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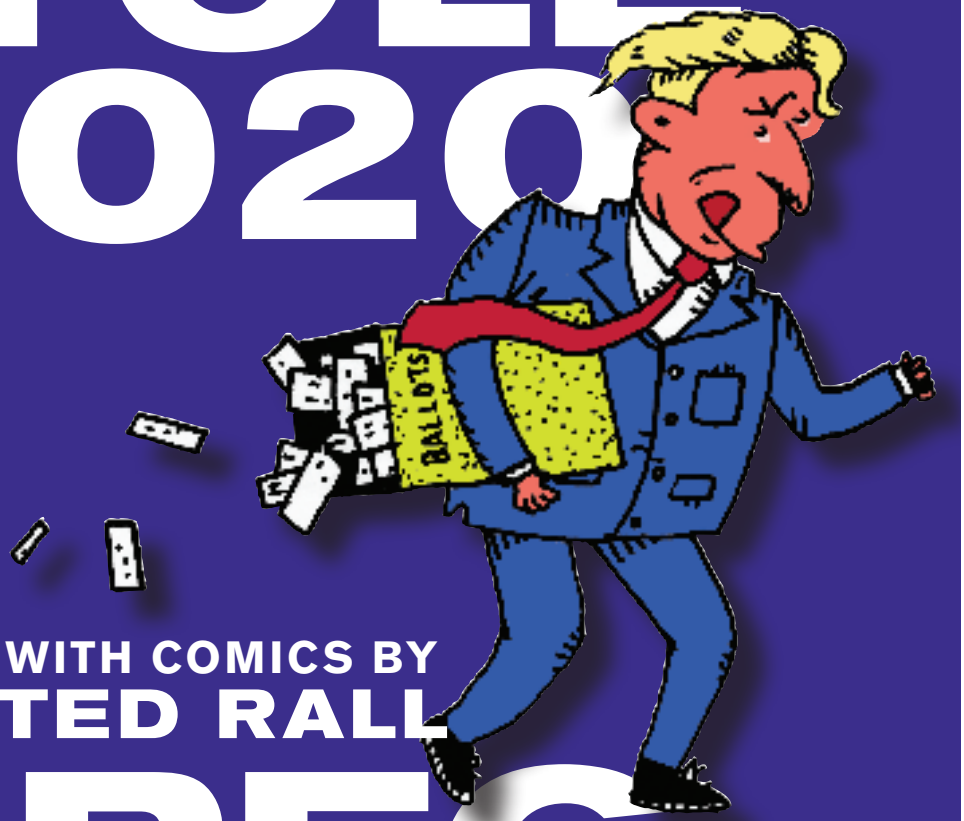

WITH COMICS BY
TED RALL

GREG PALAST

AUTHOR OF *NEW YORK TIMES* BESTSELLERS
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GREG PALAST is the investigative reporter for the *Guardian*, BBC Television, *Democracy Now!*, and *Rolling Stone* who broke the story of how George Bush stole Florida in 2000 by purging thousands of innocent Black voters. He is the author of four *New York Times* bestsellers including *The Best Democracy Money Can Buy* and *Billionaires & Ballot Bandits*.

Before turning to journalism, Palast directed investigations of billion-dollar racketeering, fraud and financial manipulation cases for attorneys general and the Department of Justice, and advised unions and governments on four continents.

Palast, who studied economics under Milton Friedman at the University of Chicago, is also coauthor of *Democracy & Regulation*, published by the United Nations ILO, based on Palast's lectures at the Cambridge University Department of Applied Economics and the University of Sao Paolo.

He is the winner of the Global Editors award for data journalism, and was named Patron of the Philosophical Society of Trinity College (previously awarded to Oscar Wilde and Jonathan Swift) and the Association of Mexican Reporters International Reporter of the Year.

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HOW TRUMP STOLE 2020

The Hunt for America's Vanished Voters

GREG PALAST

with comics by

TED RALL

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Palast co-hosts *The Election Crimes Bulletin* with Dennis Bernstein on Pacifica Radio Network's *Flashpoints*.

For Leni Badpenny,
investigatrix extraordinaire

“Take it to The Bridge!”
—James Brown

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1

The End

Donald Trump was re-elected President on November 7, 2018.

Two years before a single ballot was cast.

2

You Are Not Guilty

America, let's talk.

I get it: You're stunned you elected an orange-stained, gelatinous bag of malicious mendacity, a snorting porcine pustule of bloviating bigot hinged to grasping little griplets, a bloated ball of gracelessness and cry-baby petulance as President of the United States.

America, you can stop hiding your face in shame: you are *not guilty*.

Trump didn't win in 2016. And I'm not talking about Trump losing the popular vote. Trump lost the Electoral College. That is, he lost if you count all the votes burgled, jacked, swiped, shoplifted, purloined, filched, fiddled and snatched from citizens not of a whitish orange hue.

And unless we wise up, 2020 will be déjà vu all over again.

□ □ □

Let's get this clear from jump: Trump didn't mastermind the steal of the vote. He doesn't have the native smarts to pull off the caper. For that, he has his stable of Rhodes Scholars, database gurus and lethal legal weenies. I'll give you their names later, those who did the dirty.

If you're reading this during Trump's second term in 2021 or third term in 2025, keep reading, because there's nothing new under the sun. This is a con that's as old as Jim Crow and older, back to the time when George Washington fought to give Jews and Catholics the right to vote.

I've spent 20 years cracking the code on ballot burglary. Schemes with names like "Crosscheck" and "Caging" and "Spoiling." Expose one, another pops up like electoral Whack-a-Mole.

Every four years, some new cheat. I just couldn't figure this one out—*how are they going to take 2020?*—until I started tracking a character with a shotgun, a chainsaw, a pick-up truck, a dynamite detonator and a lot of love from Koch Industries.

On November 7, 2018, it all snapped into place when Chainsaw was elected the 83rd white Governor of Georgia.

HORRIBLE

It was raining that day in Atlanta. But I could see the large tears tracking down the face of Christine Jordan's niece.

"It's horrible," she said.

Ms. Jordan, 92 years old, had dressed elegantly for

the occasion, her 50th year at the same polling station, "voting right here since 1968," Ms. Jordan said, the year her cousin Martin Luther King Jr. was gunned down.

But she would not vote this time. They threw her out of the polling station.

"It's horrible," repeated her niece, Jessica. "It's horrible to come out and not be able to vote and no one can give you an explanation. She held civil rights meetings in her home and *they had no record of her*. She was here in the West End community when we couldn't. . . ." She choked on the word "*vote.*"

"It's extremely emotional. And it *bothers* me. Bothers me *to my core.*"

"I'm sorry." She apologized for crying. "I'm sorry."

□ □ □

I'm an investigative reporter. I don't cry. But it bothered me, too. Because I knew I was witnessing more than the ugly Jim Crow blockade of an elderly Black woman from the ballot box. I knew I was witnessing the successful test run in Georgia of a new vote-snatching game that would re-elect Donald Trump no matter the will of America's voters.

I've seen this movie before. In November 2000, when I got my hands on two computer discs from inside the offices of Katherine Harris, chair of the Bush

for President campaign, and crucially, the Secretary of State of Florida, the person in charge of the voting. I cracked the codes, and discovered that Harris had flushed 97,000 voters from registration rolls—most of them Black—tagging them as felons, ex-cons, who can't vote.

In fact, the number of illegal ex-con voters? *Zero*. Their only crime was VWB, Voting While Black.

Harris announced George W. Bush had won Florida, and therefore the Presidency of the United States, by just 537 votes. That is, "won" by excluding the tens of thousands of African-Americans she'd secretly–illegally–barred from voting.

And here I was in Georgia, 18 years later, and it's déjà vu all over again. *Again*.

Raheim Shabazz was at the same polling station as Ms. Jordan. He'd also been given the heave-ho. He got no ballot, but they did give him a lapel sticker that said, "I'm a Georgia voter!" printed on a peach, the state fruit.

At the next polling station, Ashlee Jones, a Latina, brought her three cute daughters to watch her get bounced from the poll as well. Bounced along with Yasmine Bakhtiari, daughter of Iranian immigrants, whose name had also vanished from voter rolls.

Dark-hued voters, by the tens of thousands, flushed from voter registries. The Purged.

They didn't accuse Ms. Jordan of being a felon, an ex-con. So what was this new game?

3

The Purge'n General

Brian Kemp stood next to his pick-up truck. "Ah like to blow up . . ." Ka-*blamm*! A dynamite cap spews a part of his lawn into his hedges. ". . . government spending!"

Next we see Kemp with a shotgun pointed at a nervous young man to ensure the kid has "a healthy respect for the Second Amendment."

And, he adds in his brand-new Dawg Patch accent, "I got a Big Truck just in case I have to round up some criminal illegals and take'm in myself! I just said that!"

Brian Kemp isn't some redneck goober. He just plays one on TV. Until recently, he dressed as what he is, landed gentry, with that soft Jimmy Carter New South accent, Brooks Brothers blue suit and tie. But, running for Governor of the Peach State, he went full hayseed: old jeans, plaid shirts, pick-up truck and shotgun—and the yokels *ate it up.*

But Kemp had a problem: Stacey Abrams, his opponent, a super-popular legislator, Harvard Law grad, *both* parents Baptist ministers, the daughter every parent dreams of, the nice lady next door, the kind that will help your kid with their homework. No visible shotgun, no chainsaw, just a plan for expanding health care. In the polls, Abrams was passing Kemp's alien-laden pick-up truck.

And Kemp had another problem: demographics. A lack of Good Ol' Boys. The Census is about to list Georgia as the first "minority majority" state in the Deep South, whites outnumbered by non-whites.

And as the first African-American woman in history to run for Governor of any state in the USA, the Black turn-out would be crushing and decisive.

Bluntly, there simply weren't enough white people to make Kemp governor.

□ □ □

But Kemp wielded a dark weapon more powerful than mere voters. As Secretary of State, Kemp had complete authority over the election. Kemp could say where people vote, how they vote and, most importantly, *who* gets to vote.

There's a cable TV show, *The Purge,* in which Americans in the future get one day a year when they can kill anyone they want to kill.

It's based on a true story.

Once a year, since the beginning of this century, a group of political hitmen, "Secretaries of State," are allowed to wipe out the voting rights of Americans by "purging" them from the voter rolls.

As the Purge'n General of Georgia, Kemp used his power like a chainsaw. In the lead-up to his run for Governor, Kemp purged 665,677, two-thirds of a million registrations. The Purge erased the voting rights of one in eight Georgians. Including Ms. Jordan, Mr. Shabazz, Ms. Jones and Ms. Bakhtiari.

(If you're thinking, "How can this guy run for Governor and be in charge of his own election?," you've never been to Georgia.)

I admit, I'm a suspicious man. I'd been trailing Kemp, for Al Jazeera and *Rolling Stone,* for six years. His trick-bag of vote suppression tools, including prior

purges that smelled of Jim Crow, kept drawing me back to Georgia.

But this Purge was breathtaking, something new.

Surely, there must be a law to prevent someone like Kemp from just taking away your registration?

Yes: the National Voter Registration Act of 1993. Known as the Motor Voter law because it requires states to give out registration forms with your driver's license applications. Every DMV becomes a safe voter registration center. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 won African-Americans the right to vote in the South. But you can't vote if you aren't registered, so the NVRA jammed registration right down the throats of states that still made voting for Black people a cruel obstacle course.

Not that the Good Ol' Boys hadn't come up with a way around the Motor Voter law. I'd just returned from a visit to the DMV in Lowndes County, Alabama. The door was locked, midday. The DMV had been closed by order of the state, as was virtually every single DMV in the "Black Belt" counties of Alabama, the African-American counties.

Kemp himself was even less subtle.

When a registration drive sent Georgia officials 86,419 registration forms of new voters, mostly young students of color, Kemp simply did not add 40,000 of them to the voter rolls. In 2016, I flew to Atlanta to find out what the hell was going on. I met attorney Nse Ufot:

> You know what [Kemp's office] told us? "*We don't know what you're talking about. What forms?"* They did not disappear. We intentionally registered voters on paper forms so that we could make copies. We knew who they were. They were not on the voter rolls.

Kemp responded by threatening to arrest the voter registration leaders—including the founder, Stacey Abrams—for alleged criminal tampering of voter registration forms. That is, they copied the forms so Kemp couldn't disappear them.

Ufot saw the registrations sitting in government offices, piled high and dusty, "with my own four eyes" (she wears glasses). Once the forms were "discovered," Kemp's office then claimed the government simply had no time to review the voter applications. That was 2014. In 2018, four years later, and running against Abrams, Kemp still had not found time to add her voters.

4

340,134 Lynched by Laptop

How'd he get away with it? Pull off the caper?

How did Mr. "I-got-a-big-truck" remove way over half a million voters, a nuclear hit on the registration rolls that somehow targeted Black, Hispanic and young voters with a laser-like precision? And how did he do it and stay on this side of prison bars?

And how, with this giant voter eraser, did Kemp snatch the Governorship of Georgia—*and* re-elect Donald Trump?

His excuse was so benign, so innocent, so simple.

The excuse the Purge'n General used to eliminate the registrations? Kemp kept the info locked up—but a federal judge unlocked them for me. Some Georgia voters had died (64,446 of them), some were imprisoned for felonies (14,021) and there were a few other smatterings of legit removals.

But that left 534,510—over half a million purged—

for a reason identified only as "System Cancels." They were cancelled by the system because they had failed to vote in two elections and hadn't returned a postcard mailed to their registration address. On the basis of the missed elections and a missed postcard, Kemp concluded that every one of these half million voters *had moved away:* they had moved out of their county, or out of state or out of the country.

Who can argue with that? Only a fool would say that someone who's left Georgia for Ohio should stay on Georgia's voter rolls.

But something was missing.

U-Haul trucks.

I'd traveled to Georgia a number of times during The Big Purge. With half a million voters leaving—and that means hundreds of thousands of families moving in two years—Interstate Highway 85 out of Atlanta should have been filled with U-Haul trucks, mini-vans, rickshaws, anything that could carry the households of this mass exodus.

The press wrung their hands over this terrible mass purge but wrote it was legit.

But no one asked, "Where are the U-Hauls?"

Riddle me this:

The US Census says less than 3% of Southerners move out of their county in any year, or 200,000 of Georgia's 6.8 million voters.

You don't have to be a math whiz to see the numbers don't add up.

I'm not Sherlock Holmes. I didn't figure out the con in a flash of inductive reasoning after injecting a 7% solution of cocaine. I started with Kemp's office, with a formal Freedom of Information request. However, in Georgia, information has not yet been emancipated. "Please, sir, could you give me the names of the voters you purged and their former addresses?" just didn't cut it. Kemp's office told me to fly.

Now, as an investigative reporter, I have a few (legal) tricks and a team of experienced tricksters. The best, Zach D. Roberts, who, conveniently, has other legal names, had gotten a purge list from Kemp four years earlier. ZD told one of Kemp's flunkies, a leader of the Young Republicans, that he was gathering info for a Fox radio show to run a glowing story about Kemp's worthy purge operation. ZD did in fact do some work for Fox, but the lists would go first to a *Rolling Stone* reporter: me.

You can't pull that off twice. So, I wheeled out big guns: the New York law firm of Mirer, Mazzocchi and Julien. They filed an unprecedented lawsuit in federal court based on rarely used powers in the National Voter Registration Act.

Kemp's crew came out with their hands up and files open: turning over the names and addresses of half a million Georgians who had supposedly moved. The Purged.

What could we do with half a million names? Start calling. We wanted to know, had they really left the state? There was Gladys Bonner, in an assisted living home, who had indeed moved—but from one room in her building to another. Under the law, she should never have lost her vote. And there were a whole lot of people like ML King's cousin, who hadn't moved at all.

And almost every one we reached was . . . well, not white. Hmmm.

But this was anecdotal—a sample. I didn't like the smell of Kemp's purge, but a few cases do not an indictment make.

So my investigations team created a computer program at GregPalast.com which allowed Georgians to see whether they were on Kemp's purge list. We added a request at the site: contact us. Within days 1,900 did, angry, upset that they lost their right to vote without so much as a posting on their Facebook page. Dawan Mitchell, returned from a tour of duty in Iraq, wrote us, telling us he did move . . . but *into* the state.

The smell of mendacity rose, but this still was not the scientific *gotcha* evidence I needed.

How could I find out exactly how many on the list had *actually moved*—versus how many were simply *re*-moved by Kemp?

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Ask yourself, "Who knows exactly where every American lives, with 100% accuracy?" And you know the answer: *Amazon. eBay.* Amazon never sends John Jackson another John Jackson's pimple remover. Who else knows where you live, with certainty? *American Express.* Your friendly credit card company will find you in the far corners of North Korea if you try to skip out on your bill.

So I turned to Mark Swedlund, a legend in the "direct marketing" business—do *not* call it "junk mail." Swedlund had helped me out over the years, including setting up an elaborate false front for *The Guardian.* (We pretended to be fixers for a company called Enron and set out to buy the British government. It was surprisingly cheap. We were invited into Prime Minister Tony Blair's residence at 10 Downing Street before we splashed the headline in *The Guardian* about the government's flea market for favors.)

Swedlund's clients included Amazon, eBay and American Express and he confirmed that "they know exactly where you were last Thursday, and if you ordered Chinese food and then downloaded a Kevin Costner movie."

He added, "I think that's creepy"—but suggested we could use their tracking systems to go through Kemp's purge list.

For that, he said, you need to retain the services of someone called an "advanced address list hygiene expert." I'd never heard of "advanced address list hygiene." But Swedlund hooked me up with the best in the field, John Lenser, the CEO of the advanced address list hygiene company CohereOne, used by the industry big boys.

Lenser and Swedlund put together a hell of a team, including a "de-concatenation" specialist who picked apart the pile of computer mush Kemp's flunkies had given us.

What the Lenser/Swedlund team found was eye-popping. They went through Kemp's purge list of half a million voters *name by name,* and the registration addresses of every person Kemp said had moved their residence. Lenser looked at tax bills, where someone last had pizza delivered, phone bills, your alimony checks . . . accessing *two hundred and forty* databases that can confirm where you reside with stone-cold accuracy.

Notably, Mr. Kemp hadn't bothered to ask why thousands of people had supposedly moved out of Georgia but were still paying Georgia income taxes.

I lost the office pool. I expected about 15% inaccuracy in Kemp's purge. I was wrong, *big* wrong.

□ □ □

Lenser's first report blew me away: 340,134 Georgians that had been purged for moving were, in fact, *still living in the home in which they'd registered.*

Lenser told me,

> 340,000 of those voters remained at their original address. They should have never been removed from the voter registration rolls.

More than a third of a million wrongly purged—in this one state. The list was more than 74% wrong. Three out of four. (The report is so astonishing, I've included Lenser's three-page summary in the Appendix.)

This was not a statistical sample, not an algorithm nor an estimate. This was a name-by-name investigation of those disappeared in plain sight. We were using Amazon's method and Amazon, unlike the Pope, is infallible. (Actually, 96% accurate, according to Lenser. He told me his figures had a 4% error rate because, between gathering data and reporting it, people do pass on to another county or further: the Lenser team found that the state purged 19,118 folks who "moved," but had, in fact, died.)

After two decades on this beat, I knew what would come next. The Georgia vote purge game, spread to a dozen key states, would stealthily bleach the voter rolls whiter than white.

The Purge, not the voters, would re-elect Donald Trump.

5

The Unseen Tsunami

And spread it did. Swing states that would decide the 2020 election—Ohio, North Carolina, Wisconsin—had done a "Kemp job" on their voter rolls.

Purge-mania was moving through GOP states like poop through a goose. By mid-2020, leading into the Presidential race, the urge to purge took over:

Ohio—432,000

North Carolina—576,534

Arizona—258,000

Wisconsin—99,000 (+232,000 listed for purge)

. . . and so on.

As the methods in these states were just variants on the Georgia system, I can tell you, as a former professor of statistics, the 70%+ bogus factor would be the same.

And, with at least two dozen other states rushing to "Georgia-fy" their lists, the total of voters wrongly removed would hit many *millions* by November 2020.

How many? I dove into the deeper files of the federal Elections Assistance Commission, the EAC. An odd number jumped out: between 2014 and 2016, the number of voters purged for moving their residence had soared to 16,696,470—one in 12 registered Americans. Wow, we are a restless bunch.

But *not according to the Census*. The number of purged voters was nearly double the number of voters the Census counted as having moved out of their county or state.

And the statistics got curiouser and curiouser. The purged-for-moving number had gone up by 1.9 million in the two years leading up to the 2016 election. How strange. The Census reported that the number of Americans on the move in those two years had *declined.*

Worse, the EAC purge numbers were seriously *undercounted.* The EAC footnotes (I always read the footnotes) state that several states and counties don't report their purge operations. While Kemp had conducted his Big Purge with a lot of fanfare, other states

quietly removed voters using Kemp's dead-wrong methods *before the 2016 race.*

And who was removing voters? The Democrat-controlled state of New Mexico purged only two out of every thousand voters, or 0.2%. But then there was Indiana. Barack Obama won the state in 2008. However, by 2016, the Hoosier state wrenched violently into the Republican Red Zone. Where had the Obama voters gone? According to Indiana's report to the EAC, *they moved out.* In the two years leading into the 2016 race, under Governor Mike Pence, Indiana purged a breathtaking 22.4% of its registrants—one in five voters.

□ □ □

The number of voters wrongly purged—340,134 and more in Georgia alone—is so huge, so staggering, so jaw-droppingly large, I was, at first, afraid to report it.

With trepidation, I filed the exposé of the Big Purge in Georgia with *Salon.* And warned of millions at risk in two dozen other states for 2020. But who would believe me?

Among officialdom, just one: the Hon. Stacey Abrams.

Emergency Alert!

Virus Votes for Trump

Coronavirus Leads to Outbreak of Mail-in Madness

I'm writing this from quarantine. So I get it: We all must vote by mail—or we die. There may be no choice.

But here's what the "Go Postal" crowd doesn't tell you: in 2016, 512,696 mail-in ballots—over half a million—were simply rejected, not counted. That's official, from the EAC.

But that's just the tip of the ballot-berg of uncounted mail-in votes. The MIT study *Losing Votes by Mail* puts the total loss of mail-in votes at a breathtaking 22%. Move to 80% mail-in voting and 25 million will lose their vote.

And not just anyone's mail-in ballots are dumped in the electoral trashcan. Overwhelmingly, those junked are ballots mailed by poorer, younger, and un-white Americans.

Barbara Arnwine is worried. Mail-in balloting is "really, really dangerous to the Black vote." Prof. Arnwine of Columbia University Law School, acknowledged as the nation's top voting rights attorney, told me that millions of minorities who rarely vote absentee will now have to fill out multi-step forms for the first time, which "will lead to disaster."

The Professor's not guessing. When Colorado

moved to all mail-in voting, the Black turnout rate fell over a cliff, to less than half of the white turnout rate.

Because voting by mail is not as simple as "pick and lick"—choosing a candidate and sticking a ballot in an envelope. Eight states, including the swing states of Wisconsin, Minnesota and North Carolina, require mail-in voters to have the ballot witnessed by a registered voter. The required double-verification is a nightmare and invitation to challenges.

Three states, including swing state Missouri, require the ballot to be *notarized*. (Alabama requires a notary or *two* witnesses.)

All but six states "verify" your ballot signature against your registration signature. Partisan officials decide if there is a "match." No less than 141,000 ballots were rejected for "unmatched" signatures in 2016. Why? To prevent vote fraud, someone stealing your ballot and voting in your name. As our President warned us:

> Mail ballots are very dangerous for this country because of cheaters. They are fraudulent.

Sometimes a psychopathic narcissist* can be right. But not this time.

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* "Psychopathic narcissism" is the diagnosis of Rev. Dr. Thayer A. Greene, Jung Association of Western Massachusetts.

Rutgers Professor Lorraine Minnite, the nation's top vote fraud expert, found just six verified cases of voter impersonation over 12 years of our nation's elections. The *Election Law Journal* reported that "the proportion of the population reporting voter impersonation is indistinguishable from that reporting abduction by extraterrestrials."

A Caltech/MIT study, *Whose Absentee Votes Are Counted?*, shows rejection rates higher for Democrats than Republicans, higher for younger than older voters, and higher for non-English ballots. Surprised?

In California, thousands of Korean-Americans, per their rights under federal law, filled in Korean-language ballots which ask, in Korean, for the voter's signature. Not surprisingly, the voters signed in Korean. All these ballots went straight into the garbage.

Worse, some states require all or first-time voters to mail in a copy of their ID, another hurdle for the poor, those without driver's licenses and those who may have the wrong ID and not know it. Swing states Arizona, Iowa, Texas and Wisconsin reject most photo IDs issued by their own state universities.

Nationally, over 100,000 absentee ballots were deep-sixed because they were missing a signature—in many cases, the *second* voter signature required in some states.

And another 100,000 ballots are lost because of postage due.

VAPORIZED VOTES

It's kinda hard to mail in your ballot if you don't get one in the first place.

Direct-mail expert Michael Wychocki of Chicago tells me that 4% to 20% of any mailing goes astray, leaving voting rights at risk for more than a million citizens simply from wrong and changed addresses.

And, crucially, there's an enormous difference between rich and poor. "The African-American Williams family, renters, may move every year," Wychocki says, "but the Whitehall family in the million-dollar home is barely likely to have moved."

Under federal law, if you move within your county, you don't lose your registration; but hey, the Post Office will inadvertently wipe away your right to vote by returning your do-not-forward ballot.

And pols, especially of the Republican persuasion, know it.

That's why I'm not surprised that the first voting official to call for a switch to all-postal balloting is Ohio's Republican voting chief, Frank LaRose. From 2012 to 2016, Ohio swung from Obama to Trump, and LaRose would like to keep it that way.

One secret of the state's flip to red is that LaRose's GOP predecessor, in the month before the 2016 presidential election, **simply refused to send absentee**

ballot application cards to 1,035,795 voters, those on the absurdly inaccurate "inactive" or "mover" lists. Voters lost their rights—without notice. The Ohio you-don't-get-a-ballot lists are two-to-one Democratic.

With 17 million voters erased from the registration rolls in the past two years, millions will say, *Where the hell is my ballot?* Sorry: they'll be S.O.L.

Ana Maria Rosato of the ACLU Georgia is having a conniption over the Peach State's decision that, for 2020, it won't send out ballot requests to "inactive" voters. At least Gov. Kemp gave out a warning. Other Republican states will shaft the Democrat-heavy inactive lists without any announcement.

Prof. Robert Fitrakis of Columbus State University says that Ohio led the way in rejecting mail-in ballots on a mass scale. "We have a history in Ohio of deliberately using the absentee ballot in a partisan and racist way."

Fitrakis pointed out that George W. Bush's re-election victory in 2004 hinged on Ohio GOP Secretary of State Ken Blackwell disqualifying mountains of mail-ins with such excuses as "Signature below line," i.e., part of the signature was not perfectly inside a box.

Some states have moved to Same Day Registration (SDR), which allows a wrongly purged voter to register on Election Day in the polling station. With mail-in balloting, kiss that key protection goodbye.

Federal law requires states without SDR to provide a "provisional" ballot to those who find themselves missing from the rolls. While provisional ballots provide dubious protection—over a million were rejected in 2016—still, over a million were counted. Minorities, far more likely to have to vote provisionally than whites, will lose this protection: there is no such thing as a mail-in provisional ballot.

BUBBLE TROUBLE

The nasty secret of American elections is that we don't count all the ballots.

Even if your mail-in ballot arrives on time and is accepted, your vote for President may still not count.

The US has a huge problem with "residual" (uncounted) ballots: the voter's choice is not readable by optical scanners or other counting machines. And once again, some voters are more "residual" than others. The Brennan Center for Justice finds that in some elections, African-Americans are five times as likely to have their vote disqualified for "over-voting" (making an extra mark on the ballot) than white voters, an artifact of crappy machines in poor neighborhoods.

Happily, the residual number has declined because of in-precinct scanners: the voter puts their ballot through the scanner, which beeps or kicks the ballot

back if the scanner detects an under- or over-vote. With mail-ins, there is no scanner to warn that the vote won't count. The non-count will soar because mail-in voters make understandable errors such as marking an "X" next to their choice instead of filling in the little circle.

In *Billionaires & Ballot Bandits* I cited two voters who failed to properly fill in their bubbles and lost their absentee votes. They were two of 5,000 bubble-less absentee votes disqualified in the mayoral race in San Diego. The voided mail-in ballots allowed GOP lawyers to successfully overturn the Democrats' election victory.

Maybe you have no sympathy for these voters because they were too dumb to figure out the mail-in voting instructions. Hey, don't talk that way about my mom and sister!

□ □ □

We have no choice. We must vote by mail. Because, despite all the mail-in maladies I've laid out in painful numbers, in-person voting is dangerous to our health. This April (2020), the Republican-controlled Wisconsin legislature turned down the Democratic Governor's request to delay the April 7 election, and his proposal to mail ballots to every voter.

The pretense of an election rolled ahead in Wisconsin—and Trump tried to grimly reap his first virus ballot bonus. Rural Wisconsin, that is, Trump Wisconsin, is sparse enough, with few infected, that white voters could safely cast ballots, while Black voters in Milwaukee waited hours, a dance of death resulting from the reduction in the number of polling stations from 180 to five because of the virus. Repeat: 180 stations to *five* because poll workers were, intelligently, unwilling to die.

The result was a shocker: the GOP-backed judge lost! But still, Jim Crowronavirus won. Republicans remain in control of the State Supreme Court, and that means a likely Court order to purge 232,597 voters, overwhelmingly Democrats. (Details in the chapter "Stealing Wisconsin 2020.")

That's a giant thumb on the scale for Trump's re-election.

□ □ □

How to save the dying embers of democracy-by-mail? Sen. Amy Klobuchar of Minnesota has proposed a law that will help, though the legislation, like the Senator, is woefully inadequate. The Klobuchar bill requires states to provide postage-paid return envelopes for mail-in ballots. Good.

That's not enough. States, Senator, like your own Minnesota, must be barred from requiring witness or notary signatures.

Wisconsin and other states require that first-time voters mail in a copy of their ID, another hurdle for the poor, those without driver's licenses or those who may have the wrong ID and not know it. Not many voters know that swing states Arizona, Wisconsin, Texas, and Ohio do not accept most student IDs.

And we must outlaw challenges to signatures unless there is a report filed that the ballot has been stolen.

"Inactive" voters should not be denied ballots—let the voter choose to be active. And, as proposed by Wisconsin Governor Tony Evers, every voter in the USA should be mailed a ballot without having to request one.

And crucially, a mass voter education campaign must show unfamiliar voters how to obtain a postal ballot, how to fill out the ballot (no pencils, bubbles not X's), how to fill out the return envelope and how many stamps are required. (Note for your safety: two people should never lick the same stamp.)

6

Stacey Abrams Digs In

After each ballot-box mugging, after every robbed-in-broad-daylight election, Democrats consistently tend to quietly lick their wounds—if not kiss the knives that stabbed them.

While Al Gore and Hillary Clinton—and I can't tell you how many other politicians—talk about vote suppression during an election campaign, they always see no evil in the final vote count. Not the Hon. Stacey Abrams. She shouts it from the rooftops: They stole it.

"So let's be clear—this is not a speech of concession, because concession means to acknowledge an action is right, true or proper. . . . Under the watch of the now former secretary of state, democracy failed Georgia."

Again and again, she cited our team's finding of 340,134 voters wrongly purged, six times Kemp's so-called "victory" margin. Abrams was outraged seeing our film of Martin Luther King's 92-year-old cousin.

She talks the talk, and better, walks the walk. Within days of the ballot burglary, Abrams founded a non-partisan organization to fight the purges, the lines, the back-of-the-bus provisional ballots. In 2019, after she was swindled out of the governorship, her new non-partisan group Fair Fight hired my investigations team experts, Lenser and crew, to dig even deeper, for a federal suit she filed to end The Purge.

And dig they did. It turns out, wrongly purging 340,134 was not enough for Kemp. That was the number of voters whom he booted off the rolls for having moved their residence—though none had moved an inch.

What that number, huge though it is, missed were voters like Raheim Shabazz, one of the nearly two thousand voters that contacted me when they read our report.

Shabazz had indeed moved . . . just down the road, in the same neighborhood. But federal law is explicit: no one has to re-register, and certainly no one may lose their vote if they move within the same county.

The state claims to notify every voter facing the knife. Shabazz put the new address on his license, paid Georgia taxes from the new address. He was hardly in hiding: Shabazz has his own radio show. He was furious:

> When they want me to pay a traffic ticket, they find me. But when my right to vote is at stake—I'm invisible.

And the tens of thousands wrongly removed for having moved within the same neighborhood, same county? How brilliant of Kemp. Those living at or below the poverty line—let's just call them "Democrats"—are 440% more likely to move in any year within their county than the average American.

When the Abrams/Palast Investigations experts included voters that simply moved down the street—or down the hall—and also found voters previously untraced, the wrongful purge number jumped by tens of thousands, from 70% wrong to 90% wrong.

Let's review the math. Of the half million voters Kemp purged for supposedly moving their residence, 340,134 had never moved an inch. But now, the Lenser team found nearly 100,000 more who had moved *within* their county—and therefore, they too should never have been purged. The total of wrongfully scrubbed voters was now over 400,000.

But Shotgun Kemp was unashamed. Donald Trump had flown in to Georgia to campaign for Kemp, and Kemp was going to return the favor. At the beginning of 2020, Georgia purged *another* 120,000 voters who allegedly moved.

Abrams's group tried to stop this election-year ethnic cleansing in federal court, asking for a chance to show our facts. But the court ruled this was a state matter. The sudden return of "States' Rights"—the Klan's legal fox-

hole, the Segregationists' favored legal doctrine—had, I thought, been buried by federal law and the Warren Supreme Court half a century ago. But here we go again.

What makes Abrams stand out is that she didn't just discover and raise hell about vote chicanery when she became its victim. Abrams has been calling out Kemp's games for years. Although Abrams was the Legislature's minority leader, then-Secretary Kemp hid his half-million-name hit list from her.

She was livid. "Why would a Secretary of State be spending this energy trying to remove lawful voters, instead of trying to add new voters to the rolls?"

She also pointed out what I had not discovered. She reviewed his hit list of voters who had supposedly moved out of the state and identified voters, from registration dates, who, like Gulf War veteran Mitchell, had moved *into* Georgia, but were purged for allegedly moving *out* of the state.

And Abrams was particularly concerned about a fact uncovered by our expert review of that early list of half a million "movers": **the purge list included one in seven of Georgia's African-Americans.**

And the new list of The Purged targeted, with laser precision, renters, young voters, low-income, and urban residents; that is, voters of color . . . the color: Democratic Blue.

Now, how do they do that?

7

The Poisoned Postcard

The US Elections Assistance Commission states:

> With the implementation of the NVRA [National Voter Registration Act] in 1994, states are *required to have evidence* that a citizen is no longer living in the jurisdiction where they were registered before removing him or her from the registration rolls.

In other words, you can't just flush half a million Georgians from the rolls, Mr. Kemp. You are "required to have *evidence*."

What exactly was Kemp's "evidence" that was horribly, madly, viciously, cruelly, provably wrong for no less than 340,134 citizens of Georgia?

He ignored evidence . . .

. . . from the Post Office and its complete Change of Address registry,

. . . from Homeland Security,

. . . from the phone and electricity companies,

. . . from the DMV, the IRS, and his own state's tax authority,

. . . from court records, divorce decrees, credit card companies,

. . . and the most reliable authority, Amazon deliveries!

In fact, he ignored every single one of the 240 data sets "advanced address list hygiene" experts rely on.

So, how did Kemp know you moved . . . and moved out of the county? Answer:

You didn't vote in two elections.

And?

And *nothing.* That's it. You didn't vote in two elections.

That's not even among the 240 data points experts use to determine if you've moved.

Don't you dare laugh at Mr. Kemp. *Governor* Kemp. His "evidence" made him Georgia's chief of state. And that same single piece of evidence that you have moved—not voting twice—has, as I write this, taken away the voting rights of several million citizens from Indiana to Michigan. And that "evidence" will re-elect Trump.

□ □ □

PROVISIONAL PEACH

I accompanied Shabazz to the polling station as he insisted on trying to vote for Abrams. Of course, they wouldn't let him. But Georgians are nice folks: the lady in charge handed him that "I'm a Georgia voter!" sticker with the peach painting. They also gave Shabazz a "provisional" ballot to fill out.

Federal law requires Georgia and other states to give a provisional ballot to anyone who claims to be wrongly missing from voter rolls. But Georgia law does not allow those ballots to be counted if the voter is not on the rolls, right or wrong. Tough luck, Raheim. A better name for provisional ballots would be "tranquilizer" ballots—because they lull voters into thinking they've voted, but they haven't. So they go away happy with their peach, not raising hell about getting shafted.

The provisional ballot is to a real ballot as the peach sticker is to a real peach. It was Kemp's way of telling Black voters like Shabazz, *"Eat it!"*

To be young, Black . . . and provisional.

Holding the back-of-the-bus ballot.

There were enough provisional ballots and other ballots and uncounted absentee ballots to defeat Brian Kemp—if only they were counted. However, whether provisional or challenged ballots are counted was up to the Secretary of State: Brian Kemp.

Our researcher Rachel Garbus called several rural counties, whose supervisors told her that no purged voter would get a provisional ballot, only those that "deserve" it. In places like Rome, Georgia, home of the Ku Klux Klan, you can guess the color of "deserving" voters.

That may violate federal law. But federal law applies to America. This is Georgia.

And how does America count your provisional ballots? Short answer: we don't. In 2016, according to the federal Elections Assistance Commission, 2.5 million Americans who found themselves either purged, or in the wrong precinct, or missing ID, or whatever they were told that meant, "You can't vote here," were given their tranquilizer provisional ballot. (That's just states bothering to report.) Of those provisional ballots cast, 925,973 were never counted.

Add in the states that refuse to report how many provisional ballots are handed out and then dumped, and the number of provisional ballots in the electoral dumpster easily tops a million.

Obama's Presidential Commission on Elections

released a study showing Black and Hispanic voters are more than twice as likely as other voters to get the provisional ballot. Asians fare worse. And young voters? Those 18 to 24 years old are more than twice as likely to get the provisional placebo ballot (lets you think you voted, but you haven't).

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Now, let me be fair. Kemp and his GOP comrades in other states don't just cross you off the voter rolls for not voting. That would be silly.

No, Kemp sent each person who missed an election a postcard. It asks you to tell Kemp if you are still living where you say you're living. Kind of an odd request.

Here is the card ⇨

Would you notice it? Would you read it? Would you send it back?

I showed direct-mail expert Michael Wychocki a sample postcard. "It looks as if they've broken every direct-marketing rule," creating a card that seems guaranteed to not be returned, says Wychocki. He explains that marketers know people glance at unsolicited mail for no more than two seconds apiece, and this "single-touch" approach—no follow-up phone calls, emails, radio campaigns or other secondary-outreach methods—ensures a deadly low response rate.

REMOVE THIS STUB BEFORE RETURNING

DEAR VOTER:

YOUR COUNTY BOARD OF REGISTRARS IS UPDATING ITS VOTER REGISTRATION LIST

The attached confirmation notice has been sent in response to one of the following:

1) You have filed a change of address form with the U.S. Postal Service;
2) You have not voted or updated your voter registration in at least 3 years; or
3) Official election mail has been returned when sent to the address on your voter registration record.

PLEASE NOTE: This confirmation notice was sent to the current mailing address on your voter registration record. **The county you are currently registered in is shown in both the mailer portion of this notice and return portion of this notice.**

(1) If you still live at the same address as shown on the current voter registration file, complete the attached card and return within 30 days.

(2) If you have moved to an address within the county that is different from the address currently on file, complete the attached card and return within 30 days. A new precinct card will be mailed showing your new voting location.

(3) If you have moved from the county in which you are currently registered to an address outside such county, please complete and return the form below within 30 days. If your new residence address is within Georgia but outside the county where you are currently registered, your voter registration file shall be transferred to the county of your new address. If your residence address is outside the State of Georgia, your name will be removed from the list of electors.

(4) If you do not return the attached card within 30 days, you will be moved to an inactive status. Your voter registration will be canceled if you DO NOT update your voter registration or vote in an election up to and including the second November General Election held after you are placed on the inactive list.

If you have questions, please contact your County Board of Registrars at the address shown on the outside of this mailer or the Secretary of State's office at 404-656-2871. Visit our website at www.sos.ga.gov/elections for information on elections and voter registration.

If you have moved out of state, please visit www.eac.gov/voter_resources/contact_your_state.aspx to find out how to register to vote in your new state.

To confirm or update your voter registration information, please fill out the card below in ink.

Fold and seal as instructed. No postage necessary.

RETURN WITHIN 30 DAYS!

TO RETURN: 1) REMOVE TOP 1/2" STUB, 2) FOLD TOP PANEL DOWN, 3) MOISTEN AREAS BELOW AS INSTRUCTED, 4) FOLD BOTTOM PANEL UP, THEN 5) APPLY PRESSURE AT THE GLUE AREAS TO SEAL.

For Android

From the Secretary of State website, www.sos.ga.gov, a registered voter with a valid Georgia driver's license or identification card issued by the GA Department of Driver Services may change his or her name or address using Online Voter Registration. You may also access Online Voter Registration by downloading the GA SOS app.

Visit our website @ www.mvp.sos.ga.gov/MVP, download the GA SOS app or contact your local registrar's office.

For Apple

IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN YOUR PRIVACY, DO NOT SEPARATE THE CARD BELOW FROM THIS SECTION!

CONFIDENTIAL

(FILL IN ALL BOXES ON THIS FORM. USE INK ONLY! (DO NOT USE PENCIL!)

>>> Do not separate this card from the section above! See instructions above. <<<

Please update / confirm my voter registration within current county of registration:

Your Name (as appears on this mailer):	Valid GA. Driver's License or GA. I.D. No.: Required
Present Name (if different from name on this mailer):	Last 4 Digits of Social Security Number: Optional (If no GA Driver's License or I.D. Card No., the last 4 digits of your social security number are required.)

Date of Birth:	Phone (Optional):	Residence County:	Inside City Limits: Yes ☐ No ☐	
Residence Street Address: See instructions if moving outside current county of registration.	Apt #	City	State	Zip Code
Mailing Address (If different from residence):	Apt #	City	State	Zip Code
Military or Overseas Yes ☐ No ☐				

X

Signature:

Date:

MOISTEN THIS SPOT

MOISTEN THIS SPOT

MOISTEN THIS AREA

So, if you're young, Black and don't own a home, you are only one-sixth as likely to get and return that card as an old white fart watering their suburban lawn. And you can expect your next ballot, like American democracy, to be provisional.

□ □ □

Even non-voting as a signal to erase a registration is brilliantly biased. African-Americans come out to vote in big numbers when there's much at stake (as in the special election for US Senator from Alabama in 2017), but gerrymander of Black districts depresses mid-term voting. The GOP "stacks and cracks" Black neighborhoods, either dumping (stacking) every dark-hued voter in one district (no one runs against Rep. John Lewis) or cracking them apart to spread them where their votes simply don't count. So why vote?

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And did I mention that almost all the cards are in English? ¡M*aldición!*

□ □ □

And it's not just Kemp. From Ohio to Michigan, gov-

ernments sent out tens of millions of these junk mail vote-killers.

How can Kemp and a score of Republican voting officials across the nation get away with this? Surely, the United States Supreme Court would slam down a gavel on this con. As a matter of fact . . .

8

Trump Re-elected by Five Votes

. . . It was the Supreme Court—or, more accurately, the Supreme Republican Five—that, only five months before Kemp's election, blessed Kemp's Big Purge.

The ruling in June 2018, *Husted v. APRI,* is likely to determine control of the White House and Congress in 2020. But it was barely noted by the press, and when mentioned, was universally misreported.

Large-scale ethnic cleansing of voter rolls, purging those who supposedly "moved," was not a Kemp invention. Kemp's not the sharpest chainsaw in the toolshed. The Georgian was merely following behind his fellow Republican Secretary of State, Jon Husted of Ohio.

Like Kemp, Husted had removed half a million voters from the rolls in the 2016 election cycle because they'd supposedly moved their residence based on the "evidence" that they did not vote in two federal elections.

For ten years, I've been tracking Husted. The Ohio vote chief until recently, he is a master at finding creative ways to block non-white voters (we'll review a few other Husted tricks later). But this was something new: Husted was trying out a truly ballsy, breathtaking method of wiping out the rights of hundreds of thousands of voters with one blow.

But Husted (and fellow GOP purgers like Kemp) had a problem: his method of purging voter rolls is a stone-cold, in-your-face violation of the National Voting Registration Act of 1993. The NVRA states, explicitly, that a purge program

> shall not result in the removal of the name of any person from the [rolls] by reason of the person's failure to vote.

It's known as the Failure-to-Vote Clause. Simple, clear. Surely, someone would bust Husted's scam.

And he was busted, by the lawyers for the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

In 1925, with Jim Crow at its most virulent, it took unimaginable courage for a Black man, A. Philip Randolph, to organize a union of servers on passenger trains, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Serving fine dinners on fine china to America's ruling class was one of the highest paid, most prestigious jobs

to which an African-American could then aspire. But while they smiled and bowed to the wealthy white men in First Class, The Brotherhood's members, working unsupervised, crisscrossing the nation, North and South, secretly spread the word of the growing civil rights movement, a literal underground railroad of information and complex organizing. The Brotherhood organized and paid for Martin Luther King's 1963 march on Washington.

In later years, as Black men won the right to trade serving towels for law degrees, the progeny of the union on steel wheels continues the fight through the A. Philip Randolph Institute (APRI).

APRI thought they'd get a quick knockout against Husted's clear violation of The National Voter Registration Act. (APRI itself helped write the law.)

The NVRA begins with this assurance:

> The right of citizens of the United States to vote is a fundamental right.

Furthermore, the obligation falls on Husted, Kemp and every official to not only protect voting, but extend its reach:

> It is the duty of the Federal, State, and local governments to promote the exercise of that right.

The NVRA was specifically designed to force resistant states to expand registration to prevent ploys that remove legitimate voters from the rolls.

The law targeted an old Jim Crow trick: make it hard for Black people to vote, then remove them from the voter rolls for not voting. Therefore, the explicit prohibition on purges, "by reason of the person's failure to vote."

What could be more straightforward?

But Ohio's GOP Secretary of State brilliantly used an innocuous and reasonable exception to the no-purge rule in the NVRA: if you *move out of Ohio,* you can be removed from the rolls. Fair enough. And if you moved from one county to the next, you had to re-register—and give up your original registration. No issue there.

Husted purged 426,781 voters in the year leading up to the 2016 election. This followed an earlier purge of over half a million voters right after Obama's re-election. Husted's bleaching of the voter rolls totaled a brobdingnagian 1,035,000 voters—whom he claimed had moved out of their county or out of Ohio altogether.

How did Husted know about this previously unnoticed mass exodus from his state?

Let's begin with how the government normally knows you've moved. Usually, you *tell* them. When you move to a new county and get ready to vote, you fill out a new registration form. In addition, the US Postal Service maintains a public Change-of-Address registry,

another of the many ways Americans tell the government, "Hey, I've moved." Homeowners stop paying property taxes on homes they no longer own. You file your taxes from a new address. Straightforward. And if you move to another state and get a new driver's license, the NVRA requires every state to attach a voter registration form to the Driver's License applications.

But Husted had a darker view of Americans, especially darker Americans: they are sneaky bastards by nature, often failing to say they've moved—so they can vote twice, at their old address *and* their new one.

So, Husted came up with his own plan—one which identified voters who supposedly moved without telling anyone: he seized on the "Inactive Voter" list.

An inactive voter is not one who pays for a gym membership but never goes . . . it's someone who fails to vote in one or more elections.

Husted made this astonishing claim: if a voter misses two elections, then obviously, *they've moved out of their house.* And they not only moved, they left the state or the county.

So APRI thought they had Husted by the ballots: he broke the law, the Failure-to-Vote Clause of the NVRA. You can't remove voters because they are "inactive." (In America, you have the right to vote—or *not* to vote. There are lots of reasons Americans don't vote in every election. Maybe you do, but I don't.)

But Husted had a rejoinder: The Postcard. Every registered Ohio voter who missed a couple of elections got that postcard.

The Post Office, for a few pennies a card, will return an undeliverable one. But most people who move in America, says the Census, do so within their own neighborhood, their own county. A returned-as-undeliverable card to an old address is evidence of . . . nothing.

But Husted went even further, *way* further. If the Post Office *successfully* delivers a card to your registration address, and you simply didn't mail it back, properly filled out, then obviously, says Husted, you've moved.

Huh?

That's right: the postcard was delivered, not returned by the USPS, but because the voter didn't fill out and mail back the card (few do), this is proof positive to Husted that the voter had moved away—and not somewhere else in their town, but out of their county, out of their state or out of the country.

Skipping a vote and a postcard: does that mean you've secretly moved long distance? The Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals laughed Husted's card trick out of the courtroom.

□ □ □

But Husted got the last laugh: the US Supreme Court.

Those of us older than Justin Timberlake remember the Supreme Court, especially the Warren Court, as the defender of the rights of all Americans, the wise and good men who gave us *Brown v. Board of Education*, desegregating our schools; who gave women the right to have control over their own bodies; who made official scoundrels tremble and Martin Luther King's dream into enforceable laws.

Then there is that Other Court, a degenerate, out-of-control, Grand Old Party playhouse that picked our president for us (*Bush v. Gore),* unleashed Billionaires' pay-for-policy (*Citizens United)*, and tore the heart out of the Voting Rights Act *(Shelby v. Holder).*

And the difference between these two courts is usually just one vote and Justice Ruth Bader Ginsberg's successful chemotherapy and weight-lifting regimen.

In *Husted v. APRI,* The Fading Four put up a fight. Justice Stephen Breyer asked the question of Ohio I asked about Georgia: Where are all the moving vans? Breyer wrote:

> What about those registered voters—more than 1 million strong—who did not send back their return cards? Is there any reason at all (other than their failure to vote) to think they moved? The answer to this question must be no. There

> is no reason at all. First, those 1 million or so voters accounted for about 13% of Ohio's voting population. So if those 1 million or so registered voters (or even half of them) had, in fact, moved, then vastly more people must move each year in Ohio than is generally true of the roughly 4% of all Americans who move to a different county nationwide (not all of whom are registered voters). But there is no reason to think this. Ohio offers no such reason. And the streets of Ohio's cities are not filled with moving vans; nor has Cleveland become the Nation's residential moving companies' headquarters.

Justice Sonia Sotomayor's dissent brought up the ill shadow of Dr. James Crow, that Husted's system had an almost telepathic way of picking out Black voters and purging them:

> African-American-majority neighborhoods in downtown Cincinnati had 10% of their voters removed due to inactivity [since 2012, as] compared to only 4% of voters in a suburban, majority-white neighborhood.

But hey, a 250% Black/White differential? For the GOP five, that's *a bonus*.

Justice Samuel Alito, writing for the GOP Five, dismisses the argument that "the human tendency not to return cards received in the mail" (i.e., throw out junk) is not *evidence* that voters have not moved.

And the truth is that the vote protection advocates presented no hard evidence proving these voters had not moved. Common sense and "human tendency" didn't cut it.

With the Court's blessing in hand, GOP Secretaries of State went to work on the voter rolls—beginning with Kemp's Georgia vote roll pogrom, followed by Arizona, Michigan, Florida and others—the Big Erasing added up to millions blocked from voting . . . *and they don't know it.*

And so, by a vote of 5 to 4, the Supreme Court has re-elected Trump.

NOW, LET ME PLAY NURSE

Husted v. APRI comes down to something exceptionally simple: Has someone moved if they have failed to vote *and* to return a postcard?

That's it. Nothing else.

The Republican Five argue that failure to return a postcard is a reasonable way to test if someone's moved—and the GOP Justices noted, despite the Democratic Four's protest, that the claim that Americans have many reasons

not to vote, and most folks just throw away postcards, is not *measurable proof* they did not move. Who is right?

Millions of votes—and Trump's re-election—hang on the answer.

Now, imagine the Supreme Court as a group of doctors standing at a distance from a patient's bed. They are arguing about whether the patient has a fever. All five Republican doctors vote that the patient has a fever. The Democrat MDs dissent. A loud argument draws the attention of a nurse who walks into the room, flips the patient over, inserts a thermometer, pulls it out and declares, "98.6 degrees. No fever."

Now let me play nurse. Because we know there *is* a thermometer which can tell if a voter has moved: a simple, ridiculously quick and cheap, name-by-name way to verify the location of every voter right now: the Advanced Address List Hygiene that we used in Georgia. And it's criminal, insane, and criminally insane that this reliable method for confirming voter addresses has not been used.

Before the Kemp-Abrams race, Husted and company could plead ignorance. But we've shown them in our reports (and in a courtroom, Stacey Abrams has shown Kemp) exactly how to do it right, to spare the vote of innocents.

But the GOP eraser-heads are fighting tooth and nail for the right to get it wrong.

9

Schindler's Black List

So, why didn't you read about the 340,134 voters that Kemp illegally slashed from the voter rolls? And why didn't you read about the hundreds of thousands removed for "moving residence" in Ohio who never moved at all?

Because there was good news to report instead. In October 2019, the *New York Times* ran a heartening article that Husted's replacement as Secretary of State, Republican Frank LaRose, had *prevented* the wrongful purge of 40,000 voters.

Frank LaRose is shown photographed in a thoughtful and heroic pose next to his office window.* The *Times*

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* Note: Anytime a paper wants someone to look thoughtful and heroic, they photo their chosen hero next to a window, partly lit with natural light, shot slightly below eye level, with the hero not looking at the camera but rather looking out the window deep in higher thoughts. With that pose and lighting, you could make Bugs Bunny seem like Albert Schweitzer. My fellow journalists will hate me for letting you in on this. F'm.

article was full of praise for the Ohio GOP official for having published the purge list.

A concerned amateur, Steve Tingley-Hock of Marysville, Ohio, simply matched the list of purged voters to the list of active voters—and found some 40,000 about to lose their vote had, in fact, recently voted.

LaRose removed them from the purge list. The *New York Times* and local hacks couldn't praise LaRose enough for saving those 40,000 from electoral capital punishment.

The *Times* reported:

> Around 40,000 people, nearly one in five names on the list, shouldn't have been on it, the state determined. And it found out before anyone was actually turned away at a polling place . . .

Every wrongfully purged voter's registration was saved—by the Republican officials! Hey, and you thought I only write about evil, racist vote-snatching.

The *Columbus Dispatch* repeated this heartwarming story but noted that, hmmm, nearly one out of three purged voters *not restored* was age 25 to 34; Democrats outnumbered Republicans almost 2 to 1.

The local rag also joined in the praise for the thoughtful, heroic LaRose, allowing him to blame "human error, vendor errors." Those dang humans!

Those darned vendors! The *Dispatch* added, "just one software glitch." Damned software glitches!

But, hey, remember the happy ending: the error was caught *"before anyone was actually turned away at a polling place."*

□ □ □

I saw similar stories around the country, as "investigative" reporters did the simple thing, imitating the amateur from Marysville, checking active voter lists against purge lists and finding errors—lots of folks who had never skipped an election.

Wow.

□ □ □

This appears to be good investigative reporting by the Fourth Estate.

But there's something wrong.

Remember what *Husted v. APRI* was all about? As the Supreme Court states in the Ruling's opening, the case was about "removal of ineligible voters from state voting rolls" made

> *ineligible "by reason of" a change in residence.*

It's all about the National Voter Registration Act's

> *requirements that a State must meet in order to remove a name on change-of-residence grounds.*

Nothing more. Nothing less. *It's not about whether a voter voted or whether a voter is "inactive."* (Remember the "Failure to Vote" clause?)

Non-voting is *not the issue.* The single and only issue is whether the voter changed their residence, moved from the county or state.

Did the *Times* review the rolls to determine if voters had moved? Nope. (I asked.) Did NPR or the *Columbus Dispatch* check if the "moved" had in fact moved? Nope.

In other words, LaRose had the last laugh. He was happy to concede his list was 20% wrong—damn human vendor glitches! . . . When he had to know that the list is at least *80%* wrong, as we found in Georgia.

You can't fool all the people all the time, Lincoln noted, unless they are reporters.

It's as if a German journalist said to Hitler, "Your deportation list of Jews . . . it's wrong! 20% of the people on the list . . . aren't Jews!"

No, the problem is not that the list is 20% wrong. It's that *creating the list* is wrong.

10

Stealing Wisconsin 2020

In February of 2020, following the smell of another voter list burning, I flew to Milwaukee. I met Sequanna Taylor, who was furious.

"I was on the purge list!"

That's not an unusual complaint from a woman of color in Wisconsin. What is unusual is that Taylor is a Milwaukee County Supervisor. Her name is *on* the ballot. Only a tip-off from a *Milwaukee Sentinel* reporter allowed her to save her right to vote for herself.

In 2016, Trump officially won Wisconsin by a dinky 22,748 votes out of 3 million cast.

That's too close for GOP comfort, because Wisconsin is a big deal, likely to be the swing state in 2020 that it was in 2016.

So first, in the waning hours of 2019, the Republican-controlled legislature ended the right to vote on the

Sunday before Election Day—that is, outlawed Souls to the Polls Day when most African-Americans vote.

That wasn't enough. The Republicans then passed a law to erase 232,597 voters from the rolls in 2020, ten times Trump's 2016 margin. The grounds would be "evidence" that a voter had moved provided by a private contractor. The newly threatened voters, like Supervisor Taylor, are suspiciously concentrated in the Black-majority city of Milwaukee and among student voters in Madison.

But Republicans have run into an obstacle to their new vote suppression plan: voters.

A little background: Milwaukee has the worst employment rate for African-Americans of any city in the USA. In 2018, the unemployed revolted, and despite the minefield of crazy Wisconsin ID laws, registration purges and other traps laid between African-Americans and the polling station, a surge of Black voters tossed GOP Governor Scott Walker out on his keister and replaced him with Democrat Tony Evers. Elected with Evers: a 33-year-old Black man, Mandela Barnes, as Lieutenant Governor.

The Lt. Governor raised hell about vote suppression, and the Elections Board, half in Democratic hands, refused to purge the additional 232,000 voters demanded by the Legislature. The hit list is hopelessly filled with errors.

So, the good guys win! Don't count on it. In January 2020, a think tank, the Wisconsin Institute for Law and Liberty (WILL), sued to force the state to purge all voters on the list. And WILL found a hack judge to order the removal of all 232,597.

That's why I flew to Wisconsin in February 2020, to meet with Lt. Gov. Barnes and find out who is WILL and who is on their hit list. And what color are those hit?

As I write, the state Elections Board has appealed the order to purge—but the appeal goes to Wisconsin's violently right-wing judiciary. Good luck with that.

What is the Wisconsin Institute for Law and Liberty? Now, I'm a fan of law and liberty, so I was interested in whose generosity supported WILL.

WILL, it turns out, is the beard for the Bradley Family—which had sold their business, Allen-Bradley Manufacturing. Allen-Bradley factories once employed thousands, the biggest employer of Black unionized labor in the city.

The company still casts a shadow on Milwaukee: it constructed a replica of London's Big Ben, only bigger.

And there's another shadow: Allen-Bradley factories were sold off for $1.6 billion, and ultimately, close to 20,000 jobs were shifted from Milwaukee to China and 97 other countries.

The Bradleys sliced off nearly a billion dollars of

their sell-off gain to put into a foundation that funds right-wing causes—a cash bucket as big as the Koch operation, including $6 million for WILL.

ANOTHER QUARTER MILLION

Wisconsin Elections Commissioner Ann Jacobs is a blunt-talking attorney. The purpose of WILL's lawsuit, she said, is simple:

> This massive purge is clearly an attempt to gain an advantage in Wisconsin for the Republicans, particularly for the presidential race that's coming up.

Jacobs notes that federal law allows removing voters based on *"reliable"* information—and the GOP's new purge list was anything but. The Elections Board knows the list is racially poisoned and filled with errors—but had no idea how to prove it.

I did. I re-gathered the "Advanced Address List Hygiene" team to evaluate this list of a quarter million voters that WILL insisted was based on reliable information that these voters had moved to another state.

Understand that this new purge list of a quarter million residents is *in addition to* the 99,000 purged a year earlier using the Husted/Kemp "inactive voter" con.

This new list was, said WILL, "reliable information voters had moved their residence." Really?

Our experts reviewed the list of 232,597 voters, name by name, to be purged for moving from the state or county:

- Only one in four, 62,433, of the voters had moved out of Wisconsin or out of their registration county.

- And, admittedly, 156 moved on (died).

- Add it up. The WILL/GOP hitlist will remove 170,008 Wisconsin voters for moving from the state or county—though they didn't.

While not every address could be confirmed, we are certain that **97,135 moved, including County Supervisor Taylor, *locally*, within their county—that is, are still legally registered.**

And Lenser and group report that **another 48,728 have never moved from their registration address at all.** (A couple thousand—2,455—likely left the country.)

The two biggest counties in Wisconsin, and the two biggest *Democratic* counties, are Dane County (home of Madison and Bernie Bro central, the University of

Wisconsin), and Milwaukee, center of the state's Black population. Together, Dane and Milwaukee account for 24.4% of the state's voting age population. Yet, just these two counties account for 34.6% of the total on the "mover" list of those targeted for electoral execution. In other words, you're 39% more likely to be on the hit list if you're in the two big Democratic counties.

So who came up with the bogus, biased voter hit list?

The answer could have knocked me over with a feather . . .

11

ERIC Crow, Jim Crow's Liberal Twin

If I had to choose the organization that has done the most to threaten the votes of the non-white voter, it wouldn't be the Ku Klux Klan nor the Proud Boys nor the white supremacists chanting, "Jews Won't Replace Us!" These are frightening clowns marked by easy-to-spot Day-Glo racism. They're violent, but not likely to stop many voters.

Rather, for the real purge-meisters, think of the sponsors of PBS' *NewsHour*. And, *"Doo-de-doo-doo!* It's *All Things Considered*!"

The Pew Charitable Trust. It's the Pew Trust that founded ERIC, the Electronic Registration Information Center, the purge operation that tagged Milwaukee County Supervisor Sequanna Taylor a "mover," that is, a potential fraudulent voter who must lose her vote.

Look at this nice woman in the photo, "Mrs. Pew." Actually, her name is Rebecca W. Rimel, President of the Pew Trust. She looks like the kind old lady down the street with too many cats who will look in on yours when you're on vacation.

Just don't leave your voter rolls with her. When you come home, you'll find them bleached white and oddly shrunken.

And let me be utterly clear: I don't for a minute believe that the Pew Trust is out to wipe away African-American voting rights; just the opposite, they are the quintessential do-gooders. They just don't do any good.

In fact, they are the mindless purveyors of the most invidious of evils, providing a liberal PBS-y endorsement of vote suppression tropes, in particular, the canard that there are people dangerously registered in two states! A threat to the Republic!

The GOP is thrilled to have liberal Pew on their side. I suspect the Republican Five on the Supreme Court considered it an inside joke that their vicious *Husted* decision opened by quoting the liberal Pew Trust:

> It has been estimated that 24 million voter registrations in the United States—about one in eight—are either invalid or significantly inaccurate. (Pew Center on the States . . .) And about 2.75 million people are said to be registered to vote in more than one State. *Ibid,* (Pew).

But when Dorothy chanted in *The Wizard of Oz*, "LIONS AND TIGERS AND BEARS, OH MY!" the audience knows the danger is a joke, silly nonsense.

But in a Supreme Court decision, it's dangerous nonsense. Yes, 2.75 million people are registered twice—but so what? They don't *vote* twice. In fact, less than 2.75 *individuals* on average are caught voting twice in any year, according to Lorraine Minnite, the Rutgers University expert on fraudulent voting.

But hundreds of thousands of voters who land on Pew's list will lose their right to vote, just to prevent a fraud that doesn't happen.

And what does Pew recommend a secretary of state do when threatened by *millions of voters registered in two states?* Arrest double-voting criminals—both of them? No. Pew says that the state should send half a million dollars to Pew, and Pew will provide a list of "movers."

"Movers," it turns out, are students, low-income voters and renters, Latinx and Black voters. And, as we've found out, *most didn't move.*

Pew does not tell Secretaries of State to remove these voters. Rather, Pew just makes up the hit list, tells the states (mostly Republican) to mail out those Jim Crow cards—and lets the states do the dirty work.

Pew's ERIC hands Ohio, Virginia, and other states the bullets, then turns its back, not looking to see if the bullets are fired.

It's difficult to find a dissent to the Pew purge. What liberal can object to a program that is promoted by an op-ed in the *Washington Post?*

But dissent there is. Barbara Arnwine, for decades the head of Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, teaches at both Columbia University and UCLA law schools. Prof. Arnwine is founder of the Transformative Justice Coalition. In 2020, Arnwine told me she's livid that the Pew Trust's purge promotion has gone without public criticism:

> ERIC should be called ERROR because it's that erroneous and that full of flaws. ERIC claims to find people who've moved. Now, apparently almost half the people on the list are young people. Listen, in Wisconsin in 2018 during the primary election, suddenly 44,000 people found themselves ineligible to vote. They had been purged. Turns out, the administrators of ERIC admitted an error in their own system that misidentified 44,000 people.

When a purge pirate is caught wrongly removing voters, they admit to a small "mistake"—though 44,000 was twice Trump's victory margin.

No newspaper dared challenge Pew nor bother to ask for the ERIC list of the condemned—until I got suspicious. I asked them for their lists beginning in 2014 and got turned down—because Pew claims it is above the federal law requiring transparency in the removal of voters.

And sending gobs of cash to America's liberal media keeps hands open and mouths shut.

But then the Wisconsin Elections Board made the list public—and we discovered that the 44,000 wrongly identified were, in fact, just a fourth of the wrongly tagged.

How could this be? Unlike the Kemp/Husted purge lists, Pew's list are "evidence-based" and "nonpartisan."

How do I know? They say so right on their web site:

The Pew Charitable Trusts uses evidence-based, nonpartisan analysis to solve today's challenges

As a good citizen always in favor of solving today's challenges, and as a reporter for *Rolling Stone,* I decided to call ERIC himself, that is, the chief of Pew's

ERIC voter purge program, David Becker, to ask him about his "evidence."

Our address hygiene experts used over two hundred databases to verify one James Brown from another. ERIC uses three to eight. No social security numbers (though states generally list the last four digits).

Has Pew ever done a review of the list by experts? No, that's "left to the states." Pew tells the states *not* to use the raw list to purge voters but Pew does not check if, as in Wisconsin, the ERIC "movers" list is used for a Jim Crow operation.

Pew did not set out to become the weapon for ethnic cleansing. Just the opposite: it was meant to find voters who moved from one state or county to another. Its 25 member states are supposed to use the list to send moved voters cards to encourage them to register. Does Pew make sure the cards are sent to add registrations? Nope. Does Pew take action if a state, as most do, uses it to wipe away registrations? Nope. Pew simply turned over the operation to the control of the partisan hacks who use it to purge voters.

Does Becker know whom his list targets? "No question," he told me, proudly, "the most highly mobile—the poor, Black, the young . . ."

But Pew's intentions are good: to get those poor Black young folk back on the voter rolls. The fact that it does the opposite, targeting the Sequanna Taylors for

elimination of their rights, well, that's none of Pew's business. That's up to the states. Pew, Pontius Pilate style, washes its hands of the electronic lynchings.

And what exactly is the danger of someone who moved out of Ohio to California remaining on the rolls until the change-of-address form hits from the Post Office? America simply is not awash in illegal double voters. And Becker admitted as much to me:

> 99.999% of those people were not thinking of voting twice in two states.

But the states from Virginia to Ohio are removing hundreds of thousands of voters on the grounds they are preventing this crime by 0.001%. (Though even that teensy sum is way exaggerated.)

Lori Shellenberger of the ACLU blocked ERIC in California because, as she told me, it's just nuts to remove hundreds of thousands of voters from the rolls to prevent a crime, double voting, that is not committed—knowing that even a small percentage of false positives will result in thousands, even tens of thousands, losing their voting rights.

But it's all OK, because Pew's targets can easily get their votes back. They only have to return that postcard. Since only 4% return those cards, Pew must have it 96% correct.

Is it Pew's fault if no one returns the cards?

After all, the card was designed by an expert.

Who?

Click your slipper heels together, Dorothy, we're going back to Kansas . . .

12

Aliens Invade Kansas!

I never got to say a proper goodbye to Kris, the Brian Kemp of Kansas. As Kansas Secretary of State he was in charge of its voter rolls—and, as I'll explain, in charge of Georgia's and several other states' as well.

When we last parted, Kobach was screaming, "Liar! Liar!" while backing away to escape from me, the plastic spoon from the vanilla ice cream still in his mouth.

I had hired a combat-trained cameraman from Paris to join me on this fraught assignment for *Rolling Stone*: to film white people in their natural habitat, what anthropologists call an "Ice Cream Social," a Republican Party fund-raiser in Wichita, Kansas—and get out alive.

OK, that was a little over-the-top, but then, Kobach had just founded a company to make "family-friendly" automatic weapons (which he claimed would not have

to be registered). And he'd bolted a 50-caliber machine gun to the top of his jeep.

I could see Kobach's minions under a tent in the park scooping out the ice cream: no chocolate, only vanilla. Of course.

I played a local TV reporter with one of those cubes on the microphone with the number 4 on it, "Blindwitness News" or whatever NBC calls it. My lame disguise worked.

I shook Kobach's hand—and wouldn't let go until I was in good body-blocking position. When I put on my fedora, Kobach recognized me and would have bolted . . . except for the Pledge of Allegiance. He had to freeze in place, hand over heart: ". . . Under God, with liberty and justice for all."

It was 2016, and I'd been on Kobach's trail, him ducking, for three years. Why Kansas? Why Kobach?

Because Kris Kobach was more responsible than any other person in America for putting Donald Trump into the White House. And Trump was more than appreciative.

In 2016, Republicans had a problem: there simply weren't enough white guys to elect Donald Trump. The Census reports that the white vote has dropped by a fifth, from 87.6% in 1980 to 73.3% of the voting population in 2016. (Not every white guy votes Republican, so 73.3% white is not enough for the GOP to feel secure.)

So there was only one way for the GOP to win in 2016, and the only way they can win in 2020: eliminate non-white voters.

And Kobach has The Erasers, the magic ways to simply remove a couple million wrong-colored voters from the voter rolls. By the time I shook his hand in 2016, one of his schemes—Crosscheck (we'll get to that)—had already purged 1.1 *million* from the rolls, too many of them Black, Hispanic and Asian-American, quite silently, in Michigan, Ohio, North Carolina and 26 other states, a stealth purge crucial to Trump's victory.

In 2020, Kobach may choose our president for us again.

The "confirmation" postcard used by Kemp, by Husted and most GOP-run states was designed by Kobach's office, designed to be an unreadable block of print, designed to get you to throw it away, to throw your vote away with it.

Kobach has Trump's ear—and, God help us, Trump listens.

□ □ □

Kobach had been working on whitening the voter rolls, and whitening America, since college days. He was the lawyer for FAIR (Federation for American Immigra-

tion Reform) whose founder stated its purpose was to maintain "a European-American majority."

Kobach had drafted Arizona's infamous SB1070 Act, dubbed the "Driving While Brown" law by the ACLU, and he was the legal advisor to Arizona Sheriff Joe Arpaio, who was found guilty of criminal violation of the Civil Rights of Hispanic Americans.

Kobach's alien hunt was lucrative. He drafted a law for Farmers Branch, Texas, which banned sales to "illegal immigrants," like selling one a Slurpee. Kobach pocketed a $100,000 fee and the town nearly went bankrupt when the courts found the law unconstitutional.

Kobach proudly told me he's the one who convinced Trump that Mexico would pay for The Wall.

Kobach is a wizard with databases and demographics. Fresh out of school, he was hired by the Department of Homeland Security, where he created a database that tracked Muslims as they traveled across the US. President George W. Bush found it so disturbingly racist that the President personally ordered Kobach's Muslim tracker shut down. (Kobach had the last word: it was he who suggested Trump's Muslim travel ban.)

Though caged by Bush, Kobach's dark arts would soon be unchained.

Because, beginning in 2011, beside his side gig as an arms dealer, Kobach became Kansas' Secretary of

State, the man who decides who's allowed on the voter rolls and who gets erased, purged.

And his creative use of that power has given him huge influence to spread his purge gospel and spreadsheets to other states through the Republican Secretaries of State Committee, a group almost as influential in determining our president as the Electoral College.

ALIEN MOTHERSHIP

Our President has warned us:

> And then those illegals [aliens] get out and vote, because they vote anyway. Don't kid yourself. Those numbers in California and numerous other states, they're rigged. They've got people voting that shouldn't be voting.
>
> Once they arrive, the Democrat Party's vision is to offer them free health care, free welfare, free education, and even the right to vote.

They're here! *Look!*

But Kobach is ready for them. For the 2020 election (and especially 2024 and 2028—yes, they think that far ahead), Kobach has authored laws in Arizona, Alabama and Kansas which require Americans to prove

we're Americans in order to vote. That is, the laws require "proof of citizenship" to register to vote.

Sounds reasonable. Only citizens should vote. So what's wrong with proving you're a citizen to vote?

The problem for voters is that this is not Red China: we don't have citizen cards nor citizenship chips in our skulls. (Not yet.)

A driver's license is *not* proof of citizenship. Aliens, like my wife, have driver's licenses so they can *drive cars* (or spaceships), not vote.

So for tens of millions of Americans, proving you're a citizen is a bitch. The only documents that prove citizenship in America are a passport and certified birth certificate. Not many homeboys in the projects have their passports from their ski vacations in the Alps. And a whole lot of Americans can't find their original birth certificates, if they ever had one.

Kobach's proof-of-citizenship went for a test drive in Arizona. His supporters claimed the law would also stop terrorists from entering the US to vote. About 30,000 Arizonans lost their right to vote. All Americans, but hey, we all have to sacrifice something unless we want Al-Qaeda to choose our school board.

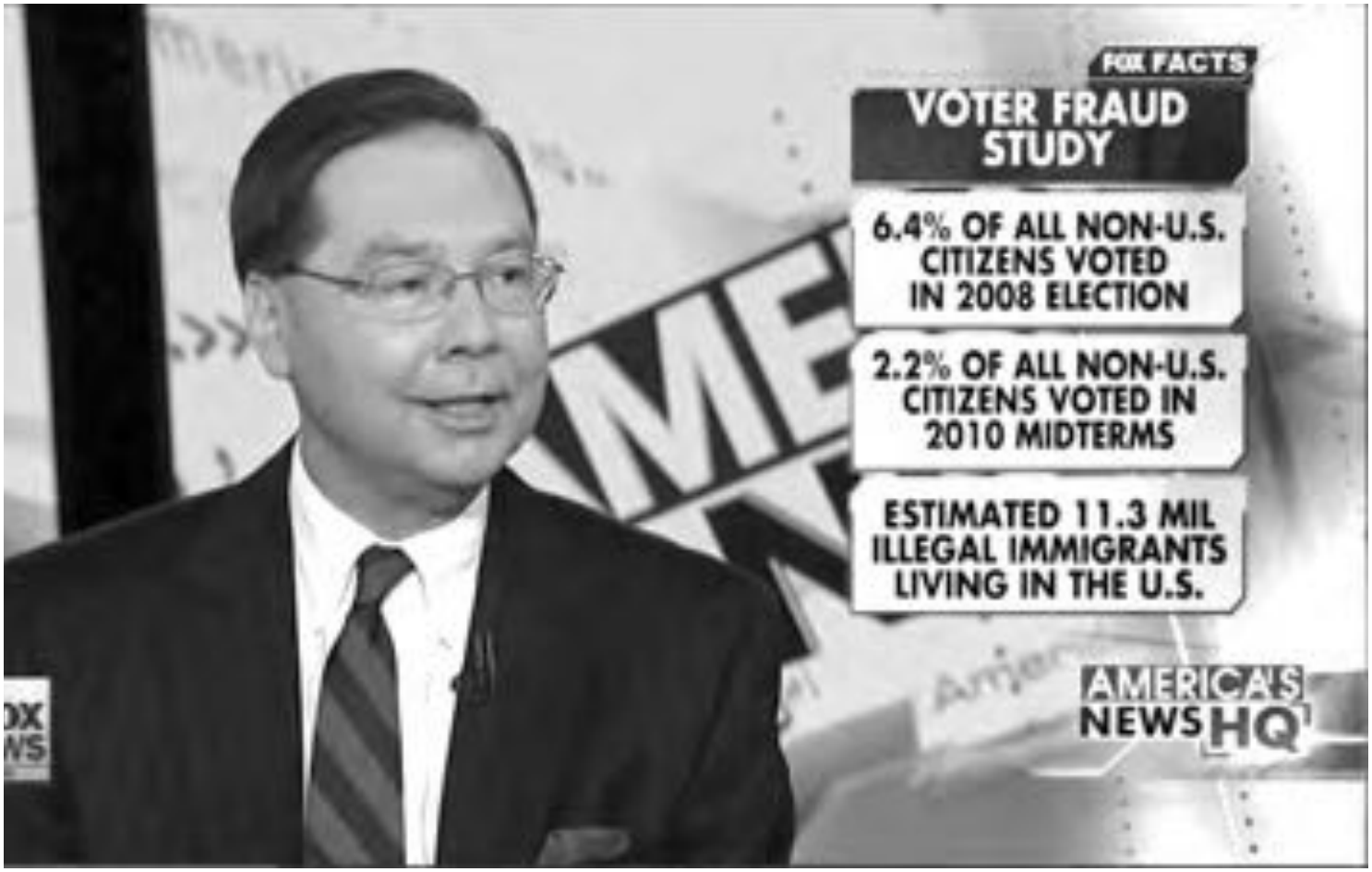
In 2008 I investigated these skanky illegals myself in Arizona, including Shirley Preiss, who claimed she was born before birth certificates were given out in rural backwoods. My interrogation was not easy: Shirley, at

97 years old, was having a hard time hearing. She wore a dress and hat printed with American flags—but she couldn't fool me.

"Shirley, are you a terrorist?"

"Errorist?"

Her son, no spring chicken himself, shouted into her ear: "Terrorist! You blow up buildings, Mom?"


FOX FACTS
VOTER FRAUD STUDY
6.4% OF ALL NON-U.S. CITIZENS VOTED IN 2008 ELECTION
2.2% OF ALL NON-U.S. CITIZENS VOTED IN 2010 MIDTERMS
ESTIMATED 11.3 MIL ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS LIVING IN THE U.S.
AMERICA'S NEWS HQ

13

Von Spakovsky's Icicle

Trump got his intelligence on the wave of alien voters from Kris Kobach. But where did Kobach get this stuff?

Answer: From this man in the Fox studio, Hans von Spakovsky. Don't be prejudiced against Von Spakovsky because of his Trumpian comb-over, wet lips, Dr. Mengele glasses or his silly use of the German royal "von." Rather, what's disconcerting is Von Spakovsky's ability to create Fox Facts.

Fox Facts are not facts as you and I know them. We think of facts as bits of truth, nice little nuggets of reality. But here, under the heading "FOX FACTS," is Von Spakovsky's claim that "6.4% of all non-US citizens voted in the 2008 election."

Let's do some arithmetic. Add the 11.3 million "illegal immigrants" to the 13.2 million legal permanent residents and we have a total of 24.5 million aliens in the US. If 6.4% voted, that's 1.6 million foreigners commit-

ting the felony crime of voting in each of our elections! *¡Caramba!*

That's why Obama won! That's a fact! That is, a "FOX FACT."

Now, FOX FACTS would be harmless, but Von Spakovsky's whoppers have earned him a succession of Presidential appointments to positions of power where he has exterminated voting rights on a mass scale.

As a lawyer for George W. Bush in 2000, he was on the team that successfully argued to disqualify 179,855 ballots cast in Florida, mostly in Black counties, thereby making Bush President. (*That's* worth an explanation . . . later.) Bush rewarded Von Spakovsky by appointing him to run the Justice Department Civil Rights Division where his job was to protect the voting rights of African-Americans. Half of the Civil Rights division staff quit.

There, Von Spakovsky helped Bush Jr. write the Help America Vote Act. (When a Bush tells you he's going to "help" you vote, look out.) Bush then appointed him to the Federal Elections Commission.

Earlier on, Von Spakovsky was on the Fulton County Board of Election (Atlanta)—for which he was qualified by his also serving as Chairman of the county's Republican Party. (Only in America!)

In 2017, President Trump appointed Von Spakovsky to the Presidential Commission on Election Integrity—

and appointed Kobach its chief—to give them federal authority to hunt the wily alien voter. (They lost their jobs for violating federal meeting rules, sadly, before they could find an alien.)

But what earns Von Spakovsky a photo and cameo here is his role as the expert witness defending Kobach's Prove-You're-a-Citizen law, explaining to a federal judge in Kansas the Fox Facts about the Alien Invasion.

In 2016, Kobach took his prove-you're-a-citizen law for a test drive in Kansas. He successfully blocked 35,314 aliens from registering to vote. Two were Air Force officers stationed in Kansas. Kobach was then sued by a group he calls "The Communist League of Woman Voters." (I called the League to ask if they were functionaries of the Communist Party and got a stern answer: "We are non-partisan, unaffiliated with *any* political party." Of *course* a Communist would say that.)

Kobach had to admit in court that every one of these 35,314 voters he blocked—including two Air Force officers—were US citizens. But, he argued, his law *could* stop an alien in the future—*because there were millions of them voting in the USA.*

University of Florida professor Michael McDonald went through the list of the blocked "aliens" and found that an astonishing 44.6% were young, 18 to 29

years old. I'm sure it was not lost on Kobach, former Chairman of the Kansas GOP, that these young voters preferred Democrats to Republicans by 55% to 36%.

Low-income registrants were also blocked. One Kansan, who worked in a federal prison, could afford neither the time off nor the $50 to get a certified copy of her birth certificate. Kobach did not seem moved by the loss of impecunious Kansans. Maybe because those earning less than $50,000 per year vote 53% to 41% against the GOP.

Kobach wheeled Von Spakovsky into the courtroom as the expert with the proof of the alien invasion.

Unfortunately, the judge clearly did not value FOX FACTS. Federal District Court Judge Julie Robinson found Von Spakovsky a bit of an alien to a courtroom, not a typical expert witness. In another life, I was an expert witness in major racketeering cases. It required academic credentials, certified experience and evidence-supported facts. Judge Julie was not so impressed by a witness whose qualifications amounted to getting Bush elected and appearing on Fox News.

The experts noted that just four aliens had been caught voting in all of the USA. But Kobach insisted this was just "the tip of the iceberg." The judge concluded,

> This trial was his opportunity to produce credible evidence of that iceberg, but [Kobach] failed to do

> so. . . . Instead, the Court draws the more obvious conclusion that there is no iceberg; only an icicle, largely created by confusion and administrative error.

Kobach, Von Spakovsky and Trump still insist that over a million aliens have risked 5 years in prison and automatic deportation to vote. The Secretary of State of Kansas has unique authority to arrest any illegal voter. So, then, why didn't Kobach hand-cuff a few thousand?

Maybe because *they don't exist*.

Back in 2016, Kobach called me to say he was on the cusp of a mass arrest of illegal alien voters. It was quite exciting, the Big Bust coming. Kobach got on Fox TV to announce that there were "50 Somalians stealing my vote" in Kansas!

With Kobach's power to arrest illegal voters, I was waiting to see the bust. "Fifty Somalians stealing my vote"! I admit I was puzzled that Kobach was so careless as to leave his vote where 50 Somalians could simply grab it. But more puzzling was his failure to arrest even one.

Now, I've been to Kansas and I can tell you that it would be very difficult for 50 Somalians to hide in a crowd at the Topeka Corn Festival.

Still more puzzling: Voters provide their name and

address and show up at the polls. Or, they provide their address to get a mail-in ballot. As a former detective, I can tell you grabbing an illegal voter would be history's easiest stake-out. Still, the wily Somalians slipped Kobach's dragnet—as did over a million illegal alien voters nationwide.

Because it's hard to bust criminals . . . when no one has committed the crime.

Kobach, hoping to change my story I was about to file in *Rolling Stone,* called me to say that "indictments are on the way." How many? With a million and a half illegal voters including 50 Somalian Democrats nearby, Kobach finally busted the alien voter crime wave: one. Taking a bit of the shine off his multi-year, multi-million dollar hunt was that the one guy he finally busted was *an American citizen.* The poor schmuck had registered before his official citizenship ceremony.

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Now, let's stop chuckling. Kobach speaks to the President of the United States on a regular basis. You don't and I don't.

Here's the reality sandwich and we have to eat it:

1. The State of Kansas is appealing the decision overturning their Proof of Citizenship requirement to vote. It will go to the Supreme Court, i.e., the Grand Inquisitors who gave us *Husted* and *Citizens United*. Good luck.

2. "Prove-You're-an-American" is sitting on the books of several swing states, un-dead, waiting for this Supreme Court to let them rise from their crypts.

3. Think "Prove-You're-a-Citizen" won't spread? The requirement for a voter to produce a photo ID began in 2008 in just one state, Indiana, and didn't spread until the 2013 *Shelby* decision. Then it hit 32 states, five in one day. "Prove You're an American" will spread in *days, even hours* of a court approval, which is likely.

Judge Robinson found Kobach in contempt of court

and, for his doofus antics in the courtroom, ordered him back to law school—no kidding—to learn proper court procedure. The Eastern newspapers were gloating over the dunce cap the court put on Kobach's head.

I'm not giggling. I don't underestimate my targets. Especially *Professor of Law* Kobach, who graduated at the top of his class at Harvard, attended Oxford and got his law degree from Yale. Laugh at Kobach? Only at your peril.

Especially if your name is James Brown.

14

James Brown Voted 568 Times

Listen to this:

> You have people registered in two states. They're registered in New York and in New Jersey. They vote twice. There are *millions* of votes in my opinion.
>
> They vote many times, not just twice, not just three times. It's like a circle. They come back, they put a new hat on. They come back, they put a new shirt on. And in many cases, they don't even do that. You know what's going on. It's a rigged deal.

I usually don't quote guys who wear tin foil hats and get messages from another planet. But this is an exception: I'm quoting the President of the United States, Donald J. Trump.

Don't laugh. Trump's claim that millions of Americans are voting twice, a felony crime, is the principal reason Donald J. Trump won the presidency. Because, in the year before the 2016 election, 1.1 million of these felonious double voters were removed from the voter rolls.

Or, to be accurate, 1.1 million voters were removed because they were *accused* of voting or registering in two states.

With all these double voters, who put their address on their registrations, you'd think it would be darn easy to find them, that the jails would be full of these criminals. After all, the man who created this list of double voters said, "Double voting: *it's a slam-dunk to prove that.*" But somehow Trump's minions, who directed a national man-hunt, can't find them. Why?

Maybe because they are not criminals, because they did not vote twice.

Could our President have it wrong? When asked where Trump got this number of millions of double voters, the White House cited a law professor with a Harvard-Yale-Oxford pedigree: Kris Kobach of Kansas.

News outlets dismissed the claim as Trump's goofy repetition of another Kris Kobach fevered fantasy.

I dismissed nothing. My team's investigation of the national mass purge of alleged double voters is now in its seventh year. The work began in 2013 for Al Jazeera

America, then with AJAM's death moved to *Rolling Stone*, then to the *Guardian*. And we are not done.

INTERSTATE CROSSCHECK

Besides his day job as Secretary of State of Kansas and side gig with automatic weapons, in 2013, Kobach became the chief of the national "Interstate Crosscheck" program.

The concept was simple and, at first glance, quite reasonable: member states would share their voter registries with Kobach, who would look for voters registered in two states—"potential double voters," Kobach called them—and remove the duplicates from the voter rolls.

Who could argue with that?

In fact, the press, not just Fox but NBC and literally hundreds of outlets, right to left, praised "Interstate Crosscheck" as the brilliant use of computers to stop double voting fraud.

At its peak, thirty states joined Crosscheck. Almost all were Republican controlled, but some Democratic voting officials joined with enthusiasm. Who can defend fraudulent voters?

But this bothered me: On Kobach's Crosscheck site, the number of potential double voters, by 2015, totaled 7,264,422.

Seven million double voter suspects? (Or, as Kobach would have it, 3.6 million Americans voting or registering twice.)

I was curious. Who are they? What are their names?

So, I got hold of the list.

The number one perp is a crew of double voters who all, interestingly, share the name James Brown. In Georgia alone, 288 voters named James Brown wrongly registered in a second state.

Here is a direct screenshot from the Crosscheck list.

VoterState	First_Name	Middle_Name	Last_Name	Suffix_Name
Nebraska	James	L	Brown	
Georgia	JAMES	AARON	BROWN	
Nebraska	James	E	Brown	Jr
Georgia	JAMES	O	BROWN	
Ohio	JAMES	A	BROWN	
Georgia	JAMES	L	BROWN	
Ohio	JAMES	D	BROWN	
Georgia	JAMES	HERSCHEL	BROWN	
Ohio	JAMES	DONALD	BROWN	
Georgia	JAMES	EDWARD	BROWN	
Ohio	JAMES	J	BROWN	
Georgia	JAMES	EDWARD	BROWN	
Ohio	JAMES	R	BROWN	II
Georgia	JAMES	HARMON	BROWN	
Ohio	JAMES	MARK	BROWN	
Georgia	JAMES	EDWARD	BROWN	
Ohio	JAMES	L	BROWN	JR
Georgia	JAMES	WILLIE	BROWN	
Ohio	JAMES	D	BROWN	
Georgia	JAMES	F	BROWN	
Ohio	JAMES	EDWIN	BROWN	
Georgia	JAMES	VINCENT	BROWN	

But look closely at the two-state voters. Kobach lists James DONALD Brown as the same voter as James EDWARD Brown. And James Brown *Sr.* is supposed to be the same voter as James Brown *Jr.* Both Senior and Junior would get purged from the rolls.

*A*nd look at this. The entire Jackson Five is on the list. In fact, it's the Jackson Five Thousand.

5759					
5760	19273	Georgia	MICHAEL	EUGENE	JACKSON
5761		Virginia	MICHAEL	LEBURN	JACKSON
5762					
5763	19274	Georgia	MICHAEL	LEONARD	JACKSON
5764		Virginia	MICHAEL	PAGE	JACKSON
5765					
5766	19276	Georgia	MICHAEL	JEROME	JACKSON
5767		Virginia	MICHAEL	EUGENE	JACKSON
5768					
5769	19277	Georgia	MICHAEL	A	JACKSON
5770		Virginia	MICHAEL	WAYNE	JACKSON
5771					
5772	19278	Georgia	MICHAEL	LEE	JACKSON
5773		Virginia	MICHAEL	PERNELL	JACKSON
5774					
5775	19283	Georgia	MICHAEL	D	JACKSON
5776		Virginia	MICHAEL	ALAN	JACKSON
5777					
5778	19288	Georgia	NICOLE	BERNADETTE	JACKSON
5779		Virginia	nicole	y	jackson
5780					
5781	19294	Georgia	PATRICIA	D	JACKSON
5782		Virginia	PATRICIA	ANN	JACKSON
5783					
5784	19306	Georgia	ROBERT	STEVEN	JACKSON
5785		Virginia	ROBERT	HERMAN	JACKSON
5786					
5787	19307	Georgia	ROBERT	EDWARD	JACKSON
5788		Virginia	ROBERT	LEE	JACKSON
5789					
5790	19309	Georgia	ROBERT	EARL	JACKSON
5791		Virginia	ROBERT	JOHN	JACKSON
5792					
5793	19310	Georgia	ROBERT	BERNARD	JACKSON
5794		Virginia	ROBERT	DAVID	JACKSON
5795					
5796	19311	Georgia	ROBERT		JACKSON
5797		Virginia	ROBERT		JACKSON
5798					
5799					
5800	19319	Georgia	SAMANTHA	COURTNEY	JACKSON

Then there is the "Mohamed Mohamed" posse. Because they share the most common name on the planet, they were able to pull off their electoral crime. Though, inexplicably, they changed their middle names. In Columbus, Ohio, alone, there are more than 20 Mohamed Mohameds illegally registering in two states.

468	21823	Georgia	MOHAMED	AWEYS	MOHAMED
469		Ohio	MOHAMED	RASHID	MOHAMED
470					
471	21824	Georgia	MOHAMED	AWEYS	MOHAMED
472		Ohio	MOHAMED	ALI	MOHAMED
473					
474	21825	Georgia	MOHAMED	SAID	MOHAMED
475		Ohio	MOHAMED	OSMAN	MOHAMED
476					
477	21826	Georgia	MOHAMED	ABDI	MOHAMED
478		Ohio	MOHAMED	D	MOHAMED

According to Kobach.

It would be a joke . . . except that thousands of these Mohameds and Michael Jacksons and James Browns were purged from the voter rolls by Ohio Secretary of State Jon Husted, the Husted of purge-by-postcard fame.

Once again, I brought in Mark Swedlund and his expert database team. They went through name by name and discovered that *two million* of the supposed

matched voters had either mis-matched middle names or mis-matched suffixes (Jr./Sr.) or both.

How could this be? All the gushing news reports about Crosscheck cited Kobach's statement that the voters were matched not only by first and last name, but by middle name, suffix, date of birth and last four digits of their social security numbers.

But, then, I got my hands on the secret instructions for Crosscheck's implementation sent by Kobach to every voting state official telling them they could "ignore" mis-matches. Indeed, says Swedlund, almost *every one* of the millions on the list was a mismatch. And those actually registered in two states were simply innocent voters who had re-located but had not yet sent a notice to remove themselves from their old address. What they weren't were criminal double voters. *None.*

But any reporter simply glancing at the list would know that.

So why didn't US papers take note? Because they didn't ask. Not a single American newspaper asked for the actual list of alleged double-registered voters. Not one asked for the names of the *hundreds of thousands* of voters named Jackson and Rodriguez and Mohamed who were purged and lost their right to vote.

Reporters—or should we call them "repeaters?"—did repeat the press releases almost word for word from GOP

Secretaries of State that they had located thousands and thousands of illegal double voters with Crosscheck.

In part, the problem is that if you ask state officials for the list, they tell you to stick it. My crew called and wrote to 29 states for their Crosscheck purge lists. My own first call was to the swing state of North Carolina. The Elections Board's PR flunky, Josh Lawson, told me the lists were "confidential" because these voters were "subjects of a criminal investigation."

I asked, "Are you telling me that 192,000 North Carolina voters on the list are *criminal suspects?*" Yes . . . a great excuse to withhold the list.

While some states conducted their Crosscheck purge on the down low, North Carolina's elections board director, Kim Strach, announced the purges with hoopla and a frightening revelation, repeated by the ABC Network affiliate in Raleigh Durham:

> The state Board of Elections revealed Wednesday that more than 35,000 people may have double voted by casting ballots in North Carolina and another state during the 2012 election. . . .
>
> 765 voters with an exact match of first and last name, date of birth, and last four digits of the social security number were registered in N.C. and another state, and voted in N.C. and the other state in the 2012 general election.

> 35,750 voters with the same first and last name and date of birth were registered in N.C. and another state, and voted in both states in the 2012 general election.

Over 35,000 who committed the crime of voting twice in North Carolina.

But that was not all. In total, over 192,000 voters were registered in North Carolina and another state preparing to commit the double voting crime. Luckily, Strach had begun the process of removing these tens of thousands of North Carolinians on the hit list she got from Kobach.

Not one legislator, Democrat nor Republican, not one news reporter questioned these numbers nor asked for names of these perps, or the evidence of double voting. In fact, ABC News warned the crime wave "could be bigger than the 36,000 cases" Strach presented.

A Democrat on the legislative committee said Strach was believable because she is non-partisan. Really? Strach's husband was General Counsel to the North Carolina Republican Party. But, hey, I'm just a skeptical guy.

Skeptical enough to fly to North Carolina.

Strach doubled down on the drama, hiring a big-name FBI agent, Chuck Stuber, to arrest these felon

fraudulent voters. Photos of the square jawed crime-buster splashed across the front pages of every state paper.

NCCapitol

FBI agent to investigate fraud for NC elections board

Tags: elections

Posted May 27, 2014

By Matthew Burns

RALEIGH, N.C. — A veteran FBI agent will join the State Board of Elections next month to assist in voter fraud and campaign finance investigations, officials said Tuesday.

I didn't know why they needed a G-man: voters give their addresses. I myself called up several of these alleged criminals . . . and visited a few.

In a low-income section of Durham, North Carolina, literally on the wrong side of the railroad tracks from booming Raleigh, I attempted to speak with two-state registrant Kevin Antonio Hayes. However, Mr. Hayes would not speak. He hid in his mother's kitchen while she complained loudly that "My no-good son didn't vote *once!"*—let alone twice.

And she was certain he never used the alias Kevin *Thomas* Hayes—with whom he'd been matched by Kobach and Strach.

Other voters told me they had never been to the other states where they supposedly registered . . . with different middle names (and different ages, even genders).

So, it was off to meet Strach and her FBI man . . . who hid from me. Instead, I was shunted off to Josh "it's confidential" Lawson.

"Your G-Man, Stuber, is going after voter fraud. How's the fishing? Have you caught any fraudulent voters?"

Lawson answered:

> We participated in the Kansas Crosscheck and that yielded a number of individuals that we wanted to look into further. It's part of an ongoing

> investigation and we've been partnering with other Crosscheck-participating states to get this information that we would need if there was any type of inappropriate behavior we would be able to send the right evidence onto the DAs and the DAs could decide whether to prosecute or not.

Huh? It was a yes-or-no question.

The answer is, North Carolina's million-dollar manhunt had produced nothing, zero, *bubkis*. Why? Lawson said, "These voters were hard to find." So, I offered to give him Kevin Hayes's mom's address.

His eyes popped open wide. He realized I had something he wished I didn't have: his confidential Crosscheck list for tens of thousands of North Carolina voters.

(As mentioned, we have our methods—all legal. Virginia sent us a frantic note that their Crosscheck blacklist had been given to us "in error" and begged us to return it. Let me thank my investigator ZD Roberts for arranging for the "error." I may give Virginia back the list. After we publish it.)

North Carolina's Stuber and Strach, after a year of hunting, never convicted, never even charged one double-voter on the Crosscheck list . . . but that was not reported on ABC TV nor in any newspaper in the state. There were no illegal voters . . . but Crosscheck eliminated enough Hayeses, Jacksons and Mohameds

to help flip the state from an Obama win in 2008 to Trump in 2016.

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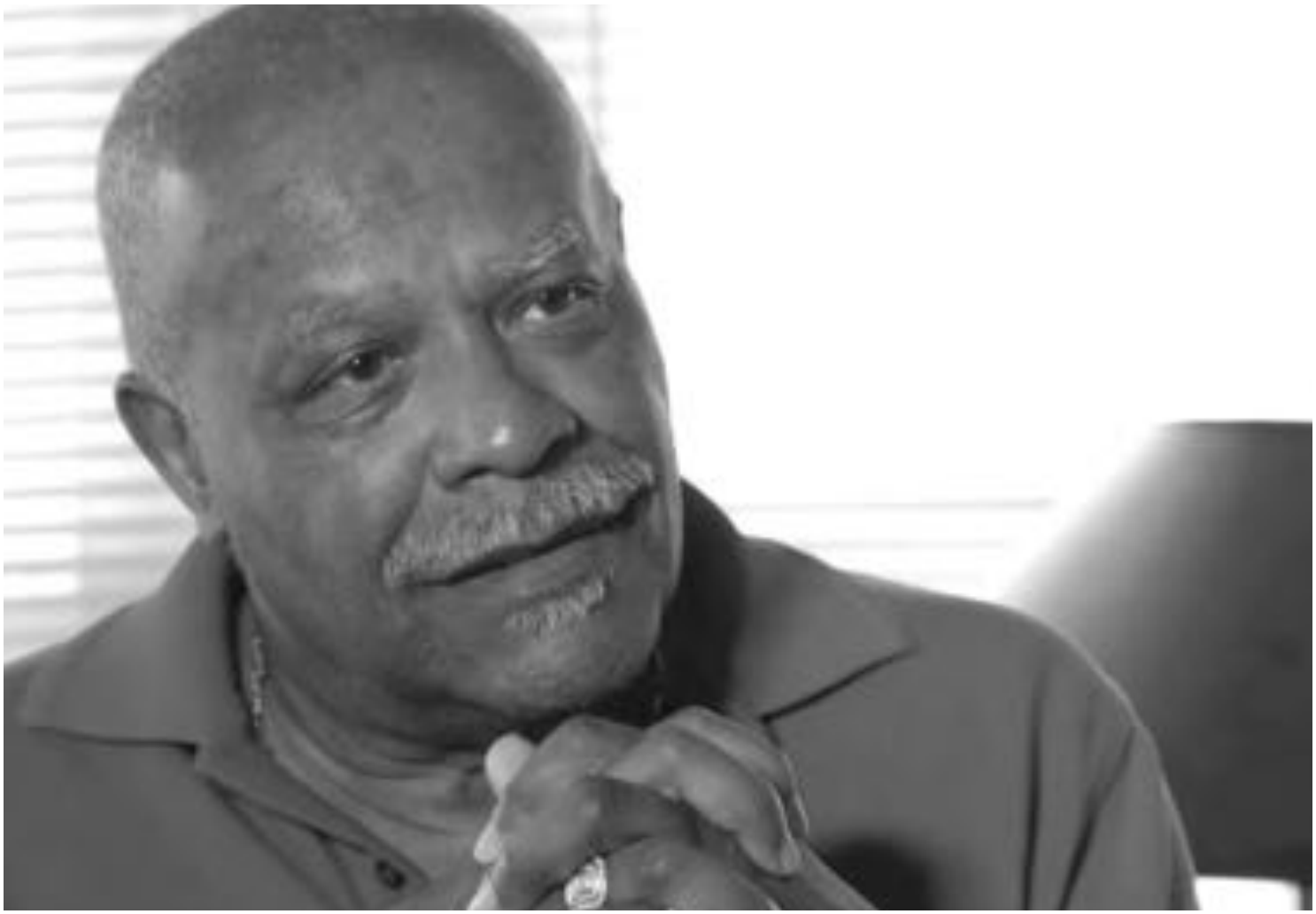
I traveled to other states hunting down the double voters. I found Donald Alexander Webster Jr. in Dayton, Ohio.

The Crosscheck list said Webster was also registered as Donald *Eugene* Webster. No "Jr." Webster looked at the list and said, "Donald Eugene Webster; that's not my middle name."

I cross-examined the accused criminal:



Eugene is not your middle name?

No.

Do you ever use the name Eugene?

No.

Do you know that it's a crime if you vote more than once?

Of course. It never occurred to me to do that. What's two votes going to do when you've got to have thousands, you've got to have a bunch of people doing that!

Well, do you? Are you part of a larger conspiracy?

No, I'm not, sir.

At 70, Donald Webster was retired. He'd worked at Delco, once the General Motors auto parts plant. He trained as an engineer, but was hired as a janitor. Why? "They'd put a big 'C' on your application." What did the *C* stand for? "Colored."

And that's part of the vote suppression story too. They can't crush the hopes of the *C* workers unless

they take away their right to do something about it, to vote.

Delco was re-named Delphi, sold off, shut down and the plant re-opened in China. Down Dayton's dead streets, home after home boarded up, foreclosed or just abandoned. Stephen Williams, also on the Crosscheck list, told me, "This town has had a heart attack."

You can't take away someone's job, take away their home and hopes—unless you take away their vote, their last chance to resist.

Voting suppression is class war by other means. It's economic; race is merely the marker of underclass in America.

Ohio, that swing state of swing states, grabbed my attention with numbers buried deep in federal records. Between 2012 and 2014, the Black population rose while Black voter registrations declined; and that's just plain weird. But then, the Crosscheck list targeted 469,201 in Ohio.

How many voters have fallen victim to Crosscheck? How many of the 17 million purged in the USA were Crosschecked? Kobach and friends won't say. But Virginia released the number which we could compare to the secret list we obtained in error. In all, 339,120 names are listed as potentially registering to vote in

both Virginia and another state in the 2012 election. A third of a million suspect voters.

Virginia almost immediately purged 12% of the voters on their list: 41,637 voters lost their registration within 12 months, meaning more would follow. And furthermore, Virginia's Crosscheck purge was conducted only after removing 22,944 voters on the ERIC list.

The math is ugly: using Virginia's low purge rate of 12%, if followed by other states, no less than 1.1 million voters would lose their registration before the 2016 election.

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And not just any voters. Antonio Hayes, Donald Webster, Jose Garcia, David Kim . . . I was speaking to an awful lot of alleged double voters. Almost all were notably non-white.

But then, the Kobachs and Trumps already know the color of the voters who vote twice. Indeed the trope of the double-voting Black man goes back a century to the hit film of 1915, *Birth of a Nation*, a paean to the Ku Klux Klan (the "Nation"). Here, a white actor in Blackface sneaks a second rolled-up ballot into the ballot box.

We did a deep dive into the data. Swedlund, normally a pretty calm guy, was shaken by the numbers,

"flabbergasted." We found that, in the participating states, Crosscheck identified for the purge . . .

—one in seven African-American voters,
—one in eight Hispanic voters, and
—one in eight Asian-American voters.

You could call this Jim Crow trick the "Last name game."

And it's stupidly simple. According to the US Census, 85 of the 100 most common last names in America are minority names—Rodriguez, Jones, Chong, Patel, Jackson, etc. The history of slavery, of the Spanish

Conquest, of Asian immigration means that most voters of color share a common name. The *only* criterion for getting on the Crosscheck hit list is a match of first and last name. Kobach and the Secretaries of State crow that they have identifiers including four-digits of the social security number . . . *but they ignore that data.* But it's a good line to give to US reporters. (As I said, we'll get to the issue of lazy-fuckism later.)

One-fourth of all African-Americans share just 43 last names; one-fourth of Asian-Americans share just 41 names; and Hispanics? One-fourth share just 26 names. You'd need to list 319 last names to capture a fourth of white Americans. The result, the list contains gazillions of Jesse Jacksons but not one double of Kris Kobach, Jon Husted nor David Koch.

But still, some white upper-income homeowners, i.e., Republicans named Smith, could get caught up in the dragnet. So, for that, there's another racial weapon: The Postcard.

Yes, Crosscheck was the original purge-by-postcard operation. And it is Kobach who came up with those unreadable, designed-to-be-trashed postcards. Not all 7 million voters on Crosscheck get the heave-ho. Kobach instructs his fellow purge'n generals to send a card to each voter. In some states James Brown also has to miss an election. (You can see how Crosscheck in Georgia morphed into use-it-or-lose-it.)

The postcard trick amplifies the racial bias in Crosscheck's last-name algorithm and adds age bias, cutting the number of young (i.e., Democratic) voters who are Crosschecked out of their vote.

KING CROSSCHECK EXPLAINS IT ALL

That's when I decided to have a little talk with the Crosscheck King himself, Kris Kobach. Though he turned down Greg Palast of *Rolling Stone*, he was glad to offer vanilla ice cream to the local news guy from Channel 4.

He could have made a clean getaway if he hadn't had to halt and stand for the Pledge of Allegiance. But it wasn't my hat that made him nervous, it was when I pulled out the confidential Crosscheck sheets he never thought I'd get.

Kobach is no rube. The Oxford/Harvard/Yale grad was very fast on his feet, delivering bullshit at high speed.

I showed him his own Kansas hit list, matching James *Evan* Johnson with James *P.* Johnson, and he denied that was a list he'd created. He denied that Virginia had removed voters based on Crosscheck—though the state records state, "41,637 cancelled by Crosscheck." He denied that his office told Crosscheck states to ignore the social security number and other mis-matches. I showed him that the clearly illegal

advice had the Great Seal of the Secretary of State of Kansas stamped on it . . . which matched the seal on his polo shirt.

In all fairness to Kobach, I did locate one voter on his list who confessed to voting multiple times. And he had the perfect means to do so. A country music singer, he lived on a bus and travelled state to state. In Georgia, Crosscheck said he voted as a woman named "Willie Mae" (the guy sports long pigtails) and in Mississippi and other states under his given name, Willie H. Nelson.

However, I had some doubts about his confession. The 80-some-year-old giggled throughout the interview, and admitted he was "high," though Willie added, looking over the crazy Crosscheck list, that I must be high too, concluding, "It sounds like you got better shit than I got."

15

Voting Gangnam Style—The Rise of Kim Crow

In November 2012, the Georgia Bureau of Investigation, armed and ready for combat, raided an office in northern Atlanta. They seized computer files and prepared for mass arrests.

Georgia is filled with violent white supremacist groups. I stood with a passel of them called The Proud Boys in a Macon rally for Kemp hosted by Donald Trump. (I was disguised because I'm not insane.) The Proud Boys, co-sponsors of the Charlottesville mayhem, were founded by Gavin McInnis (tag line: "Hitler was right. Gas the Jews.").

But the Georgia G-men didn't do a damn thing about the Proud Boys. The raid was against a group called "10,000 Koreans Vote."

Their crime was asking a question: *What happened to our voter registrations?*

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A few facts about Americans of the Asian persuasion: Historically, Asian-Americans are the least voting racial group in America. Until recently, only one in three Asian-Americans voted.

And when they did vote, until 2000, they voted Republican, big time: a huge majority voted for George Bush Sr. over Bill Clinton in 1992. Then, something happened. Beginning with Bush Jr.'s election and accelerating through 2018, Asian-Americans began voting as if they'd turned Black: In 2012, 73% of Asian-Americans voted for Barack Obama.

Need proof of the change? Check out *Voting Gangnam Style* on YouTube. And at the end of one video, one Korean student turns into John Lewis. Excellent joke.

But the GOP wasn't laughing. They knew that if these citizens were allowed to register and vote at the level of Caucasian-Americans, Stacey Abrams would be Governor of Georgia, and Donald Trump would still be a reality show host.

Why did Asian-Americans switch parties?

Maybe it was the "War on Terror," which looked an awful lot like a war on Muslims. And then there's the Republican war on immigrants, which is new: Ronald Reagan issued the first "amnesty" to undocumented migrants.

And it's demographics: Asian-American citizens are a young group, more interested in the right to an education than the right to a gun. They liked Obama. He's cool. Trump weirds them out.

Brian Kemp took notice—and he notified the Georgia Bureau of Investigation.

The key target of the GBI raid was Helen Ho, who had launched 10,000 Koreans Vote. Standing at about 5-foot-nothing, Helen doesn't look like much of a threat to the state, but she definitely was. A threat to the Good Ol' Boy network, a threat to Brian Kemp and his plan for the governorship, and the Republicans' last desperate suck on the pipe of the "Southern Strategy," that is, winning the Confederacy with race-baiting campaigns.

But for 10,000 Koreans to vote, Helen needed 10,000 Koreans to register. And she was getting to her goal, communicating in Korean to a community very wary of getting involved in politics. In 2014, Helen told me she was warned that she would become a target, that the Asian community would be targeted. And, oh boy, was she right.

The group registered about 4,000 Korean-Americans, concentrated in the 6th Congressional District, which the GOP was fighting uphill to hold. Ten thousand Koreans wouldn't help them.

Helen grew concerned. The names she'd gathered

were not being added to Georgia voter rolls. When she called Kemp's office, she was told there were no such registrations*, the registration forms didn't exist.*

But, Helen responded, she had *copies* of the forms. That was a mistake. According to Brian Kemp, it's illegal to copy a voter registration form. But, if copying forms is barred, how can you prove someone tried to register? You can't. And that's the whole point.

When a government acts to prevent voters from registering, that's a federal crime. A go-to-jail crime. But in Georgia, and too many other states, it's the victims who face arrest and prison.

Criminal charges hung over Helen and her Korean voter registration volunteers. Ultimately, the bullshit charges were dropped—after two years. But the raid accomplished its real purpose: When I returned to the 10,000 Koreans Vote office in 2017, the door was shuttered, files and computers all gone, registration signs strewn across an empty office. Helen Ho and 10,000 Koreans Vote were effectively shut down.

16

Michigan Michigass

Here's what you know: In 2016, Donald Trump won Michigan by 10,704 votes. Officially.

Here's what you *don't* know: 75,355 ballots were never counted. That's official, too. Just "spoilage," that is, ballots that were, for some technical reason, untallied.

But not just anyone's vote "spoiled." Most of these vanished votes were cast in Detroit—where only one in ten city residents are white. Motown. Not exactly Trump-ville.

Exit polls showed Clinton won Michigan. And now the pollsters were apologizing for their "mistake."

I didn't buy it. If you counted those ballots in the dumpsters in Detroit, Clinton would have won. And if this pattern held in the other two states' exit polls that reported she won, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania, Clinton should have won the Electoral College.

I'm not sure what's wrong with me. The election was over. Hillary and hubby had moved on to lucrative book contracts, six-figure speaking gigs and their "charity." Trump was triumphant and the country, too, had moved on.

But it bothered me, the 75,355 ballots no one counted in Michigan.

The usual outlets for my investigations, like *Rolling Stone*, weren't bothered either. They had "moved on" too. So I borrowed a few more bucks from my pension plan, begged my readers for some spare change, and bought a ticket for Detroit.

To do this investigation, I needed a break. And I got it: a surprise call from Jill Stein. The Green Party Presidential candidate. She offered me a scoop. Stein was ready to raise $9 million for re-counts in Wisconsin, Pennsylvania and Michigan to prove that Trump lost—that is, if you counted all the votes in those states. She could literally overturn Trump's election.

I broke the story, she raised the $9 million in days, and the recount began.

But "recount" is the wrong word. In Michigan, the funds were meant for counting those 75,355 ballots that were *never counted* in the first place.

In Michigan, you vote on paper ballots—which you shove into a scanner to get counted. But a funny thing happened in Detroit: 87 machines broke down, they

could not read the ballots. Once in Detroit, I met with information specialist Carlos Garcia. He told me his precinct's scanner was already busted when he arrived at the opening of voting at 7 a.m. It was finally fixed at 9:30 a.m. He stayed and saw that those ballots cast during the morning vote rush, while the machine was broken, were never run through the scanner, never recorded.

That non-count was repeated throughout the city. It was easy to catch . . . because the number of ballots in the broken machines did not match the total of ballots these machines said it counted. But—*ready for this?*—the Republican Attorney General ruled that if the number of physical ballots did not match the scanner count, these precincts could not be re-counted. Get that? The precincts with the missing count—the ones you'd want to review—were *barred* from the re-count.

So whose votes didn't count? The see-no-evil recount rule meant that 59% of Detroit's precincts could not be reviewed . . . specifically the ones with broken machines and missing ballot counts. Detroit: Can you guess the color of the un-counted voters?

OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

One f'd-up machine in a precinct is bad luck. No big deal. But 87 broken machines, 87 machines not

counting thousands of ballots, is a *very* big deal, an electoral crime wave. A stolen election.

And they knew it. Republican state officials knew before Election Day that Detroit's scanning machines were already busted, dysfunctional or likely not to survive the day. Well before November 2016, the Detroit City Clerk Janice Winfrey pleaded to fund her budget to replace the bad ballot scanners. But there was a problem: Detroit was bankrupt—and every penny spent had to be approved by "managers," overlords appointed by the Republican Governor Rick Snyder.

In 2016, Detroit was an Occupied Territory, as was Flint, Michigan. In Flint, the State-appointed managers cut the budget for the water system—and poisoned Flint's kids with lead. The stories of Detroit scanners and the Flint water supply go together. If you're going to poison someone's children, you'd better take away their right to vote against the poisoning.

The Michigan ballot count was Jim Crow'd by bad scanners, and Trump was triumphant. But Jill Stein was going to spoil the celebration. Her recount would pay for an extraordinary machine that could read those uncounted ballots: the human eyeball.

But something funny was happening at the government re-count centers.

WHISTLEBLOWER

Late November in Michigan sucks. From a Hampton Inn on a truck route north of the city, it was a long slog through dirty slush and wet snow to meet a whistleblower at a roadhouse bar, and a couple stiff drinks to get her to loosen up, to talk without a stutter or fear on camera. "Sue" told me she faced retribution in her white suburb, even from in-laws who were not happy about her blowing the whistle.

Sue is a computer programmer who thought it would be interesting, and just a good thing to do, to volunteer for the recount operation at the county building. She didn't even have a strong preference in the election.

What she experienced disturbed her enormously:

> We saw a lot of ballots that weren't originally counted because those don't scan into the machine.
>
> Ballot reviewers were adding previously uncounted ballots to the Clinton column; and Trump operatives were challenging every Clinton vote and every decision for Clinton. They are creating chaos and slowing up the process, and making up nonsense rules to disqualify ballots. At the same time, the Democratic Party had brought in "observers" [who] refused to take part

in the ballot count nor even bother to get in the way of the GOP obstructers.

Despite all the obstruction, it was clear that if the count went ahead unimpeded, Trump would lose Michigan. So Trump did the only thing he could do: stop the count.

Trump's lawyers sued in state court in Lansing, the capital. Trump's consiglieri had a killer argument: No matter how many times you count the votes in Michigan, Jill Stein's Green Party would not win. Under the law, this meant that Stein had no "standing" for a recount. Only Hillary Clinton could call for a tally of those ballots.

Luckily, Clinton's lawyers were in the courtroom. Unluckily, when the judge asked them for Secretary Clinton's agreement for the ballot count, her lawyers said, we are just "here to observe."

Hillary's campaign motto: *Just here to observe.*

□ □ □

So Stein's challenge was finished. But I wasn't. How did it get so close in Michigan—Michigan! home of the United Auto Workers Union!—that Trump could win with a few broken scanners?

So I took off on a snow-bound ride to the Lansing

office of the Attorney General—who had me blocked trying to get onto his office elevator. Then it was off to the Secretary of State, the Republican official who was in charge of the election, and crucially, in charge of the voter rolls, that is, the list of citizens who get to vote.

America is one of the only nations on the planet, excluding Russia and Red China, where party officials are in charge of elections. Back in 2000, Katherine Harris, the Florida Secretary of State that made Bush president, was also chairwoman of the Bush election campaign. In 2004, Bush was re-elected by a thumb on the electoral scale placed by the Secretary of State of Ohio, another Bush campaign chairman.

So, I slogged over to the office of the Katherine Harris of Michigan, the GOP Secretary of State Ruth Johnson. Her flak-catcher, her official media spokesman, the heavy-jowled Fred Woodhams, first tried to explain the uncounted 75,355 ballots as Detroit residents who simply didn't want to vote for President. African-Americans waited in line . . . not to vote?

I was also curious about the mass erasure of Black, Hispanic and Muslim voters from the rolls before the election. (NB: Michigan has the highest concentration of Arab-Americans in the US.)

"Michigan," he explained, "participates in the Interstate Crosscheck." That's an understatement. Michigan obtained a list of 499,022 Michiganders

to purge, a smidge less than half a million "potential double voters." None were arrested for this crime, but tens of thousands lost their vote.

He was surprised but cool when I showed him the secret Michigan purge list. The list was sent to him by Kris Kobach based on the list sent to Kobach by Brian Kemp. The sotto voce Georgia-Kansas-Michigan name game had, he said, legitimate, serious purpose. He said,

> This is to eliminate fraud.

I asked if his office really believed that "Michael *Bernard* Brown is supposed to be the same voter as Michael *Anthony* Brown?

The names "Brown," "Mohamed" and "Rodriguez"—did his office notice the racial hue of the list?

"I've known a lot of white Browns!" he said. Oh, OK then!

How many tens of thousands of Browns and Garcias were removed? He said, inscrutably, "We've been very aggressive . . ."

I congratulated him, saying: "I can see the aggression."

Entr'acte

Stacey Abrams and Brian Kemp: 1½ Interviews

In our six years of investigating attacks on the right to vote in Georgia under Secretary of State Brian Kemp, now Governor Kemp, we had many talks with the New Georgia Project and its founder, the "Hon." Stacey Abrams. "Honorable" because, while she identified herself first as a voting rights advocate, "Founder of the New Georgia Project," her day job was Minority Leader, the Democrats' chief in the State Legislature.

This interview is quite revealing, coming well before she or Kemp knew they'd be facing off for the Governorship, so there was no election spin. (I tried to meet with Kemp many times but he ducked—until I found him in Newnan, Georgia, under a pig. That interview—unfortunately shortened when Kemp's cops busted me—is also attached here.)

In speaking to Abrams, three things struck me: First, she was hoping to make voting rights a non-partisan issue. Good luck.

Second, she knows her stuff. When I mentioned Kansas, she immediately launched into Kris Kobach, the real force behind the GOP purge-fest.

Finally, I thought I had cracked the purge puzzle

of Kemp's and Kobach's fake "double voters" and "movers" list. Abrams, with a quick glance at the list, figured out something I had missed: that Kemp purged some voters from the rolls for moving *into* Georgia.

Abrams is a bit legalistic, a cautious Harvard lawyer. Nevertheless, she displayed a commitment to fighting vote trickery rare even in Democratic politicians, who'd just rather . . . not talk about it.

My investigator, Zach D. Roberts, had wheedled the early purge lists from Kemp's flunky, David Dove. These were the "Crosscheck" lists created by Kobach to identify Georgians who'd left the state and could potentially vote twice, once in each state. (Our work later proved none of those listed voted twice—in fact, almost none had moved.)

It was Kobach, remember, who introduced the purge-by-postcard operation to Kemp.

I met with Abrams at Atlanta's Ebenezer Baptist Church where both Martin Luther King Sr. and King Jr. had preached. My first question: What is your name, for the record . . .

STACEY ABRAMS

Stacey Abrams. I'm the founder of the New Georgia Project. And [Georgia State] House Minority Leader.

It's fair to pass on a warning about Abrams. On the Sunday before the Abrams-Kemp showdown, I joined a couple thousand Oath Keepers, InfoWars acolytes, Q-Anon fanatics, Proud Boys flashing White Power hand signals and just a whole bunch of good ol' boys at a rally in Macon, Georgia, where President Trump warned us that Abrams "is one of the most extreme far-left politicians in the entire country—you know that! You put Stacey in there, you're going to have Georgia turn into Venezuela. I don't think the people of Georgia like that."*

PALAST, QUESTION

This is something given to us by your Secretary of State. This is one sheet out of tens of thousands of sheets, including 510,000 Georgians who are listed under the heading "Potential Double Voters"—Georgians who moved out of state. Republican officials have begun a process of removing voters who they claim may have voted in two states.

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* Because my interview with Secretary Kemp made local news, I decided it prudent to wear a trucker cap and no visible news credentials. Only when Air Force One departed and the site was nearly empty did I get a greeting of recognition, "There's that terrible man!"

STACEY ABRAMS

Are they attempting to do that for this election?

QUESTION

They've already begun it. Some people have already been removed.

STACEY ABRAMS

Well, state law requires that purgings stop 90 days before an election. So, if this is ongoing—that's a violation of state law.

QUESTION

Secretary Kemp won't meet with us. We do know this, we are told that voters on the list will be sent a letter, a little postcard, which I'll send to you—asking them to confirm their registration address. And if you don't respond, you can be taken off the list, or you can be listed as inactive, and then you can—if you miss one election, you're off the list.

This is a very, very typical list. Here we have—oh, let me just pick one out: Vincent Hardy Williams, voted in Georgia. Vincent H. Williams voted in Virginia. So, they said that that's the same guy.

STACEY ABRAMS

And how do they know that that's the same person?

QUESTION

Because their last name matches, their first name matches, and their birthday matches.

[Note: At the time, I thought they matched birthdates at least. They didn't.]

I will point out two deeply concerning parts to this. The Secretary of State has recently claimed that [Kemp] cannot find the 40,000 new applicants we are attempting to have put on the rolls, because it only has first name, last name, city, county and birth date. And if they believe that that information is sufficient to *remove* people from the rolls, I'm deeply concerned that [Kemp ruled] it is not sufficient to *add* people to the rolls.

Secondly, this information does not indicate the year of the election [the voter last voted in]. Georgia has one of the highest levels of immigration in the country. Between 2000 and 2010, we had more [than] 1.5 million new Georgians move to the state, 80% of whom, roughly between 70% and 80% were people of color. My deep concern just based on this superficial information is that this does not indicate which elections they voted in.

Did they vote [in another state's] municipal election, and at the beginning of the year move, re-register, and then vote in—very legally—in [a Georgia] election? And so, my deep concern is that this is one more attempt to purge voters unlawfully and without adequate information. As opposed to what a Secretary of State should be committed to, which is *enfranchising* voters to the best of his ability.

QUESTION

We know that there are 86,000 John Jacksons in the United States. Is it [a] good way to match, whether someone's voted twice? This is 28 states, so, if someone named Vincent Williams voted in any of 28 states, they end up on this list.

STACEY ABRAMS

I think it begs the question of two things. One, what is the algorithm that's being used to determine whether or not this is the same person? What's the timing of those elections? But if what you're using is a surname match, that is a deeply unreliable question, especially in the South, where you will find people with these same names, with very common names.

But more than that, the instinct should not be to purge voters. I think that's the place where we should be the most concerned. Why would a Secretary of State be spending this energy trying to remove lawful voters, instead of trying to add new voters to the rolls? It is the role of the Secretary of State to *enfranchise* voters. And I'm deeply disturbed that [Kemp] would use such facile information to attempt to [*dis*enfranchise] voters.

Can you tell me who the architect of this program is?

QUESTION

This was created by the Republican Secretary of State of Kansas. In fact, it's called Kansas Interstate Cross-check, and the 28 states [in it]—almost all of them are Republican controlled. Do you believe that this is some type of a partisan attempt to remove voters?

STACEY ABRAMS

I believe that Kris Kobach has demonstrated a very aggressive animus towards people of color in his immigration stance, and in his work on voter registration. He tries to cloak it under the question of the rule of law. But he seems to cherry-pick the laws he wishes to—to participate in, and evaluate and uphold.

But more than that, I'm deeply concerned at our Secretary of State, that someone who works for the people of Georgia, has decided to spend his time and energy trying to purge voters, as opposed to making certain that someone named Vincent Williams couldn't possibly live in two different states.

Or more importantly, could've lived in one state, a couple of states over, and moved to the state of Georgia, and decided to be an active citizen when he re-registered his driver's license, and became an automatic voter in the state of Georgia.

QUESTION

Now their—as you say, their algorithm—is based on names. So it's a problem in the South. Is this going to bias the list of who's targeted for a purge?

STACEY ABRAMS

I think that it further emphasizes the need for groups like the New Georgia Program. Our goal is to enfranchise the 800,000 unregistered African-American, Latino, and Asian voters in the state of Georgia. If we need to add to it the 500,000 that are being targeted by the Secretary of State, then that is what we will do. Because our goal is to fully engage our citizens, not to cherry-pick the citizens we like.

QUESTION

Well, the Asian-American legal organizations are very concerned that names like Park, Kim, and Lee—that this algorithm is biased against minority voters.

STACEY ABRAMS

Absolutely. It's biased, I think, both in form and intent. But more concerning to me is the fact that this is

being done stealthily. That there has not been an active conversation. I sit as the Minority Leader of the House of Representatives, this information has never been presented to the House of Representatives.

We are unaware, at least certainly on my side of the aisle, and as someone who attended almost every single day of the session this year, unless I was excused, we have never had this information presented to us. So, the fact that our Secretary of State is undertaking to purge 500,000 voters from the State of Georgia should be deeply concerning to every Georgian making a decision this year.

QUESTION

And so, you've never seen these lists—

STACEY ABRAMS

Never.

QUESTION

From your own state office?

STACEY ABRAMS

Absolutely not.

QUESTION

You were not told by your Secretary of State—

STACEY ABRAMS

I have no awareness of it.

QUESTION

—Republican officials never gave any information on this?

STACEY ABRAMS

This is what disturbs me most. I've done my best as Minority Leader to cultivate a relationship with our constitutional officers, because the citizens of Georgia don't care whether I'm a Democrat or a Republican. They don't care whether the Secretary of State is a Democrat or a Republican. They care that the work that they've hired us to do gets done. And so, I've tried to make it my point as leader, to be as

engaged as much as possible to work cooperatively with the Secretary of State.

But to learn that we are stealthily, and I think very sadly, seeking to disenfranchise voters, to set up a scheme that is—I think will be proven out to be problematic, given that we can't manage to register the 40,000 applications we have. The fact that we are now seeking to remove 500,000 voters. That should be a red flag to every voter this year. Is that the direction we want the state to take and is that the work that we want our tax dollars to be used for?

QUESTION

When questioned, they said, "Well, we have Social Security numbers for these to match these voters." But within their files was the note that even when Social Securities are mismatched or missing, that the voter still ends up on the list. Do you think that this is reasonable?

STACEY ABRAMS

I think that is deeply flawed and possibly unlawful. A Social Security match is something that Georgia requires. The Justice Department has allowed proof of citizenship, but proof of citizenship can come through various forms.

My deep concern is that the flaws within the Georgia system, the glitches that we have experienced with the very basic responsibilities of the Secretary of State's office, to expand that for the purposes of disenfranchising voters without guaranteeing that you know what you're doing. And as of now, knowledge that the Secretary of State's office is effective at its job is a bit, I think, uncertain. I find that to be deeply problematic and worthy of investigation.

QUESTION

Over 100,000 names on the list have a mismatch of middle names. So, it's like, John Robert Williams and John Henry Williams are listed as the same suspect double voter. Do you think that's reasonable?

STACEY ABRAMS

I think it's completely unreasonable, and I certainly intend as a member of the House of Representatives to investigate and to request information from the Secretary of State about this program, about the nature of the program, about the origin of it, about the resources being used to implement it, and about whether or not we are systematically attempting to disenfranchise half a million of our Georgia voters.

QUESTION

Well, it is obviously highly weighted to minorities because of the common name system that they're using. Do you find this problematic?

STACEY ABRAMS

I find any attempt to use ethnicity and race as a reason to disenfranchise voters to be anathema to and indeed repugnant to who we are as Americans.

QUESTION

They also claim that there's nothing to fear, because each of these voters are gonna get a postcard saying, "Please confirm your name, address and registration."

STACEY ABRAMS

Given that we have 40,000 voters who have yet to get the card saying that you're registered, my fear is that the efficacy of the Secretary of State's office may not be equal to the task he's undertaking.

QUESTION

You don't believe that people should be required to re-register and reclaim that they are citizens?

STACEY ABRAMS

I believe that if a citizen in the state of Georgia is unlawfully—if there is anyone in the state of Georgia who is not lawfully engaged in the act of voting, they certainly should not be allowed to vote. However, various attempts to disprove the legitimacy of a voter should be considered deeply repugnant.

More importantly, the Secretary of State should be focusing his energies on enfranchising voters and assisting voters. I am deeply concerned that his facile approach to matching ignores time, ignores date, ignores the—the ability to migrate across state lines, and calls into question our larger issue in the United States [which] is how we decide who gets to vote and where.

QUESTION

Do you think that this is just a crude attempt at suppressing the minority vote?

STACEY ABRAMS

I wouldn't call it crude. I call it deeply problematic—repulsive. I don't know the complexity of his algorithm, so I won't call it crude. But I certainly think it's a problem.

QUESTION

As I mentioned, they've said that when there is no Social Security number or even a mismatch, that you still remain on the list. Do you think that's—

STACEY ABRAMS

If the State of Georgia has determined that it will purge voters based on spurious information, based on a flawed algorithm, and based on flawed logic, then we should as citizens in Georgia demand an answer immediately, and I intend to take that up.

I will take it up with Mr. Kemp, but also with the body that I represent, which is the House of Representatives. It is our purview to set the laws of the State of Georgia. And if we are using our laws to disenfranchise our citizens, we should take action.

And I will call upon my Democrat, Republican, and Independent colleagues to join me in that effort.

KEMP Q & A?

As a journalist, I always try to get the answer from the horse's mouth—or, if necessary, its other end. Kemp had been ducking my polite, official requests for *Rolling Stone,* Al Jazeera and *Salon* for five years.

Once again, I flew down to Atlanta. I can't say it was that difficult to track down a guy tooling around in a big bus with four-foot letters on the side that read "KEMP." I jumped ahead of his campaign cruiser to a planned stop in Newnan, infamous as the site, many years before, of a Klan lynching.

Kemp pulled up right under a sign with a smiling pig. In the Sprayberry's Barbecue parking lot, the bus tooted its horn, and Kemp walked out in his new hayseed farmer outfit, blue suit hidden away. He glad-handed the smallish crowd thickened by local GOP functionaries hoping he'll remember them for that job as Director of Hog Inspections in a Kemp Administration.

BRIAN KEMP

Hey, Clem, long time . . .

QUESTION

Mr. Kemp, are you removing Black voters from the voter just so you can win this election?

BRIAN KEMP

Good to see you, Bubba . . .

QUESTION

Sir, why do we have to sue you to get the list of voters you've purged?

BRIAN KEMP

Oh, it's you!

KEMP BODY GUARD

[Blocks reporter.] Please do not touch him.

QUESTION

I'm not touching him! Mr. Kemp, are you removing Black voters just to win this election?

BODY GUARD

[Arm across reporter's chest.] There are *children* here!

WOMAN IN AMERICAN FLAG SHIRT

[Blocking reporter.] Ah can't believe this!

BRIAN KEMP

[To woman.] Ask my friend, Marty.

QUESTION

[To Sec. Kemp.] Sir, why aren't you answering my question?

BRIAN KEMP

[To white family.] Good to see you!

QUESTION

Mr. Kemp, why aren't you answering my questions?

BRIAN KEMP

[Turns his back other way.]

QUESTION

Mr. Kemp, excuse me . . . [To person pulling reporter back.] Let go of me now, sir! [To Kemp.] Sir, why do we have to sue you to get the names of voters you've removed?

And so on until the local constabulary seized me; but just a gentle and quick catch and release.

□ □ □

I will get the answers. I have sued in federal court to get all the lists and info that passed between Kemp and Kobach.

Kemp continues to deny that he purged any voters at all (!) from the Crosscheck list. Who am I to disagree? But suspiciously, our experts identified 106,000 from the Crosscheck list whom Kemp had indeed purged.

The court ruled in my favor in *Palast v. Kemp*. This federal order not only gives me a crowbar to open Kemp's files on Crosscheck, I can now dig into the icky little threesome between Kemp, Kobach and the Secretary of State of Michigan whose use of the Kemp/Kobach Crosscheck list guaranteed Trump his 10,700 vote "victory" in that state in 2016.

Crucially, the Court ruling in *Palast v. Kemp*, via our attorney Jeanne Mirer's inspired reading of the National Voter Registration Act, hands every reporter in America a new tool to dig into government vote suppression files. Will they?

17

Wisconsin Eats Its Young

David Goodman's brother Andrew was murdered while attempting to register African-American voters. Andrew was just 20, his brother David three years younger.

Andrew was lynched in June 1964, along with Michael Schwerner and James Chaney, by the townsfolk of Philadelphia, Mississippi. There were 18 in the killing party—and it was indeed a party, organized by the Exalted Grand Cyclops of the Meridian White Knights, the local Ku Klux Klan affiliate, joined by the police chief and local luminaries.

Goodman had joined Schwerner and Chaney to visit the Mt. Zion Baptist Church. Or what was left of it. The church was burnt down right after locals found out Schwerner and Chaney had offered to help the Black congregants register to vote.

The lynch mob set an ambush, rightly assuming the three college students, two New York Jews and a local

Black man—not a popular combination in Mississippi then or now—would return to the burnt church.

After they beat Chaney, they shot him and his two friends, then covered them with mud. Andrew was buried still alive. Their bodies were not discovered for two months. Only one killer was arrested and convicted—42 years later.

The killings were meant to be a lesson.

In some places, the Klan made its point by hanging effigies by the neck from bridges.

They did not always use effigies. Up through 1968, the Klan and other White Citizens Councils, as they called themselves, lynched 3,446 Black men.

But the killers made a mistake. David Goodman, an engineering student who had once ignored politics, has dedicated the half century of his life since the murders to registering Black voters on a scale his brother could only dream of. The Andrew Goodman Foundation operates in Jim Crow states . . . including Michigan and Wisconsin.

The Foundation also acts to protect that other group targeted by voting apartheid: college students.

□ □ □

Trump's Wisconsin win was a shock to the Democratic Party—but then, the Democratic Party is *always*

shocked—because Wisconsin was supposed to be a safe state for Clinton. Her husband had won Wisconsin twice. In fact, Democrats had crushed it seven elections in a row, helped by the massive vote from the famously progressive, activist University of Wisconsin student population.

But then, on Election Day 2016, a giant hunk of the student vote simply . . . vanished. And the Milwaukee Black vote also plummeted.

And so, Trump is President.

The first thing I noticed was that, while the rest of the nation had massive voter turnout in 2016, in this down-to-the-wire state, voting fell off a cliff. In Black-majority Milwaukee, turnout plummeted from 66% to 56% of the voting age population. That's strange.

And Wisconsin's student vote evaporated. Nationwide, only two states recorded a drop in student voting. Wisconsin's drop was breathtaking. In-precinct voting by students declined by a third, from 67% to 49%.

It had, to Goodman, the smell of Mississippi burning.

They didn't need to drag the local lakes to find the missing students and Black voters. They were disappeared in plain sight by the Republican legislature under laws crafted by Wisconsin's radical-right Governor, Scott Walker.

One new law required a government photo ID to

vote. But the photo ID issued by the state to its 182,000 University of Wisconsin students *did not qualify them* for voting nor for registration.

How brilliant is that? Gun permits could be used to vote; but not student ID. Carry a weapon, good. Carry a book, *forget it.*

A Wisconsin driver's license would do. But not everyone has a license. Who doesn't drive? Students in Madison and low-income urban voters, i.e., the Black population of Milwaukee.

What was particularly devastating was that the law was ordered into effect by a court only two weeks before the 2016 election. Even those who knew of the change had little time to correct their lack of paperwork, even if they could.

Elections Commissioner Ann Jacobs suggests the University can simply issue ID that allows students to vote . . . but, she noted, just before he lost re-election, Republican Gov. Walker appointed the University Regents—who would not correct the IDs to mint another 100,000 Democrats.

In 2016, a student, if they found out about the last-minute ID requirement, could hunt down a university center that would issue a special voting ID. However, that would not have been good enough to vote. The Walker law requires that the special student ID

> must be presented with proof of current enrollment like a tuition fee receipt or letter verifying enrollment.

Got that?

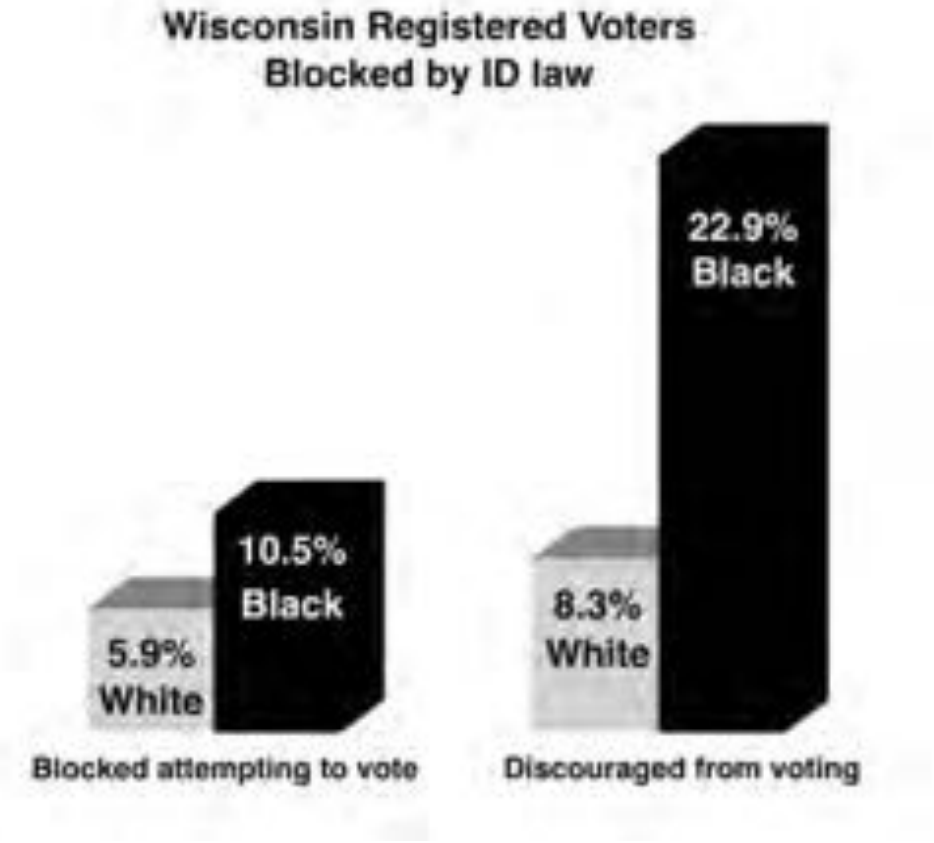
In 2016, most students voted by mail, thinking this was a way around the ID law. But ballots not mailed with an ID and proof of school enrollment would be cancelled and dumped—and the voter wouldn't know it.

University of Wisconsin professors Michael DeCrecenzo and Kenneth Mayer wanted to find out about the mysterious massive drop in 2016 turnout. They conducted an extraordinary survey, contacting thousands of non-voters directly. They asked each registrant why they did not, or could not, vote.

They discovered that 28,000 citizens in just two cities, Milwaukee and Madison, were blocked by the ID requirement. (This 28,000 excludes the majority of voters without proper ID who did not vote for other reasons, such as long lines—or who just didn't give a damn about voting.)

Some folks did in fact have the ID required, but the law is so complex and little-explained that thousands *thought* they did not have acceptable ID. One in 11 Black voters did not have the right ID, but more than twice that many *thought* they didn't, so did not show up at the polls.

Take a look at this chart from the study. The ID law was three times as likely to block or deter African-Americans as whites.



It gets worse. The study measured a privileged group: those who had already registered before the ID law went into place, before the law's jaws snapped closed in 2016. Beginning in 2016, you could not *register* without the special ID—another bite out of the youth vote bloc. The National Study for Learning, Voting and Engagement found that the eligible student vote in Madison dropped from 45% in 2012 to just 37% in the Clinton-Trump race.

I know: this is an awful lot of detail, a lot of numbers. But that's how it's done. It's not about some kid in Moscow fiddling with vote machine software.

The Black vote in Wisconsin fell by a mind-blowing 24.5% between 2012 and 2016 when the ID law hit. The loss of Black and student votes due to the ID law cost at minimum 61,274 votes, almost three times Trump's plurality. And that estimate of the loss is low. I've left out the Hispanic voters who are growing near to the size of the Black population. Any way you calculate it, the *show-me-your-papers* ID tactic won Wisconsin, not the voters.

According to The Survey of the Performance of American Elections (SPAE), poll workers nationwide demand that first-time voters who are Black produce ID 64% of the time, more than twice as often as for first-time white voters . . . and ten times more often than for white returning voters.

JIM CROWING STUDENTS FROM WISCONSIN TO FLORIDA TO CAROLINA

That was 2016. But this book is about the theft of *2020*.

Wisconsin Democrats now have the Governor's mansion, but the voting laws are kept medieval by a rabidly partisan Republican legislature.

In 2020, the Goodman Foundation sued the state for violating the 26th Amendment. You know the 26th Amendment? I had to Google it. It's the one we won during the War in Vietnam. The Amendment lowered the national voting age to 18. It was argued that if you can get drafted for Vietnam at 18, you should have the right to vote at 18. (Though the late Dick Gregory noted, "If they can send you to Vietnam at 18, you need to vote at *16*.")

The Wisconsin ID law is so clearly harmful to the 18-to-21 vote, Goodman's suit argues, it violates the 26th Amendment.

Goodman's lawsuit could prevent the theft of Wisconsin in 2020. It's an argument Goodman used with some success in Florida. There, Republican officials allowed the placement of early voting stations in country clubs, gun ranges, evangelical church buildings, massage parlors, wherever . . . but *not on college campuses*—by edict of the GOP successor to Secretary of State Katherine Harris.

Goodman's lawyers helped win a court order permitting voting stations on college campuses. Hooray. Well, partial hooray. *Permission* to have a voting station is not a *requirement.*

It is left to each of Florida's 67 counties' discretion to decide if they want students to have a reasonable chance of voting. Most counties are controlled by

Republicans and—*surprise!*—not one agreed to allow campus voting. The result: Only 12 colleges in Florida have been allowed early voting stations.

This was particularly brutal for the students at Miami-Dade College (MDC), with over 100,000 students, a city by itself—without one early polling station. And the County Registrar, a Republican, certainly knew that MDC had the largest Hispanic student population of any school in America, and the third-largest Black student population.

But, in 2018, an Andrew Goodman scholar, 20-year-old Rebecca Diaz, organized MDC students to march on the GOP Registrar and forced the county to open a voting station.

Can the action of this one voter change the outcome of the 2020 election? Yes. In fact, that's the *only* way it will happen—one activist at a time. (Look, I know you're too busy. So am I. Let's just hope there are more Rebecca Diazes out there, and a few thousand more David Goodmans.)

Is there work to do? Yes, even in Miami, where the biggest single campus, Florida International University, with an 89% non-white student population, is still without an early voting station.

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North Carolina is another battleground state. Rather than battle in a war of ideas, the Republican legislature in 2013 banned voting on college campuses. And the law added a nice little touch. Until its passage, North Carolina's high school students were handed a voter registration form at their graduation ceremonies along with their diplomas.

Then the Republican not only took away graduates' registration forms, even the act of attempting to register a student on a high school campus was made a crime.

No smoking dope, no registering voters. God Bless America.

18

Turdblossom Freaks Out

Turdblossom was freaking out. A full stuttering tantrum-fit on Fox TV.

You know Turdblossom. That's the name George W. Bush gave his Senior Counselor, Karl Rove. Turdblossom Rove is that pudgy guy you see all the time on Fox, with the little soft hands and wet lips. He was also known as "Bush's Brain."

It was close to midnight at the end of Election Day 2012, and Fox News had just called Ohio—the swing state of swing states—for Obama. Obama, said Fox, had been re-elected President.

And Rove was going berserk, refusing to accept Obama's Ohio win. The Fox hosts, though deep Republican red, could not understand why Turdblossom would not just give up.

But Rove knew what they didn't: that Obama's re-election could be reversed by one last, quite brilliant, ballot game.

Rove tried to explain:

> Here's the thing about Ohio. A third of the vote in Ohio is cast early. That's won overwhelmingly by the Democrats. It's counted first and then you count the Election Day.

What was he babbling about? This: About 70% of Black voters in Ohio had cast their ballots on early voting days. But why would that matter? A ballot's a ballot, right?

Not in Ohio, it ain't.

Rove knew that these hundreds of thousands of Black early voters were not given regular ballots. Instead, they were all given ballots that could be disqualified. For the first time in Ohio history, just days before the election, the Republican Secretary of State had secretly ordered a ballot switch for early—i.e., Black—voters.

But our chief investigator, Leni Badpenny, had already gotten the tip, four days earlier. The tip-off was important enough for her to slog across Manhattan during a power black-out to find a signal to relay the info to me. (Our Long Island office had been washed away by Storm Sandy and our files in New York were floating in two feet of water.)

An Ohio voter had sent her a message that early

voters were not allowed to vote on regular ballots or on voting machines. Instead, they were handed an *absentee* mail-in ballot.

This was a Big Deal. But to make sure this was not a BS tip, I immediately called Professor Fitrakis, dean of voting rights experts in Ohio. He said, "That would be really, really bad" if they handed out absentee ballots. But, the attorney assured me, this was impossible, "the state *can't do that*."

But I'm suspicious by trade and training. So, despite the reassurance that this could not happen, I drove through the night to Dayton, Ohio, where, in the morning, I found the Freedom Faith Baptist Church. The church, a tiny white clapboard structure on a street of foreclosed homes, had advertised it was hosting a "Souls to the Polls" convoy. Most Ohio African-Americans vote on the Sunday before Election Day, after attending church, because they can't get off work, or they need a ride in a church van to get to the voting station.

"Souls to the Polls" began after the 2004 election when John Kerry lost the presidency by a few votes in Ohio. Kerry would have been president except that Black voters, some waiting 7 or 8 hours *in the rain*, found polling station doors closed in their faces at the 7:30 p.m. cut-off. It was safer to vote on Sunday after church.

At Freedom Faith Baptist, Souls to the Polls organizer Terra Williams, who didn't know me from Adam, invited me in for gospel and Sunday supper: chicken, square-cut blocks of macaroni and cheese, collard greens.

Pastor Frederick Hayes, with an electric guitar, was rocking the church.

This little light of mine . . . I'm gonna let it SHINE!

After the chicken, we loaded into the church van and headed to the lone early voting station in Dayton, and waited.

And waited.

Five hours. The line of more than a thousand voters snaked through the parking lot, all waiting in the skin-numbing Ohio November cold.

Check out these two photos: Here I am walking the Dayton line. Now, take a look at the second photo. In it, I am checking out the voting line in a white suburb of Toledo, Ohio. Or, to be accurate, there was *no* line. Zero wait. And to warm the Caucasian voters after their run from SUV to doorway, poll workers put out cookies and coffee.

Then weird turned weirder.

When the Souls at the Polls got to the end of the five-hour line, inside the county clerk's office, they found the voting machines covered with what looked like

bedsheets. Instead of access to the voting machines, instead of a ballot, each voter was handed a form to request an *absentee* ballot. Why? They weren't absent, they were right in the polling station, but blocked from using voting machines.

The man in charge, the County Clerk, was miserable. He told me that the Secretary of State's last-minute edict to hand out absentee ballots was adding hours to the wait for early voters. The Secretary of State was Republican Jon Husted, as in *Husted v. APRI*, purge pro.

Husted knew that impossibly long lines in Black precincts had been crucial to Bush's victory in 2004. So, Husted worked hard to make them longer. He cut early voting hours, and only a Court order stopped him from shutting down Souls to the Polls Day altogether.

Dayton was ugly, but in Cleveland, Rev. Jesse Jackson was reporting a wait of *seven* hours.

This was the result of Husted's *pièce de résistance*. He allowed each county, no matter its size, to have only one early polling station—just to be "fair." But that meant that Cuyahoga County, the home of Cleveland, with over a million residents, a majority of them Black, would have one voting station, same as Vinton County, with fewer than 14,000 residents, including cows, all Republicans. Moo.

BALLOT BINGO

After five hours, the voters were handed a number on a card and an Application for an Absentee Ballot. We were hustled through wide doors, and I thought we'd walked into a bingo game. A skinny white guy in a white short-sleeve shirt was calling out numbers, "Number 175 through 195, please line up behind Frank in the green shirt."

When a voter's number came up in a half hour or so, they got in another line to hand in their Application for an Absentee Ballot, got the ballot, filled it out, filled out the envelope to hold the ballot and "mailed" it in a box set up in front of the actual voting machines white folk would use on Tuesday.

I asked the County Clerk why voters were going through this mad rigmarole to get "absentee" ballots *when they weren't absent.*

He said, "Because absentee ballots can be disqualified."

What?

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MIDNIGHT LAW CLASS

I grabbed an absentee ballot and application and headed off to Columbus, Ohio.

By the time I got to Professor Fitrakis's home, it was past midnight. An ordinary guy would have slammed the door in my face. But Fitrakis is *extra*ordinary, committed to voting rights law 24/7.

I flashed the "impossible" absentee ballot forms and he directed me to his substantial law library. Despite the hour, the professor gave me a lesson on why absentee ballots have never been given out at voting stations—and the dangers to these votes from Dayton:

> You vote absentee, they can pick through the absentee and say, "They didn't fill this out all the way, they didn't sign here, they didn't initial there," and thus toss the absentee. Essentially they're treating the absentee like a second-class provisional ballot. None of that can be done in regular early voting.

Husted had thought of everything. What if Black folk withstood frostbite waiting over five hours? They did. I did not see a single voter abandon the line. But Husted had prepared for their persistence. That explained why he barred these voters from using the voting machines.

Because, once a vote is cast on a machine, the vote is instantly counted.

But when a vote is cast on paper, especially an "absentee" ballot, the chance of it getting counted is, well, as Professor Fitrakis said, a crapshoot.

Turdblossom Rove knew—even if his Fox News buddies didn't—that if Husted disqualified about 20% of the early-voting "absentee" Black ballots on technical grounds, Rove would realize his last, best hope of defeating Obama (and defeating the voters). Fritakis went to court, I went on air, and the mass disqualification of Ohio votes—which worked the trick in 2004—failed in 2012. Barely.

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Why am I talking about Ohio 2012? Republicans are conservatives. They find new ways to block voters, but they conserve the old tricks too.

In November 2016, I returned to Freedom Faith Missionary Baptist. Back in the van with the Souls to Polls. The line was down . . . to three hours. And at the end of the wait, once again, "absentee" ballots for the Souls. Trump won Ohio. Congratulations.

And in 2020 . . . ?

2016 Presidential Election
Exit Poll/Votecount Comparison

Compiled by Jonathan D. Simon

State (Exit Poll Sample Size)	Exit Poll Margin (+ Clinton, - Trump)	Vote Count Margin (+ Clinton, - Trump)	Red Shift (+ indicates shift favoring Trump)
UT (1171)	-6.1%	-17.9%	11.8%
MO (1648)	-8.4%	-18.5%	10.1%
ME (1371)	11.0%	2.9%	8.1%
OH (3190)	-0.1%	-8.1%	8.0%
NJ (1590)	21.8%	14.0%	7.8%
SC (876)	-7.5%	-14.2%	6.7%
NC (3967)	2.1%	-3.6%	5.7%
IA (2941)	-3.9%	-9.5%	5.6%
PA (2613)	4.4%	-0.7%	5.1%
IN (1753)	-14.3%	-19.1%	4.8%
WI (2981)	3.9%	-0.7%	4.6%
GA (2611)	-1.4%	-5.1%	3.7%
NV (2418)	5.9%	2.4%	3.5%
KY (1070)	-26.5%	-29.8%	3.3%
FL (3941)*	1.3%	-1.2%	2.5%
VA (2866)	7.7%	5.4%	2.3%
IL (802)	18.9%	17.0%	1.9%
NM (1948)	9.6%	8.3%	1.3%
OR (1128)	11.9%	11.0%	0.9%
NH (2702)	1.0%	0.3%	0.7%
MI (2774)*	0.0%	-0.3%	0.3%
AZ (1729)	-3.3%	-3.5%	0.2%
CO (1335)	5.0%	4.9%	0.1%
WA (1024)	15.5%	15.7%	-0.2%
TX (2610)	-9.5%	-9.0%	-0.5%
CA (2282)	28.5%	30.0%	-1.5%
MN (1583)	-0.1%	1.5%	-1.6%
NY (1352)	16.0%	22.5%	-6.5%
National Vote (21753)	3.2%	2.1%	1.1%

19

The Red Shift Is Coming, the Red Shift Is Coming

Trump's surprise wins in Michigan, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania were the shockers that gave him the White House by a minuscule margin of 77,400 votes, just one half of one percent of the vote in those states.

Look at this table.

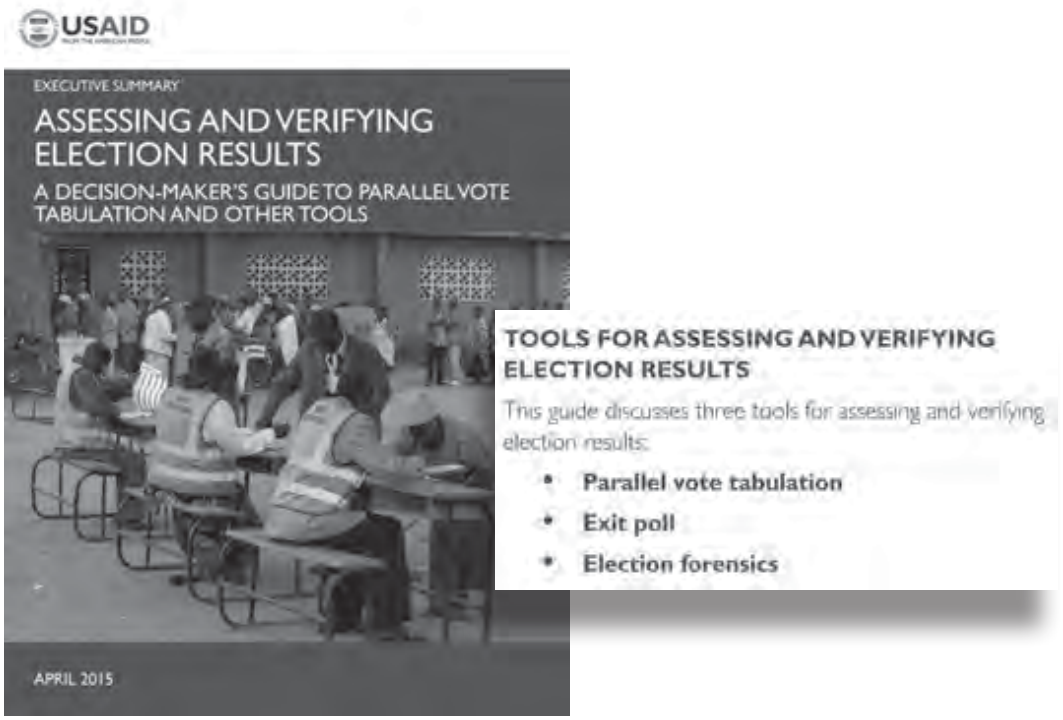
Trump won Michigan by less than a tenth of one percent. But the exit polls showed he'd *lost* by 0.3%. And in Wisconsin, while Trump won the official count by less than 1%, the exit polls showed Clinton won by a substantial 3.7%. In Pennsylvania, once again: exit polls gave the win to Clinton, the official count to Trump.

No one trusts opinion polls. You shouldn't. Because opinion polls taken before an election have a crippling fault: Pollsters have to remove the bias of the demographic of those who will answer their phone, and, with even

more difficulty, prognosticate which people will actually vote. Most people say they'll vote, but many don't.

Exit polls are a very different animal. You don't have to guess who will vote: the pollster is there when they exit the booth. No phones.

Exit polls are so accurate that the US State Department uses them to determine if America should recognize a new government, to determine if a foreign vote count is honest or rigged. Here is a page from the State Department's guidebook, *Assessing and Verifying Election Results*, showing happy Africans having their ballots counted, unlike African-Americans in Ohio.



The US rejected governments in Peru, Serbia and Ukraine based on exit polls that didn't square with the

official count. So, by its own guidelines, the US State Department cannot recognize the election of Donald Trump.

Because the exit polls were stone-cold clear: Trump lost.

How could the exit polls get it wrong? They didn't.

Did the voters lie to the pollsters? No. The problem is that voters know if they "voted"—that is, cast their ballot. *But they don't know if their vote has been counted.*

The Asian-American purged by Crosscheck, the student purged by postcard, the Hispanic voter whose ID has been challenged—including those who filled out three million provisional ballots— *believe* they voted. So do the million-plus African-American voters whose ballots were deemed "spoiled." They assume their ballots were counted. They weren't.

And here's a most valuable statistic from the US Civil Rights Commission:

> **Your chance of having your vote spoiled is 900% higher if you're Black than if you're white.**

So, the difference between *casting* a ballot and actually *having it counted* is . . . Donald Trump.

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Has this happened before? Yes. In virtually every election. That's why, among polling pros, it has its own name: Red Shift . . . states moving from Democratic Blue in the exit polls to Republican Red in the final official count.

In 2012, Karl Rove's tantrum was based on his insistent hope for a deep and bloody Red Shift: Black voters telling exit pollsters they'd voted for Obama without knowing that Husted had disqualified their "absentee" ballots. If Ohio rejected ballots on the scale of 2004, the Red Shift would have inaugurated President Romney.

WHITING OUT THE RED SHIFT

Since 2000, the media has done a good job of whiting out the Red Shift. That year, Bush won the presidency by taking Florida, though exit polls showed Al Gore had easily won. How? 179,855 Florida ballots—that's official—concentrated in Black townships (especially Jacksonville and Gadsden County) were deemed "spoiled," not tallied, disqualified, including ballots properly cast but with a "hanging chad"—an unseen piece of paper stuck to the back of a punch card. Congress, rather than investigating why tens of thousands of African-Americans' ballots were never counted, hauled the pollsters in front of investigative committees to demand they explain why they "got it wrong."

The result: the pollsters agreed to henceforth "conform" the exit polls to the official count. To make sure that all networks fiddle the numbers in the same manner, all five TV networks and the Associated Press stopped doing their own polls and, since 2003, turn over the number-bending to a single private company, Edison Media Research.

Edison's Executive Vice President Joe Lenski proudly explained to the *Washington Post* how Edison throws out its own data and replaces it with the official count. For his example, he points to the April 2016 New York primary where Bernie Sanders was in a statistical tie (four points down) against Hillary Clinton in Edison's exit polls—but the "exit poll" reported was changed radically to match the official number, a big Clinton win.

> Like in New York, we were showing a four-point margin in the exit poll at nine o'clock, but by 9:45 we were showing a 12-point margin. That's because we can quickly compare precinct-by-precinct what the exit poll results were and what the full [official] results for that precinct were. So we're seeing precinct-by-precinct that the actual results were that Hillary Clinton was doing four points better than she did in the exit poll in that precinct, we will adjust the results [of the exit poll] accordingly.

In other words, Edison simply replaces the exit poll numbers with the official count, but still reports it as exit poll numbers.

While the US State Department would consider this manipulation of the final exit polls *prima facie* evidence of a rigged election if it occurred in a foreign country—in America, it's just an "adjustment" and the public is no wiser.

If the Serbian war criminal Slobodan Milosevic had thought of "adjusting" the exit polls in Serbia, he'd have been back in his presidential palace instead of dying in a prison cell in The Hague.

I'd note that in that New York primary, some 126,000 voters were wrongly purged from the rolls in Brooklyn, especially young (i.e., Sanders) voters, some shunted to provisional ballots. So we are left with the ugly feeling that the raw exit data was likely right, the "adjusted" official totals the artifact of voters blocked and votes not counted.

Pollsters took a little time to learn how to hide the Red Shift. On Election Day 2004, at 1:05 a.m. after voting ended, CNN exit polling reported that Democratic candidate John Kerry had won Ohio's female voters 53% to 47%. Among male voters, Kerry won Ohio by 51% to 49%. But CNN's exit polls of all voters showed Bush the winner in Ohio, and thereby the re-elected President.

OK, class, what third sex put Bush over the top?

20

The Amnesia Machine

I'll be straight with you. I'm not big on the theories that there's some guy in a cave who flips a switch and changes Democratic votes on computer touch-screen voting machines to Republican.

If you get one thing out of this book, it's that most vote theft happens *before* the voting, by *preventing* people from voting: the purge of voter rolls, the obstacle course of ID rejections, the shunting to uncountable "provisional" ballots, the lines longer than for a Kendrick Lamar concert.

But then, Prof. Fitrakis, an attorney, took me into a Columbus, Ohio, courtroom just a day before the 2016 presidential election. And what I saw creeped me out. Professor Fitrakis of Columbus State University doesn't sport a tin-foil hat. In fact, he's one of the nation's most respected voting rights attorneys.

Ohio's Republican voting officials said their "DRE"

(Direct Recording Electronic) voting machines are secure and accurate. DREs are those computer touch-screen ballots that experts in the field used to call "Push and Pray"—you push a button for a candidate and pray it gets recorded and tallied.

It's like trusting your iPhone to pick your President. "Siri, cast my ballot." No thanks.

Because of these concerns, voting machines are now designed to reduce the push-and-pray problem. Today, states are installing machines with all kinds of futuristic high-tech safety software built in so no one can fiddle with the count.

Ohio, for example, has machines with software that can alert officials to hacking attempts. Even better: your individual ballot can't be disappeared because the machines can take a photo of each ballot, and time-stamp and order all ballots so they can be re-counted just like paper ballots.

How cool is that, eh?

But *this* is *not* cool: in Ohio, the protection software was turned off.

Ohio counties had *turned off* the anti-hacking software.

And they had also *turned off* the ballot imaging, erasing the time-stamped photos.

Ohio elections officials claimed it would be too difficult, too complex, to correct the problem at the last

minute. Activating the safety software would "cause chaos," the officials told the judge.

Really? Professor Fitrakis showed me the machines' instructions. When the ES&S iVotronic machine is first turned on, it asks if you want to engage the anti-tampering software, yes or no. It also asks, Do you want to keep and time-stamp ballot images, yes or no.

How is that difficult? Expensive? Complex?

The judge told Fitrakis to go fly.

Judges in Ohio are elected. On these very machines.

In other words, the voting machines of Ohio are deliberately programmed to have amnesia, to forget who voted for whom.

(And Lord knows what other states have turned off these security measures. Not many states are lucky enough to have a Professor Bob on the ballot beat.)

Am I saying the Ohio electronic computer vote is fixed?

I don't know. How can I?

As an old gumshoe, I have a simple question: If you are not committing a crime, *why are you working so hard to cover it up?*

Just asking.

21

The Uncounted 7,854,928

I've told you: the dirty little secret of American elections is that we don't count all the ballots—and we sure as hell don't allow every citizen to vote.

In total, no less than 5,872,857 ballots were cast and never counted in 2016. In addition, a minimum of 1,982,071 voters were blocked from casting their ballots.

That is a total of 7,854,928 votes and voters left uncounted.

Voting in America, especially for the young and voters of color, is an obstacle course: your registration is blocked; and if you're registered you get purged; you can't get a ballot because you brought the wrong student ID; or you get a provisional ballot that's thrown away; or, lucky you, you get to vote on a real ballot and it's not counted, "residual" or "spoiled"; or, mailed in, you left off the second stamp . . . and I could go on.

But what's the bottom line? How many votes lost? How many registrations zapped? I can only give you these calculations based on 2016 data reported by the EAC, Census, Federal Elections Commission (FEC) and the quadrennial Survey of the Performance of American Elections (SPAE).

Provisional ballots rejected	925,973
Ballots rejected	1,913,369
Mail-in ballots rejected & lost	3,033,515
Total ballots uncounted	**5,872,857**
Registration purged	1,088,400
Long Lines	247,000
Wrong ID	646,671
Total voters blocked	**1,982,071**
VOTES UNCOUNTED & VOTERS BLOCKED	**7,854,928**

Let's do a quick walk-through of this voting casualty ward.

Provisional ballots. Those tranquilizer ballots are limited to states and counties that report to the EAC. It does include some "partially" counted ballots.

Ballots rejected. The votes of those "residual" voters, as in Michigan, where the 75,355 were not counted when the ballot scanners broke down in Detroit.

Mail-in ballots rejected. That includes both the 512,696 ballots received and rejected and the bigger sum of voters who did not receive their mail-in ballots on time or did not receive them at all.

Registrations purged. Given that 340,134 and more were wrongly purged in Georgia alone and another half million were wrongly purged in Ohio, and 170,008 were wrongly placed on the Wisconsin purge list, how come I'm only showing a million voters shafted in 2016? First, someone who's lost their right to vote may not try or want to vote or take a provisional ballot. Finally, I chose the most conservative number I could find—those reporting to Census and SPAE that they could not vote because of registration problems.

And let me remind you, these numbers reflect the horror show of 2016. Since then, leading to 2020, the purges have accelerated at warp speed.

Long lines. I used the MIT SPAE data on folks discouraged by long lines, the lowest number I could find. I left out folks whose polling stations could not be located—not a small problem.

Wrong ID. This includes those who were told they could not vote at the polling station and those that did not try because they did not have the required ID. I'm also excluding well over a million more who *thought* they didn't have the right ID. And some did receive provisional ballots.

I recognize that experts at the Brennan Center and elsewhere will find this estimate ridiculously low.

So argue with me. Experts will say I'm low, and the perpetrators of this anti-voting crime wave will say I'm way high (in both senses of the term). Whatever may be the necessary refinement of these numbers, this is an American tragedy, a democracy holocaust—a term no one in my family would use without careful forethought.

It is a metastasizing cancer on our democracy because the voters blocked and the votes uncounted are not anything close to random. It's Jim Crow and José Crow and Kim Crow; and in 2020, the big, new target of aggression and suppression, younger voters.

While this entire tome has focused on bigotry in balloting, I must add a bit more to the mathematics of the bias.

VANISHING REGISTRATIONS

Professor Arnwine asked me to note,

> The untold story is that 100,000 African-American registrations in North Carolina were not processed; 100,000 registrations in Florida were not processed, meaning that these people took the time to register to vote, and the state never put them on the voter registration rolls.

How many registrations were tossed? The total blows me away. An EAC press release proudly reports that states accepted 83.4% of the 77,516,596 registrations in the two years leading up to the 2016 election. But wait a minute: that means 16.6% were dumped. That's 12,867,755 rejected.

Why? Minorities tend to register in voter drives on paper—an easy target for nitpickers with a partisan agenda to challenge such as a wrong signature on a cover sheet causing hundreds of registrations at a time to get the heave-ho. And voters don't know it. There's about a 6% error rate in clerks entering names off difficult-to-read forms. Who loses? According to Debra Bowen, former Secretary of State of California, where paper registration rejections hit 45%, especially for "unusual" names like Mohamed and names

with hyphens and accents—look out, Mr. García-Márquez.

PROVISIONAL AMERICANS

In the Help America Vote Act of 2002, the Congressional Black Caucus won the right for voters with wrong ID or who were missing from the rolls to get a provisional ballot. But they lost the right to *have that ballot counted.*

The bipartisan Cooperative Congressional Election Study lays out the whole racial rainbow of vote suppression:

Forced to use provisional ballots

African-Americans vs. White	282%
Asian-Americans vs. White	284%
Hispanic vs. White	300%

Your genitalia may also determine if you get shoved to the provisional ballot:

Women vs. Men	152%

And whatever you do, don't show up and try to vote young:

Age 18 to 29 vs. 65+	1,122%

But those are the lucky ones. Any citizen showing up at the polls who encounters ID or registration problems is, by federal law, entitled to a provisional ballot. Nevertheless, at least a third of those voters are refused, or not offered the ballot. We tested this. Rachel Garbus of our legal team called several Georgia counties to ask about how they counted provisional ballots of those scrubbed by Brian Kemp. The answer in most cases: *We don't give out any ballot, provisional or otherwise,* to scrubbed voters.

Here's the breakdown of voters that waited in line to vote—but were sent away without any ballot at all. From the same Congressional study:

African-Americans vs. White	140%
Hispanic vs. White	157%
Women vs. Men	119%
Age 18 to 29 vs. 65+	368%

Get the picture?

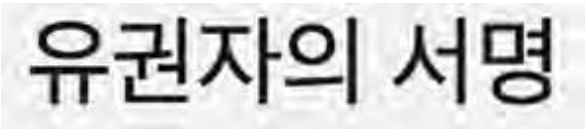
DEMOCRACY SPOILED ROTTEN

There are a gazillion ways for your vote to simply not count—some call it "spoilage"—from broken scanners, hanging chads, funky computer touchscreens and the myriad gotchas of absentee balloting.

But if it were random, who cares? It's anything but random. The US Civil Rights Commission looked at the un-count (residual or "spoiled" votes) in Florida in 2000 and found that . . .

> **The chance your vote will "spoil," won't get counted, is 900% higher if you're Black than if you're white.**

Other studies show the Jim Crow factor has fallen to merely horrendous levels. And, whatever you do, if the ballot says,



don't sign in Korean.

22

Russian to Judgment

It would be so much easier, and this book could be a lot shorter, if I could tell you that the Russians did it.

Hillary, famously—infamously—did not campaign even one lunch-hour in Wisconsin.

Obviously, the Russians were behind it. My sources inform me that Putin told Clinton, "Whatever you do, Agent Hillary, DON'T campaign in Wisconsin!"

Of course, these sources are crazy. And, I confess, they don't exist.

Neither does evidence of Kremlin interference in Wisconsin, Michigan or Pennsylvania.

The Russians did not Crosscheck thousands of voters in North Carolina, bust the scanners in Detroit, purge half a million in Ohio nor hack the ID laws of Wisconsin.

Yes, a Russian-based site downloaded the voter rolls of Illinois—as did I. And we both used the same super-spy

technique: we hit the "Download" button on the state website. (Voter rolls, comrade, are public documents.)

But, the Russians-fixed-the-election story line is a lot more acceptable to Americans than explaining that Trump was elected by endemic racial apartheid in America's voting system constructed by the GOP and made possible by their cringing enablers, the see-no-evil Democrats.

I was asked on MSNBC before the 2016 election if I feared that the Russians would hack the voter rolls in Ohio. I noted that Ohio Republicans control the voter rolls, have the passwords, control the count and hand Black voters placebo provisional ballots like candy. So, why, I responded, would the Republicans need help from some pimply kid in his mommy's bedroom in Moscow?

Wrong answer, Palast! "The Russians did it" is a cheap way for MSDNC to give you "news" quickly, so they can get to the prescription drug commercials with those fast-talk endings, "SnoreVex can cause your eyeballs to fall out, your toes to turn purple, your parents to divorce and Mariah Carey to make another comeback. If you experience any of these symptoms . . ."

Did the Russians attempt to interfere? Yes, but about as effectively as a mosquito interfering with a Steph Curry three-pointer. A Russian oligarch spent a ginormous $150,000 on Facebook ads, about 1/10,000th of the $1.2 billion spent on pro-Clinton ads.

The Russians did it? *Nyet.*

HOW TO STEAL AN ELECTION

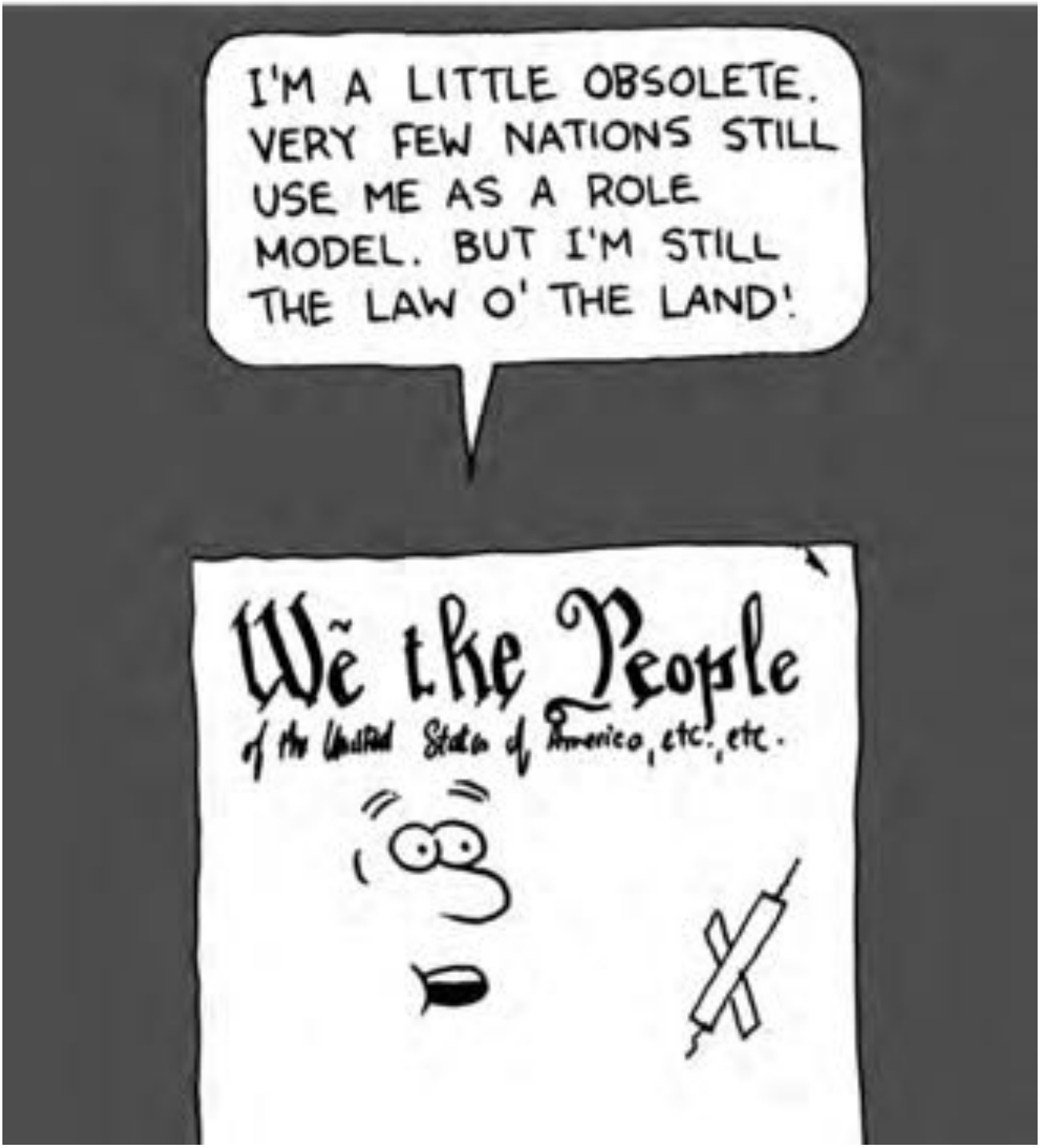
VOTE THIEVES— THE ART OF THE STEAL

From ***How Trump Stole 2020***

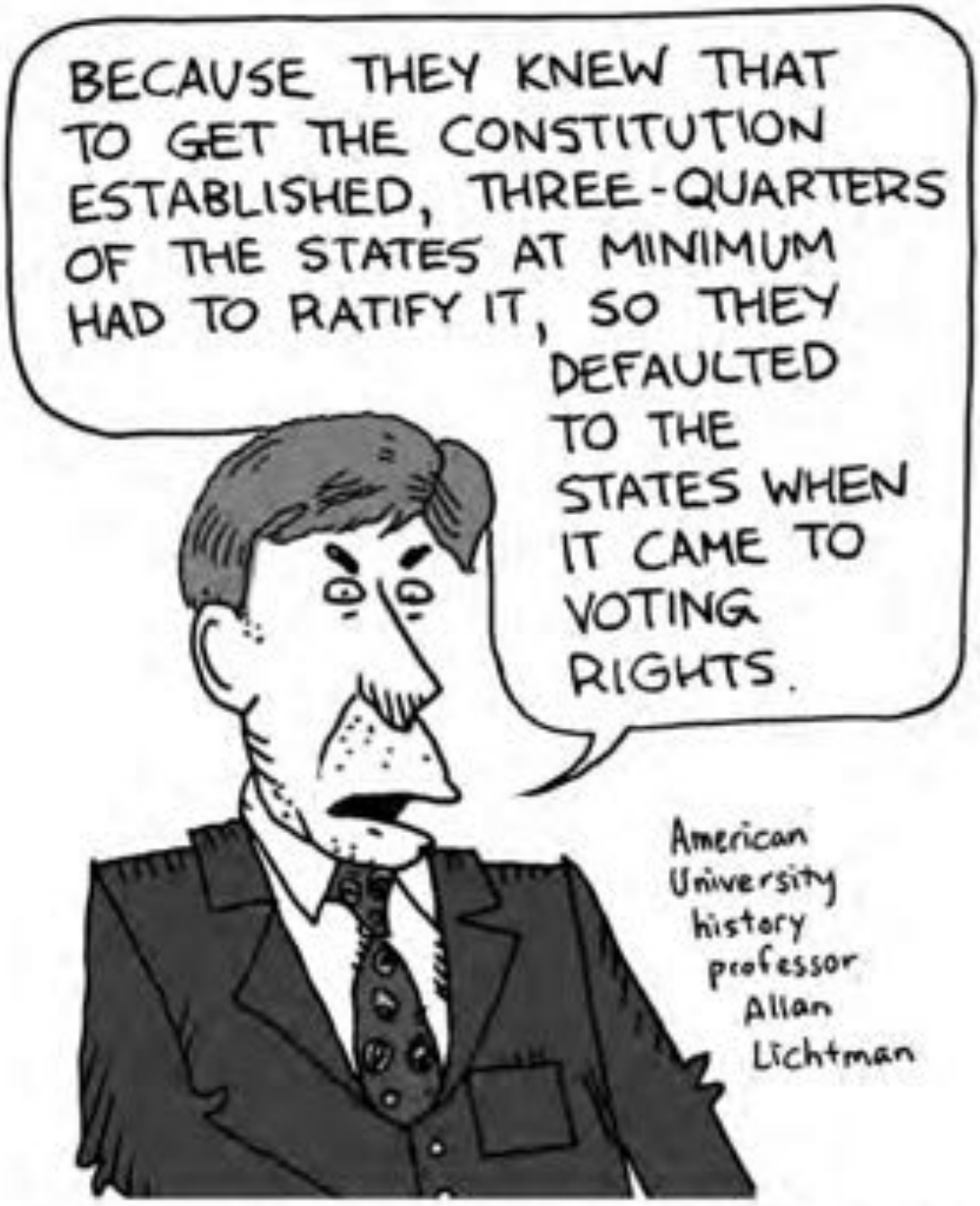
A **Greg Palast** Investigation

Comics by Ted Rall

THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION SAYS YOU CAN OWN A GUN, BECAUSE WHY NOT? YOU CAN BELONG TO ANY RELIGION YOU WANT. IF SOLDIERS WANT TO CRASH AT YOUR HOUSE, YOU CAN TELL THEM TO DROP DEAD.



BUT THE CONSTITUTION DOES NOT FEDERALLY GUARANTEE YOUR RIGHT TO VOTE. THAT'S UP TO THE STATES.



LEAVING ELECTIONS TO THE STATES WAS A MAJOR SCREWUP.

YOUR HIGH SCHOOL CIVICS TEACHER MADE DEMOCRACY SOUND SO SIMPLE.

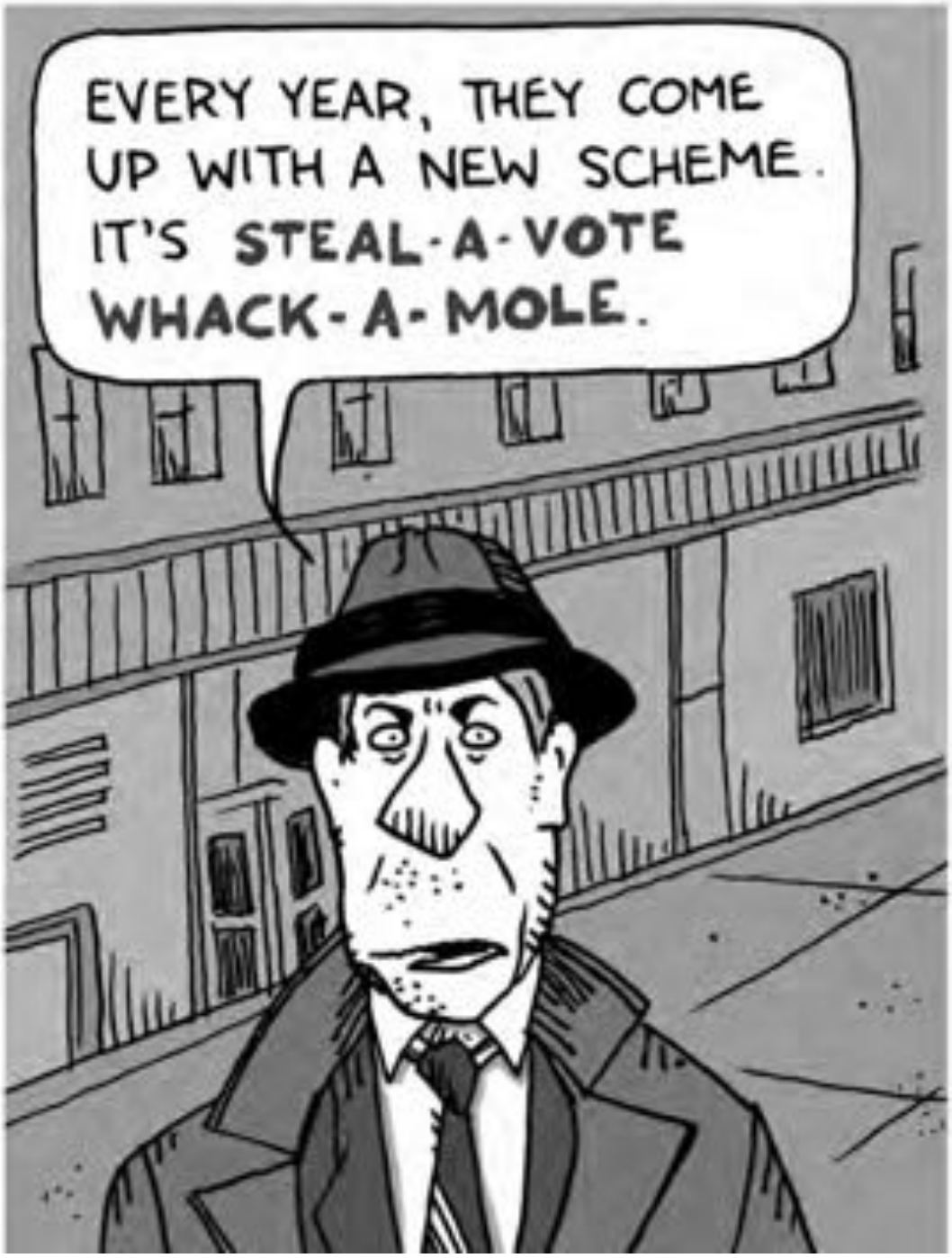
EACH PARTY PICKS A CANDIDATE. EACH CANDIDATE CAMPAIGNS BASED ON ISSUES. YOU, THE VOTER, VOTE FOR THE CANDIDATE WHOSE STANCES ON THE ISSUES YOU LIKE BEST.

FINALLY, COUNT THE VOTES. THE CANDIDATE WITH THE MOST VOTES WINS. HE OR SHE GOES TO WASHINGTON OR THE STATE CAPITAL OR WHEREVER AND TRIES TO PASS LAWS THAT REFLECT HIS OR HER CAMPAIGN PROMISES.

WHAT YOUR TEACHER PROBABLY DIDN'T TELL YOU—WHAT THEY PROBABLY DIDN'T KNOW—IS THAT GETTING OUT YOUR SIDE'S VOTE IS ONLY HALF THE EQUATION.

THERE'S ANOTHER, DARK SIDE TO ELECTIONS: TRYING TO BLOCK THE OTHER SIDE'S VOTE.

JOURNALIST GREG PALAST HAS SPENT MUCH OF HIS CAREER INVESTIGATING HOW POWERFUL INTERESTS CONTROLLED BY WEALTHY INDIVIDUALS MANIPULATE THE SYSTEM FROM BEHIND THE SCENES IN ORDER TO FIGURE OUT HOW TO STEAL YOUR VOTE.



THERE ARE BASICALLY FOUR WAYS TO BLOCK PEOPLE FROM EXERCISING THEIR MOST FUNDAMENTAL RIGHT AS A CITIZEN.

FIRST, **STOP THEM FROM REGISTERING TO VOTE.**

SECOND, IF THEY REGISTER ANYWAY, **CANCEL THEIR VOTER REGISTRATION.**

THIRD, **PREVENT THEM FROM GETTING TO THE POLLS** TO CAST A BALLOT.

FOURTH, IF THAT FAILS, **INVALIDATE THEIR VOTE.**

AND THE OLD FART RULERS OF *BOTH* PARTIES BLOCK VOTES OF PEOPLE OF COLOR—AND THE YOUNG.

DEMOCRATS MOSTLY BLOCK *THEIR OWN* VOTERS.

IN THE 2020 CALIFORNIA PRIMARY, DEMOCRATIC SECRETARY OF STATE ALEX PADILLA SENT BALLOTS TO 3.7 MILLION VOTERS *WITHOUT THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES*. THE BOGUS BALLOTS WENT TO INDEPENDENTS WHO FAVORED BERNIE SANDERS 3-TO-1 OVER JOE BIDEN, PADILLA'S CHOICE. SANDERS WAS CHEATED OUT OF A TON OF VOTES.

HOW THEY DO IT

HERE ARE SOME OF THE FUCKED-UP GAMES USED TO KEEP YOU FROM VOTING OR, IF YOU DO MANAGE TO VOTE, TO MAKE SURE YOUR VOTE DOESN'T COUNT.

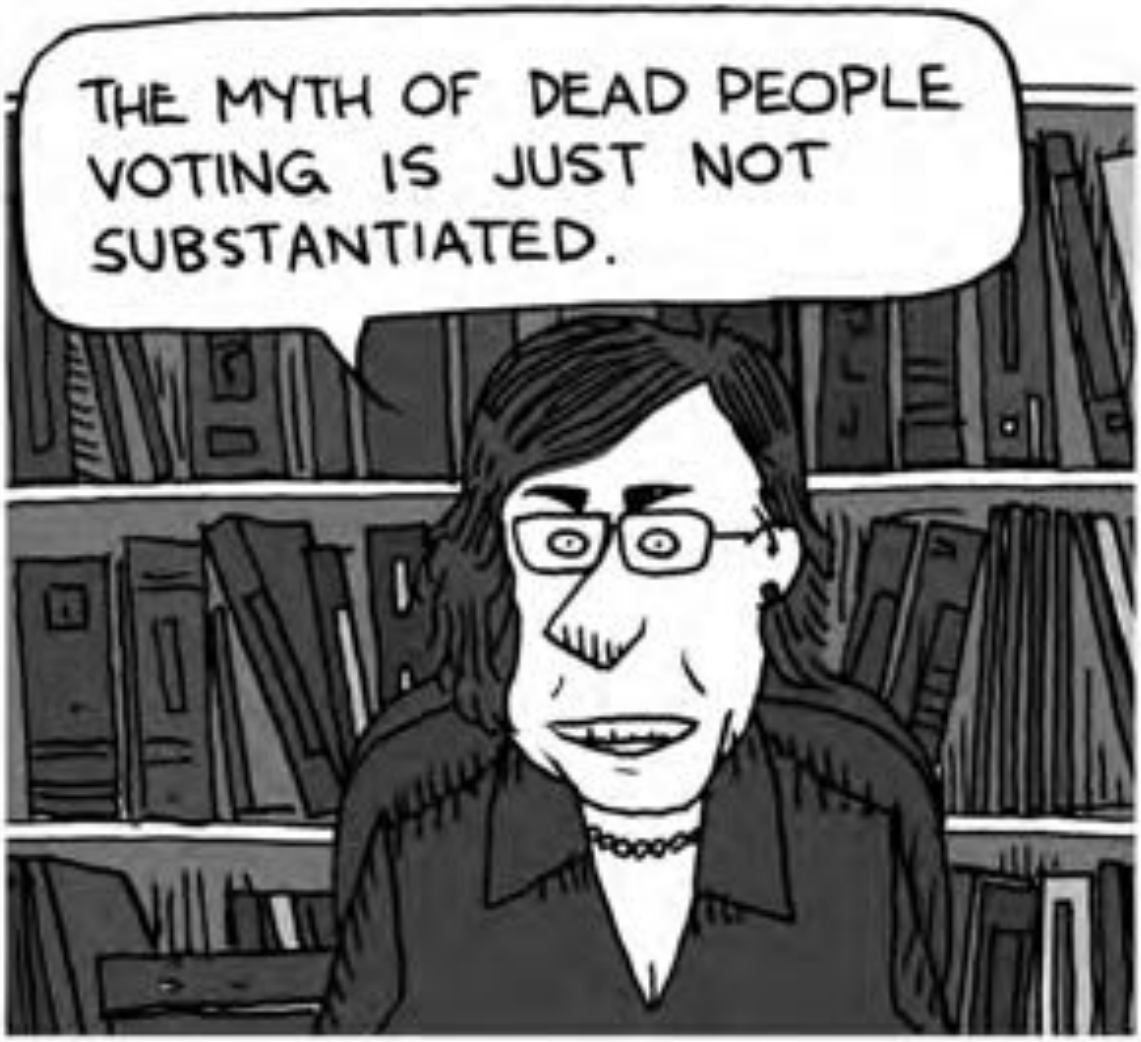
THE EX-CON CON

IN 2000, PALAST DISCOVERED THAT G.O.P. SECRETARY OF STATE KATHERINE HARRIS (ALSO CHAIR OF THE DUBYA FOR PREZ CAMPAIGN) TARGETED 94,000 VOTERS, MOST BLACK, AS EX-CONS BARRED FROM VOTING.

PALAST GOT THE LIST AND FOUND THAT EXACTLY ZERO WERE ILLEGAL VOTERS. THEIR ONLY CRIME: VOTING WHILE BLACK.

THE HYSTERIA FACTORY

POLITICIANS AND MEDIA CREATE HYSTERIA OVER VOTING BY ALIENS, THE DEAD AND UNDEAD, AND BY "DOUBLE VOTERS." BUT RUTGERS POLITICAL SCIENCE PROFESSOR LORRAINE MINNITE SAYS THE CHANCE OF SOMEONE CASTING AN ILLEGAL VOTE IS *FIVE TIMES* LESS LIKELY THAN A VOTER GETTING HIT BY LIGHTNING.



ALIENS ATTACK!

FLORIDA TARGETED 180,000 PEOPLE AS "ALIEN" VOTERS—MAKING LATINX AMERICANS PROVE THEY'RE AMERICANS. HOW MANY FOREIGN VOTERS? THEY FOUND ONE: AN AUSTRIAN WHO VOTED REPUBLICAN.

IN 2019, A FEDERAL JUDGE ORDERED TEXAS' SECRETARY OF STATE TO DROP ITS PLAN TO DUMP 95,000 PEOPLE UNLESS THEY SENT IN THEIR BIRTH CERTIFICATES AND PASSPORTS WITHIN 30 DAYS.

"Perfectly legal naturalized Americans were burdened with what the Court finds to be ham-handed and threatening correspondence from the state which did not politely ask for information but rather exemplifies the power of government to strike fear and anxiety and to intimidate the least powerful among us."

—Fred Biery, U.S. District Court, San Antonio

CAGED HEAT

IN 2004, PALAST'S INVESTIGATORS GOT HOLD OF CONFIDENTIAL REPUBLICAN PARTY FILES TITLED "CAGING." THESE WERE LISTS OF VOTERS OF COLOR, INCLUDING BLACK SOLDIERS FROM THE JACKSONVILLE NAVAL AIR STATION. THE PLAN: TO CHALLENGE THESE VOTERS AS "GHOSTS," I.E., NONEXISTENT. GO TO IRAQ, LOSE YOUR VOTE, **MISSION ACCOMPLISHED.**

THE G.O.P. TARGETED SOLDIERS SENT OVERSEAS, BLACK STUDENTS ON SUMMER VACATION, AND JEWISH "SNOWBIRDS" VISITING FAMILY IN SUMMER. IN OTHER WORDS, "BLUISH" VOTERS—DEMS.

THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE SENT THEM CARDS KNOWING THAT MANY WOULD PROBABLY GET RETURNED UNDELIVERED INTO THE G.O.P. "CAGE"— AND THEN CHALLENGED THEIR VOTE.

PURGING VOTERS WHO "MOVED"

CLEANING THE ROLLS *SOUNDS* REASONABLE. BUT REAL-WORLD EXECUTION OF "LIST MAINTENANCE" IS SQUALID. IN 2019, GEORGIA'S G.O.P. SECRETARY OF STATE PURGED HALF A MILLION BECAUSE THEY'D SUPPOSEDLY LEFT THE STATE . . . BUT THE PALAST TEAM WENT THROUGH EVERY NAME AND FOUND THAT 340,134 HAD *NEVER* MOVED . . . INCLUDING MARTIN LUTHER KING'S 92-YEAR-OLD COUSIN, WHO GOT TOSSED OUT OF THE POLLING STATION.

IN AN INCREASINGLY WIDESPREAD TACTIC, A 1995 OHIO LAW ORDERED COUNTY BOARDS OF ELECTIONS TO PURGE THE REGISTRATIONS OF "INACTIVE VOTERS" WHO HADN'T CAST A BALLOT FOR SIX YEARS AND WHO HAD NOT RESPONDED TO A MAILER TO UPDATE THEIR REGISTRATION. YET FEDERAL LAW SAYS YOU CAN'T LOSE YOUR VOTE FOR NOT VOTING.

THE OHIO G.O.P. SECRETARY OF STATE DELETED 267,000 NAMES IN 2019 ALONE. DEMOCRATS OUTNUMBERED REPUBLICANS ALMOST 2-TO-1 ON THE PURGE LIST.

THE EXCUSE FOR REPUBLICAN STATES TO REMOVE "INACTIVE" VOTERS: THEY SAY THAT IF YOU MISSED TWO ELECTIONS AND DIDN'T RESPOND TO A JUNK-MAIL POSTCARD, OBVIOUSLY *YOU'VE MOVED* FAR AWAY, OUT OF YOUR COUNTY OR STATE.

THE PALAST TEAM WENT THROUGH EVERY NAME OF EVERY "MOVER" ABOUT TO BE PURGED IN WISCONSIN AND FOUND THAT 165,000 OF THOSE VOTERS HAD NOT MOVED FROM THEIR COUNTIES. THEY SAID SEQUANNA TAYLOR, A BLACK WOMAN, MOVED OUT OF MILWAUKEE. REALLY? SHE'S A MILWAUKEE COUNTY SUPERVISOR.

CROSS-CHECK

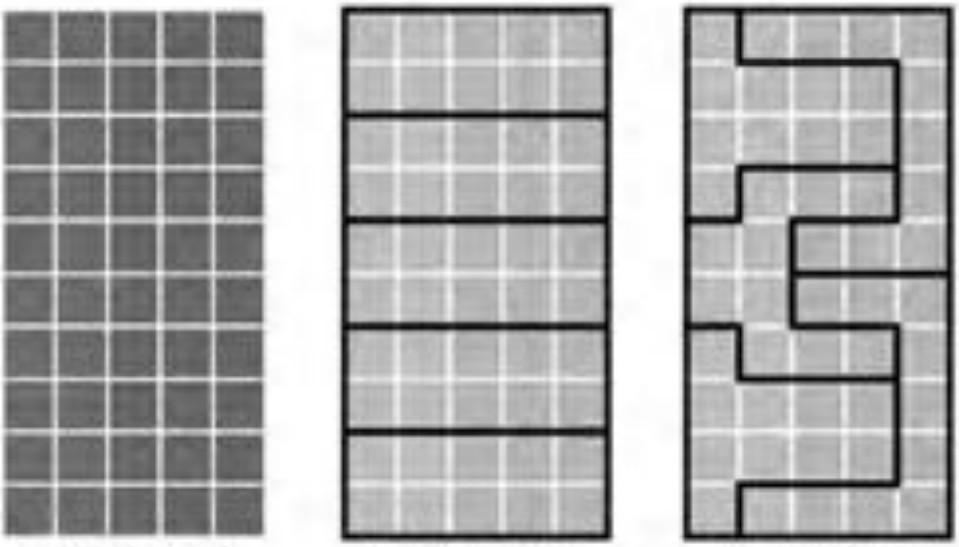
AS KANSAS SECRETARY OF STATE, TRUMP CRONY KRIS KOBACH CREATED A LIST OF 7.2 MILLION CRIMINAL DOUBLE VOTERS.

BUT WHEN THE PALAST INVESTIGATORS GOT THE SECRET LIST THEY FOUND IT WAS SIMPLY A LIST OF COMMON NAMES: JOSE RODRIGUEZ, JESSE JACKSON, DAVID KIM—NOT DOUBLE VOTERS, BUT TYPICAL NAMES OF VOTERS OF COLOR. OUT OF 7.2 MILLION "SUSPECTS," G.O.P. STATES DIDN'T FIND A SINGLE CRIMINAL VOTER—YET REMOVED 1.1 MILLION VOTERS, MOSTLY MINORITIES.

RATF°CKING

MOST STATES' CONGRESSIONAL AND LEGISLATIVE DISTRICTS ARE DRAWN BY THE POLITICAL HACKS THEMSELVES. IN HONOR OF NIXON'S DIRTY TRICKSTERS, THE GAME IS CALLED "RATF*CKING." THE G.O.P. IS WINNING THIS RAT RACE. DEMS HAVE MORE VOTERS, YET THE G.O.P. CONTROLS STATE LEGISLATURES 60/40 BECAUSE OF REDISTRICTING.

IN ORDER TO GERRYMANDER THE LINES OF VOTING DISTRICTS, POLITICAL HACKS "PACK AND CRACK." YOU **PACK** YOUR OPPONENT'S VOTERS INTO A SINGLE DISTRICT, SO THE "EXTRA" VOTES ARE WASTED—OR **CRACK** APART OPPOSITION STRONGHOLDS INTO A BUNCH OF DISTRICTS SO VOTES ARE DILUTED INTO IMPOTENCE.

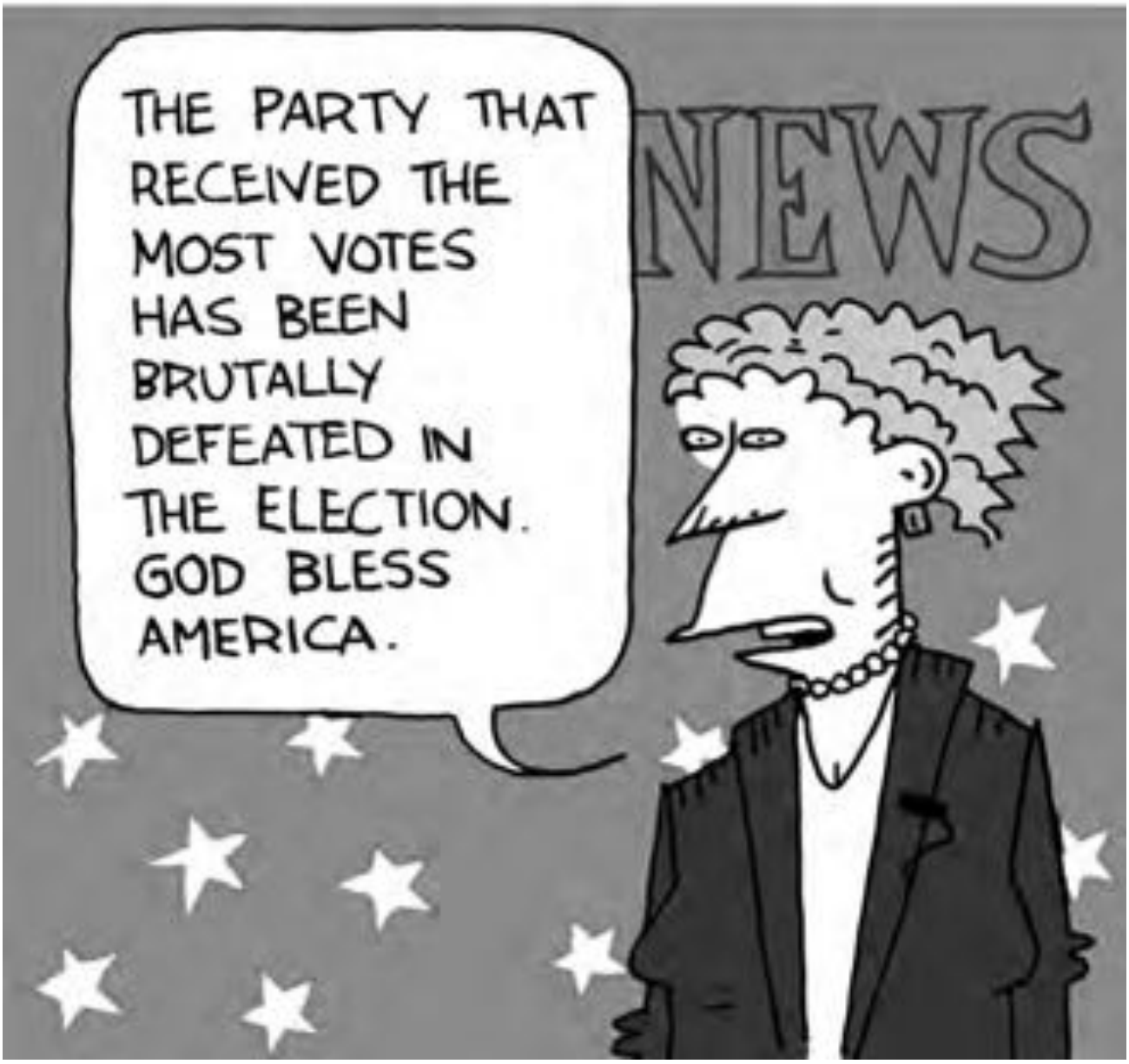


50 PRECINCTS
60% BLUE
40% RED

5 DISTRICTS
5 BLUE
0 RED
BLUE WINS

5 DISTRICTS
3 RED
2 BLUE
RED WINS

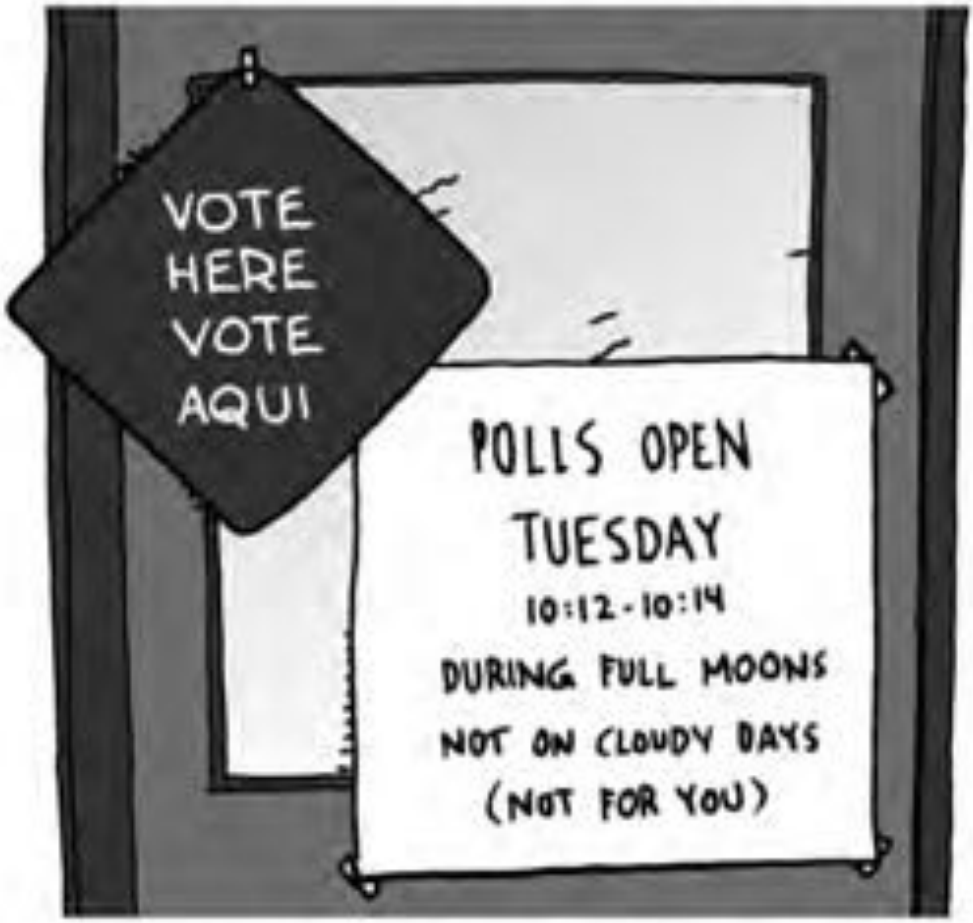
THE *ECONOMIST*: "IN THE 2012 REDISTRICTING CYCLE, THE BOUNDARIES OF 48% OF HOUSE DISTRICTS WERE DRAWN ENTIRELY BY REPUBLICAN OFFICIALS, COMPARED WITH JUST 10% BY DEMOCRATIC ONES." RESULT: IN 2012, THE DEMOCRATS WON A MILLION MORE VOTES FOR CONGRESS, BUT THE G.O.P. TOOK 33 MORE SEATS.



POLLING STATIONS AS MOVING TARGETS

ANOTHER WAY TO REDUCE VOTES BY TARGETED GROUPS OF PEOPLE IS TO **CUT THE NUMBER OF POLLING PLACES** IN THE AREA WHERE THEY LIVE. LONG LINES ARE DAUNTING: SOME WOULD-BE VOTERS ARE DAUNTED AND LEAVE. AS R.F.K. JR. FAMOUSLY DOCUMENTED IN THE KEY SWING STATE OF OHIO IN 2004, VOTING BOOTHS ARE OFTEN REMOVED FROM MAJORITY-BLACK DISTRICTS.

STATE LEGISLATURES CAN REDUCE THE HOURS WHEN THE POLLS ARE OPEN. EARLY VOTING THAT STARTS DAYS IN ADVANCE IS MORE CONVENIENT—SO THAT'S SOMETIMES DONE AWAY WITH.



THE NORTH CAROLINA LEGISLATURE REDUCED THE NUMBER OF EARLY VOTING STATIONS IN 2016, RESULTING IN AN 8.5% DROP IN EARLY VOTING BY BLACKS. NORTH CAROLINA ALSO CUT BACK ON EARLY VOTING ON SUNDAYS, ADMITTING IN COURT IT WAS BECAUSE THOSE VOTERS TEND TO BE BLACK DEMOCRATS.

VOTER I.D.

PROPONENTS OF VOTER I.D. LAWS, SUCH AS DONALD TRUMP, SAY VOTER FRAUD IS A PROBLEM. IN REALITY, VOTER FRAUD IS VERY RARE. ONE REPORT FOUND 35 CASES OUT OF 800 MILLION VOTES CAST FROM 2000 TO 2014.

VOTER I.D. LAWS TARGET POOR, OLDER, AND MINORITY VOTERS, THAT IS, DEMOCRATIC VOTERS. 80,000 AFRICAN AMERICANS IN INDIANA DON'T HAVE VOTING I.D.S. NORTH CAROLINA'S I.D. LAW REDUCED THE DEMOCRATIC VOTE BY UP TO 3%. TEXAS ALLOWS VOTERS TO REGISTER WITH A GUN PERMIT BUT NOT A STUDENT I.D.

VOTER TROLLING

YOU MIGHT BE REGISTERED TO VOTE. YOU MIGHT PLAN TO SHOW UP ON ELECTION DAY. BUT WHAT IF YOU RECEIVE AN OFFICIAL-LOOKING LETTER THAT SENDS YOU TO THE WRONG PLACE TO VOTE? IF YOU'RE A GO-GETTER, YOU CAN CALL THE BOARD OF ELECTIONS. BUT YOU'LL BE LUCKY IF ANYONE PICKS UP THE PHONE ON THE BUSIEST DAY OF THE YEAR.

VOTING PROCEDURE DISINFORMATION IS WHEN YOU SEND FALSE INFORMATION ABOUT WHEN AND HOW TO VOTE. IN RECALL ELECTIONS FOR THE WISCONSIN STATE SENATE IN 2011, THE PRO-REPUBLICAN GROUP AMERICANS FOR PROSPERITY, FOUNDED BY THE KOCH BROTHERS, SENT DEMOCRATIC VOTERS A MAILING THAT GAVE THE WRONG DEADLINE FOR RETURNING ABSENTEE BALLOTS IN THE HOPE THAT THEY WOULD BE SENT IN TOO LATE TO COUNT.

GOON SQUAD

WHAT BETTER WAY TO KEEP YOUNG MINORITY VOTERS WHO DISTRUST THE POLICE (WITH GOOD REASON) AWAY FROM ELECTIONS THAN BY REQUIRING VOTERS TO PASS THROUGH A GAUNTLET OF ARMED POLICE OFFICERS? AND REPUBLICANS SENT LATINX VOTERS FALSE WARNINGS THAT I.C.E. GOONS WERE ARRESTING VOTERS AT THE POLLS.

UNCOUNTED

THE NASTY SECRET OF U.S. ELECTIONS: *WE DON'T COUNT ALL THE VOTES.* THREE MILLION BALLOTS ARE "DISQUALIFIED" OR NOT RECORDED IN A TYPICAL NATIONAL ELECTION YEAR. THE U.S. CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION FOUND IN 2000 THAT IF YOU'RE BLACK YOUR CHANCE OF YOUR BALLOT GETTING JUNKED IS 900% HIGHER THAN IF YOU'RE WHITE.

PROVISIONAL BALLOTS

THE CHANCE YOU'LL GET ONE OF THESE "HEY YOU'RE NOT REGISTERED BUT HERE'S A PIECE OF PAPER" BALLOTS IS SIX TIMES GREATER IF YOU'RE YOUNG AND BLACK THAN IF YOU'RE OLD AND WHITE. *THREE MILLION* OF THESE BALLOTS WERE CAST IN 2016—AND ONE MILLION THROWN IN THE DUMPSTER. THAT'S OFFICIAL.

WANTED!
FOR VOTE RUSTLING

CRAZY BUT TRUE, ELECTIONS ARE ADMINISTERED BY PARTISAN POLITICAL HACKS APPOINTED BY POLITICIANS LOYAL TO ONE OF THE MAJOR PARTIES. HERE ARE SOME OF THE MOST NOTORIOUS MISCREANTS.

BRIAN KEMP

THE NOTORIOUS PURGIN' GENERAL

BEFORE RUNNING FOR GOVERNOR AGAINST STACEY ABRAMS IN 2018, THE G.O.P. SECRETARY OF STATE OF GEORGIA PURGED HALF A MILLION VOTERS, REFUSED TO ADD 40,000 REGISTRATIONS OF YOUNG MINORITY VOTERS TO THE ROLLS, AND THREATENED TO ARREST KOREAN AMERICAN VOTER REGISTRATION VOLUNTEERS—WHICH TURNED OUT TO BE ENOUGH EVIL TO STEAL HIS OWN ELECTION.

JOHN HUSTED

THE HUSTLER

AS OHIO SECRETARY OF STATE, THIS REPUBLICAN ORDERED THE CLOSING OF EVERY EARLY VOTING STATION (USED BY 70% OF BLACK VOTERS) EXCEPT ONE PER COUNTY—SO THAT CLEVELAND, WITH A MILLION (BLACK) PEOPLE, GOT ONE POLL. THERE WERE SEVEN-HOUR WAITS. VINTON, POPULATION 14,000 INCLUDING COWS, GOT ITS OWN IN-AND-OUT POLL.

REBECCA W. RIMEL

THE QUEEN OF ERIC CROW

OH NO! EVEN THE NICE "LIBERALS" AT THE PEW CHARITABLE TRUST ARE IN THE RACIAL VOTE PURGE BUSINESS. PEW CREATES THE "ERIC" PURGE LIST FOR STATES LIKE WISCONSIN—WRONGLY TARGETING YOUNG VOTERS AND VOTERS OF COLOR. PEW IS TECHNICALLY INNOCENT. THEY JUST LOAD THE GUNS AND HAND THE PURGE WEAPON TO THE STATE OFFICIALS, WHO PULL THE TRIGGER.

KRIS KOBACH

THE KING OF CROSS-CHECK

CREATED THE LIST OF 7.2 MILLION "POTENTIAL DOUBLE VOTERS" THAT TARGETED 1-IN-7 AFRICAN AMERICANS, AND 1-IN-6 ASIAN AMERICAN AND LATINX VOTERS: **NONE** VOTED TWICE. CHOSEN BY HIS BUDDY TRUMP TO HEAD A "VOTER FRAUD" COMMISSION, WHICH COLLAPSED WHEN THEY COULDN'T FIND ANY FRAUDULENT VOTERS, BECAUSE WHO ACTUALLY DOES THAT?

HANS "THE FOX" VON SPAKOVSKY

FOX TV COMMENTATOR AND THE "BRAINS" BEHIND THE CLAIM THAT OVER TWO MILLION ILLEGAL ALIENS VOTE. BUT IN THE PAST TWO YEARS, THEY'VE LOCATED THREE—ALL OF WHOM ARE NOW IN PRISON. BUT SPAKOVSKY-INSPIRED "PROVE YOU'RE A CITIZEN" LAWS HAVE COST TENS OF THOUSANDS OF LEGIT CITIZENS THEIR REGISTRATIONS.

KIM STRACH

ELECTIONS BOARD DIRECTOR IN NORTH CAROLINA UNTIL 2019, WHEN SHE IGNORED ILLEGAL REPUBLICAN "BALLOT HARVESTING." HIRED AN FBI AGENT WHO SPENT SIX MONTHS LOOKING FOR THE 35,000 "FRAUDULENT" VOTERS SHE NAMED. THERE WERE NO BUSTS. ALL OF THEM WERE INNOCENT EXCEPT FOR THE CRIME OF VOTING WITHOUT WHITE SKIN.

KARL ROVE
BUSH'S BRAIN

ROVE'S OFFICE CREATED ILLEGAL CAGING LISTS. BUSH CALLED HIM "TURD BLOSSOM" BECAUSE HIS METHODS STANK BUT WON ELECTIONS.

RUTH JOHNSON

MISTRESS OF MICHIGASS

IN 2016 SHE BLOCKED THE HAND COUNT OF 75,355 PAPER BALLOTS IN DETROIT THAT BROKEN SCANNERS FAILED TO COUNT. TRUMP "WON" MICHIGAN BY JUST 10,700 VOTES—BECAUSE THOSE VOTES IN DETROIT WEREN'T COUNTED.

ALEX PADILLA
SURFER DUD

THE DEMOCRATIC SECRETARY OF STATE OF CALIFORNIA FIXED PRIMARY RACES AGAINST BERNIE SANDERS TWICE. PADILLA REJECTED MORE B.S. PROVISIONAL BALLOTS THAN ALL OTHER STATES IN AMERICA **COMBINED**. THESE "TRANQUILIZER" BALLOTS WENT TO INDEPENDENT VOTERS WHO PREFERRED SANDERS 3-TO-1 OVER PADILLA'S FAVES.

SCOTT WALKER

GOVERNOR GONE

THE VOTERS MAY HAVE FIRED HIS ASS IN 2018 BUT HIS I.D. LAW IN WISCONSIN MAY WELL PICK OUR NEXT PRESIDENT. HE DENIED 182,000 U. OF WISCONSIN STUDENTS THE RIGHT TO VOTE (IN A STATE THE DONALD WON BY JUST 22,000 VOTES).

PAUL SINGER
THE VULTURE

VOTE RUSTLING AIN'T CHEAP. IT TOOK AN EXPENSIVE CAMPAIGN TO GUT THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT AND PREVENT A CONGRESSIONAL FIX.

THE LOBBYING CAMPAIGN WAS FUNDED BY THIS BILLIONAIRE INFAMOUS FOR SEIZING THE FUNDS INTENDED FOR CHOLERA MEDICINE FOR CONGO.

AND NOW...MAIL-IN MADNESS

THE NOVEL CORONAVIRUS CRISIS REQUIRES PEOPLE TO STAY AT HOME OR RISK CONTRACTING A DANGEROUS DISEASE. YOU CAN'T REALLY "SOCIAL DISTANCE" AT A PUBLIC VOTING STATION. SO MANY PEOPLE ARE SUGGESTING THAT WE VOTE BY MAIL.

ASSUMING THE GOVERNMENT COULD PULL TOGETHER VOTE BY MAIL QUICKLY ENOUGH FOR NOVEMBER 2020—A LOGISTICAL AND BUREAUCRATIC CHALLENGE DURING THE BEST OF TIMES—GOING POSTAL WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY RESULT IN A TON OF "LOST" VOTES. IN 2016, MORE THAN 500,000 MAIL-IN BALLOTS WERE REJECTED, NOT COUNTED AT ALL.

AN M.I.T. STUDY FOUND THAT 22% OF ALL MAIL-IN VOTES WERE EXPUNGED, DISPROPORTIONATELY THOSE OF PEOPLE OF COLOR.

DON'T STEAL YOUR OWN VOTE ... BY NOT VOTING

POLS STEAL YOUR VOTE BECAUSE IT'S WORTH A WHOLE LOT . . . TO THEM AND THEIR BILLIONAIRE BUCK BUDDIES. DON'T STEAL YOUR OWN VOTE BY NOT VOTING.

YOUR VACCINE DEPENDS ON IT.

for more info go to www.GregPalast.com

23

California Reamin'

In February 2020, 3,721,903 California voters received their ballots in the mail—without the presidential candidates.

I can't make that up.

Think California and you think of laid-back surfer dudes, vegan taco trucks and progressive Democrats. But buried under the palm trees are the uncounted ballots of millions. No state—not Georgia, not Florida, not Ohio—comes even close, for sheer number of ballots disqualified, than The Golden State—thanks to the sticky fingers of its Democratic Secretary of State, Alex Padilla.

Here's how he does it. While Californians vote overwhelmingly for Democrats in general elections, 5.3 million voters, mostly the young and Latinos, refuse to join the Party. They register as independents or, as they are called in California, No Party Preference (NPP)

voters. Each of these five million voters is legally entitled to vote in the Democratic primary—*but good luck trying.*

Just before Christmas 2019, each of these 5 million indie voters was mailed a postcard offering the chance to get a ballot with the Democratic presidential primary candidates. The postcards looked like junk mail, and 91% of voters threw them out.

Sound familiar? Yes, it's the postcard trick, Golden State style. Paul Mitchell, recognized as the state's top voting statistician, calls this "Disenfranchisement by Postcard"—similar to the Husted/Kemp purge-by-postcard game but on a far grander scale.

Who gets screwed out of their ballot? Target one: the 1.4 million young NPP voters, the 18- to 24-year-olds, who move from dorm room to dorm room, apartment to apartment, sofa to sofa, and often don't get the cards.

In other words, Bernie Sanders voters.

Almost no young voters (only one in twenty) return the postcards allowing them to vote for President.

Target two: Latinx NPP voters who also return only 1 in 20 of the postcards. California Hispanics voted overwhelming for *"Tío Bernie."*

You won't be surprised to learn that Secretary of State Padilla does *not* consider Bernie his *tío*. Padilla, while directing this postcard pogrom of Latinx and

	TOTAL	Dem Crossover Ballots	
TOTAL	4,093,300	371,397	9.1%
Latino	1,044,507	47,343	4.5%
Asian	631,191	43,865	6.9%
African American	105,112	9,702	9.2%
18-34	1,413,704	69,709	4.9%
35-44	774,493	58,799	7.6%
45-54	651,332	56,887	8.7%
55-64	574,500	67,448	11.7%
65+	678,432	118,498	17.5%
RENTER	755,596	53,469	7.1%
HOMEOWNER	1,921,678	225,536	11.7%

young voters, campaigned for Joe Biden in the 2020 primary, and for Hillary Clinton in the 2016 primary against Sanders.

Political Data Inc., Mitchell's firm, the respected source of polling data for both the Republicans and Democrats, surveyed the independent NPP voters in 2020 and found that a large majority (61%)—well over two million citizens—very much wanted to vote in the Democratic Primary. However, *only one in eleven* got the ballot with the candidates.

Older (65+) voters—those who prefer Medicare for Me as opposed to Medicare for All—were nearly four times as likely to get ballots as the young voters.

Well over a million NPP voters were denied ballots they wanted and had a legal right to obtain.

Polling shows that most California voters who want to get the ballot are just clueless about how to do so. Another third of California voters thought they had no legal right to exchange their no-candidate ballot.

PDI measured NPP candidate preferences a week before the March 2020 primary. Sanders was the NPP independents' favorite. It's easy to calculate from the PDI data that 553,000 NPP Californians for Sanders never received the ballot with their candidate's name. And thus, Bernie was burned out of half a million primary votes—and scores of delegates to the Democratic convention.

I must add that another candidate threatening Biden, Mike Bloomberg (a fave of older, white independent voters) was also given the Golden State shaft: about 382,000 of Bloomberg's would-be voters never got the ballot with their candidate.

THE MAGIC WORD "CROSSOVER"

There is another way for the five million independent voters to get to vote for their candidate: they can bring their "NPP" ballot into the polling station and exchange it for a ballot with presidential candidates.

Not many know about this option, but be careful: a woman voting in front of me brought in her Bernie-free NPP ballot . . . but was bounced because she forgot to bring the *envelope*.

But now it turns from weird to Kafka. The voter must turn in their NPP ballot and ask for . . . a "Democratic *Crossover*" ballot. In many counties, if the voter doesn't know the magic word "Crossover," they're S*** Out of Luck; no new ballot.

The poll workers are muzzled. If the voter asked for a Democratic Party ballot, they were told, "NPP voters can't have a Democratic ballot." The poll workers were not allowed to say, "Oh, you want a *Crossover* ballot." Some poll workers, taking mercy on those who may have waited hours in line, used rule-bending hints and pantomime.

5 million California voters can only use the "Crossover" ballot—and 4 million of them have no idea how to get it.

Jen Abreu was a poll worker in San Diego, and this magic word game bothered her big time.

> If this NPP voter did not specifically ask for a Democratic crossover ballot, they were given an official NPP ballot, which did not list presidential candidates.

Many confused poll workers gave the NPP voters Democratic ballots, not ones marked "CROSSOVER," not realizing that, in most counties, those ballots would be tossed out, disqualified.

Some voters were given provisional ballots instead of crossover ballots—again, grounds for disqualification.

And some voters were told to simply write "Sanders" on their NPP ballots. Which they might as well throw right into the burn barrel.

The state of Colorado ignored the diktat of the DNC for its own open primary, sending each independent voter both a Democratic and Republican ballot, making it easy to vote as one chooses. Kind of like a democracy. Sanders won Colorado in a walk.

In California, with the confusion at the polls and the pressure of long lines, provisional ballots were handed out like candy. In Orange County and elsewhere, poll workers were told to hand independent voters provisional, not crossover, ballots. Confusion? Malice? *¿Quién sabe?*

Three days after the primary, 345,000 provisionals had not yet been "processed"—not even looked at, let alone counted. Most were for NPP (i.e., young and Latinx) voters who did not know they had to bring in their NPP ballots for the goofy "exchange" process.

We can estimate the number of provisional ballots that will be deep-sixed. Sec. of State Padilla has to report his rejection rate in general elections to the federal government. In 2016, Padilla's system disqualified over 400,000 ballots, about 31% of all provisionals. California threw out more provisional votes than all

other 49 states combined. And that was in a general election. In the primary, it would be worse.

BERN'D IN 2016

I first took note of the California Democratic Party's championship vote suppression system in 2016 during the primary race between Sanders and Clinton.

This caught my eye:

> **—8.6 million: the number of Californians who cast ballots in the presidential primary.**
>
> **—7.3 million: the number of votes counted for all presidential primary candidates.**

Math whizzes will note a discrepancy of 1.3 million votes.

Did people wait in line, in some cases for hours, to vote for . . . no one? Or did a million-plus Californians just want to vote in the race for local sheriff?

Doubtless, there are some Californians, especially since the legalization of recreational marijuana, who just like to hang out at polling stations. Whatever, we can reasonably assume that most of those whose ballots were cancelled were voters "disenfranchised by postcard" and who sent the no-president ballot, or

wrote "Sanders" on their NPP ballots, or received a Democratic ballot instead of the Crossover—and so had their ballot disqualified.

That year, *three-quarters of a million* primary voters were shunted to provisional ballots. How many were destroyed uncounted? Padilla won't say. Apparently, complete election returns are a state secret.

I've asked Padilla's office *six times* to locate the 1.3 million missing 2016 votes and tell me what happened to them. For the *Guardian,* I filed a formal Freedom of Information request. So far, we have neither freedom nor information, just silence and a tall stone wall.

In 2016, Padilla declared Hillary Clinton winner of California's primary by a slim margin. The win was enough to effectively put an end to Sanders's run.

Most of the uncounted ballots in 2016, as in 2020, represented attempts to vote by those beleaguered NPP independent voters. This led to many reports suggesting Sanders's win could be buried in that giant pile of rejected ballots.

PolitiFact declared that the several reports that Sanders's victory was in the hundreds of thousands of uncounted votes was a "pants on fire lie." (PolitiFact is a self-appointed arbiter of truth; in reality, they're just a gaggle of amateur googlers paid by Facebook as censors for hire.) According to PolitiFact, "Sanders would have to win the remaining votes by roughly a 2

to 1 margin to overtake Clinton"—and quoted a pollster who said, "You're smoking something if you think that's going to happen."

I don't smoke, but unlike PolitiFact, I checked the facts, turning to the Golden State poll from Stanford University. The Golden State reported that Sanders crushed Clinton among NPP voters 67% to 29%, well more than two to one. Even the pollster they quoted showed Sanders ahead—an intra-party red shift. I guess a PolitiFact, like a FoxFact, is not a Factual Fact.

IS SILICON VALLEY IN CALIFORNIA?

One big reform could give democracy a chance in California—and throughout America: "SDR" as legislators call it, "Same Day Registration." If you're wrongly purged from the rolls, or given a bullshit NPP ballot, rather than walking out without voting or accepting a may-not-get-counted provisional ballot, you can simply register or re-register right on the spot.

California has had Same Day Registration on the books for more than eight years. It was signed into law in 2012 by Governor Jerry Brown with a lot of self-congratulatory hoopla from the Guv about making voting easier. But for a voter in Los Angeles who knew they could register on Election Day (and almost no one knew), you'd have to drive to the County building in

Norwalk, which, from my house, for example, is a two-hour round trip. Virtually no one took advantage of this so-called right.

Why can't Americans register right at the polling station? In the case of California, the Democratic political leadership was smart enough to place a little landmine in their SDR law: no one could register at a polling station until the state properly computerized its voter registry.

Other states—like Mississippi and Alabama—had computerized their voter rolls years earlier. But California simply could not, over eight years, figure out how to properly digitize its files. I was under the impression that California has a few folks who know about computers. But Jerry Brown and Alex Padilla could not seem to find them.

24

How to Steal Your Own Vote

Well, first, stop reading this book.

Information is a pain in the ass, a barking dog that won't stop barking until you understand that Lassie wants you to save the kid in the frozen pond. (Loved that show!)

Because once you know for certain that there are ballot bandits singing in the basement, you're obligated to take action. To make noise, make trouble, make a difference.

And you'll vote. If for no other reason than you won't let the bastards *steal* your vote . . . and you won't steal it from yourself by not voting. You'll vote in person and early—after you've checked your registration in September each and every year.

But there are those little voices still in your head that say, "*Screw'm. They're all liars; they all disappoint us or worse. They get a Nobel Peace Prize then launch*

a new war. They campaign 'for the hard-working middle class,' then cut taxes for their billionaire buck buddies."

You think they're all the same or there's not enough difference between them to stop playing *Call of Duty* and stand in line with the other suckers.

So, you steal your own vote.

That's exactly what happened in Wisconsin and Michigan.

You've now read that long chapter on how they stole Wisconsin in 2016. But there's an uglier side to this story, which we like to keep quiet, like we keep quiet about our criminally insane aunt living in our attic.

I read the news reports about a University of Wisconsin study that said Trump won the state by 22,000 votes because more than 50,000 African-American and student voters were blocked by the new ID law.

But, in violation of the rules of American journalism, I read the whole study, not just the press release.

The professors calculated that, as big as the ID blockade on students and Black voters was, it wouldn't have mattered but for the decision of at least another 50,000 not to vote because they didn't like the choice of candidates. And they weren't upset that Marco Rubio wasn't on the ballot.

A lot of my closest (ex-)friends said, "If Bernie's not

on the ballot, if they give us that harridan in a pants suit, well, *fageddaboutit.* I'm not voting."

I get it. They even had a Twitter handle, "#Bernie or Bust."

So, comrades, how's Bust working out for you?

25

“Second, as Farce”

In 17th-century England, the Levelers, the democratic socialists of the day, provided the troops for Oliver Cromwell’s New Model Army defending England’s Parliament against the tyrant King Charles I. The army of commoners defeated the Royalists and installed Cromwell in place of the King.

At that time, only landed gentry could vote. So, the foot soldiers, all commoners, demanded their right to vote for the members of the Parliament for whom they had just risked their lives. Cromwell agreed to meet with the Martin Luther Kings of the day, the voting rights leaders. Cromwell ordered those who demanded the right to vote to draw straws. The one who drew the shortest straw was executed on the spot on Cromwell’s orders.

The fight to vote is long and bloody.

History repeats itself, said Karl Marx, first as tragedy,

second as farce. Oliver Cromwell is tragedy; Katherine Harris, Kris Kobach and Agent Orange are the B-movie farce. But I'm not laughing.

REVOLUTION

The fight for the franchise started long before America was America.

George Washington, whom we dismiss as "The Father of Our Country," as if he were just some sperm donor with wooden teeth, was a radical on today's simplistic spectrum, well to the left of Bernie Sanders. Instead of food, he nourished his cold, starving troops at Valley Forge with readings from Tom Paine's *Crisis* and its call for armed revolt.

The hardest fought victory for Washington, according to fellow warrior Thomas Jefferson, was for the Disestablishment Clause of the Constitution, what we call "Freedom of Religion" in the First Amendment.

Via the First Amendment, Jefferson and Washington did battle against the pre-revolutionary requirements of voters to swear an oath to the Lord Jesus that had kept Jews from voting. Likewise, some states required voters to swear they had no allegiance to a foreign power, that is, the Pope. Catholics could not vote until Jefferson won the Bill of Rights.

Of course, the First Amendment was not enough.

The Bill of Rights aimed to give the *federal* vote to all citizens, but Rhode Island did not allow Jews to vote in state elections until 1842, nor could Catholics vote in North Carolina until 1868. Notably, Catholics obtained the franchise in that state *after* African-Americans.

American Natives did not obtain US citizenship until 1924. But these indigenous Americans did not get the federal government's protection of their right to vote until 1962, and no practical right to have their votes counted until . . . well, that hasn't happened yet. More ballots are spoiled or disqualified in pueblos and reservations than in any other community.

In 2004, the BBC sent me to New Mexico to investigate the mysterious failure of the state's pueblo dwellers to cast votes for President. But the "undervote" was astronomical, sufficient to cost John Kerry the election to George Bush. New Mexico's then-Secretary of State, Rebecca Virgil-Giron, explained away the massive presidential undercount, telling me that in the pueblos and poor Hispanic communities, "People just don't want to vote for President."

BETTER VOTERS PRODUCE BETTER POLITICIANS

We Progressives bitch and moan about America—that's our prophetic imperative, and I don't apologize—but if

you step back and look over the arc of history, America has grown more progressive over the decades. We are indeed the Shining Light on the Hill, even if Trump and his billionaire buddies keep trying to blow out the Light.

And this little beam of ours is the direct result of the expanding group of voters that politicians must pay attention to.

Progressive humanism has been America's defining trajectory, from George Washington building lighthouses along the coast and thereby establishing government as protector of the general welfare, to regulating the prices of the power and gas monopolies, to Medicare, to the War in Iraq. (OK, not the war. Two steps forward, one back.)

Americans take democracy's irresistible advance for granted, and therefore don't protect it, in part because we Americans are weirdly proud to be ignorant of our own history. Hillary Clinton's comment that no candidate has ever challenged the outcome of a presidential election was notable for the fact that the press parroted this gem of nincompoopery as gospel truth.

I guess Hillary was in a coma in 2000 when Al Gore went to the Supreme Court to challenge his loss to Bush.

In fact, challenges are the norm, not the exception, beginning with Andrew Jackson's fury when John

Quincy Adams swindled Jackson out of the Presidency (a steal corrected four years later).

No challenges to the theft of elections? What may be the most consequential presidential election in US history threatened to re-ignite the Civil War—and it's a shame it didn't. Democrat James Tilden crushed Republican Rutherford B. Hayes in both the popular vote and in the Electoral College. However, Congress shifted 20 electoral votes to Hayes in a "compromise" that even the Devil found disgusting: Southern white Democrats sold their electoral votes to the Republicans in return for Hayes agreeing to pull US troops from the South, thereby ending Reconstruction. The Ku Klux Klan and Jim Crow replaced the Union troops. The gains of the Civil War were reversed: Black people lost their right to vote and fell into financial servitude.

There are fights for the vote Americans don't know we fought. Not many Americans know or care about one of the giant steps in voting rights, the right to elect our Senators, not granted until the 17th Amendment was won in the early 20th Century. Until then, state legislatures chose Senators. These were often just auctions for moneyed interests, such as the "election" of Sen. William Andrews Clark, the robber baron railroad

magnate who flat-out purchased his US Senate seat by buying Montana's legislators with cash.

The response to the Senate for sale was the 17th Amendment, the crowning achievement of the Populist Movement and The Grange, whose peasant uprising against the railroads and other corporate monopolies left a lot of patriot blood on the prairie.

The 17th Amendment was shepherded by Republican Senator Joseph L. Bristow, who represented what was then the most progressive state in the union, Kansas. Special props to Bristow for successfully fighting to remove language in the proposed Amendment that would have allowed states to restrict Black voters.

(Don't take your right to vote for Senator for granted. The late Justice Antonin Scalia questioned the Amendment; so has his Sith Warrior colleague, Sen. Ted Cruz [R-TX].)

□ □ □

REGISTER VOTERS, NOT GUNS?

Because Americans are born with a genetic inability to absorb history, even progressives don't question habitual vote suppression techniques such as the wholly unnecessary, absurd requirement to register to

vote. Registration is the place where most racist vote suppression mischief occurs—and that was always the intent.

This unnecessary extra step to your "inalienable rights" began as a method to block the vote of new citizen immigrants in cities, to keep power in rural areas. Voting historian Alexander Keyssar notes that the registration game began in the 19th century when the Pennsylvania state legislature required voters to register, but only in Philadelphia, not the farm counties. This was aimed at keeping the new citizens from Europe and Black migrants from the South from voting.

Thom Hartmann's terrific *Hidden History of the War on Voting* notes that, in 1908, New York limited registration to Saturdays or during the Yom Kippur holiday, to exclude Jewish Levelers.

What if we simply did away with registration? In 1951, North Dakota got rid of voter registration. Yet no one has caught a Canadian moose sneaking into a Dakota voting booth. Nor do "aliens" from South Dakota try to vote in the North, nor do escaped felons or the undead.

The alien in my house has the right to vote in her native Switzerland without registering. The Swiss don't have a fear of hordes of "illegal alien" voters—though the nation has a foreign-born immigrant population that is, proportionately, far larger than that of the US.

So why fight over the rules of registration when we should be saying, *end the registration game.*

26

Follow the Chainsaw

This is not really a book about voting rights. It's about *power*. And in America, power comes out of the barrel of a checkbook.

Take Georgia. In another of his campaign commercials, Kemp pulls the starter cord on his chainsaw—*Brr-ZOOM!*—"to rip up regulations."

Who invented Brian Kemp? The pretend redneck is just the glove puppet on camera. Whose fingers are in the glove?

Cui bono? Who would benefit from a regulatory chainsaw massacre?

Follow the money. Kemp's big money came from two sources. The first: Georgia-Pacific.

If you wipe your behind, you've probably come into contact with Georgia-Pacific. They are America's big producer of toilet paper and other wood pulp products. For a company that makes toilet paper, they have one hell of a giant office building in Atlanta. That's because it may say Georgia-Pacific on the outside, but inside, it's the southern headquarters of Georgia-Pacific's owner, Koch Industries.

Georgia-Pacific is in the business of cutting down trees. By the millions in Georgia, which pulps more of its trees than any other state. The Brothers Koch, infamously allergic to government regulation, were not thrilled with the idea of a Governor Stacey Abrams. She'd litigated for Atlanta's Watershed Management Agency.

Georgia-Pacific has also gone big into coal and Koch Oil was expanding drilling offshore. Abrams promised to "Green" the Peachtree state with a ban on offshore drilling. She thinks the planet is hot enough. And she is not a friend of tree massacres.

Georgia-Pacific has also been linked to some of the United States' worst toxic waste sites, according to SourceWatch. Georgia-Pacific is a top sky-dumper, spewing over 15 million tons of toxins into the air each year. They need a governor who will protect their filth machine (https://www.sourcewatch.org/index.php/Georgia-Pacific).

Koch Industries, like the Lord, helps those who help themselves. Kemp owns timberland and is a member in good standing of the Georgia Forestry Association. And Kemp backed the Fair Forest Tax amendment to the state constitution that cut Koch's tax bill (and his own).

In 2019, Governor Kemp joined Georgia-Pacific CEO Christian Fischer to cut the ribbon on a new Georgia-Pacific lumber mill—with his chainsaw. (I can't make that up.) Kemp cut the ribbon, cut the regulation—and Fischer, for Koch PAC, cut the check.

□ □ □

The other big giver to Kemp's campaign: Georgia Power. From my days as a racketeering investigator, I got to know Georgia Power well—as a criminal enterprise parading as an electric company.

In the 1980s and 1990s, the company stole from its captive customers by charging for parts it never used.

I was sent into Georgia to get the evidence of this multimillion-dollar scam. A grand jury voted to indict the company and its officers for criminal racketeering, but the power giant hired a former US Attorney General and Georgia Power broker Griffin Bell to convince his old department to let the charges go away.

I asked the head of the Mineworkers Union, Rich Trumpka, to help me get into the coalfields to investigate the company's habit of filling railcars with rocks and charging its electric customers for "coal." Trumpka said he could get me into the Alabama coalfields, but unlikely he could get me out alive.

Georgia Power's parent, Southern Company, annually takes the crown as the number-one polluting corporation in the USA, the greenhouse gas champ.

And there were dead bodies to be explained, including the never-explained explosion of the company jet carrying Senior Vice President Jake Horton, charged with bribing regulators on the company's behalf. "Poor Jake," Southern's then-chairman told us at BBC, "I guess he saw no other way out."

But Georgia Power's real problem is Plant Vogtle 2, the last nuclear plant in construction in America, currently a half-built heap of steel and concrete on which the company has already blown $4 billion. The Japanese contractor signed to build it fled the project (after the meltdown at Fukushima), not prepared to lose its

shirt. The Obama Administration had quietly put the US taxpayers on the hook for a multibillion-dollar bailout of the nuke. But even that isn't enough easy-squeezie to keep the project going . . . or to keep Georgia Power from financial ruin, possibly bankruptcy.

Georgia Power faced an existential threat, a gunslinger ready to put a bullet through their balance sheet: Stacey Abrams announced that she would put an end to the Vogtle nuclear nightmare. Continuing construction would add literally thousands of dollars to Georgia households' electric bills; and Abrams said she would block this raid on ratepayers.

Courageous, yes, but it called down the mighty weight of Georgia Power against her, not to mention the political enmity of the hundreds of contractors who were cranking millions out of this nuclear boondoggle. (The money would flow like a broken ATM whether or not the plant ever lit a single light bulb.)

Chainsaw Kemp was more than willing to shill for Georgia Power—and back subsidies, in the billions, for Vogtle, which would be funded by Georgia's ratepayers.

And to seal the deal, in December 2019, Gov. Kemp appointed Kelly Loeffler to serve out the term of ailing Sen. Johnny Isakson. She is now running to hold the US Senate post for the Republicans in the November 2020 race. Loeffler was an odd appointment, surprising Republican Party leaders worried that this

political amateur would lose this hotly contested seat. And *shockeroo!* Kemp even went ahead with appointing Loeffler over the objections of Kemp's first love, Donald Trump.

But Loeffler had something experienced GOP politicians didn't have. She is on the board of directors of Georgia Power.

27

"Then He Goes and Buys All the Politicians"

Donald Trump isn't a billionaire. He just plays one on TV.

So I was told by the expert on Trump's magical accounting, David Cay Johnston. The issue here is not the President's troubled relationship with the truth, the problem is that he needs *real* billionaires to fund his presidential runs.

But they just weren't that into him. Mega billionaires Charles and (now deceased) David Koch and Paul "The Vulture" Singer were "Never Trumpers."

But "Never" is not a long time when there are billions in public treasure to divvy up.

BROTHER BILLY'S FILTH FACTORIES

David and Charles Koch had their beef with Trump, but little brother William "Bill" Koch was the first billion-

aire to put the big bucks into Trump's campaign while Trump was still soaping up the rubes with his line that he was financing his campaign from his own pocket.

I filmed the first documentary on the Kochs in 1995, about the richest guys you've never heard of. Now you have. You need to know this: Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, the Brothers Koch were at each other's throats. David and Charles had shafted Bill and David's twin, Fred, out of their share of Koch Industries. Bill, cheated and angry, called a reporter (me) to rat out his older siblings, providing some pretty detailed accounts of various felony crimes they'd committed.

And he gave me an insight into how billionaires operate. As I happened to have my tape recorder on, I'll share:

> *Bill Koch:* My brother, unfortunately, views himself as above the law, views himself—
>
> *GP*: Which brother? You have three.
>
> *Bill Koch:* Charles. Back to his libertarian philosophy where he believes that laws are immoral. He views himself as being above it, and he'll go out and do whatever he wants, steal oil, pollute the environment, et cetera. Then when he gets caught, or someone's coming after him, then he goes and buys

> all the politicians he can to counter that influence, to try to mitigate the cost of the crime, and they've been very effective at it. VERY effective.

Bill then detailed two multimillion-dollar under-the-table donations to presidential candidates and, through a fake front, to the GOP. This was pre–*Citizens United*, when corporate donations were a felony crime. "Buys politicians to mitigate the cost of the crime" refers to wholesale theft of oil. The Justice Department had written up an indictment of Charles and Koch Oil—but after Koch cash flowed, the indictment was quashed.

The point is, billionaires don't donate to candidates. They invest. And they expect a return.

And Billy, once he cut a deal with his brothers, turned pro himself.

While Koch Industries has become the bête noire among environmentalists, it is Brother Bill who is truly the Goliath of Global Warming. His Oxbow Carbon is the number-one dealer of "PetCoke, the gunk left over from refining oil: compressed, hardened coal tar so filthy, so toxic, it is illegal to burn it in much of the USA. So, Bill Koch makes billions shipping if off to China.

What did Bill Koch want from Trump? What every billionaire wants: another billion—which Trump could deliver by providing more filth for Bill to sell. Trump

promised to jam through the authorization of the Keystone XL Pipeline—to hell with environmental studies. The Pipeline will bring down from Canada to Texas the gunkiest, most carbon-heavy oil on the planet. It's so heavy that the only way this tar-sands oil can get through the pipe is by removing some of the carbon sludge (PetCoke)—providing a steady supply for Oxbow.

But Bill had to move quick to gain the inside track with Trump: Brothers David and Charles had set up a competitor, Koch Carbon, which had already extracted PetCoke from the partly built pipeline, which Koch Carbon had piled up on the banks of the Detroit River in a mound bigger than an Egyptian pyramid.

CARRION INTEREST

Trump plays the "anti-billionaire billionaire"—going after the Big Boys on behalf the Little Man. At least until a billionaire scratches him behind the ear and makes him roll over for a donation.

At his 2016 rallies, Trump talked tough. He said, "The hedge guys are getting away with murder." Trump said he'd close the "carried interest" tax loophole worth $170 *billion* to hedge fund moguls.

And for two men, "The Vulture" and "The Foreclosure King," the loophole is worth more than a billion dollars to each.

So, at first, Paul "The Vulture" Singer was Never Trumper #1.

You don't get the nickname "Vulture" for your charitable endeavors. I've been following this bird for 13 years for BBC Television and the *Guardian*, from his seizing the money meant to stop a cholera epidemic in the Congo Republic, to his helping the president of Peru escape murder charges, to the suffocation of the economy of Argentina. His so-called Vulture Fund has $40.2 billion at hand.

In 2016, Singer gathered big bucks for the laughable Presidential ambitions of Marco Rubio. My disguise at the Rubio fund-raiser in Manhattan had literally fallen off and his knuckle-draggers, with the Dick Tracy radio watches, grabbed me. I did get the chance to ask him, "Mr. Singer, I just want to ask you how many billions is it worth to buy the White House?" But I had to relay the question through his bodyguard's wristband radio (very Dick Tracy!).

But I knew the answer: the carried interest tax loophole.

VOTE SUPPRESSION AIN'T CHEAP

In November 2012, the American public re-elected Barack Obama with a mass outpouring of voters of color that overwhelmed all the Jim Crow trickery. Seven months later, the US Supreme Court made sure that mistake would not be repeated: On June 25, 2013, the court issued *Shelby v. Holder*, gutting the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The Court, 5-4, eliminated the "pre-clearance" clause of the rights act. Until this ruling, Georgia could not simply knock off half a million voters, nor could Shelby County, Alabama, simply eliminate the county board seats held by Black residents unless they first received an OK from the US Justice Department, "clearance" that there was no Jim Crow hanky-panky.

The "pre-clearance" requirement applied to 16 states and parts of states, mostly in the "Deep South"—but also including New York City, Alaska and Arizona. (The pre-clearance requirement applied where less than half of all minority voters were registered when the law was passed. New York once blocked Puerto Rican citizens from voting, Arizona and Alaska shafted American Natives. In other words, you don't have to eat deep-fried Snickers Bars to have a history of blocking voters of color.)

Kris Kobach's Crosscheck and other forms of racially poisonous trickery spread like kudzu after the deci-

sion. Alabama's requirement to have a driver's license to vote—then closing DMVs in Black counties—took effect *within hours* of the Court decision. You could say the US Supreme Court in June 2013 elected Trump in 2016.

Liberal media was rightly upset with the decision. But I had another question: Where did Shelby County get the millions to take this case to the Supreme Court? This is a big bucks operation. Did the Klan hold a sheet sale? No, the push to gut the VRA was funded by Project on Fair Representation. And in turn, Project is a creature of Donors Trust, in turn funded by Koch money.

Congress had the power to adjust the Act to the Court's liking. But a vicious, expensive lobbying campaign killed the VRA's restoration. The bucks behind the lobbying? The Manhattan Institute. The Institute's Chairman? Paul Singer, The Vulture.

It was the Koch/Vulture hit on the Voting Rights Act, not a couple of Russian Facebook ads, that gave us an unelected President.

28

Silence of the Democratic Lambs

In October 2016, our future Twittiot in Chief said,

> It's rigged. . . . We are competing in a rigged election.

I couldn't wait for Hillary Clinton's response:

> You're right, Donald. The election *is* rigged. And you know it, because your cronies are rigging it: Kobach, Husted, Kemp. Your knuckle-draggers are purging, blocking, disqualifying and stomping on the votes of Black, Hispanic and young voters. And I won't tolerate it.

I know: she didn't say that. In fact, she promised to tolerate it; the purging, the stomping, the disqualifying,

the reversal of Martin Luther King's Dream. It was A-OK with her, with all Democrats for that matter. She promised, no matter what happened to the votes of America's underclass, she solemnly swore to let Trump's Jim Crow operation do its worst, and she'd salute.

Why?

Why?

Why?

Wherever I speak, I get the same question: If, as you say, Palast, the elections were stolen, if voters of color—that is, Democrats—were savaged, then why don't the Democrats *say something*?

Why?

Al Gore, the victim of the 2000 purge, was despondent after his loss. He grew a beard, divorced his odious wife, piled up a billion dollars—but never defended the Black people in Florida whose votes were stolen.*

Why? Why? Why?

Let me level with you: I don't know. But, I have some theories. Stick with me on this.

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* Gore knew about my discovery of the Florida faux felon purge. Before conceding, Gore was informed of my *Guardian* revelations on the Florida purge. Sources told me that Gore, intrigued, said, "Who is the reporter?" When told, Gore said, "We hate that sonovabitch." He's correct, I'm an S.O.B., but I doubt that led to his vow of complicit silence.

At the last debate in 2016, even the Fox News moderator was horrified by Trump's suggestion that he would challenge a rigged vote. Chris Wallace said what all Good Americans were told to believe, and he scolded Trump:

> No matter how hard-fought the campaign, the loser concedes to the winner, and the country comes together, for the good of the country.

If you question an election, you're against the good of the country, a scoundrel, a conspiracy nut. Even if an election is indeed stolen before your eyes, it's just un-American, unacceptable to say it out loud. Like the die-hard Communists on their way to their execution ordered by Stalin; they praised the dictator and the Party rather than question The Faith. Likewise, American politicians and pundits would rather accept electoral death than expose the rot under The American Way.

Mark Braden, former chief counsel of the Republican National Committee, is typical:

> The most important thing in the system is that the winners win and the losers lose. Almost as important as that is that the rational people that support the loser believe that the winner won.

Note the word "believe." To question The Belief, to question The Faith in American Democracy, well, it's as crude and unacceptable as farting at a debutante ball.

WHITE OUT

And there's another problem. In 2000, when I uncovered how Bush won Florida and the White House—*stole* the White House—when the Florida Secretary of State removed tens of thousands of Black voters as felons (and none were), the story ran at the top of the BBC Television news in Britain and the front page of the *Guardian* newspaper in London. But it was not reported in a single US newspaper.

Oh, yes, there was an *opinion* column in the *New York Times* mentioning the purge. But that "opinion" was expressed by columnist Bob Herbert. *Black* columnist Bob Herbert.

But a white radio host, Al Franken, challenged my discovery of the purge of Black voters. "If this were true, how come I didn't read it in the *New York Times*?" Good question. But shouldn't he have asked the *Times?*

That film we made of Christine Jordan, Martin Luther King's 92-year-old cousin, tossed out of the Georgia voting station, purged from the rolls, was picked up by a zillion TV and news outlets. So sad. So *ironic: King's cousin!* But not one network news broad-

cast mentioned the story that went with the video: that Ms. Jordan was on the list of 340,134 Georgians purged by Brian Kemp. And that the list *stole the election* for Georgia's Purge'n General, Governor Kemp. Nor did my investigation prompt the *New York Times*, *the Washington Post,* or any other US media organization to undertake their own investigation to either confirm or refute my findings. The topic isn't important enough?

No one attacked or challenged our solid, here-is-the-evidence facts. They simply buried them, unmentioned. It was better to have one story, King's cousin, we could all feel bad about. But, other than that "one mistake," the system worked.

The important thing is that "the loser believes that the winner won." But something went wrong in Georgia. The "loser," Stacey Abrams, doesn't believe. She doesn't believe in Tinkerbell, nor in Santa Claus, nor that Brian Kemp had defeated her. She barnstormed America, telling the story of Christine Jordan and—crucially—the story of the 340,134 voters erased by Jim Crow's love child, Kemp. And she took our list into a federal court.

But then, Ms. Abrams is, well, not white.

After I exposed Kris Kobach's Crosscheck scam in 2016, Congressman Alcee Hastings told me he walked across a bridge on the Potomac to personally place my *Rolling Stone* article in the hands of the Attorney General. "I didn't want her to say she never got it in the mail."

Hastings is the dean of the Congressional Black Caucus. I'm still waiting for a word from the Congressional *White* Caucus.

The *New York Times*, *after* the 2016 election, repeated my story of Kobach and Crosscheck . . . but, curiously, never mentioned that the voters wrongly removed were named Rodriguez, Jackson and Kim. The story was deracinated, sanitized for public safety.

It's telling that an outlet like MSNBC (or is it MSDNC?) rails about the attack on voters *before* each election, calling out the crazy ID laws, the long lines, the refusal to register voters. But *after* any election, you won't find MSNBC nor any US outlet doing the math and proclaiming, *that election was stolen.* They are, in the end, good Americans. Good American drones.

Not long after Clinton announced her candidacy for President, she told the Urban League in Florida, "They stole the election. I can't get that out of my head." They cheered. So did I.

But, apparently, her head had a leak. When November 2016 brought us "Florida 3.0," with Black voters purged and blocked, not a word left her lips about it. Not that Hillary didn't bitch and moan. She bitched and moaned about white women enslaved to "pressure from fathers and husbands and boyfriends and male employers not to vote for 'the girl.'" She bitched and moaned, Joe McCarthy style, that Jill Stein was a Russian agent.

That's "Agent" Jill Stein, who put up $9 million to count those 75,355 uncounted ballots in Detroit. Hillary's votes.

Clinton knows that it's legit to say the Russians did it . . . because no American, even a Trump-American, would ever steal a vote.

CLASS WAR BY OTHER MEANS

I make it sound like vote thievery is all racial. Not at all.

When Congressman Alcee Hastings walked across that bridge, he put my exposé of Kobach and Crosscheck in the hands of an Attorney General, Loretta Lynch, an African-American, or more accurately, a Harvard American (BA/JD). She did nothing. Indeed, Obama's commission on voting *endorsed* the Crosscheck purges.

As Marvin Gaye said, *"What's going on?"*

An African-American lawyer (a source I'd believe more than my mother) told me that when he met in the White House with his old colleague Obama, the President said, "You know and I know that 70% of Black folks' problems are of their own making."

Obama was barely more disguised in his dismissiveness of voting barriers when he said, repeatedly, that voting, especially early voting, "is pretty easy and it only takes a few minutes."

Maybe it's only a few minutes when you have the Secret Service to clear the way; only a few minutes in your upscale Hyde Park enclave where you vote with Rahm Emanuel and other Goldman Sachs alumni.

You'd say voting "only takes a few minutes" if you haven't waited in a freezing parking lot with the Freedom Faith Missionary Baptist members at the polls in Dayton for five hours; "pretty easy" if you haven't been tagged a "felon" and are told to prove your innocence with documents that don't exist.

With few exceptions, our betters, who vote with the ease of getting a table at Cipriani, know their votes count, and *they simply don't believe* it could ever add up to a stolen election.

The haughty view of one privileged voter, Barack H. Obama, with his PhD mother and a father who earned his masters at Harvard, suggests that more than race is the driver of vote suppression.

Underneath, it's about *income, wealth, power*. It's about *class*. Blacks are targeted because communities of color are economically disarmed. All my studies for these two decades show the same stats: the white poor are screwed out of their vote as often as the Black poor, or nearly so.

Vote suppression is simply class war by other means.

29

Democracy con Salsa

The cold numbers say Gore was defeated by racial vote suppression trickery—as were John Kerry in 2004 and Hillary Clinton in 2016. Gore grew a beard. Hillary moaned about her loss, blaming her defeat on women for giving in to "tremendous pressure from fathers and husbands and boyfriends and male employers not to vote for 'the girl.'" All three conceded at light-speed, nary a peep from them about the screwing of the un-white voter.*

But one Presidential candidate screamed bloody murder.

In 2006, the *Guardian* flew me to Mexico to investi-

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* In all fairness to Kerry: In September 2017, years after the election, the ex-candidate was asked why he conceded despite evidence of the racial fix in Ohio. To my surprise, he cited a "very good chapter on the election" in my book, *Armed Madhouse.* He did not mention that the chapter in question is called "Kerry Won." The kid who asked why he conceded despite the evidence in the book was shocked with a taser. Discussion over.

gate the suspect loss, by a fraction of 1%, of the "Bernie Sanders of Mexico," Andrés Manuel López Obrador. On election night AMLO was way ahead when the official count stopped—and resumed with a massive, absurd reversal in the final minutes of the count. I and other investigators found massive ballot-box stuffing (video-taped!), ballot box dumping and intimidation of voters *at gunpoint*.

I discovered that the games with Mexico's electoral rolls were secretly orchestrated by the Bush Administration, using the same crew that had purged the Florida voter rolls of fake felons for Bush in 2000.

When I met with him, AMLO made clear: he wouldn't do an Al Gore. Rather than grab his ankles, AMLO grabbed a microphone, leading an occupation of the central square of the capital, rallying every day for six months. In the Distrito Federal I witnessed something I'd hoped to see in the USA . . . a progressive candidate call a fraudulent election a fraudulent election.

AMLO's demand was simple: count all the votes, "*urna por urna*"—*ballot box by ballot box.*

Mexico's Electoral Commission, a joke of a watchdog, had authority to review each ballot box, but chose only 1%. They found enough votes for AMLO in just that 1% to make it clear that if all ballot boxes were opened and counted, he'd win. So they kept the ballot boxes sealed, uncounted.

Despite warnings that the protest would destroy his political career, he persevered.

¡Urna por urna!

Still, in the end, he lost.

So he ran again. And again. Then, in 2018, Mexicans fed up with *los Trumpitos*, the little Trumps, the light-complexioned grasping grifters who have held the Mexican presidency by theft and assassination for decades, crushed the gangster government and elected AMLO with too many votes to steal.

AMLO ran on a five-point platform, and *Number Uno* was, *Count Every Vote. Urna por urna.*

As with Stacey Abrams's campaign in Georgia, talking about vote thievery did not discourage voters, it got them fired up. (AMLO even overcame a $7.2 million smear campaign by Trump's advisors, Cambridge Analytica.)

AMLO insisted for 12 years, *Juntos haremos historia. Together we will make history*—while north of the border, instead of making history, defeated Democrats chose to make millions.

But who am I to judge?

30

Jim Crow International

Neither Brian Kemp nor Jon Husted nor even the Purge'n General himself, Kris Kobach, will win any Award from the International Society of Vote Suppressors. Because what Kemp and Kobach are doing is neither new, nor original, nor even a made-in-America invention.

In India, which preens about declaring itself the world's largest democracy, the Hindu fascist Prime Minister Narendra Modi has acted to take away the voting rights of Muslims using the Kobach trick, "prove you're a citizen!," but on a scale Kobach can only dream of: threatening to remove a number of voters equal to the entire US electorate.

In Italy, vote suppression is done with panache. The ruling class simply refuses to accept the vote. For more than a decade, Italy's economy has had its bones crushed by its membership in the euro currency zone. Italians, rising up against the globalization cudgel that has

brought them 29.6% youth unemployment, voted for parties committed to getting out of the euro. The "President," His Excellency Sergio Mattarella, selected by a lame-duck Parliament, not the people, simply nullified the election, declaring he would not permit a government that didn't accept subjugation to the euro. Let's hope that the Republican country club known as the US Supreme Court doesn't hear about democracy Italian style.

□ □ □

In June 2016, Britain voted to leave the European Union, "Brexit," in the highest turn-out election in the history of the realm. The working class victims of globalization had risen up in revolt—but impertinently did so without first seeking the approval of the Great and Good in their fern bars in Islington. As the autoworkers of Detroit and Dayton objected to seeing US elites send their jobs to Mexico and China, so the British auto workers objected to their jobs' disappearance into Germany's *Wirtschaftswunder Reich*. Brexit threatened to cut off their London betters from Nutella, cheap French wine and cheap Polish plumbers.

Upper-middle-class voters Left, Right and Center were apoplectic about the Brexit vote. The Liberal-Democratic Party, an organization dedicated to avocado toast and yoga, promised to simply ignore the

voters' will. The Labour Party, not to be confused with a party of working people, promised to keep re-running the referendum on Brexit until voters were too exhausted to fight the bank industry's preference to remain in the EU.

Lucky for the Mother of Democracy, even those who had favored the EU were so offended by the anti-democratic anti-Brexit campaign, that the Labour and Lib-Dem parties were crushed.*

I must repeat: vote suppression is Class War by other means. If my *Guardian* colleagues, normally stalwart progressives, were hysterical about the working class' anti-globalization uprising, firing fusillades of condescension at voters in the Northern rust belt, it's only because no *Guardian* writer has ever been replaced by a Bulgarian offering to write a column at a lower wage.

Before we applaud the democratic credentials of the winner, Prime Minister Boris Johnson, I note that his Tory Party has welcomed the arrival from the USA of Jim Crow: the Tory Party's plan to require ID to vote. This will cost 3.5 million Britons their rights, calcu-

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* No, do not send me nasty little notes about pro-Brexit racism or other such foodle. This is a book about democracy, not the European Union, a corporate contrivance I've dealt with more fully in the "Globalization and Its Discontents" chapter of *The Best Democracy Money Can Buy.* As the late Tony Benn said, if we can't "get rid of you [the European Commission], we don't have a democracy."

lates the UK's Electoral Reform Society, especially lower-income, darker-skinned, urban voters who lack passports or driver's licenses.

Obtaining ID in the UK is difficult because Britain does not issue citizenship cards . . . because there are no citizens, only subjects of the Queen—and Her Majesty does not issue Subjugation Cards either.

OIL OR DEMOCRACY

On January 23, 2019, Donald Trump chose the next President. Not the next President of the United States. For that, we'd have to pretend to hold another election.

No, Trump chose the President of Venezuela, though the Venezuelans had held an election. Notably, Trump declared that the winner of the election was a guy *who didn't bother to run*. But, hey, Juan Guaidó had the five things that qualified him for the Presidency.

See if you can guess all five by looking at these photos of Guaidó's party's deputies in Venezuela's Congress.

Juan Guaidó's qualifications are that he . . .

1. is white.

2. speaks English perfectly.

3. was schooled in the US and worked for a right-wing think tank in Washington.

4. is collaborating with Trump and US oil companies to return ownership of Venezuela's oil to Exxon.

5. is white.

Compare this to Guaidó's opponent and his Congressional deputies. Nicolas Maduro is suspect because he . . .

1. refused to turn over Venezuelan national oil resources to Exxon and BP.

2. speaks Spanish.

3. was elected President by the voters.

4. is not white.

The vast majority of the population is like Maduro and his predecessor Hugo Chavez: Mestizo, mixed race. Not white.

I was first assigned to Venezuela in 2002 by BBC Television, when George W. Bush also decided to pick their president by endorsing a coup d'état against the elected one, Hugo Chavez.

While Chavez was held prisoner by the coup plotters, the US Ambassador ran down to the Presidential Palace in Caracas, not to denounce the coup, but to attend the "inauguration" of Pedro Carmona, an oil company executive who represented Exxon, as President.

Carmona's "Presidency" was voted on in a grand ceremony and inaugural ball with Venezuela's bankers and the head of the Chamber of Commerce solemnly "voting" in Carmona of Exxon. Carmona told me (we met in his fancy condo while he was under house arrest) that his electors called themselves "civil

society"—that is, no brown "monkeys," as they called Chavistas—and held a swearing-in worthy of a Jean Genet play.

The farce fell on its face quickly. Over a million dark-skinned citizens poured down the hill from the new high-rises built by Chavez and surrounded the Presidential Palace. "President" Carmona took off his purple sash and bolted through the secret underground exit and offered himself up for arrest.

Once back at his Presidential desk, Chavez told me he was hated by the white owners of the nation because he was "Negro e Indio," Black and Indian.

And, boy, was he hated by the elite. I asked a white Caracas news reporter—interrupting her sensual poses (she was in the midst of a publicity shoot)—why the Venezuelan public was so overwhelmingly in favor of Chavez. She pointed to the hills, once covered with a million cardboard shacks, replaced by government built high-rise apartments. She spat out, in disgust: "Chavez gives them bricks! He gives them bread!" Bricks to build houses, food to eat. *Shame on him!* You just don't do that in Venezuela, not for a bunch of poor *Negros e Indios*.

□ □ □

And while we're south of the border wall, let's not forget that, while Trump's plan to whiten Venezuela's

government has, as of this writing, failed so far, he successfully backed the overthrow of Evo Morales, elected President of Bolivia. The current "caretaker" President installed in a coup has brought order to the nation by shooting indigenous protesters from helicopters, 20 dead as of this writing.

Then Trump supported the coup d'état against Honduras' President Manuel Zalaya and his replacement with a lighter-pigmented president. (*My mistake!* It was Barack Obama and Secretary of State Hillary Clinton who backed the coup in 2009.)

WHO DESERVES DEMOCRACY?

What's the point? Why did we leave Georgia and Ohio for Venezuela, Honduras and Bolivia?

Democracy does not mean accepting the election of people we like; it's accepting those we *don't* like, accepting the will of the people. (And yes, I have no problem with the election of Donald Trump as President, as long as he's voted in by the public, not by Mr. Kobach's black ops trick bag.)

I have met Maduro several times and I'm not a fan. He's no Hugo Chavez. But it's not my choice, it's the choice of Venezuelans. And their vote counts more than mine or Exxon's or Trump's.

Why do I have to write something this obvious?

Because the Speaker of the House, Nancy Pelosi, endorsed Trump's selection of the unelected Guaidó as Venezuela's president, bowing to Pelosi's belief in Trump's superior understanding of foreign policy.

Madame Speaker: Our Founding Fathers did not grant the United States our Liberty nor Liberty's inseparable twin, Democracy. Rather, in their slave-owning, rape-approving, Indian-murdering conflicted hearts, they believed in the Rights of Man, *all* men, and that these rights are granted by The Creator. These rights, Jefferson wrote in our *Declaration of Independence*, are "inalienable"—they can't be voided because a nation is sitting on our oil.

The Creator created the USA; and She created Venezuela as well, Bolivia and all those nations Trump calls "shitholes." A world of The Creator's creations, all born with the right to vote.

THE PRICE

We cannot deny the right to the ballot box in other nations, even with the endorsement of "civil society," and not expect the contagion of plutocracy to stay off America's shore.

I'm not endorsing, as Bush did in Iraq, that we drop democracy from a B-52. But denying democracy anywhere has its consequences. Three examples of a hundred:

- When you see Trump locking up kids in cages on the border, I must uncomfortably remind you that this is the denouement of Obama and Clinton endorsing a coup d'état in 2009 against the elected leftist President of Honduras. The coup led to political-economic implosion, the takeover by gangsters—and hundreds of thousands fleeing for their lives to the US border for asylum.

- The CIA overthrew Iran's elected government in 1954. According to cables now public in the National Archives, the CIA's plot centered on empowering Iran's mullahs who had previously kept at arm's length from government, to declare a *fatwa* against the elected government (which had, as in Venezuela, nationalized Western-claimed oil reserves). Today's nuclear stand-off with Iran began with vote suppression—suppressing the vote of Iranians.

- That same year, 1954, the US blocked the election of Ho Chi Minh as President of Viet Nam. (For younger readers who don't understand the consequences of that act of vote suppression, google "Viet Nam.")

Lesson? You can screw voters around the world, but expect the disenfranchised to screw back.

31

No-BS Ways to Stop the Steal

Near the end of just about every book on voting these days, the authors give you their Big Plan to save voting in America.

You know the list: Voting should be a national holiday. Block-chain internet voting. Lottery prizes for voters.

Pie in the sky. Forget it.

I could say: *Stop screwing voters of color out of their votes.* Or: Don't put your right to vote in the hands of jackals like Kobach, Husted and Alito.

Or, I could give you some highfalutin stuff like: *Recommit America to its founding principles.*

Sure.

Let's accept this: a candidate who fails to ask a billionaire, "Where do I kiss it?" is going to require more than 51% of the vote to be elected.

In *Billionaires & Ballot Bandits,* my detailed analysis

put the 2008 election steal at 5.9 million votes—via purge, disqualifications, and the mass rejection of provisional, absentee and paper ballots.

Yet, Obama won.

In other words: they can't steal all of the votes all of the time.

Whatever the steal in 2008, whether 5.9 million or more, Obama simply overwhelmed it. And so did progressives in 2018 in Wisconsin, Michigan, Nevada, and beyond.

This book is not an excuse to simply walk away in tears. If someone is trying to steal your car, would you say, "Oh, here's the key"? You scream, holler, bite, scratch.

So, I've put together a no-BS list of practical stuff we can do to protect our vote . . . and overwhelm the steal.

End the purges. Let my people vote! No use-it-or-lose-it games. No Crosscheck, no stinky PEW "Movers list." Enough with the lynchings by laptop.

There is no reason to purge voters. Period. Whether it's whack-o claims of mass fraud by our President or the PEW Trust's soft-core Jim Crow plan to make lists more "accurate" by selling inaccurate hit lists, I've yet to hear a reason to remove citizens from the rolls. So there's a few extra names in the file. B.F.D.

Affidavit, not provisional, ballots. New York used to have "affidavit" ballots. If your name was missing from the rolls, you signed under penalty of prison that you are entitled to vote—and it counted unless someone swears to direct knowledge you lied. Why in the world did America disqualify over a million provisional votes in 2016—yet arrested not one of these provisional voters for fraud?

No more push-and-pray machines. Junk the paperless, Direct Recording Electronic (DRE) machines whose counts can't be verified. Los Angeles has launched a system in which an iPad prints out your ballot, and can warn of an over-vote or under-vote.

No registration, or, second best, make Same Day Registration universal. Also, every state should allow registration online. Almost all do now. And every state should follow Oregon and register every voter automatically unless they opt out: high school and college graduates, military and other service recruits and, of course, those applying for a driver's license.

No ID requirement. From Dr. Minnite's investigation, we know that you're 540% more likely to get killed by a lightning strike than impersonate another voter. So, why have a law that costs literally hundreds

of thousands of votes to prevent the average of one impersonation fraudster every two years?

Make early voting a right. Three weeks for Souls to the Polls, including evening hours. An early vote is a vote, not an "absentee vote"—on real machines with real ballots.

No gerrymandering of polling stations. Hours-long lines are the result of cutting back on locations in communities of color, and reducing the number of machines and workers. After Barack Obama in his 2013 State of the Union complained that 102-year-old Desiline Victor waited six hours to vote in Florida, the Pew Trust dissented. Pew reported that Florida lines were *shorter* on average than in other states, only 23 minutes.

But the problem isn't the *average* wait, it's the *Black* wait. As I filmed in Ohio, the "average" wait was two and a half hours—five hours for African-American early voters, zero minutes for white suburban Election Day voters.

The Pew op-ed had an invidious effect: written in defense of the impending defenestration of the Voting Rights Act by the Supreme Court, relieving the Old Confederacy of the legal requirement to have the feds review any voting access changes that cause long lines, like closing polling stations.

The Supreme Court 5-4 ruled that official Jim Crow has been "eradicated." So how to explain the huge drop in Hispanic and minority turn-out in the South in 2012?

Easy: obesity. According to a column by Prof. Heather Gerken, who created the index for Pew Trust praising Florida's short lines,

> States in the Deep South with high obesity problems seem to be having a problem getting people to the polling place.

Got that? Deep South Black and Latinx voters are *too fat to vote!*

Maybe the wealthy Pew Trust can offer gym memberships to voters of color in Alabama.

In the alternative, designing polling locations to create long lines for voters of color should be considered a violation of the Voting Rights Act. But that requires Congress to . . .

> **Restore and expand the Voting Rights Act. Specifically, extend the requirement to pre-clear changes in voting and registration systems in *every* state**, not just in the Old South.

Enforce Section 2 of the 14th Amendment. Everyone knows Section 1, the "Equal Protection Clause" of the

Constitution. Not known, and never once enforced, is the reduction of a state's electoral votes and loss of members of Congress for wrongful removal of legal voters. It was one of the demands of Martin Luther King for the 1963 March on Washington.

Ban required proof of citizenship to vote. It was banned by a lower court, but Kobach's wish will be this Supreme Court's command. Don't kid yourself: it's coming. Fight it *now.*

Let voter intent rule. Only America has millions of "residual" and "spoiled" ballots—uncounted. All ballots must be eyeball countable and re-countable.

And most important, the voter's intent must rule. No *gotcha!* games with bubbles and chads. The voter's intent must rule. In 2000, in Gadsden County, Florida's "Blackest" county, voters marked the bubble next to Al Gore's name and also *wrote in* his name. The ballot said, *"Write in* candidate's name" (as opposed to *"Write-in* candidate's name). The 700 votes for Gore were disqualified . . . and Bush became president by 537 votes. *Basta!*

Mail-in voting. The "Emergency Alert" section details my proposals. Recap: No more crazy requirements for witnesses or notaries. Provide *pre-printed* and *postage paid* envelopes to end *gotcha!* errors on mail-ins. Count the votes in public. Voter intent rules.

If the Covid-19 pandemic continues, all voters should get a mail-in ballot without having to request one, as in Colorado. Voters can choose to ignore it if they insist on in-person voting. Repeat for Covid-20 and Covid-29.

End open primaries. The California Democratic Party Comintern has figured out how to use the "open" primary to screw a million independent voters out of their ballot. (See chapter "California Reamin.'") But, to be fair, if you want to pick a party's candidate, join the damn party.

Imprison fraudulent voters—and vote thieves. Double voters, ghost voters, voting for the dead, it just doesn't happen. Almost. For those rare nutcases that vote when they ought not to, *arrest them.* If, Mr. Kobach, you really do have lists of fraudulent voters, cuff'm and book'm—don't take away the registrations of millions. Vote fraud is a crime. If someone robs a bank, the bank does not close thousands of innocent bank customers' accounts, they have the bank robber arrested.

I've no sympathy for the rare illegal voter. Lock'm up and throw away the key. Then put Kobach and Kemp in the next cell. As Tom Paine said, someone who takes away your right to vote is worse than a horse thief. You can always get another horse. But you can't get another democracy.

Hack-free elections. I'm not talking about hacking electronic voting machines. I'm talking about eliminating political hacks—the Kobachs, Padillas, Kemps and Katherine Harrises—from running elections. Most voters don't know who their Secretary of State is, even though they voted for them. You don't notice these weasels until they run up your pants leg and bite your jewels.

It's time to ban elected partisans from the office of Secretary of State and from elections boards. Only

bipartisan boards of experts should direct our democracy. Is that such a crazy suggestion?

Respect the voters' choice, and that includes the voters of Honduras and Venezuela. You can't applaud overturning elections abroad, Ms. Pelosi, then complain when it happens here.

And keep Mike Pence away from your children and pets. That's just common sense.

Finally . . .

32

Deport My Wife, *Please!*

Another way to defeat the election rustlers . . . *become a freaking citizen.*

There are 9.03 million legal permanent residents in the USA, green card holders eligible to become citizens and, therefore, eligible to vote.

Take a look at this chart with the number of citizenship-eligible green card holders in swing states:

	Citizenship-eligible Green Card Holders	**Official Election Margins**
Georgia	140,000	55,000 Kemp over Abrams
Texas	930,000	215,000 Cruz over Beto O'Rourke
Florida	830,000	113,000 Trump over Clinton
Pennsylvania	140,000	49,000 Trump over Clinton
Michigan	130,000	11,000 Trump over Clinton

If they had become citizens and voted, Stacey Abrams would be Governor of Georgia, Beto O'Rourke would have crushed Ted Cruz in the Texas race, and Hillary Clinton would have won the Electoral College on roller skates.

So, Mr. and Ms. Alien, what do you say? Or are you not bothered by kids in cages?

In fact, I have a modest proposition that my fellow progressives will just hate: *ban green card renewals.*

Instead of green card renewals, there should be automatic citizenship.

Under current law, immigrants are allowed ten years on a green card—and then allowed to renew for another ten years and another. *Basta!* If you don't want to become a citizen after living here for ten years, *get the hell out.* You send your kids to US schools, go to America's national parks, and use America's hospitals. But the schools are crap, the park is closed over a budget dispute and you have to sell your Chevy to pay the hospital bill. You can *change* that.

And you've been *paying taxes* to Uncle Sam all these years. You're even liable to the US military draft. The only thing you can't do, *inmigrante*, is vote.

So it's time you became a citizen and make the same lousy choice we make every four years.

Or leave.

This is not an easy thing for me to say, because my

wife is intent on renewing her green card. After two decades here, the alien of the house refuses to become an American.

It's rough, but if my no-green-card renewal becomes law, I'd have to have her deported.

See the sacrifices I make for my country?

□ □ □

And let's not forget the old-fashioned way of making progressive citizens. Throw away the IUD.

When I was at the Trump rally in Georgia, some Q-Anon whack-o brought his EIGHT children. That was a warning: demographics is destiny.

Hey, it's still early. The Evangelicals are already at it, making Republicans. So tonight, skip *The Tonight Show.*

65467					
65468	21823	Georgia	MOHAMED	AWEYS	MOHAMED
65469		Ohio	MOHAMED	RASHID	MOHAMED
65470					
65471	21824	Georgia	MOHAMED	AWEYS	MOHAMED
65472		Ohio	MOHAMED	ALI	MOHAMED
65473					
65474	21825	Georgia	MOHAMED	SAID	MOHAMED
65475		Ohio	MOHAMED	OSMAN	MOHAMED
65476					
65477	21826	Georgia	MOHAMED	ABDI	MOHAMED
65478		Ohio	MOHAMED	D	MOHAMED
65479					
65480	21827	Georgia	MOHAMUD	ABDULAHI	MOHAMED
65481		Ohio	MOHAMUD	HANSHI	MOHAMED
65482					
65483	21828	Georgia	MOHAMUD	MUKHTAR	MOHAMED
65484		Ohio	MOHAMUD	MUKKHTAR	MOHAMED
65485					
65486	21829	Georgia	MOHAMUD	ABDULLE	MOHAMUD
65487		Ohio	MOHAMUD	A	MOHAMUD
65488					
65489	21830	Georgia	JENNIFER	L	MOHLER

33

An Almost-Happy Ending

You've read so much grim stuff here about American voting, you're ready to throw the book against the wall. So, let me report some good news.

The Crosscheck investigation, in year seven, is far from over. In the chart from the Crosscheck list, a bunch of voters named Mohamed Mohamed in Ohio were matched with Mohamed Mohameds in Georgia. In other words, Brian Kemp handed Kris Kobach Georgia's voter rolls; Kobach then passed Kemp's list to Ohio GOP Purge'n General Jon Husted.

When Kemp refused to give me the Crosscheck lists, I took an unprecedented step: I sued Kemp in Federal Court to open the files. Kemp said, "We don't use Crosscheck." But then I produced the Georgia Crosscheck list I'd gotten out the side door.

And there was something else. Kemp claimed he didn't use the list, but his assistant swore he did—

and our experts found that Kemp had purged 106,000 voters who were on the Crosscheck list. Coincidence?

Judge Eleanor Ross was not amused. On February 4, 2020, in a federal courthouse in Atlanta, she slammed down her gavel on Kemp, now Governor, and his GOP successor. In an extraordinary and unexpected move, the judge acted *sua sponte,* that is, without my lawyers even asking, and declared me the winner in *Palast v. Kemp* as Summary Judgment. I wouldn't even have to go to court. Was I surprised? You could have knocked me over with a feather.

What's really cool is that I will now have access to Kemp's tawdry little secret dealings with Kris Kobach. Even more important, I had brought my case under an unusual reading of the National Voter Registration Act. Now, I or any other journalist with the *cojones* and lawyers to do it can sue under the NVRA anywhere in the nation to open the official purge files of any state.

And I have.

□ □ □

Kobach had his own problems. Fresh from shoplifting the White House for Trump in 2016, Kobach thought he'd pocket the Kansas Statehouse. With hubris aplenty, Kobach in 2018 declared his run against the sitting governor, a fellow Republican no less.

Kobach couldn't lose. He had President Trump's thumbs tweeting, "He will be a GREAT Governor and has my full & total Endorsement! Strong on Crime, Border & Military."

More important, as Kansas Secretary of State, Kobach would count the votes—and not count votes he didn't want to count. On Primary Day, he blocked the counting of 898 provisional ballots in Johnson County, his opponent's base. That allowed Kobach to declare himself the winner by just 343 votes.

Even Republicans were disgusted. It's one thing to block Black voters and students, another to shaft members of your own club. In the general election that November, thousands of rock-ribbed Republican Kansans cast a protest vote for a third party candidate and threw the Governor's race to the Democrat.

Kobach was finished.

And what would become of Kobach's precious purge machine, Kansas Interstate Crosscheck?

Gone!

Kansans weren't crazy to find out that Kobach had been prancing around the nation erasing other states' voter files *using Kansas taxpayer dollars*. Kansans had already picked up the tab for his Federal Court contempt citations. His successor, as Secretary of State, though a Republican, wanted nothing to do with a purge program that was now drawing lawsuits. With

Kansas dropping out, Kansas Interstate Crosscheck was left homeless, with no one to compile the hit list of Mohameds.

But Crosscheck was already checking out. Rev. Jesse Jackson was showing our film, *The Best Democracy Money Can Buy*, nationwide as he campaigned for vote justice. Jackson's home state, Illinois, then Massachusetts and Kentucky, dropped Crosscheck. By the time Kansas brought the game to a halt, 15 of 30 states had already fled the purge program.

So Dr. King was right: the arc of history bends toward justice.

But it can snap back. Millions of voters were sent those poisoned "address confirmation" postcards in 2013 and 2015 because they were on the Crosscheck double voter list. If they failed to respond and did not vote in 2018, they will find themselves kicked off the voter rolls before the 2020 election.

In other words, even a dead rattlesnake can bite. Or run for office.

Kobach is back on the campaign trail. By the time you read this, he may be the Honorable US *Senator* Kobach.

CONCLUSION

Shine!

Hank Sanders called. “I went to vote, and my name was not on the voting list” where he’d been voting for 50 years. Nothing new: a Black man with a common name.

But this was State Senator Sanders, who represents Selma, Alabama. As a young man, Sanders had joined Martin Luther King on the 1965 march over the William Pettus Bridge. Four marchers were murdered en route. But, by the time the survivors entered Montgomery, the state capital, the President of the United States had introduced the Voting Rights Act.

What about Hank’s registration? It didn’t take long for our investigator Zach D. to find out that Alabama had joined Crosscheck—secretly.

I met Lynda Lowery, who told me her mom and dad took her, in 1965, to the Brown Chapel AME Church to see a minister she’d never heard of.

> They introduced Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Everybody got quiet, and he was telling our parents how it was time for them to get the right to vote.

King announced he was going to the bridge and asked, "Who will walk with me?"

Maybe King didn't get it. He had missed Bloody Sunday and the beatings; King was not in town when a pro-rights priest was murdered.

"Who will walk with me?"

At first, no one stood up. But then, Lynda and the other children rose. The parents joined.

> When we got to the top of the bridge, then you could see, really see, what was on the other side. There were white people sitting on their cars with their Confederate flags and their banners, "Die, nigger," and, "Go home, coon."
>
> This gas came, and with this gas, you couldn't breathe. You couldn't see. I ran into this big thing of tear gas, and he was running behind me with the billy club. When I woke up, they had me on a stretcher, putting me in the back of a hearse.

She was assumed dead.

Then she did something crazy.

I just jumped up, and before anybody could catch me, *I was heading back across that bridge.*

□ □ □

Because of all the lame jokes in my books, I'm often asked, "How do you keep your sense of humor after learning about these horrors?"

I don't. I don't know why America has broken my heart. I go on, not always certain why.

Who appointed me Paul Revere? *The vote thieves are coming! The vote thieves are coming!* But then, who appointed Paul Revere?

I was raised in the poorest barrio in Los Angeles, Pacoima-Sun Valley, where, today, next to the railroad tracks alongside the shuttered GM plant, busted-out trailers are "homes" for those left behind. I told you, this is a book about power, not voting. Taking our vote is how they disarm us.

The Theft of 2016 wasn't your fault. You didn't know. But, now, you do.

What can we do?

Like Paul Revere, everyone has a horse, a voice. Maybe you'll drive some Souls to the Polls, check the registrations of ten people who mean something to you; or just insist on the quiet truth when the Twittiot in Chief bellows a fog of mendacity.

I was going through Christine Jordan's family photo album with her the evening after she was tossed out of the polling station.

She talked with humor, but then said, sternly, emphatically, "I *will* vote."

© Zach D. Roberts

I asked if she'd be willing to put herself forward as a plaintiff in a lawsuit.

She pointed to her walker frame.

"Yes. If someone will help me up the courthouse steps."

Will you?

□ □ □

For me, I'm just a gumshoe, past retirement, with not much more than a flashlight to illuminate the crime scene, light up the evidence. All I have is this little light of mine.

And I'm gonna let it *shine!*

"Who will walk with me?"

—M. L. King Jr., Selma 1965

Do this now:

Sign up for updated reports at www.GregPalast.com.

And snap a photo of this guide ⇨
and pass it around!

PROTECT YOUR VOTE!

Use

REMEMBER: They can't steal all the ballots all the time.

Protect the health of your democracy during this epidemic of stupidity, meanness, and misinformation. Follow these simple instructions:

Don't Just Pick and Lick!

If you decide to Go Postal and mail-in your ballot, make sure you follow your state's rules, no matter how berserk. That means getting a witness signature (Minnesota), notarization (Alabama), and sign the ballot and envelope twice if it says so; use the official envelope only; put on TWO stamps (Ohio). And include a copy of that special ID (Wisconsin).

Registration Investigation!

Think you're registered? This is America, Jack, not some democracy. Better check your registration *again*. Make sure you have not been purged, Crosschecked, made "inactive," or otherwise scammed out of your vote. You don't have to re-register if you've moved within your county—but you're a fool if you don't. Why? You can't mail in your ballot, Homer, if you don't get it in the mail in the first place! D'oh!

Don't Get Spoiled Rotten!

Don't mark ballots with red pens, pencils, crayons, lipstick. Don't use an ✘, ✓, or ☺, unless it says so. Fill in the bubble, Bob. If on a machine, check over your choices before you pull that final lever. If a punch-card, turn it over and scrape off the chads, Dad.

The Early Bird Throws Out the Worms!

Vote early. In-person when no one's around, weekdays if possible. Then, if they jacked with your registration, you may have time to fight. But beware "Souls to the Polls" Sunday: in states like Ohio, the lines will be hours long as the vote thieves launch their new weapons to block voters of color. If you *are* a voter of color or under 35, don't forget to take along photo ID and an experienced attorney.

Look Out for Tranquilizer Ballots!

The nice lady behind the counter will tell you your "provisional" ballot will count. Bullshit. Demand a real ballot from an election judge. If you *must* fill out that bogus bouncing ballot, make sure you fill in every line on the envelope with registration address, registration signature, and if no license, write "no license." If you need to return with an ID, do it and don't bellyache.

Act Out!

It's time to say *basta!* to mass purges, to voter ID rigmarole, to tossing out provisional ballots and to the entire lynching-by-laptop operation. And that means joining voting rights action groups such as Rainbow/PUSH. Whether you're a butcher, baker or mass tort litigation maker, we need you to cross The Bridge with us. I know you have a good excuse to do nothing, but I don't want to hear it.

Stay Alert!

Right now, sign up for the latest updates on the vote rustlers at . . .

www.GregPalast.com

San Rafael, California
John Lenser, CEO

Address Verification Process
Palast/Mirer

The objectives of the assignment were to analyze the cancelled voter data provided by the State of Georgia and to determine an estimate of the number of voters, if any, on the cancelled voter rolls provided who continue to reside at their original address.

John Lenser, CEO of CohereOne, Inc., lead in the analysis. CohereOne is a leading agency in list hygiene, circulation planning, and modelling for catalog/e-commerce companies. CohereOne routinely processes client lists to optimize address accuracy for mailing using a combination of the National Change of Address database provided by the United States Postal

Service and proprietary advanced address hygiene (PCOA) tools provided by several specialized vendors.

PROCEDURE

Electronic files were received, input to standard software for analysis, and categorized by reason for cancellation; the results are displayed in the charts below.

* 665,677 names were received for the year 2017 and identified as cancelled
  - 534,584 were identified as "system cancels"
  - Of these, 534,510 were tagged as removed because of no activity in two voting cycles
* 83,319 names were received for the year 2016 and identified as cancelled

Palast/Mirer indicated that "System Cancels" merited further analysis. CohereOne chose to look at only the records that were not flagged as Deceased or Felons, assuming that the State of Georgia records were correct for these.

As a first step, it was necessary to convert the voter records from a concatenated format into standard name and address fields. Because of difficulty in reformatting addresses, CohereOne was able to quickly reformat only 458,556 records.

CohereOne then subjected these records to advanced address hygiene.

The address hygiene processing included the following steps:

* Reading a file of 555,702 cancelled voter registration records originating from the State of Georgia from 2016 and 2017. These records were pre-screened for deceased, felonious, and other standard conditions that disqualify voters;

* Correcting record address fields, parsing them into street address, city, state, and ZIP code, as the State of Georgia had not provided them in a usable standard address format. 458,556 records were correctly re-formatted; those re-formatted names were processed through advanced address hygiene; and

* Processing 458,556 names and addresses through postal hygiene routines including address standardization, ZIP code correction, NCOA (National Change of Address) and PCOA (Proprietary Change of Address) which provides dynamically

> updated information from dozens of private databases. Out of these processes, the service delivered output that included assessment of mail deliverability, moves that occurred in the past 48 months with forwarding addresses where applicable, and verification of a named individual at an address. In commercial settings, this process has been determined to have a 95% plus accuracy rate in verifying that an individual resides at a specific address or providing a new address.

To summarize, the goal of these processes for commercial mailers is to determine the correct address for an individual, so as to not waste mailing expense and so as to not lose sales from customers on the move. In commercial settings, this process has been determined to have a 95% plus accuracy rate.

RESULTS

Applying that process to this file, yielded 340,134 records where mailing technology indicates that the individual is still at the original address (and is neither deceased nor a felon).

We note that of 458,556 names processed, an additional 19,118 were determined to be deceased.

To further validate this process provided accurate results, one could mail a statistically valid subset of the file and request the post office apply a 'do not forward'/'return to sender' service. This is a standard USPS service, is a several week process and, depending on the sample size, could be of moderate cost. Only those who return a card or whose card is returned by the post office should be considered to have moved their residence.

SUMMARY

The processes used in determining that a substantial portion of cancelled registrants still reside at their original address are standard and deployed daily by commercial mailers. Not only are they standard but they are cost-effective typically costing less than $.05 per record processed. In our opinion, this process is far superior, at a fraction of the cost, in determining that a person still resides at an address than mailing them a postcard that can be easily mistaken for "junk mail" or requires them to return a reply card.

SOURCE DATA

2016 Cancellations by Reason

Status Reason	System	Vital Process	Grand Total
Deceased	19,684	37,363	57,047
Duplicate	9,329	-	9,329
Error	639	-	639
Felon	10,702	-	10,702
Hearing	358	-	358
Mentally Incompetent	11	-	11
Moved Out of County	502	-	502
Moved Out of State	3,626	-	3,626
Not Verified	258	-	258
Voter Requested	847	-	847
Grand Total	**45,956**	**37,363**	**83,319**

2017 Cancellations by Reason

Status Reason	System	User Action	Vital Process	Grand Total
Deceased	-	24,224	40,222	64,446
Duplicate	-	36,623	-	36,623
Error	2	281	-	283
Felon	-	14,021	-	14,021
Hearing	31	574	-	605
Mentally Incompetent	-	21	-	21
Moved Out of County	22	784	-	806
Moved Out of State	10	11,621	-	11,631
No Activity For 2 Gen Election Cycles	534,520	7	-	534,527
Not Verified	8	314	-	322
Voter Requested	1	2,201	-	2,202
Grand Total	534,584	90,871	40,222	665,677

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