

Crushing American Democracy Threats & Solutions

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This presentation, including speaker notes, can be downloaded from our website www.Nationalvotercorps.org.

The **purpose** of this presentation is to educate, inform and challenge voters to understand the threats to voting rights in the past two decades.

Personal Obstacles for Voters Today





Require a Voter ID – What if you don't drive, or don't have a birth certificate?



Forbid giving water and snacks to voters in line – If the line is long, will there be any porta potties?



Reduce polling locations, hours and voting machines – Will you lose wages traveling and waiting in line?





Move voting locations without warning – Can you get there on the bus?



Require vote-by-mail ballot to have verified signature or prohibit anyone else to return it ("harvesting") – What if you are homebound?



Purge semi-regular voters from the rolls – Did you return the notice (that looked like a junk mail postcard) to stay registered?

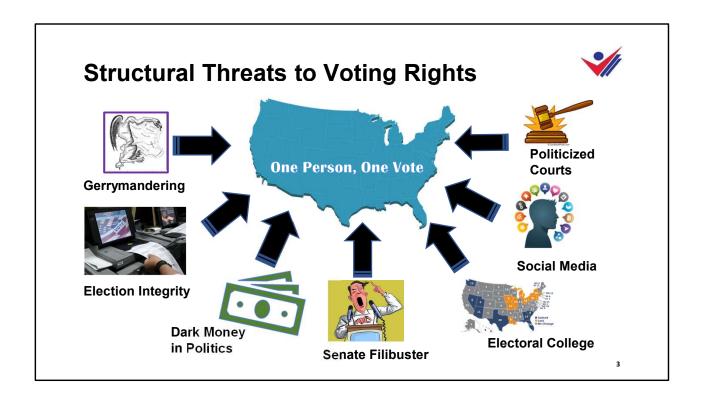
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Let's start here. In voting rights, "the personal is DEFINITELY political."

And many people, even educated people who don't follow the news about voting rights, aren't aware of these obstacles.

Numerous studies have shown voter fraud (the reason given for these obstacles) is extremely low. See

- https://www.brennancenter.org/sites/default/files/analysis/Briefing Memo Debunking
 Voter Fraud Myth.pdf
- https://www.pbs.org/newshour/politics/ap-review-finds-far-too-little-vote-fraud-to-tip-2020-election-to-trump
- An **exception** is the conservative Heritage Organization:
 - https://www.heritage.org/voterfraud



Each threat is explained in slides that follow, except Social Media. We all know about the threats to elections and democracy from lies and scare tactics spread by social media. The decline of independent newspapers and fact-checking, coupled with realistic but fake images, videos and text make it increasingly easy for false stories to be believed.

If you want to read proposals for addressing these problems, see:

- https://givingcompass.org/article/ten-ways-to-rebuild-trust-in-media-and-democracy
- https://time.com/6172309/fix-social-media-without-elon-musk/ 4 Ways to Fix Social Media That Don't Cost \$44 Billion TIME Apr 29, 2022; Radically increase transparency; Standardize and professionalize content moderation, etc.
- https://www.brookings.edu/research/how-to-fix-social-media-start-with-independent-research/ Dec 1, 2021 Persily and Tucker discuss the importance of open source social media data to increase transparency and encourage independent research.

The 1965 Solution: The Voting Rights Act



- §2 No State or political subdivision may apply a policy or procedure to deny or abridge the right of any citizen of the United States to vote on account of race or color.
- §4 Formula identifies States, Counties and Townships which racially discriminate.
- §5 States, Counties and Townships "covered" by the Formula are required to obtain Preclearance (approval) from the Federal Justice Department or Federal District Court in D.C. before any change to voting practices are made.



President Lyndon Johnson signing the 1964 Civil Rights Act outlawing segregation and discrimination

Sources: https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/voting-rights-act https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Civil Rights Act of 1964

§ = Section number

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Before 1965, even more obstacles to voting existed than listed in the previous slides, for example, **poll taxes and literacy tests**. They were outlawed by the VRA.

"...according to the **formula established in Section 4(b)**, states or political subdivisions were **covered** if they used **any test or device as a condition for voter registration** on November 1, 1964, and either **less than 50% of voting age persons living there were registered to vote** on that date **or less than 50% voted in the presidential election that year**." Congressional Research Service Report, The Voting Rights Act of 1965: Background and Overview, p. 19

https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R43626/15#:~:text=The%20Voting%20Right s%20Act%20was,preclearance%20of%20new%20laws%20in

The coverage formula and preclearance requirement were originally set to expire after five years. However, Section 5 was reviewed and renewed when the VRA came before Congress in 1970, 1975, 1982, and 2006.

https://ballotpedia.org/Arguments for and against restoring Section 5 preclearance under the Voting Rights Act#cite note-five-4

VRA's Pre-Clearance Impact Was Huge!



With no poll taxes, literacy tests, etc.:

- Over 1 Million new Black voters by 1970
- Mississippi's Black voters:
 - 6% registration rate 1965 increased to 59% by 1969
- Congress:
 - 6 Black members in 1965; 13 in 1971
- Senate:
 - no Blacks in 1965; 1 in 1971; 3 in 2023
- Justice Dept's Attorney General annual preclearance reviews:
 - over 4500 claims,
 - 14,000 to 20,000 voting changes!
- Nationwide:
 - 475 elected Blacks in 1965; by 2023
 640 Black Mayors represent 48M people



A group of voters line up outside the polling station in Peachtree, Alabama, a year after the Voting Rights Act was passed. (Photo:

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https://www.crf-usa.org/bill-of-rights-in-action/bria-12-2-b-race-and-voting-in-the-segregated-south

https://www.justice.gov/crt/about-section-5-voting-rights-act http://civilrightsdocs.info/pdf/reports/Democracy-Diverted.pdf https://www.archives.gov/research/african-americans/vote

Section 5 of the VRA requires covered States to seek preclearance for any changes to voting and election procedures from the <u>United States Attorney General</u> or a declaratory judgment from the <u>United States District Court for the District of Columbia</u>. Until federal approval is granted, "no person shall be denied the right to vote for failure to comply with such qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure."

The coverage formula and preclearance requirement were originally set to expire after five years. However, Section 5 was reviewed and renewed when the VRA came before Congress in 1970, 1975, 1982, and 2006.

At the time of the 2013 Shelby County ruling, nine States were subject to the preclearance requirement in Section 5, along with 56 counties and two townships in other states.

Recent US Supreme Court Cases impact both Federal and State voting rights laws

2010 - Citizen's United v FEC (5-4)

- Allows Corporations and Unions unlimited PAC \$\$\$ for federal elections.
- · Media spending skyrocketed immediately.

2013 - Shelby v Holder (5-4)

- Kills preclearance (approval) by Justice Dept and Federal Court.
- Immediate result: 1688 precincts closed and massive increase in barriers to the ballot box in previously covered States.

2019 - Rucho v Common Cause (5-4)

 Political gerrymandering not unconstitutional; up to Congress to act.

2023 Decisions -

Allen (originally Merrill) v Milligan (5-4)

- · 1965 VRA prohibits discrimination on race
- Federal Court ruled Alabama is racially gerrymandered.
- Ruling: Affirmed Alabama districts discriminated on race.

Moore v. Harper (6-3)

 NC State Legislature argued it - not NC Supreme Court - determines election law because of Article 1.4 of the US Constitution. SCOTUS Ruling: Denied "Independent State Legislature" theory; upheld State Supreme Court power; sent back to State Court to oversee redistricting.

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These cases are just as big in the arena of voting rights as the *Dobbs* decision on abortion. We'll look briefly at *Citizens United, Shelby* & *Rucho* in a moment. The pattern to note here is that SCOTUS (Supreme Court of the US) has given increased power to State Legislatures over voting rights at the expense of Federal protections. Also, mostly split decisions.

"... until the court's 2013 decision [in Shelby], it [preclearance] applied to the entire states of Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Texas and Virginia, as well as parts of California, Florida, Michigan, New York, North Carolina and South Dakota. ...In a decision by Chief Justice John Roberts, the court explained that "things have changed dramatically" but "the formula that the Voting Rights Act used to determine who must comply with the requirement was "based on decades-old data" with "no logical relationship to the present day" https://www.scotusblog.com/election-law-explainers/shelby-county-v-holder-less-federal-supervision-of-changes-to-voting-laws/

Allen v Milligan affirmed racial discrimination violated Section 2 of the 1965 Voting Rights Act. https://www.scotusblog.com/case-files/cases/merrill-v-milligan-2/

Dark Money in Politics after Citizens United 🦋



- US Supreme Court decided Citizens United v FEC (2010).
 - · Corporations have a First Amendment right to free speech.
 - Corporations and Unions may create PACs.
- Results:
 - Corporations and Unions independent from the candidates buy mass media advertisements, run independent precinct operations, and pick candidates who will further their corporate goals and objectives.
 - Huge corporate impact on 2012 redistricting and elections thereafter
- Response currently up to States, e.g., CA DISCLOSE Act
 - · Requires disclosure of donors to candidates, top donors to ballot measures and political advertisements.





Huge amounts of money have been used to support candidates who openly vote for Vote Suppression legislation in Congress and at the State level. Tied together with Shelby County's decision (eliminating preclearance), the rights of minority voters have been significantly impaired in the last decade. See also https://www.brennancenter.org/issues/reform-money-politics

The Supreme Court decision of Citizens United v FEC (2010) unleashed the right for Corporations and Unions to use corporate money in politics. The result?

Corporations and Unions independent from the candidates buy mass media advertisements, run independent precinct operations, and pick candidates who will further their corporate goals and objectives, not the general good. Corporate candidates take over State Legislatures, gerrymander districts to ensure they stay in office and outspend the candidates of students, people of color or low income.

Money in politics is a part of Vote Suppression. Partial solution – the Disclose Act. California requires disclosure of top donors to candidates, ballot measure and political advertisements. In February 2023, national legislation was introduced in Congress. See https://www.lwv.org/newsroom/press-releases/league-supports-reintroduction-disclose-act

Shelby Ends Pre-clearance



- . Majority Opinion: Chief Justice John Roberts
 - Coverage formula is based on data over 40 years old, making it no longer responsive to current needs and therefore an impermissible burden on the constitutional principles of federalism and equal sovereignty of the States.
- Minority Opinion: Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg
 - Argued that evidence gathered by Congress supports continuing the law which enforces the 14th and 15th Amendments.

"Throwing out preclearance, when it has worked and is continuing to work to stop discriminatory changes, is like throwing away your umbrella in a rainstorm because you are not getting wet."

In this landmark 5 to 4 decision, the Supreme Court held that section 4(b) (the formula) of the Voting Rights Act was unconstitutional. Only 7 years before, in 2006, Congress had extended the Voting Rights Act, including the pre-clearance formula.

Under the Elections Clause, Congress was granted the express right to make federal laws or alter State law. The Court could have asked Congress to *update* the preclearance formula, but clearly the Court decided to abolish preclearance instead.

Justice Thomas thought that Article 5 (preclearance, defined below) should also be found unconstitutional. "Under Section 5, any change with respect to voting in a covered jurisdiction -- or any political subunit within it -- cannot legally be enforced unless and until the jurisdiction first obtains the requisite determination by the United States District Court for the District of Columbia or makes a submission to the Attorney General."

www.oyez.org/cases/2012/12-96

https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/570/12-96/#tab-opinion-1970751 https://www.justice.gov/crt/about-section-5-voting-rights-act

Shelby Impact: 1,688 Polling Places Closed



- 1,688 polling places closed in previously covered States
- Closures continue: Texas bill would prohibit polling locations on all college campuses in Texas.
- Requires litigation to stop racistbased State policies.

Closures Are Racist Decisions



 $Sources: \ \underline{https://www.tpr.org/government-politics/2023-02-20/polling-sites-on-texas-college-campuses-would-be-banned-under-proposed-bill}$

http://civilrightsdocs.info/pdf/reports/Democracy-Diverted.pdf

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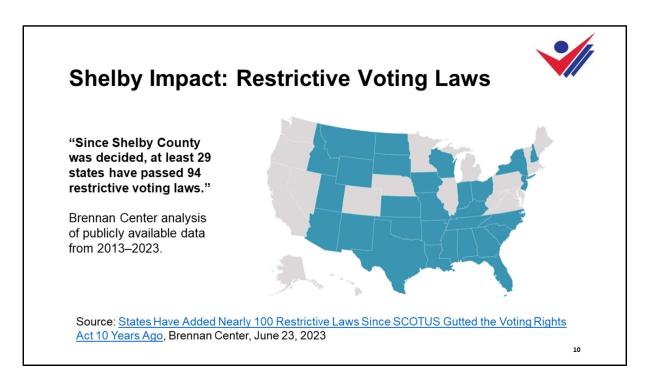
Nine States have closed nearly one thousand seven hundred polling places. These are often in areas with large African-American populations. Even just moving a polling place can have the same effect – Broward County Florida for example moved a polling location to inside a gated community. Polling locations have been moved away from public transportation and far away from college campuses.

http://civilrightsdocs.info/pdf/reports/Democracy-Diverted.pdf

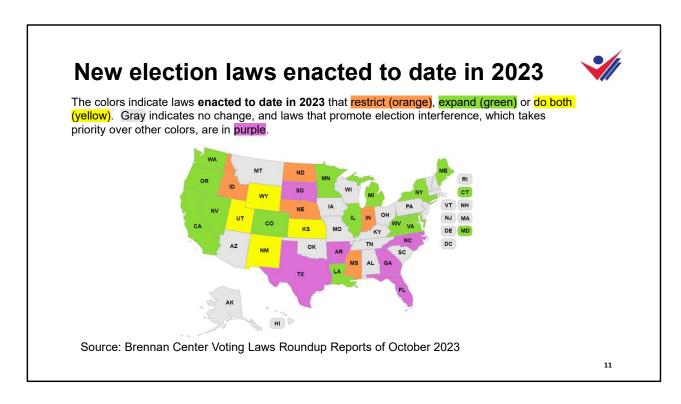
A current example:

"A bill was filed in the Texas Legislature on Thursday that would prohibit polling locations on college campuses throughout the state."

https://www.tpr.org/government-politics/2023-02-20/polling-sites-on-texas-college-campuses-would-be-banned-under-proposed-bill



Source: https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/analysis-opinion/states-have-added-nearly-100-restrictive-laws-scotus-gutted-voting-rights



The Brennan Center reported "More than 440 bills with provisions that restrict voting access have been introduced in 49 states in the 2021 legislative sessions. These numbers are extraordinary: state legislatures enacted far more restrictive voting laws in 2021 than in any year since the Brennan Center began tracking voting legislation in 2011. And in a new trend this year, legislators introduced bills to allow partisan actors to interfere with election processes or even reject election results entirely."

https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/research-reports/voting-laws-roundup-december-2021.

In 2022, "At least 7 states enacted 12 election interference laws. Overall, lawmakers in at least 27 states introduced 151 election interference bills this year. *Legislation is categorized as election interference if it does one of two things: opens the door to partisan interference in elections or threatens the people and processes that make elections work.* This year, state legislatures enacted laws that impose new criminal or civil penalties on election officials, redirected or established new resources specifically for prosecuting election-related crimes in Florida and Georgia, and rearrange long-standing election administration structure in favor of partisan influence in Georgia." https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/research-reports/voting-laws-roundup-december-2022

Partisan Gerrymandering is Legal!



- In 1812, Massachusetts Governor Elbridge Gerry redrew the state senatorial districts to favor his party. The Boston Gazette published this cartoon which merged "Gerry" and "salamander" to describe the result.
- Rucho v Common Cause (2019):
 US Supreme Court states that racial
 gerrymandering is illegal, but partisan
 gerrymandering falls outside the reach
 of the Supreme Court: a decision to be
 made by Congress not the Supreme
 Court.

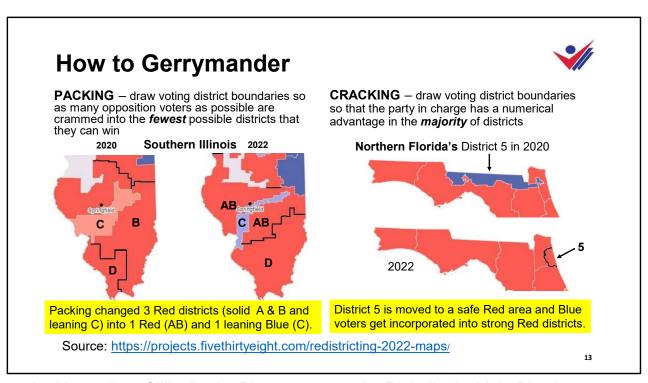


Sources: picture: Wikipedia, **Rucho:** https://www.supremecourt.gov/opinions/18pdf/18-422 9ol1.pdf

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Source:

https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gerrymandering in the United States#/media/File%3AThe Gerry-Mander Edit.png



In this portion of Illinois, the Blue party turned a Pink district Light Blue by packing Blue voters into a smaller area and moving excess Red voters into the surrounding Red districts labelled A and B. The smaller size allowed A and B to be joined, thereby eliminating an opposition district completely. **Result:**Blue gains 1 Leans Blue district and eliminates 1 Pink and 1 solid Red district.

The other example shows where Blue voters had been previously packed into a single district in Northern Florida. After the 2020 Census, the Red party divided all District 5 voters among the neighboring Red districts. Then, a Red district was divided in two and one part renamed District 5. **Result: Blue loses 1 district while Red gains 1 district.**

https://projects.fivethirtyeight.com/redistricting-2022-maps has maps for every state along with brief commentary on the implications of the change. Wikipedia has a map showing who determines redistricting in each state: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2020 United States redistricting cycle#:~:text=In%20 most%20states%2C%20the%20state,commissions%22%20to%20draw%20House%20 districts.

Filibuster Reform Urgently Needed



Cloture Votes

1917-2014

- Filibuster historically used to stop voting rights legislation
 - Anti-Poll Tax Bill (1942)
 - Freedom to Vote Act / John R Lewis VRA (2022)
- Rural areas over-represented in Senate (2020 Census).
 - WY + VT + AK + ND + SD have 3.6 million voters (10 Senators)
 - CA has 39 million voters (2 Senators)
 - The 26 least populous states are home to just 17 percent of the US population.**
- "Cloture" allows 41 Senators to block a bill
 - A Senate rule, not written in Constitution, requires 60 votes to end a filibuster
 - Cloture voting has skyrocketed since 1917
- Majority vote applies for federal budget reconciliation, Executive Branch and Judicial nominations
 - Why not majority vote for voting rights?

Why should 41 Senators be able to outvote 59 Senators when the 17th Amendment specifies each Senator has one vote?

Sources: US 2020 Census, https://www.history.com/news/filibuster-bills-senate., ** Brennan Center Research Report 2021

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The Filibuster is increasingly used to block legislation.

https://www.history.com/news/filibuster-bills-senate – just look at the **upward curve** of the lines on the chart from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cloture.

"Today, the 26 least populous states are home to just 17 percent of the U.S population." https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/research-reports/filibuster-explained

"The truth is that the filibuster as practiced today would be unrecognizable to the Framers of the Constitution, who considered and specifically rejected the idea of requiring more than a simple majority to advance legislation in Congress." [Sarah A. Binder and Steven S. Smith, Politics or Principle?: Filibustering in the United States Senate (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 1997), 4, 33.] Quoted in https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/Filibuster-Reform-is-Coming Heres-How Sept2021.pdf

"The writers of the Constitution clearly contemplated that there were times that extraordinary majorities would be called for: 1) amending the Constitution; 2) impeaching a president or other office holders; 3) approving a treaty negotiated by the executive; and 4) overriding a veto by a president. However, the drafters of the Constitution discussed but did not include a provision for the passage of legislation to need more than a majority vote.

Therefore I believe the filibuster to be an unconstitutional requirement for more than a

Therefore, I believe the filibuster to be an unconstitutional requirement for more than a majority to pass legislation." Cong. Steny H. Hoyer, 2021

 $\frac{https://eshoo.house.gov/media/op-eds/letting-filibuster-stand-will-break-americandemocracy}{democracy}$

The Electoral College





- · Why Created?
 - 1787 Constitutional Convention compromise between election by Congress vs. election by popular vote* – States choose the Electors
- Why Outdated?
 - 5 Presidents elected despite losing popular vote**
 - Adams (1824), Hayes (1876), Harrison (1888), Bush (2000), Trump (2016)
 - "the 26 least populous states are home to just 17 percent of the U.S population." ***
- Abolishment Not A New Idea
 - 1968 Gallup poll found 80% of Americans supported abolishment
 - 1969 House voted 338 to 70 for constitutional amendment (bill failed in Senate)
- "National Popular Vote Interstate Compact" gaining momentum
 - 16 States and DC (205 electoral votes of 538; a majority is 270 votes) so far have agreed to award all electoral votes to winner of popular vote.****

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Sources: *https://www.history.com/news/filibuster-bills-senate

**https://www.history.com/news/presidents-electoral-college-popular-vote

*** https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/research-reports/filibuster-explained

**** https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National Popular Vote Interstate Compact#:~:text=T he%20compact%20is%20designed%20to,and%20the%20District%20of%20Columbia

States are allotted electoral votes based on the number of representatives they have in the House plus their two Senators. How the Electors are chosen varies by State.

In the late 1960s, "the United States came very close to abolishing the Electoral College, an indirect voting system originally designed to give southern states more power because of their large enslaved population of Black people....in 1970, a group of southern senators succeeded in killing the bill by filibustering it." https://www.history.com/news/supreme-court-redistricting-gerrymandering-reynolds-v-sims

National Popular Vote explained below:

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National Popular Vote Interstate Compact#:~:text=The% 20compact%20is%20designed%20to,and%20the%20District%20of%20Columbia and Common Cause has created a campaign: https://www.commoncause.org/our-work/voting-and-elections/national-popular-vote/

The Freedom to Vote: John R Lewis Act Addresses Supreme Court decisions



- Preclearance to be reinstated with updated Formula
- Updates "voter protections in Section 2 in response to <u>Brnovich v. Democratic National</u> <u>Committee</u> decision which banned ballot collection and out-of-district voting
- Enhances power of the U.S. Attorney General to send <u>federal observers</u> to jurisdictions which courts have deemed necessary
- Allows courts to block new election policy in a wider range of circumstances
- All states would have:
 - ✓ Automatic voter registration
 - ✓ Vote by mail
 - √ Felons' rights to vote
 - ✓ Limits on voter identification laws
 - √ Same day registration

HR 5746



https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John Lewis Voting Rights Act

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https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John Lewis Voting Rights Act

Brnovich v. Democratic National Committee involves two of Arizona's election policies: one **outlawing ballot collection** and another **banning out-of-precinct voting**. The Supreme Court ruled in a 6–3 decision in **July 2021** that neither of Arizona's election policies violated the VRA or had a racially discriminatory purpose.

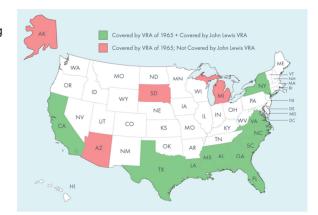
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brnovich v. Democratic National Committee

The Carter Center program on Nonpartisan Election Observation in the U.S. explains successful principles for election observers at https://www.cartercenter.org/peace/democracy/nonpartisan-election-observation-u.s.html

If 2022 Voting Rights Act had passed, Preclearance Would Apply to Green States



- Green states would become subject to preclearance applying transparent, objective tests ("the Formula")
- Pre-clearance may apply to the whole State, Counties or Townships.
- Key
 - Green = 1965 and 2023
 - Pink = 1965 but not 2023
 - White = not covered to date



Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Lewis_Voting_Rights_Act

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Content from Wikipedia; map created by National Voter Corps.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John Lewis Voting Rights Act

Strong Voting Rights Laws needed now!



- Congress has the power pass strong election laws for Federal elections: "The times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives, ... shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof; ... but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations ..."
 (US Constitution, Article 1, Section 4)
- Congress must exercise its power to enact legislation under the 14th, 15th, 19th, 21st, 24th and 26th Amendments to address voting rights.
- We have a national voting registration form for federal elections. Why not have standard rules for conducting federal elections?

My zip code should not determine if, when, where and how I may vote!

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"Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 is a general provision that **prohibits** state and local government from imposing any voting rule that "results in the **denial or abridgement of the right** of any citizen **to vote on account of race or color** or membership in a language minority group."

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Voting Rights Act of 1965

We have a national voting **registration form** for federal elections. Why not have standard rules for **conducting** federal elections?



The Real Threats to Election Integrity

Voters aren't the problem - Voter fraud is rare - the threat is Election Interference!

- Out-of-date voting equipment
- Not enough voting equipment at voting precincts
- · Intimidation of election officials
- Interference by poll watchers at the precincts
- Failure to update voter databases accurately
- · Voter purging by States
- · Unjustified recounts and legal challenges to the vote results
- Social media lies that undermine voter confidence in election process
- · Foreign interference

Source: https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/research-reports/voting-laws-roundup-december-2022

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"The spectrum of potential threats is wide: foreign ransomware gangs friendly with the Kremlin, conspiracy-obsessed local election officials, hostile voters bent on sabotage or political provocateurs trying to suppress the vote with dirty tricks or misinformation." Times Free Press, Nov. 4, 2022

https://www.timesfreepress.com/news/2022/nov/04/explainer-threats-to-us-election-security-tfp/

See also the Brennan Center's description of **election interference**:

"Legislation is categorized as election interference if it does one of two things: opens the door to partisan interference in elections or threatens the people and processes that make elections work."

https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/research-reports/voting-laws-roundup-december-2022

Voter Fraud by individuals is rare:

https://www.brennancenter.org/sites/default/files/analysis/Briefing Memo Debunking Voter Fraud Myth.pdf Even the Heritage Foundation shows few cases – 5 in Texas, 8 in Florida in 2022. https://www.heritage.org/voterfraud/

Appendix: Voting Rights History On 1 Page



Earlier Civil War Reconstruction Jim Crow Era Civil Rights Mvt. Era VRA Growth Decline 1789 ... 1861-'65 1865-1877 1877- 1957 1945 –65 (+ ongoing) 1965 to 1990s 2000 +

1789: Mostly white, propertied males may vote, Slave counts for 3/5 person in census

1864: slaves freed

1865: 13th Amendment - Slavery abolished

1867: Reconstruction Act: terms for readmission to the Union 1868: 14th Amendment grants citizenship & equal protection under law for all people born in USA or naturalized citizens

1870: 15th Amendment: No denial of the right to vote because of previous condition of servitude.

**Actually, "home rule" restored

1877: Fed troops leave South,**
States enact "Black Codes," Jim
Crow laws enforce segregation
and intimidation

1896: *Plessy v Ferguson*: "separate but equal" legal

1914 17th Amendment: direct voting for Senators 1920: 19th Amendment: women

get right to vote 1954: *Brown v Bd of Ed:* ends "separate but equal"; left enforcement to states

enforcement to states 1955: Montgomery bus boycott 1957: Civil Rights Act allows prosecution for preventing voting 1963: March on Washington

1964: Freedom Summer

1964: 24th Amendment – no poll taxes 1965: Voting Rights Act

1971: 26th Amendment –18 yrs. to vote 1993: Voter Registration Act ("Motor Voter"

law) automates registration 2010: Citizen's United v FEC: no \$\$\$\$ limits on PACs by Corporations and

Unions

2013: Shelby v Holder: Preclearance ended in previously segregated States 2019: Rucho v Common Cause: political gerrymandering not unconstitutional

2023: *Allen v Milligan:* racial gerrymandering unconstitutional ₂₀

** Heather Cox Richardson explains it is a myth that Federal troops left the South in 1877. In fact, Republicans (the anti-slavery party) made a deal with Democratic House members (the pro-Confederacy party) to elect Republican Rutherford B. Hayes. The deal allowed Democratic politicians to take back control of former-Confederacy state governments ("home rule"). In 1877 Federal troops stopped protecting the capitol buildings formerly controlled by anti-slavery Republicans, but troops didn't pull out of the Southern District. "Contemporaries had identified the end of Reconstruction as 1870, with the readmission of Georgia to the United States."

"It matters that we misremember that history. Generations of Americans have accepted the racist southern lawmakers' version of our past by honoring the date they claimed to have "redeemed" the South. The reality of Reconstruction was not one in which Black voters bankrupted the region it was the story of an attempt to establish racial equality and the undermining of that attempt with the establishment of a one-party state that benefited a few white men at the expense of everyone else." (She then cites contemporary examples.) https://heathercoxrichardson.substack.com/p/march-2-2023

"Black Codes" were state regulations used to limit alternatives to share-cropping. Cheap labor was essential to the agricultural economy. See

https://www.history.com/topics/black-history/black-codes https://www.history.com/topics/early-20th-century-us/jim-crow-laws



Watch Vote Denial on Film

To understand the when, where, who, what and why of vote repression:

- ALL IN: The Fight for Democracy 2020 Film on Prime
- https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t6jVGswLPd8
- SUPPRESSED and SABOTAGED the Right to Vote a 2022 film by Brave New Films
- https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9EGuGClzZCE
- RIGGED: The Vote Suppression Playbook a 2018 film by American Issues Initiative
- https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Xn7MXFGI9Hs
- DARK MONEY a 2018 film by Big Sky Film Productions
- https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DWG F4UDMkk
- VOTER ID AND THE KOCH BROTHERS a 2018 film by Brave New Films
- https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M jNVy7LDf0

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VOTER ID AND THE KOCH BROTHERS, a 2018 by Brave New Films.

A rebuttal to: "There is nothing wrong about Voter ID laws. They prevent fraud". https://youtu.be/M_jNVy7LDf0



About National Voter Corps

- Mission: Every voter counts and every vote is counted.
- · Through its website, National Voter Corps:
 - Educates voters and policymakers about state and national voting rights, their history and present status.
 - Encourages volunteers nationwide to use the interactive 50-State Map, which details information about local and national nonpartisan voting rights organizations.
 - Provides free, downloadable, educational voting rights materials.
- Formed in November 2016 in Palo Alto, California
- Unincorporated, Nonpartisan and Nonprofit
 - <u>Tax-deductible Donations</u> are managed for NVC via The Social Good Fund, a 501(c)(3)
- Our website is https://nationalvotercorps.org/



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NVC's Donate page takes you to

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