhibit B: Missouri SOS 2024 Official Results page
- Exhibit C: Missouri 2024 General Election Validity Scorecard
- Exhibit D: MCVR 2024 data files showing snapshot deltas


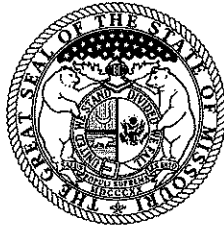
- Exhibit E: EAC 2022 EAVS table
- Exhibit F: Missouri SOS 2022 Official Results page
- Exhibit G: Missouri 2022 General Election Validity Scorecard
- Exhibit H: Missouri 2022 General Election MCVR data
- Exhibit I: Affidavit of 

Exhibit 3: Missouri Code of State Regulations 15 CSR 30-12.010 (Statewide HAVA Grievance Procedure)



DENNY HOSKINS, CPA
SECRETARY OF STATE
STATE OF MISSOURI

October 20, 2025

Constance "Connie" Kramer



Dear Ms. Kramer,

This letter is in response to your complaint filed with the Secretary of States,' Elections Division. On the Title III of HAVA, Elections Complaint Form, you stated that your complaint "pertains to the Election held on 11/8/2024, 11/5/2022."

As part of your complaint, you requested "a HAVA hearing." Missouri law incorporates the provisions of 42 U.S.C. §§ 15481 through 15485 by allowing individuals to file complaints regarding violations of Title III of HAVA. Both the Missouri Code of State Regulations and Missouri statutes outline detailed procedures for filing such complaints. Specifically, any person who believes a violation of Title III has occurred, is occurring, or is about to occur may file a complaint with the Elections Division of the Secretary of State's Office. The complaint must be written, signed, and sworn to before a notary public and filed within 30 days of the certification of the election in which the alleged violation occurred (*15 CSR 30-12.010*).

The subject and allegations of your complaint pertain to elections that were held on November 8, 2024, and November 5, 2022. Your complaint was notarized, signed and sworn before a notary on October 14, 2025 and filed with the Elections Division of the Secretary of State's office on October 15, 2025 which falls outside of the thirty days certification requirement in which the violation was alleged to have occurred. Further, you have not provided the name and address of the person or persons alleged to have committed the violation of Title III of HAVA described in your complaint.

The regulation explicitly states that complaints must be filed within 30 days of certification of the election and provide the names and addresses of the person or persons alleged to have committed the violation. Also, the regulation provides no mechanism for the Secretary of State to waive these requirements. As a result of these shortcomings this complaint is dismissed due to loss of jurisdiction.

Elections Integrity Unit
Elections Division
1-800-669-8683

(facts cont'd)

Lined area for writing facts.

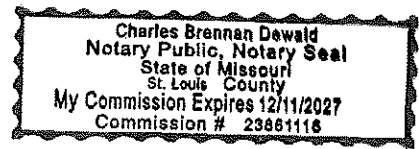
By my signature I swear or affirm that, to the best of my knowledge, the information provided on this form is true.

Signature of person filing complaint

Date 10/14/2025

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 14th day of October, 2025.

Signature of Notary Public



167 Lamp & Lantern Village, B017
Address of Notary Public

My commission expires 12/11/27

Seal of Notary Public

Please be as thorough as possible and attach supporting documentation or additional facts, if any.

Return this signed and notarized form by:

Mail: Missouri Secretary of State's Office
Attn: Elections Division
600 W Main St.
Jefferson City, MO 65101

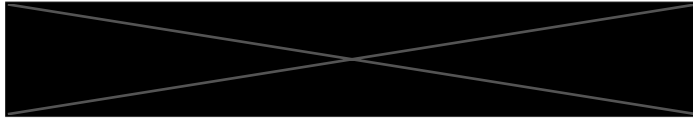
Email: elections@sos.mo.gov

COMPLAINT UNDER HAVA § 402 (52 U.S.C. § 21112)

Single Issue Title III Complaint: Failure to Maintain a Single, Uniform, Official, Centralized Statewide Voter Registration List (HAVA § 303(a)(1)(A)–(B); 52 U.S.C. § 21083(a)(1)(A)–(B))

Complainant:

Connie Kramer



Respondent:

Missouri Secretary of State - Elections Division
600 W. Main Street, Jefferson City, MO 65101
(573)-751-4936

I. Timeliness and Election at Issue

This complaint challenges violations of HAVA Title III as applied to the federal General Elections held in 2022, 2024 and forthcoming federal elections in 2026. It is a continuing issue now and will be in the future. I request a HAVA hearing and completion within 90 days as provided by 52 U.S.C. § 21112(a)(2) and Missouri’s HAVA rule. The 2022–2024 statewide discrepancies described below are submitted as pattern evidence of an ongoing § 303 failure; they are not the elections used to establish timeliness.

II. What HAVA § 303 Requires (Plain Meaning)(52 U.S.C. § 20701)

HAVA § 303(a)(1)(A) requires each State to implement “a single, uniform, official, centralized, interactive computerized statewide voter registration list” maintained at the state level with a unique identifier for every legally registered voter. § 303(a)(1)(B) further requires that this single statewide list serve as *the* official list for the conduct of all federal elections in the State. If different “official” channels produce different totals for the same election, the State is not operating off one authoritative list.

III. Standing and Injury

I am a registered Missouri citizen, taxpayer and voter who participates in federal elections. HAVA § 303(a)(1)(A)–(B) creates a statutory right to have my registration maintained in a single, uniform, official, centralized statewide list that serves as the official list for conducting federal elections.

When Missouri’s Election Assistance Commission (EAC), Secretary of State (SOS), and Missouri Centralized Voter Registration database (MCVR) outputs for the same election do not reconcile, I cannot verify that my vote was recorded and counted using one authoritative dataset, and my statutory right is denied.

This is a concrete injury (uncertainty about whether “one voter = one recorded vote = one counted ballot”), directly caused by the State’s failure to maintain a single official list, and redressable by the remedies requested here (designation of a single authoritative dataset; reconciliation for the election at issue; post-cert write-protection with immutable logging; and 90-day resolution). The same defect will recur in upcoming federal elections unless corrected now.

IV. The Conflict in Missouri’s Own “Official” Numbers (2024 state level)

For the November 5, 2024, General Election, Missouri’s three official sources report three different totals:

- The federal EAC report: Missouri reported Total Voter Turnout = 3,126,837 and Total Active Registered Voters = 4,075,977 (EAVS, published June 30, 2025). See Exhibit A. Difference vs SOS (below) = 131,510.
- Secretary of State public results page: Total Votes = 2,995,327 (official statewide page <https://www.sos.mo.gov/elections/>; announced Dec. 5, 2024). See Exhibit B.
- Missouri Statewide Voter History state database shows: 3,022,817 voters credited with voting in 2024 (post window- snapshot; see § V). Difference vs SoS = 27,490 more voters than ballots; Difference vs EAC = 104,020. See Exhibits C and Exhibit D.

Simple Arithmetic (same election):

$EAC - SOS = 131,510$; $EAC - MCVR = 104,020$; $MCVR - SOS = 27,490$ more voters than ballots. Three different “official” totals for one election and one state cannot all be derived from a single, uniform, official list.

Definitions & Reconciliation

Missouri's EAC figure reflects "Total Voter Turnout" (voters casting a ballot), while the SOS public page lists "Total Votes" in the top contest. Even if labels differ, § 303(a)(1)(B) requires the State to designate a single authoritative dataset and reconcile all official outputs (EAC, SOS webpages, and MCVR history) to that dataset so that statewide totals for voters who voted, and ballots counted agree for the election at issue. (EAC 3,126,837; SOS 2,995,327; MCVR 3,022,817.)

V. Pattern Evidence (2022 statewide)

The same Official-vs-Official mismatch occurred in 2022:

- EAC's 2022 statewide "Total Votes" 2,304,250 reported by MO, see Exhibit E, vs. SOS certified 2,069,481, see Exhibit F, vs. MCVR statewide voter history 2,022,368 from the 2/1/2023 snapshot, see Exhibits G and H. Total discrepancy range \approx 281,882 more ballots counted than voters voted.

This consistency across cycles shows a structural problem, not a one-off-report error.

VI. Waited past the voter history window

There is no "timing" issue. The 2024 MCVR total (3,022,817) is drawn from the February 2025 snapshot after Missouri's 3-month county voter history upload window (cited in the 2022 Scorecard: RSMo 115.157 allows 3-months). See Exhibits G and H. So, the -27,490 gap between SOS and MCVR is not a timing artifact.

VII. Additional Indicators of a Non-Single System (2024 database changes)

Comparing MCVR snapshots shows historical fields changing after the election, which should not occur if one official list is serving as the authoritative record:

- Registration dates: 604 moved backward, see Exhibit D1.
- Registration dates: 29,243 moved forward, see Exhibit D2.
- Birthdates altered: 1,552, see Exhibit D3.
- Backdated voter history changes: 600 entries, see Exhibit D4.

These are recorded in the enclosed 2024 Scorecard and corroborate that multiple datasets/feeds are producing a moving target rather than a single, authoritative "as of" record.

VIII. Prior Notice; Ongoing Violation

The Secretary of State and other authorities received April/May 2024 notices with detailed anomalies. The silence that followed confirms a continuing violation that will recur in future federal elections unless corrected.

Along with the same pattern violation seen in 2022, to 2024 and now into September of 2025 when the last data run took place which Complainant reviewed, examined and am very familiar with. Complainant objects to the State of Missouri's self-created 30-day limit to file HAVA complaints.

It is the State itself which does not make available the data from a federal election until some three months afterwards.

IX. HAVA § 303 Violation

Because Missouri's EAC, SOS, and MCVR outputs for the same election do not reconcile, Missouri is not maintaining "a single, uniform, official, centralized" statewide voter registration list that serves as *the* official list for conducting federal elections. 52 U.S.C. § 21083(a)(1)(A)–(B).

This was a violation by the Respondent in or during the 2022 federal election, the 2024 federal election and will be in the upcoming federal elections in 2026. Section 402(a)(2)(B) of HAVA (52 U.S.C. § 21112(a)(2)(B)) states:

"Under the procedures, any person who believes that there is a violation of any provision of title III (including a violation which has occurred, is occurring, or is about to occur) may file a complaint."

Current Missouri Requirements (Baseline).

Under RSMo § 115.157 and § 115.219, local election authorities must transmit post-election voter-history data to the Secretary of State within three months after each election so the statewide voter-registration database (MCVR) can be updated.


Missouri law does not presently require the Secretary of State to publish any public reconciliation or integrity summary comparing the statewide database, certified election returns, and the State's federal EAC submissions.

The absence of such a requirement allows conflicting "official" totals to persist from one report to another.

X. Requested Relief (targeted, implementable Title III remedies)

1. Hearing and a 90-day completion. Set a HAVA hearing promptly and resolve within 90 days per 52 U.S.C. § 21112(a)(2). Formal Request for Hearing: pursuant to 15 CSR 30-12.010(8), I formally request that the Secretary of State schedule a hearing on this complaint within ten (10) days of its filing. This request is made under Missouri's Title III administrative-complaint procedure and under 52 U.S.C. § 21112(a)(2), which requires resolution or alternative dispute resolution within ninety (90) days.
2. Immediate preservation. Issue a litigation hold over all statewide and county MCVR snapshots, export files, and audit logs for the election at issue. Require retention of an immutable "as of Election Day" snapshot and logs for 22 months (codified in Title 52; formerly 42 U.S.C. § 1974).
3. Designate the single authoritative dataset. Identify the one dataset that served (or must serve) as the official source for the election at issue and prospectively.
4. Reconciliation deliverable (statewide). Produce a one-page table reconciling EAC, SOS, and MCVR to one authoritative total for voters who cast ballots, with a short-written explanation of each prior discrepancy and the root cause.
5. Post certifications write protection plus immutable logs. Lock historical fields (DOB, registration date as of Election Day, prior voter history) post certification; any allowed corrections must be recorded to an immutable, user attributed audit log.
6. Quarterly integrity summaries. After each federal election, publish a brief summary showing that EAC submission, SOS public totals, and MCVR match the same authoritative source for the election at issue (excluding personally identifiable information).
7. If any item exceeds Elections Division authority, refer to the proper state entity and retain oversight.

XI. Verification


I,  being first deposed, declares that the facts stated above from official sources: EAC statewide table; SOS official returns; MCVR counts, and snapshot deltas are true and correct to the best of my knowledge.

EAC 2024 "at a-glance" shows Active = 4,075,977; Turnout = 3,126,837; SOS page shows 2,995,327 "Total Votes"; the 2024 Scorecard shows MCVR = 3,022,817 with the snapshot deltas).

Signature:  Date: 11/14/25
Name: Connie Kramer

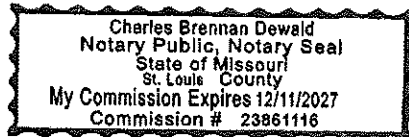
State of Missouri }
 }
County of Saint Louis }

Subscribed and sworn before me this 14th day of October, 2025.


Notary Public: 

My commission expires: 12/11/27

(seal, if any):



XII. Exhibits

1. Exhibit A - EAC 2024 EAVS at-a-Glance table (statewide Total Voter Turnout 3: 126,837; published June 30, 2025).
2. Exhibit B - MO SOS 2024 Official Results page (statewide Total Voter Turnout: 2,995,327; December 5, 2024).
3. Exhibit C - MO 2024 General Election Validity Scorecard (MCVR statewide voters who voted 3,022,817; snapshot deltas).
4. Exhibit D - MO 2024 General Election Validity Scorecard (MCVR statewide voters who voted 3,022,817; data files generated with a hash, sorted by query, on USB stick).
 - Exhibit D1 - Registration dates: 604 moved backward.
 - Exhibit D2 - 29,243 moved forward (Nov 2024, Dec 2024).
 - Exhibit D3 - Birthdates altered: 1,552.
 - Exhibit D4 - Backdated voter-history changes: 600 entries.
5. Exhibit E - EAC 2022 EAVS at-a-Glance table (Active 3,816,663, Turnout 2,304,250; published June 2023).
6. Exhibit F - MO SOS 2022 Official Results page (statewide “Total Votes” 2,069,130; announced December 9, 2022).
7. Exhibit G - MO 2022 General Election Validity Scorecard (pattern; 3-month voter-history window cited, RSMO 115.157).
8. Exhibit H- MO 2022 General Election Validity Scorecard (MCVR statewide voters who voted 2,022,368; raw data files generated with a hash, sorted by query, on USB stick).
 - Exhibit H1 - Registration dates: 1,330 moved backward.
 - Exhibit H2 - Registration dates: 174,913 moved forward.
 - Exhibit H3 - Birthdates altered: 3,234.
 - Exhibit H4 - Backdated voter-history changes: 7,175 entries.
9. Exhibit I - Affidavit from data analyst  who ran queries through the MCVR data.

Appendix A: Descriptive Tables

Executive Summary Table 1: 2024 EAVS at a Glance

State	Total EAVS Jurisdictions	Total Active Registered Voters	Total CVAP	Total Voter Turnout	Turnout as % of Active Reg.	Turnout as % of CVAP
Alabama	67	3,466,606	3,871,866	2,272,911	65.6%	58.7%
Alaska [1]	1	565,242	540,681	340,981	60.3%	63.1%
American Samoa [2]	1	15,948	--	10,215	64.1%	--
Arizona [3]	15	4,366,786	5,384,019	3,477,975	79.6%	64.6%
Arkansas	75	1,359,659	2,270,663	1,122,278	82.5%	49.4%
California	58	22,836,602	26,042,367	16,164,330	70.8%	62.1%
Colorado	64	4,074,612	4,390,366	3,240,754	79.5%	73.8%
Connecticut [4]	169	2,292,818	2,660,107	1,820,891	79.4%	68.5%
Delaware	3	742,370	770,737	514,367	69.3%	66.7%
District of Columbia	1	469,969	508,689	328,871	70.0%	64.7%
Florida [5]	67	14,028,831	16,313,597	10,999,125	78.4%	67.4%
Georgia	159	7,174,961	7,917,054	5,297,500	73.8%	66.9%
Guam	1	62,098	--	30,283	48.8%	--
Hawaii	5	765,998	1,053,254	522,236	68.2%	49.6%
Idaho [6]	44	1,178,750	1,445,124	917,469	77.8%	63.5%
Illinois [7]	108	8,104,485	9,036,650	5,717,147	70.5%	63.3%
Indiana	92	4,288,091	5,058,179	2,986,839	69.7%	59.0%
Iowa	99	2,016,967	2,387,401	1,674,011	83.0%	70.1%
Kansas	105	1,871,857	2,146,714	1,342,102	71.7%	62.5%
Kentucky	120	3,219,361	3,414,611	2,086,090	64.8%	61.1%
Louisiana [8]	64	2,734,059	3,398,688	2,021,588	73.9%	59.5%
Maine [9]	497	1,041,826	1,126,987	842,447	80.9%	74.8%
Maryland	24	4,231,112	4,411,478	3,028,813	71.6%	68.7%
Massachusetts	351	4,369,280	5,136,750	3,512,930	80.4%	68.4%
Michigan [10]	83	7,267,666	7,646,222	5,706,503	78.5%	74.6%
Minnesota	87	3,853,668	4,258,921	3,271,069	84.9%	76.8%
Mississippi [11]	82	1,965,948	2,222,109	1,225,176	62.3%	55.1%
Missouri	116	4,075,977	4,698,865	3,126,837	76.7%	66.5%
Montana [12]	56	691,534	888,190	612,423	88.6%	69.0%
Nebraska [13]	93	1,190,813	1,420,996	965,145	81.0%	67.9%

Election Results

Official Election Returns

State of Missouri - General Election, November 05, 2024, Tuesday, November 5, 2024

As announced by the Board of State Canvassers on Thursday, December 5, 2024

Office/Candidate Name/Ballot Issue	Party	Votes	% of Votes
------------------------------------	-------	-------	------------

U.S. President and Vice President

(3573 of 3573 Precincts Reported)

Donald J. Trump, JD Vance	Republican	1,751,986	58.5%
Kamala D. Harris, Tim Walz	Democratic	1,200,599	40.1%
Chase Oliver, Mike ter Maat	Libertarian	23,876	0.8%
Jill Stein, Rudolph Ware	Green	17,135	0.6%
Peter Sonski, Lauren Onak	Write-in	1,069	0.0%
Claudia De la Cruz, Karina Garcia	Write-in	618	0.0%
Shiva Ayyadurai, Crystal Ellis	Write-in	34	0.0%
Future Madam Potus, Jessica Kennedy	Write-in	10	0.0%
Total Votes		2,995,327	

U.S. Senator

(3572 of 3572 Precincts Reported)

Josh Hawley	Republican	1,651,907	55.6%
Lucas Kuncie	Democratic	1,243,728	41.8%
W. C. Young	Libertarian	35,671	1.2%
Jared Young	Better	21,111	0.7%
Nathan Kline	Green	20,123	0.7%
Gina Bufe	Write-in	19	0.0%
Total Votes		2,972,559	

Governor

(3572 of 3572 Precincts Reported)

Mike Kehoe	Republican	1,750,802	59.1%
Crystal Quade	Democratic	1,146,173	38.7%
Bill Slantz	Libertarian	40,908	1.4%
Paul Lehmann	Green	22,359	0.8%
Theo (Ted) Brown Sr	Write-in	24	0.0%
Total Votes		2,960,266	

Lieutenant Governor

(3572 of 3572 Precincts Reported)

Dave Wasinger	Republican	1,671,771	57.4%
Richard Brown	Democratic	1,121,608	38.5%
Ken Iverson	Libertarian	61,731	2.1%
Danielle (Dani) Elliott	Green	58,260	2.0%
Total Votes		2,913,370	



"Congress seeks. . . to guard the election of members of Congress against any possible unfairness by compelling, under its pains and penalties, everyone concerned in holding the election to a strict and scrupulous observance of every duty devolved upon him while so engaged. . . . The evil intent consists in disobedience to the law." —In re Coy, 127 U.S. 731 (1888)

Missouri's 2024 General Election Validity Scorecard

★ 1. Were the voter rolls accurate, as required by the National Voter Registration Act of 1993?

Registrations with material errors and omissions as per the Civil Rights Acts of 1964	Number of Instances
Illegal duplicate registrations	24,699
Registration date errors (voted before registered, or invalid date)	974,647
Altered registration date backward	604
Altered registration date forward	29,243
Non-workday registrations prior to start of online registrations	77,230
Invalid age for registration date or registered age (over 115 or under 17 years old)	1,780
Multiple votes in an election	5,621
Registration address blanks	26,007
Altered birthdate	1,552
Backdated voter history changes	600
Voter removed and added back in	4,559
First name has suspicious characters or changes	412,891
Anyone on rolls for 8 years without voting or hasn't voted in 10 years	372,021
TOTAL REGISTRATION VIOLATIONS:	1,931,454
ALL VOTER IDS IMPACTED:	1,639,027

★ 2. Were the votes counted from eligible voters, as required by the US Constitution?

Registrations with material errors and omissions whose votes were counted	Number of Instances
Illegal duplicate registrations	16,352
Registration date errors (voted before registered, or invalid date)	720,861
Altered registration date backward	440
Altered registration date forward	14,168
Non-workday registrations prior to start of online registrations	60,569
Invalid age for registration date or registered age (over 115 or under 17 years old)	978
Multiple votes in an election	4,427
Registration address blanks	17,028
Altered birthdate	1,060
Backdated voter history changes	507
Voter removed and added back in	910
First name has suspicious characters or changes	313,893
Anyone on rolls for 8 years without voting or hasn't voted in 10 years	53,736
NOT registered in November 2024 but later listed as voted November 2024	2,274
TOTAL VOTING VIOLATIONS:	1,207,203
UNIQUE BALLOTS IMPACTED:	1,054,751

★ 3. Was the number of votes counted equal to the number of voters who voted?

Official Source	Reported Total by Official Source
Total Votes Counted by MO SOS Voter Turnout	2,995,327
Votes Counted from Voter History in MCVR	3,022,817
DIFFERENCE (fewer votes counted than voters who voted):	-27,490

★ 4. Was the number of ballots in error valid according to the Help America Vote Act of 2002?

Total ballots counted in error in the 2024 GE	1,054,751
Allowable machine error rate is 1/10,000,000 ballot positions or 1/125,000 ballots	24
Total excess ballots counted in error: Provable accuracy fails to meet any protective legal standard	1,054,727

Extracted from official copies of the Missouri Centralized Voter Registration system (MCVR) database (dtd 11/1/2022, 11/1/2024, 12/2/2024, 1/2/2025, 2/3/2025), and votes counted from <https://sos.mo.gov>

Appendix A: Descriptive Tables

Overview Table 1: 2022 EAVS at a Glance

State	Total EAVS Jurisdictions	Total Active Registered Voters	Total CVAP	Total Voter Turnout	Turnout as % of Active Registration	Turnout as % of CVAP
Alabama [1]	67	3,283,842	3,829,788	1,424,087	43.4%	37.2%
Alaska	1	601,795	533,852	267,047	44.4%	50.0%
American Samoa	1	14,314	–	7,460	52.1%	–
Arizona [2]	15	4,143,929	5,216,518	2,592,375	62.6%	49.7%
Arkansas	75	1,475,838	2,237,649	896,423	60.7%	40.1%
California	58	21,958,218	26,028,290	11,146,561	50.8%	42.8%
Colorado	64	3,839,814	4,303,604	2,539,897	66.1%	59.0%
Connecticut [3]	169	2,259,575	2,659,979	1,297,811	57.4%	48.8%
Delaware	3	702,029	754,114	325,828	46.4%	43.2%
District of Columbia [4]	1	508,855	502,670	205,774	40.4%	40.9%
Florida	67	14,497,121	15,855,982	7,798,866	53.8%	49.2%
Georgia	159	6,955,386	7,786,111	3,963,152	57.0%	50.9%
Guam	1	60,463	–	34,074	56.4%	–
Hawaii	5	764,102	1,044,019	423,443	55.4%	40.6%
Idaho	44	1,004,608	1,373,714	595,350	59.3%	43.3%
Illinois [5]	108	7,899,591	9,087,338	4,175,767	52.9%	46.0%
Indiana	92	4,197,437	5,030,200	1,893,022	45.1%	37.6%
Iowa [6]	99	1,880,415	2,379,570	1,230,143	65.4%	51.7%
Kansas	105	1,830,216	2,128,111	997,607	54.5%	46.9%
Kentucky	120	3,137,031	3,405,618	1,500,419	47.8%	44.1%
Louisiana	64	2,830,594	3,439,830	1,410,597	49.8%	41.0%
Maine	497	929,124	1,100,974	680,909	73.3%	61.8%
Maryland	24	4,149,909	4,417,293	2,028,850	48.9%	45.9%
Massachusetts	351	4,173,942	5,121,488	2,511,460	60.2%	49.0%
Michigan	83	7,297,900	7,640,514	4,500,400	61.7%	58.9%
Minnesota	87	3,624,200	4,221,515	2,526,646	69.7%	59.9%
Mississippi [7]	82	1,922,707	2,226,474	708,585	36.9%	31.8%
Missouri	116	3,816,663	4,675,531	2,304,250	60.4%	49.3%
Montana	56	661,320	857,649	468,326	70.8%	54.6%
Nebraska [8]	93	1,141,470	1,411,320	682,741	59.8%	48.4%
Nevada	17	1,840,748	2,193,360	1,021,780	55.5%	46.6%
New Hampshire [9]	320	909,067	1,103,239	626,931	69.0%	56.8%
New Jersey [10]	21	5,934,029	6,433,068	2,658,149	44.8%	41.3%
New Mexico	33	1,198,896	1,545,938	709,556	59.2%	45.9%
New York	62	12,125,966	14,109,037	5,886,371	48.5%	41.7%
North Carolina	100	6,488,756	7,808,186	3,789,932	58.4%	48.5%
North Dakota	53	–	576,588	242,566	–	42.1%



Election Results

Exhibit F

Official Election Returns

State of Missouri - General Election, November 08, 2022, Tuesday, November 8, 2022

As announced by the Board of State Canvassers on Friday, December 9, 2022

Office/Candidate Name/Ballot Issue	Party	Votes	% of Votes
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U.S. Senator

(3266 of 3266 Precincts Reported)

Eric Schmitt	Republican	1,146,966	55.4%
Trudy Busch Valentine	Democratic	872,694	42.2%
Jonathan Dine	Libertarian	34,821	1.7%
Paul Venable	Constitution	14,608	0.7%
Nathan Mooney	Write-in	14	0.0%
Theo Brown	Write-in	4	0.0%
David Kirk	Write-in	3	0.0%
Gina Bufe	Write-in	5	0.0%
Martin Lindstedt	Write-in	0	0.0%
Rik Combs	Write-in	6	0.0%
Steve Price	Write-in	9	0.0%
Total Votes		2,069,130	

State Auditor

(3266 of 3266 Precincts Reported)

Scott Fitzpatrick	Republican	1,219,553	59.4%
Alan Green	Democratic	772,005	37.6%
John A. Hartwig Jr.	Libertarian	61,329	3.0%
Arnie C. Dienoff	Write-in	7	0.0%
Total Votes		2,052,894	

U.S. Representative - District 1

(655 of 655 Precincts Reported)

Andrew Jones	Republican	53,767	24.3%
Cori Bush	Democratic	160,999	72.9%
George A. Zsidsisin	Libertarian	6,192	2.8%
Total Votes		220,958	

U.S. Representative - District 2

(598 of 598 Precincts Reported)

Ann Wagner	Republican	173,277	54.9%
Trish Gunby	Democratic	135,895	43.0%
Bill Slantz	Libertarian	6,494	2.1%
Total Votes		315,666	

U.S. Representative - District 3

(353 of 353 Precincts Reported)

Blaine Luetkemeyer	Republican	180,746	65.1%
Bethany Mann	Democratic	96,851	34.9%
Tom Clapp	Write-in	0	0.0%
Total Votes		277,597	



Missouri's 2022 General Election Validity Scorecard

★ 1. Were the voter rolls accurate, as required by the National Voter Registration Act of 1993?

Ineligible or Uncertain Registration Type	Number of Instances*
Illegal duplicate registrations	35,410
Registration date errors (voted before registered, or invalid date)	1,079,175
Altered registration date backward	1,330
Altered registration date forward	174,913
Non-workday registrations prior to start of online registrations	96,762
Invalid age for registration date or registered age (over 115 or under 17 years old)	9,683
Multiple votes in an election	7,753
STL County votes missing from MCVR (Missouri Centralized Voter System)	15,296
Registration address blanks	53,441
Altered birthdate	3,234
Backdated voter history changes	7,175
Voter removed and added back in	17,188
First name has suspicious characters or changes	370,774
Anyone on rolls for 8 years without voting or hasn't voted in at least 10 years	534,420
APPARENT REGISTRATION VIOLATIONS WITH UNIQUE VOTER IDs:	1,841,965

★ 2. Were the votes counted from eligible voters, as required by the US Constitution?

Ineligible or Uncertain Registration Type that Voted in 2022 GE	Votes cast in 2022 GE
Illegal duplicate registrations	15,352
Registration date errors	532,232
Altered registration date backward	622
Altered registration date forward	74,164
Non-workday registrations prior to January 2017	53,493
Invalid age for registration or registered age (over 115 or Under 17 years old)	4,148
Multiple votes in an election	4,609
STL County votes missing from MCVR (Missouri Centralized Voter System)	15,058
Registration address blanks	19,555
Altered birthdate	1,721
Backdated voter history changes	4,936
Voter removed and added back in	600
First name has suspicious characters or changes	185,882
Anyone on rolls for 8 years without voting or hasn't voted in at least 10 years	35,766
NOT registered in November 2022 but later listed as voted November 2022	1,065
APPARENT VOTING VIOLATIONS:	746,951

★ 3. Was the number of votes counted equal to the number of voters who voted?

Official Source	Reported Total
State Official Results of 2022 GE report (Secretary of State)	2,069,481 votes counted
State raw data, official federal document (MCVR, 2/1/2023)*	2,022,368 voters who voted
Voters IDs in ALL MCVRs who have voter history for November 8, 2022	2,078,833
EAC Data (EAVS 2022 Public Data, V1: EAC has 234,769 more votes than SOS)	2,304,250
DIFFERENCE (absolute value of all errors):	291,234 vote count errors

★ 4. Was the number of ballots in error valid according to the Help America Vote Act of 2002?

Apparent voting violations in the 2022 GE according to MS SOS raw data	746,951
Allowable machine error rate is 1/10,000,000 ballot positions or 1/125,000 ballots	17
Provable accuracy fails to meet any protective legal standard	746,934 unresolved vote errors

Extracted from official copies of the MO MCVR (Missouri Centralized Voter System) database, raw data, official federal document provided by MO SOS. MCVRs dated 11/02/2020, 11/01/2022, 12/01/2022, 02/01/2023, 11/01/2023

* RSMO 115.157 Allows 3 months for counties to submit Voter History to MCVR system.

Exhibit I

Affidavit Of [Redacted]

I, [Redacted] being duly sworn, depose and state I have personal knowledge of the statements below and believe them to be true and accurate.

1. I am a citizen, taxpayer and elector of the state of Missouri.
2. I am an engineer with expertise in computers and data working in multiple fields for more than 30 years.
3. I have worked extensively with election data for 5 years now.
4. The total number of Vote History attributed in the Missouri Centralized Voter Registration Data for the 2024 General Election was 3,022,817. I extracted and then compiled this number from official copies of the Missouri Centralized Voter Registration (MCVR) system database (dated 11/1/2022, 11/1/2024, 12/2/2024, 1/2/2025, 2/3/2025). From the MCVR, it is the sum total number of Voter IDs with a Voter History for that election.
5. The total number of Vote History attributed in the Missouri Centralized Voter Registration Data for 2022 General Election was 2,022,368. I extracted and then compiled this number from the official copy of the MO MCVR (Missouri Centralized Voter System) database dated 02/01/2023, official federal document provided by the State of Missouri's Secretary of State. I reviewed MCVRs dated 11/02/2020, 11/01/2022, 12/01/2022, 02/01/2023, 11/01/2023.
6. I have this data available in text files, which are in my possession and will testify to it.
7. This affidavit is being provided in support of the HAVA complaint being filed by elector Connie Kramer.

Signature: [Redacted] Date: 13 OCT 2025

Name: [Redacted]

State of Missouri }

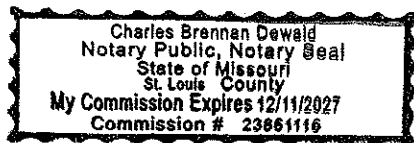
County of St. Louis }

Subscribed and sworn before me this 13th day of OCTOBER, 2025.

Notary Public: [Signature]

My commission expires: 12/1/27

(seal, if any):





**Rules of
Elected Officials**
Division 30—Secretary of State
Chapter 12—Grievance Procedures

Title	Page
15 CSR 30-12.010 Statewide HAVA Grievance Procedure	3



Title 15—ELECTED OFFICIALS
Division 30—Secretary of State
Chapter 12—Grievance Procedures

15 CSR 30-12.010 Statewide HAVA Grievance Procedure

PURPOSE: This rule describes the procedure for the filing of an administrative complaint to remedy grievances concerning a violation of Title III of the Help America Vote Act of 2002.

(1) Any person who believes that there is a violation of any provision of Title III of the Help America Vote Act of 2002 (HAVA), 42 U.S.C. 15481 through 15485, (including a violation that has occurred, is occurring, or is about to occur), may file a complaint with the Elections Division of the Office of the Secretary of State.

(2) Any complaint filed under this rule must be written, signed, and sworn to before a notary public commissioned by the state of Missouri.

(3) Any complaint filed under this rule must be filed within thirty (30) days of the certification of the election in which the violation is alleged to have occurred.

(4) The complaint filed under section (1) of this rule shall state the following:

(A) The name and mailing address of the person or persons alleged to have committed the violation of Title III of HAVA described in the complaint;

(B) A description of the act or acts that the person filing the complaint believes is a violation of a provision of Title III of HAVA; and

(C) The nature of the injury suffered (or is about to be suffered) by the person filing the complaint.

(5) The Elections Division shall promptly provide a copy of the complaint by certified mail to:

(A) All persons identified as possible violators of the provisions of Title III of HAVA; and

(B) The election authority in whose jurisdiction the violation is alleged to have occurred.

(6) The Elections Division may consolidate complaints filed under this rule.

(7) Once a complaint has been properly filed under this rule, the secretary of state shall appoint a presiding officer who shall conduct an investigation of the complaint.

(8) At the request of the person filing the complaint, or if the presiding officer believes that the circumstances so dictate, the presiding officer shall conduct a hearing on the complaint and prepare a record on the hearing, such hearing to be conducted within ten (10) days of the request of the person filing the complaint.

(9) The presiding officer, upon completing the investigation, shall submit the results to the Elections Division, which shall then issue a written report. The Elections Division shall provide a copy of the report by certified mail to:

(A) The person who filed the complaint;
 (B) The person or persons alleged to have committed the violation; and

(C) The election authority in whose jurisdiction the violation was alleged to have occurred.

(10) The report described in section (8) of this rule shall:

(A) Indicate the date when the complaint was received by the Elections Division;

(B) Contain findings of fact regarding the alleged violation and state whether a violation of Title III of HAVA has occurred;

(C) State what steps, if any, the person or persons alleged to have committed the violation has taken to correct the violation and/or to prevent any reoccurrence;

(D) Suggest any additional measures that could be taken to correct the violation;

(E) Indicate the date a violation was corrected or is expected to be corrected; and

(F) Provide any additional information or recommendations useful in resolving the complaint.

(11) If the Elections Division determines that there is a violation of any provision of Title III of HAVA, the Elections Division shall determine and provide the appropriate remedy, if authorized to do so. If the Elections Division determines that it is not authorized by law to provide the appropriate remedy, the Elections Division shall, if possible, refer the matter to the appropriate agency or office that has jurisdiction.

AUTHORITY: section 28.035, RSMo Supp. 2003. Original rule filed Sept. 19, 2003, effective May 30, 2004.*

**Original authority: 28.035, RSMo 2003.*