EXHIBIT 16

https://www.theadvocate.com/baton_rouge/news/politics/legislature/article_64e99736-5ea6-11ec-bea4-2fa9f0b6f8c9.html

Gov. John Bel Edwards says 'fair' congressional maps would include another majority-Black district

State lawmakers begin circulating petition for February redistricting session

BY BLAKE PATERSON | STAFF WRITER
DEC 16, 2021 - 2:50 PM

Governor John Bel Edwards speaks during a press conference to address the recovery efforts across the state of Louisiana following Hurricane Ida, Tuesday, September 7, 2021, in Baton Rouge, La.

STAFF PHOTO BY HILARY SCHEINUK

Blake
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With one-third of Louisiana's population identifying as Black, Gov. John Bel Edwards said Thursday it's only fair that two of the state's six congressional districts include a majority of Black voters, suggesting a veto may be on the table if lawmakers don't agree.

The Republican-dominated Legislature began circulating a petition Thursday to reconvene in Baton Rouge in February for its once-in-a-decade redistricting session to rework the state's political maps around updated census data.

Up until now, the Democratic governor has remained tight-lipped on how he might wield his power during that session, saying only that he would veto maps that suffered from "defects in terms of basic fairness."

But at his end-of-the-year press conference Thursday, Edwards took a step towards defining what that actually means: "Fairness, if it can be done, would be to have two out of the six congressional districts be minority districts."

RELATED

Gov. John Bel Edwards will veto congressional maps that aren't 'fair.' What does that mean?

That might be easier said than done, the governor cautioned.

"Depending on where those populations are located it can be very difficult, or not, in order to draw those maps that work. But obviously if we want to talk about fairness and making sure that the maps reflect the reality of what the situation is on the ground, that should certainly be our goal," Edwards said.

The petition that began circulating Thursday would call the Legislature into session from Feb. 1 to Feb. 20 to redraw the political maps for seats in the U.S. House, state Senate, state House of Representatives, Board of Elementary & Secondary Education, and Public Service Commission. Lawmakers are also hoping to redraw state Supreme Court districts, which haven't been reworked for nearly 25 years and include wide population disparities.

With majorities in both the House and Senate, GOP lawmakers will lead the effort to redraw the state's political maps, but they lack the numbers to override a gubernatorial veto on their own, giving Edwards and Democratic lawmakers a seat at the table.

The governor didn't say if he would veto a map that doesn't add a second majority-Black district, though it's unlikely Republicans would do it on their own. The

drawing of such a district, if it were approved, would almost certainly force the ouster of a Republican incumbent in Congress.

Legislature's Petition for Special Redistricting Session

House Speaker Clay Schexnayder, a Gonzales Republican who led a failed attempt to override Edwards' veto earlier this year, said the governor's comments don't factor in to his thinking. "What he decides to do is totally on him," Schexnayder said. "We're going to do precisely what the law calls us to do."

On the creation of a second majority-minority district, Schexnayder said "it's all about the numbers," referring to the U.S. Census data. "If the numbers dictate it and show it ... we'll look at it," he said.

The chair of Louisiana's Legislative Black Caucus, state Rep. Ted James, D-Baton Rouge, said lawmakers have a "simple obligation to follow the numbers," and with a third of Louisiana's population identifying as Black, the math is straightforward: "One-third of six is two."

The last time lawmakers drew congressional maps, most of the state's Black voters were packed into the 2nd District, which snakes from New Orleans east to north Baton Rouge along the Mississippi River and is currently held by Congressman Troy Carter, D-New Orleans.

If a second majority-minority district is drawn, Edwards said he didn't believe the state could maintain the current set-up of two north Louisiana-based congressional districts. "It would be a major reworking of the map," he said.

A coalition of major civil rights organizations, led by the NAACP Legal Defense & Education Fund, sent a letter to state lawmakers in October with seven different ideas for how Louisiana could redraw its maps to include a second district where Black people constitute a majority of voters. They targeted the Monroe-based 5th Congressional District, represented by Congresswoman Julia Letlow, R-Start, in their proposals.

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Together, the two north Louisiana-based congressional districts would need to expand their boundaries to include nearly 85,000 additional residents to make-up for population loss over the last decade.

Congressman Mike Johnson, who represents the Shreveport-based 4th District, said that because his district includes both Barksdale Air Force Base and Fort Polk, he has an outsized influence when it comes to divvying up federal military spending. "If you make one north Louisiana district, you dilute that power," Johnson said.

Republican state lawmakers from north Louisiana also aren't keen on combining the districts.

"I'm not going to vote for anything that doesn't have two northern Congressional districts," said state Rep. Jack McFarland, a Jonesboro Republican and chair of the House conservative caucus.

"Why are we going after our first Republican female Congresswoman?" McFarland added, speaking of Letlow. "In one breath we're saying we want equity, but at the same way we're saying we want to do away with her district so she can't win again."

EMAIL BLAKE PATERSON AT BPATERSON@THEADVOCATE.COM AND FOLLOW HIM ON TWITTER @BLAKEPATER

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EXHIBIT 17

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JOHN BEL EDWARDS

(/) OFFICE *of the* GOVERNOR

Gov. Edwards Vetoes Proposed Congressional District Map, Announces Other Action on Newly Drawn District Maps

March 09, 2022

Today, Governor John Bel Edwards vetoed the congressional redistricting map drawn by Louisiana's Legislature because it does not add a second majority minority district and runs afoul of federal law. He also announced that he will not sign the state House and Senate district maps passed in the recent redistricting session, allowing them to become law without his approval, and that he has signed into law maps that designated new districts for the Louisiana State Board of Elementary and Secondary Education and the Louisiana Public Service Commission.

Out of the 163 total districts created by the Legislature in the various bills passed, not a single additional majority minority seat was created, despite the fact that the percentage of the black population increased and the white population decreased.

Gov. Edwards said:

"Today, after careful consideration, review, discussion with legislators, and consultation with voting rights experts, I have vetoed the proposed congressional map drawn by Louisiana's Legislature because it does not include a second majority African American district, despite Black voters making up almost a third of Louisianans per the latest U.S. Census data. This map is simply not fair to the people of Louisiana and does not meet the standards set forth in the federal Voting Rights Act. The Legislature should immediately begin the work of drawing a map that ensures Black voices can be properly heard in the voting booth. It can be done and it should be done.

While neither the congressional or legislative maps passed by Louisiana's Legislature do anything to increase the number of districts where minority voters can elect candidates of their choosing, I do not believe the Legislature has the ability to draw new state House and Senate maps during this upcoming legislative session without the process halting the important work of the state of Louisiana. At a time when we face unprecedented challenges, but have unprecedented opportunities to make historic investments in our future, the Legislature should be focused on the issues in the upcoming session and not concerned about what their own districts will look like in the 2023 elections.

I have signed the maps for the Louisiana State Board of Elementary and Secondary Education and the Louisiana Public Service Commission because I believe those maps provide a fairer representation of Louisiana than the other maps that were passed."

Click to read the Governor's veto messages for HB 1 (/action.cfm?md=communication&task=addMessageClickThru&msgid=3631&uid=0&encoded=1&redirect=https%3A%2F%2Fgov%2Elouisiana%2Egov%2Fassets%2Fdocs%2FLett for SB 5. (/action.cfm?md=communication&task=addMessageClickThru&msgid=3631&uid=0&encoded=1&redirect=https%3A%2F%2Fgov%2Elouisiana%2Egov%2Fassets%2Fdocs%2FLett to read the Governor's messages on HB 14 (/assets/docs/Letters/SchexnayderLtr20220309HB14.pdf) and and SB 1. (/assets/docs/Letters/CortezLtr20220309SB1.pdf)

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EXHIBIT 18

Office of the Governor
State of Louisiana

JOHN BEL EDWARDS
GOVERNOR

P.O. Box 94004
BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA 70804-9004
(225) 342-7015
GOV.LA.GOV

March 9, 2022

VIA HAND DELIVERY

Honorable Clay J. Schexnayder
Speaker of the House
Louisiana House of Representatives
Post Office Box 94062
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70804-9062

RE: Veto of House Bill 1 of the 2022 First Extraordinary Session

Dear Speaker Schexnayder:

Please be advised that I have vetoed House Bill 1 of the First Extraordinary Session of 2022.

This bill is the Legislature's effort to conduct the mandatory reapportionment of the congressional map for the United States House of Representatives. While much work was put into the development of this map by members of the Legislature, it is clear that the primary rationale behind the creation and passage of the map was to protect incumbents and to preserve the party split in the current congressional delegation. In so doing, the Legislature disregarded the shifting demographics of the state, which unquestionably call for the addition of a second majority minority district. Specifically, the Black voting age population in the state increased by 4.4% from the 2010 census to the 2020 census, resulting in the Black voting age population making up 31.2%, almost one-third of the State's population. Instead of accounting for this increase in population, the Legislature preserved the status quo and enacted a map where Black voters in five of the six congressional districts are deprived of the opportunity to elect a candidate of their choice.

It is my firm belief that this map violates Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and further is not in line with the principle of fundamental fairness that should have driven this process. In choosing this map, the Legislature rejected numerous alternative maps with two majority minority districts, which happen to be one-third of the six congressional districts, that would have given more Black voters an opportunity to elect a candidate of their choice. While no electoral map is perfect, and no map is a guarantee of success for a certain candidate, these alternatives would have allowed for a fairer allocation of voting strength to a population that has been historically disadvantaged. As eloquently discussed by Senator Cleo Fields on the floor of the

Senate, only five Black members from Louisiana have been elected and seated in the United States House of Representatives since statehood. This injustice cannot continue.

This veto need not be the conclusion of the Legislature's efforts to create a map that is in compliance with Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act. There are multiple pre-filed bills for the 2022 Regular Session where the Legislature can – and should – enact a map that creates a second majority minority seat. By vetoing this bill, I am asking the Legislature to get back to work in a real effort at compromise and fairness. I remain confident that the Legislature can get this right.

Sincerely,

John Bel Edwards
Governor

enclosure

cc: Honorable Patrick Page Cortez
Louisiana Senate President

EXHIBIT 19

EXECUTIVE GOVT + POLITICS LEGISLATIVE

Louisiana Legislature overrides Gov. Edwards' veto of congressional map

BY: **WESLEY MULLER AND GREG LAROSE** - MARCH 30, 2022 6:18 PM

A relief map of Louisiana sits at the center of Memorial Hall in the Louisiana State Capitol. (Greg LaRose/Louisiana Illuminator)

The shape of Louisiana's congressional districts will likely be decided in a federal court now that the Republican-led state Legislature has overridden Democratic Gov. John Bel Edwards' veto of a map that limits the state to one majority-Black district out of six in the U.S. House of Representatives.

Edwards and voters' rights groups have said a second minority district needed to be added to account for the nearly 33% of Louisiana residents who are Black. A lawsuit challenging the GOP's map in House Bill 1 was filed shortly after the veto session adjourned Wednesday afternoon.

"We have done simple math ad nauseam," Rep. Royce Duplessis, D-New Orleans, said before the House voted to override Edwards' veto. "One-third of six is two. This body continues to disregard simple math... We continue to disregard the fact that House Bill 1 is rife with politics."

Lawmakers held a special redistricting session in February to create new political maps based on the 2020 Census. Although 40% of Louisiana residents identify as minorities, all of the maps created maintained the status quo in racial representation.

A map of congressional districts in Louisiana as configured in House Bill 1.

Edwards only vetoed two identical versions of congressional map but let proposals for the state school board, Public Service Commission and the Louisiana House and Senate become law. The Legislature could not agree on a new map for the Louisiana Supreme Court, which they are not required to redistrict by law like the other political bodies.

"I'm obviously disappointed. I'm certainly not surprised," Edwards said about the veto override.

Republicans hold the majority in both chambers of the Legislature, but a supermajority of two-thirds is needed to override a veto. The GOP holds the needed 27 seats in the Senate but only has 68 in the House – two short of a supermajority.

The House override vote was 72-31. One Democrat, Rep. Francis Thompson, D-Delhi, bucked party ranks as expected and aligned with Republicans in support of the override. Joining him were the three independents in the House: Roy Daryl Adams of Jackson, Joe Marino of Gretna and Malinda White of Bogalusa.

The Senate vote was 27-11 along party lines, marking the third time in history the Legislature has overridden a gubernatorial veto since the Louisiana Constitution was ratified in 1974. The most recent occasion was in 1993 when Gov. Edwin Edwards was in office.

It took legislators just two hours to move House Bill 1 through both chambers. A second version of the congressional district map, Senate Bill 5, was shelved in favor of the House version, which Speaker Clay Schexnayder authored.

"For the first time in history, the Louisiana Legislature overrode a gubernatorial veto during a veto session. Today, the overwhelming will of the legislature was heard," Schexnayder said in a

statement. "House Bill 1 fulfills our constitutionally mandated duty to redistrict Congress. It also shows true legislative independence and a clear separation of power from the executive branch."

Edwards implied with very little subtlety that a federal court will force Louisiana to redraw its congressional map, continuing a trend of federal oversight that has been in place since the Voting Rights Act was approved in 1965. This was the first redistricting session in which the state did not have to obtain pre-clearance of its proposed maps from the U.S. Department of Justice.

Gov. John Bel Edwards is flanked by the Legislative Black Caucus at a press conference March 30, 2022, after the Louisiana Legislature's veto override session. (Piper Hutchinson/LSU Manship News Service)

"Nobody should have to have a Voting Rights Act to tell them what is right and what is fair," the governor said. "Nobody should have to have a court interpret and apply the Voting Rights Act to tell us that what we did was unfair."

Before the vote in the upper chamber, Sen. Katrina Jackson, a Black Democrat from Monroe, said minorities have had to watch over the past year as voting rights were attacked based on problems with elections that don't exist. She specifically mentioned the outcome of the 2020 presidential race, which Donald Trump has repeatedly claimed without proof that he lost as the result of voter fraud.

"Minorities in this state are not fairly represented in Congress," Jackson said. "That's the bottom line."

Sen. Jimmy Harris, D-New Orleans, questioned whether the veto session itself was legal, referring to the scheduling quagmire that prompted the Legislature to temporarily adjourn its regular session in order to convene a veto session. Democrats have argued that the Louisiana Constitution doesn't allow such a procedure.

"I do believe when history looks back at this, people will see there was an opportunity to draw a second minority district and the will of the Legislature was not there," said Harris, who is Black.

Soon after the Legislature adjourned the veto override session, a lawsuit was filed that claims the congressional map violates federal law. A statement from NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund said its complaint had been filed in federal court in Baton Rouge to stop Secretary of State Kyle Ardoin, the state's top election official, from recognizing the maps for this fall's congressional elections. Other plaintiffs include the American Civil Liberties Union, Power Coalition for Equity and Justice and five individual voters.

Democratic lawmakers and the governor repeatedly referred to the historical implications of the vote as it was perhaps the final opportunity for lawmakers to determine whether

Louisiana's minority residents are represented fairly in Congress for the next 10 years.

"I slept good last night, and I'm going to sleep good tonight," Edwards said at his press conferenced, flanked by members of the Legislative Black Caucus. "Because I know I did the right thing. And I know that I and these people here behind me are on the right side of history on this one."

When asked if he thought about how future generations might look upon his decision to support the override, Rep. Larry Bagley, a Republican from the Shreveport suburb Stonewall, said he never casts a vote based on such existential reasoning.

"The only thing I think of in every vote I make is how it's going to affect everybody in my district," Bagley said. "Every time I vote I think, 'How does this impact them? Is this what the majority of my people want?' and I do not have any trouble with my votes."

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WESLEY MULLER

Wes Muller traces his journalism roots back to 1997 when, at age 13, he built and launched a hyper-local news website for his New Orleans neighborhood. In the years since then, he has freelanced for the Times-Picayune in New Orleans and worked on staff at the Sun Herald in Biloxi, WAFB-9News CBS in Baton Rouge, and the Enterprise-Journal in McComb, Mississippi. He also taught English as an adjunct instructor at Baton Rouge Community College. Much of his journalism has involved reporting on First Amendment issues and coverage of municipal and state government. He has received recognitions including McClatchy's National President's Award, the Associated Press Freedom of Information Award, and the Daniel M. Phillips Freedom of Information Award from the Mississippi Press Association, among others. Muller is a New Orleans native, a Jesuit High School alumnus, a University of New Orleans alumnus and a veteran U.S. Army paratrooper. He lives in Ponchatoula, Louisiana, with his two sons and his wife, who is also a journalist.

MORE FROM AUTHOR

GREG LAROSE

Greg LaRose has covered news for more than 30 years in Louisiana. Before coming to the Louisiana Illuminator, he was the chief investigative reporter for WDSU-TV in New Orleans. He previously led the government and politics team for The Times-Picayune | NOLA.com, and was editor in chief at New

government and politics team for The Times-Picayune|NOLA.com, and was editor-in-chief at New Orleans CityBusiness. Greg's other career stops include Tiger Rag, South Baton Rouge Journal, the Covington News Banner, Louisiana Radio Network and multiple radio stations.

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EXHIBIT 20

JRULE 21

Joint Rule No. 21. Redistricting criteria

A. To promote the development of constitutionally and legally acceptable redistricting plans, the Legislature of Louisiana adopts the criteria contained in this Joint Rule, declaring the same to constitute minimally acceptable criteria for consideration of redistricting plans in the manner specified in this Joint Rule.

B. Each redistricting plan submitted for consideration shall comply with the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment and the Fifteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution; Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, as amended; and all other applicable federal and state laws.

C. Each redistricting plan submitted for consideration shall provide that each district within the plan is composed of contiguous geography.

D. In addition to the criteria specified in Paragraphs B, C, G, H, I, and J of this Joint Rule, the minimally acceptable criteria for consideration of a redistricting plan for the House of Representatives, Senate, Public Service Commission, and Board of Elementary and Secondary Education shall be as follows:

(1) The plan shall provide for single-member districts.

(2) The plan shall provide for districts that are substantially equal in population. Therefore, under no circumstances shall any plan be considered if the plan has an absolute deviation of population which exceeds plus or minus five percent of the ideal district population.

(3) The plan shall be a whole plan which assigns all of the geography of the state.

(4) Due consideration shall be given to traditional district alignments to the extent practicable.

E. In addition to the criteria specified in Paragraphs B, C, G, H, I, and J of this Joint Rule, the minimally acceptable criteria for consideration of a redistricting plan for Congress shall be as follows:

(1) The plan shall provide for single-member districts.

(2) The plan shall provide that each congressional district shall have a population as nearly equal to the ideal district population as practicable.

(3) The plan shall be a whole plan which assigns all of the geography of the state.

F. In addition to the criteria specified in Paragraphs B, C, G, H, I, and J of this Joint Rule, the minimally acceptable criteria for consideration of a redistricting plan for the Supreme Court shall be that the plan shall be a whole plan which assigns all of the geography of the state.

G.(1) To the extent practicable, each district within a redistricting plan submitted for consideration shall contain whole election precincts as those are represented as Voting Districts (VTDs) in the most recent Census Redistricting TIGER/Line Shapefiles for the State of Louisiana which corresponds to the P.L. 94-171 data released by the United States Bureau of the Census for the decade in which the redistricting is to occur. However, if the redistricting plan is submitted after the year in which the legislature is required by Article III, Section 6, of the Constitution of Louisiana to reapportion, then to the extent practicable, the redistricting plan submitted for consideration shall contain whole election precincts as those are represented as VTDs as validated through the data verification program of the House and Senate in the most recent Shapefiles made available on the website of the legislature.

(2) If a VTD must be divided, it shall be divided into as few districts as practicable using a visible census tabulation boundary or boundaries.

H. All redistricting plans shall respect the established boundaries of parishes, municipalities, and other political subdivisions and natural geography of this state to the extent practicable. However, this criterion is subordinate to and shall not be used to undermine the maintenance of communities of interest within the same district to the extent practicable.

I. The most recent P.L. 94-171 data released by the United States Bureau of the Census, as validated through the data verification program of the House and Senate, shall be the population data used to establish and for evaluation of proposed redistricting plans.

J. Each redistricting plan submitted to the legislature by the public for consideration shall be submitted electronically in a comma-delimited block equivalency file.

HCR 90, 2021 R.S., eff. June 11, 2021.

EXHIBIT 21

The New York Times https://www.nytimes.com/1989/02/19/us/former-leader-of-klan-narrowly-wins-contest-in-louisiana.html

Former Leader of Klan Narrowly Wins Contest in Louisiana

AP

Feb. 19, 1989

Former Leader of Klan Narrowly Wins Contest in Louisiana

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A former grand wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, narrowly defeated his opponent to win a seat today in the Louisiana Legislature after a campaign peppered with charges of racism.

The former Klan leader, David Duke, had 8,456 votes, or 51 percent, and his opponent, John Treen, a home buildier, had 8,232 votes, or 49 percent, a scant 224-vote difference. Both men ran as Republicans.

Mr. Duke, 38 years old, will represent the almost all-white House district in Metairie, a New Orleans suburb with about 21,000 voters.

Fearing a victory by Mr. Duke and an embarrassment for the Republican Party, President Bush and former President Reagan supported Treen, a longtime party functionary.

The Republican Party's Chairman, Lee Atwater, denounced Mr. Duke in a statement issued last night by Leslie Goodman, spokeswoman for the Republican National Committee.

''David Duke is not a Republican,'' Mr. Atwater said. ''We repudiate him in his views and we are taking immediate steps to see that he is disenfranchised from our party.'' Three Years Remaining

Election officials said about 78 percent of registered voters cast ballots today.

Mr. Duke won 33 percent of the vote to lead a field of seven in the Jan. 21 primary. Mr. Treen got 19 percent.

Under Louisiana's open primary system, the top two vote-getters in a primary, regardless of party, face each other in a runoff if no candidate receives more than half the vote. The seat opened when Metairie's representative was elected to a judgeship with about three years left in a four-year term.

In the 1970's, Mr. Duke was photographed in a Nazi uniform and became an international spokesman for the Klan. He maintained during the campaign that he regretted his actions of that time. Renewed Accusations

Mr. Duke left the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in 1980, accused by another leader of selling secret membership rolls. He formed the National Association for the Advancement of White People, which he says is a civil rights organization for everyone.

Duke ran for the Presidency in 1988 as a member of the Populist Party in 15 states and drew less than 0.05 percent of the national vote.

Two days before qualifying for the Louisiana House race, he registered with the Republican Party.

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Mr. Treen was state campaign chairman for Mr. Bush's 1980 Presidential campaign. His brother, David, was Louisiana Governor from 1980 to 1984.

A version of this article appears in print on , Section 1, Page 27 of the National edition with the headline: Former Leader of Klan Narrowly Wins Contest in Louisiana

EXHIBIT 22

The New York Times https://www.nytimes.com/1991/09/24/us/duke-softens-past-in-louisiana-race.html

Duke Softens Past in Louisiana Race

By Roberto Suro

Sept. 24, 1991

Minnesota City Renews Gay Rights Fight

Duke Softens Past in Louisiana Race

An ex-Klansman promises blacks his own version of 'tough love.'

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First came the warnings. State Representative David Duke told a crowd of supporters gathered in a rural meeting hall here that their way of life was threatened by racial quotas and welfare babies.

Then Mr. Duke, a 41-year-old former grand wizard of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, promised that if he was elected governor he would save Louisiana by giving poor blacks his own version of "tough love."

With a month to go before the voting in Louisiana's open primary, Mr. Duke's past has not emerged as a major issue in the campaign. Poll takers, political analysts and even aides to rival candidates agree that Mr. Duke has succeeded in presenting himself as a legitimate candidate for governor, and he is widely credited with putting his message into language that has a potentially broad appeal among white voters.

With public opinion polls showing that he has a fair chance to win a place in a runoff, Mr. Duke has become the wild card in an election that will provide this year's most prominent test of racial issues in American politics. Appeal to Racial Identity

Although much of his message is framed in terms of budget cuts and changes in the welfare system, Mr. Duke still makes a direct appeal to his supporters' racial identity.

"If you are white these days you are a second-class citizen in your own country," Mr. Duke said at his rally here on the shore of Lake Pontchartrain, drawing loud applause.

Within the next 10 days both President Bush and Vice President Dan Quayle are scheduled to campaign in Louisiana for the incumbent, Buddy Roemer. The Governor was wooed by the White House last spring when he switched parties and became the Republicans' prize catch to date in their long effort to convert Democratic officeholders in Southern states.

The other major contender for a spot in the runoff is a populist Democrat, Edwin W. Edwards, who previously won three terms as governor with strong support from black voters and is now trying to rally his party's traditional constituencies.

The operatic qualities of Louisiana politics, with larger-than-life personalities and melodramatic plots, are reinforced by the state's election laws. All candidates regardless of party affiliation appear on the same ballot in an open primary, which will be held on Oct. 19 this year. If no one wins a majority, the top two candidates will meet in a runoff on Nov. 16. 'A Very Dicey Contest'

"It is virtually a three-way race and it is certainly a very dicey contest for second place," said Edward Renwick, of the Loyola University Institute of Politics.

The race is further complicated by the candidacy of United States Representative Clyde C. Holloway, who has the endorsement of the state Republican Party. Mr. Roemer did not seek the endoresement. Nor did Mr. Duke, who calls himself a Republican even though he has been disavowed by both the state and national party organizations.

In a poll made public last week by the Loyola institute for several Louisiana television stations, Mr. Renwick found that Mr. Roemer was preferred by 26 percent of the electorate, Mr. Edwards by 25 percent, Mr. Duke by 10 percent and Mr. Holloway by 9 percent. The poll of 750 registered voters had a margin of sampling error of nearly four percent.

But taking into account what has come to be known as Mr. Duke's "hidden vote" -- people unwilling to admit their preference for him except in the privacy of the voting booth -- Mr. Renwick recalculated Mr. Duke's share at 25 percent.

This hidden vote came out massively for Mr. Duke last year in his unsuccessful effort to unseat Louisians's senior Senator, J. Bennett Johnston, a Democrat who has been an influential voice on Capitol Hill for 20 years.

Just days before the election, public opinion polls were predicting that Mr. Duke would win from 20 to 30 percent of the vote. His actual total was 44 percent, including about 58 percent of the white vote. Duke Attracts Protest Vote

Charles and Sandra Wagoner are examples of Mr. Duke's hidden vote. Mr. Wagoner is a 29-year-old economist, and Mrs. Wagoner, 30, is a paralegal. They concede they are uncomfortable with Mr. Duke's involvement with the Klan and with several of his positions on specific issues.

But they came to Mr. Duke's rally here because, as Mrs. Wagoner put it, "He strikes a very sympathetic chord in those of us who are working to death, who are taxed to death and don't see much for it."

Mr. Wagoner said, "There is a protest vote out there of people who will go for Duke in the end because even if they don't like everything he stands for, they are even more unhappy with the way things are going."

A major factor in determining the size of the hidden vote this year is Mr. Duke's apparent ability to overcome the less savory aspect of his past.

In last year's Senate race the electorate was constantly reminded of Mr. Duke's past as a Klansman and a neo-Nazi by the news media and by Senator Johnston's television advertisements. This year, for the first time in his political career, Mr. Duke's past is rarely mentioned.

For example, Mr. Duke appeared before a political science class at the University of New Orleans this week and took several hostile questions from students on issues like his proposal to give welfare mothers cash payments if they agree to be implanted with long-term contraceptives. But no student ever referred to his past.

"It's been gone over and over and now it's old news, said Alan T. Leonhard, the professor who taught the class. "People in Louisiana are used to him. The shock value has worn off."

Douglas Rose, a professor of political science at Tulane University, said: "Duke is now following a relatively well-trod Republican trail. He is saying some things we've heard from George Bush and certainly from Jesse Helms," the Republican Senator from North Carolina.

In his campaign appearances Mr. Duke bemoans excessive government spending and rising taxes. He also deplores crime, drug trafficking and the high costs of welfare. He frequently stresses the charge that affirmative action programs are unfair to whites. Drawing a Battle Line

Like other politicians who raise the same issues, Mr. Duke refrains from outright appeals to racism. But he is more explicit than others in drawing a battle line between his constituents, white voters, and his scapegoats, poor blacks, who are blamed for everything from rising crime to rising taxes.

"The rising welfare underclass is taking more and more from the working class," he says. "They are overwhelming us."

Mr. Duke was on his home ground in Covington, a community about 40 miles north of downtown New Orleans. Addressing an all-white crowd, he said, "It is time to reform the liberal welfare system because it is not helping the poor escape poverty, and it's not helping the people who are paying for it."

Then, in tones heavily laden with sympathy, he added: "We have not helped these people by giving them our money. We have not been very Christian. I want to help them." 'It's Called Tough Love'

Mr. Duke, who is divorced, compares welfare recipients to his teen-age daughters, saying it would be wrong to give them everything they want. "It's called tough love," he said.

In an interview, Mr. Duke said he has had a change of heart. "I used to blame minorities for a lot of the conditions in their communities," he said. "Now I blame the liberal social welfare system for creating those conditions, and I feel sorry for the people."

But he cautions against making too much of this change.

"I have not given up the basic conservative values I started out with," the candidate said. "I've become more moderate, but I'm not afraid to say I believe in white rights. I do say that because I believe in protecting our nation's western, Christian culture, but now I can also say I believe in black rights, in equal rights for all."

EXHIBIT 23

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NEWS

The numbers from Louisiana add up chillingly Duke's claim on white vote shows depth of discontent

By Paul West
Baltimore Sun ▪ Nov 17, 1991 at 12:00 am

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FEEDBACK

NEW ORLEANS — NEW ORLEANS -- For the first day in a month, Louisianans could breathe easily yesterday. David Duke would not be their next governor after all.

But behind the lopsided returns in Saturday's election lay a sobering fact: A majority of the state's white voters -- about 55 percent -- had cast their ballots for the former Klansman and neo-Nazi.

Despite an unprecedented and wildly successful negative ad campaign aimed at stopping him, Mr. Duke got 75,000 more votes than he received in his U.S. Senate bid last year.

Although he lost by 61 percent to 39 percent Saturday, he received a majority of the Republican vote and 40 percent of the white Democratic vote, according to a network TV exit poll.

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That so many had been willing to overlook his hate-filled past was in part a reflection of their low regard for Gov.-elect Edwin W. Edwards, who was seen as corrupt by three out of five Louisiana voters, according to polls.

But the 680,000 Duke votes were also the most chilling measure yet of the discontent raging among working-class whites.

"Perhaps the messenger was rejected in this state of Louisiana, but the message wasn't," Mr. Duke said yesterday. "The people believe in what I believe. The polls all show that."

With the presidential race about to begin in earnest, both parties are urgently trying to come to grips with the white anger and distrust that has nurtured Mr. Duke's political rise.

How Mr. Duke figures into the unfolding battle for alienated white voters is not yet clear, but he is sure to try.

His term as a state legislator expires in January, and he said yesterday that he hoped to become a national spokesman for the anti-government ideas he has been espousing in his campaigns. He also said he had not ruled out a 1992 presidential run.

On election night, Mr. Duke indicated that he might throw his support to conservative columnist Patrick J. Buchanan in New Hampshire's Republican presidential primary next February. Local Republicans believe that his first move will be a takeover of the Louisiana Republican Party organization.

Whatever tack he takes is likely to receive national attention, to the considerable displeasure of the man who defeated him.

"Looky here, enough is enough," Mr. Edwards said yesterday after being informed by one of the TV networks that it was more interested in having Mr. Duke on its Sunday talk show. "Look, I'm the guy who got elected," he protested.

Yesterday, Mr. Edwards and other politicians in both parties were attempting to write Mr. Duke's political obituary.

But at the same time they scrambled to convey to Duke voters that they understood their concerns.

Vice President Dan Quayle noted that Mr. Duke's agenda of "anti-big government, get-out-of-my-pocketbook, cut my taxes, put welfare people back to work [is] a very popular message."

But Mr. Quayle said on ABC that Mr. Duke has been "thoroughly defeated" because the people of Louisiana have "seen through" him.

Sen. John B. Breaux, D-La., warned that Duke-like candidates would emerge "in every other state unless politicians and elected officials offer programs to respond to the concerns that he's raising."

Mr. Breaux heads the Democratic Leadership Council, a centrist group that wants to lure working-class whites back to the Democratic Party with ideas that address their frustrations.

"Middle-class Americans . . . think government doesn't serve their needs. They're concerned about government programs that spend more than we can afford, and they want somebody to address it," the senator said. "David Duke has raised some important questions."

Mr. Edwards tried to reassure white Louisianans that he, too, had heard their cry, while also criticizing the racial scapegoating at the heart of the Duke message.

"America needs to be on guard," the governor-elect said at a news conference.

FEEDBACK

"Unfortunately, when times are bad, it is possible for people to prey upon the fears and frustration and anger of some. . . . Our solutions do not lie in making things worse for those who are already in bad shape. Our solutions lie in making things better for everybody."

Mr. Duke's candidacy has embarrassed President Bush and the Republicans and raised the specter of a third-party challenge by Mr. Duke that could hurt the president's re-election chances, analysts say.

Mr. Edwards suggested in his post-election session with reporters that Mr. Duke may have unwittingly forced the GOP to end its successful use of racially polarizing issues.

In recent decades, Republican presidential candidates have switched millions of white voters to the GOP, particularly in the South, at least in part by stressing quotas, school busing, crime and other issues that subtly play on racial fears. Mr. Duke has linked these issues explicitly to racism in the minds of many Americans, including some Republicans.

"The Ronald Reagans and the George Bushes, [who] set the stage for this, in a more subtle, a more distinguished way, realize the error they have made," said Mr. Edwards. "I think the days of Willie Horton are behind us. Hopefully, the nation has learned that."

Vote breakdown

According to voter surveys conducted by Voter Research and Surveys, these are some of the patterns in Saturday's election:

Edwin W. Edwards

* Received 75 percent of the votes of those who voted in the primary for Republican Gov. Charles E. "Buddy" Roemer III.

* Received 51 percent of the votes of whites with family incomes from $50,000 to $74,999 and 66 percent of those with incomes $75,000 and over.

* Received 63 percent of women's votes and 59 percent of men's.

David E. Duke

* Received 56 percent of the vote of whites with family incomes under $15,000, 63 percent of those making from $15,000 to $29,999, and 60 percent of those making from $30,000 to $49,999.

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EXHIBIT 24

2022 ELECTIONS

Date of Election	January 15	March 26	April 30	November 8	December 10
Type of Election	Special General-Catahoula Police Juror, Dist. 3	Municipal Primary	Municipal General	Open Primary/ Congressional	Open General/ Congressional
Deadline: Specials	n/a	12/29/2021	n/a	6/22/2022	n/a
Deadline: Propositions	n/a	12/29/2021	3/7/2022	6/22/2022	10/17/2022
Qualifying Dates	n/a	1/26/2022 – 1/28/2022	n/a	7/20/2022 – 7/22/2022	n/a
In Person/By Mail Registration Deadline	12/15/2021	2/23/2022	3/30/2022	10/11/2022*	11/9/2022
Geaux Vote Online Registration Deadline	12/25/2021	3/5/2022	4/9/2022	10/18/2022	11/19/2022
Deadline to Request a Mail Ballot from Registrar (other than Military and Overseas)	1/11/2022	3/22/2022	4/26/2022	11/4/2022	12/6/2022
Deadline for Registrar to Receive Voted Mail Ballot (other than Military and Overseas)	1/14/2022	3/25/2022	4/29/2022	11/7/2022	12/9/2022
Early Voting Begins	➢ 1/3/2022	3/12/2022	4/16/2022	10/25/2022	11/26/2022
Early Voting Ends	1/8/2022	3/19/2022	4/23/2022	11/1/2022	12/3/2022

IMPORTANT NOTES

* Deadline advanced one day due to Columbus Day (Mail) Holiday.
➢ Early Voting adjusted due to New Year's Eve/New Year's Day Holiday.

DATES ARE SUBJECT TO CHANGE BY THE LEGISLATURE

Revised 12/2021

EXHIBIT 25

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Convened on Monday, March 14, 2022 - Final Adjournment no later than 6:00 pm on Monday, June 6, 2022

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