

McNally:

Hello, I'm Terrence McNally welcome to FREE FORUM: A WORLD THAT JUST MIGHT WORK. I'll be speaking today with LAUREN WINDSOR, executive producer of *The Undercurrent*, executive director of American Family Voices. We're talking today about her new documentary, *Gonzo for Democracy*. You can learn more at [laurenwindsor.com](http://laurenwindsor.com).

On Free Forum we explore the lives, the work and ideas of individuals I suspect have pieces of the puzzle of a world that just might work. We look at politics, economics, environment science, health culture, all based on the fact that I believe we can do better and I want to find out how.

The show streams weekly on the Progressive Voices Network on TuneIn. Podcasts are available anytime anywhere on Apple Podcasts, Spotify, most major podcast sites and at my site, [terrencemcnally.net](http://terrencemcnally.net).

Back in 2012, the days of Occupy camps across the country, I met a young woman who didn't seem to fit the expected stereotype of an Occupy protester. I'll let her tell us how she ended up there. We ran into each other now and then over the next year or two until she moved to the East Coast. And a while later, I began to see video reports of her catching politicians on the go with impromptu questions... those scenes of people running up and down Senate hallways and that sort of thing. And then a bit later, new videos emerged where the subjects were caught unaware and blurted out things that you and I weren't supposed to hear.

That woman is Lauren Windsor, and she's just produced a documentary *Gonzo for Democracy* that includes a number of her undercover scoops, but embeds them in a larger tale of the moment - of the millions of Americans who feel left out, down and out or worse and the politicians and political operatives who manipulate their feelings of loss and grievance in order to enact their right wing agendas.

And I believe the film tells three, maybe four stories: the story of Lauren - who she is, why she does what she does; the story of her scoops - who she's caught, what they've admitted; the story of their Christian nationalist white supremacist anti-democratic minority rule agendas, and finally, the story of what to do to fight back.

Lauren Windsor is the executive producer of *The Undercurrent* and *Project Veritas Exposed*; the executive director of American Family Voices; and a partner in Democracy Partners and Mike Lux Media. In the 2020 cycle, she was the deputy communications director for the Tom Steyer presidential campaign, and, as I said, we're focusing on her new documentary, *Gonzo for Democracy*.

Welcome, LAUREN WINDSOR to FREE FORUM: A WORLD THAT JUST MIGHT WORK.

Windsor:

Thanks for having me, Terrance.

McNally:

Let me tell listeners, we're recording Wednesday, October 23rd, and as I almost always say at the start of these conversations, I like listeners to get a feel for the people behind the work and the ideas that we talk about. And so can you tell us in your words how you see your path to the work you do today? Now, usually I say feel free to go way back, mentors, turning points, moments of decision. And in this case, since I feel this is kind of the first story of this... How did you end up doing what you're doing? Where did you come from? Who is this person?

Windsor:

So I guess we could go all the way back to high school and college. I always cared about politics. And when it came time to decide where to go for school, my initial major was in political science, but it was always between politics and fashion design, and after a year in University of Tennessee, Knoxville, I was really just miserable and had the itch to go to New York. And so I pursued fashion design for several years.

And there were a couple of major, I think, turning points in my life. I witnessed 9/11 from Ground Zero. I moved back to Nashville where I grew up and finished my degree in business. And then I moved out to the West Coast to still pursue fashion design and ended up being there for the ground zero really of the subprime mortgage collapse.

My then boyfriend... his business was doing telemarketing for subprime mortgage companies. So we felt it before anybody else did, and it was really brutal. We ended up breaking up. He ended up moving home to regroup, and it was a struggle.

So by the time Occupy rolled around in 2011, it was the movement I'd been waiting my entire life for. And I really felt compelled at that point from my lived experience that I needed to get involved in the political process. And so I became a protest junkie. I was traveling around the country.

I had been a writer. I already had a blog called Lady Libertine. I had an apartment in downtown Los Angeles, and I would walk down to the Occupy encampment and I just offered my services as a writer and graphic designer to the media team. I remember one day somebody pressing a camera in my hand and just being like, "Oh, well just go film the action and somebody else will edit it." And that's not really how it works. No one's going to just edit your footage. So I became a self-taught videographer and traveled around the country documenting protests.

I eventually pitched a web show to the Young Turks and launched it there with them called The Undercurrent, which I still do today. But the very first episode that we did was the one-year anniversary of Occupy Wall Street in New York.

And then from that, a lot of the early interviews were doing interviews with advocates, other activists, but also politicians. But I realized quickly the way that I could differentiate myself from other people who were launching web shows was, I'm going to get on the record interviews with elected officials.

I think my first real politician interview was with Maxine Waters and Jimmy Hoffa Jr. So this was at a rally in, I forget what area of Los Angeles, but I think it was in Congresswoman Waters district. But anyway, the union was, I think, striking at the time. And so Hoffa was there and had appeared with waters. And so I was able to talk to both of them about what they were there to be organizing against.

That early sort of experience, like second episode in, I felt really good about that.

I was trying to produce a show where I had a good mix of people to talk to because just interviewing random activists, man-on-the-street kind of stuff, I think some people do really well, but for me, I just found that people weren't really interested in that. People are interested in it, I think, if you're a comedian and you have a comedic take, but as a straight news thing, it was just not something that for me, was that compelling.

McNally:

I got it.

Windsor:

So I wanted to talk to newsmakers and break news. Can I get them to give me an answer to something that isn't out there? And so I really was trying to hone questions and get into the crux of issues to keep them from dodging questions, really pin them down. For the most part, I mean, it was straight bird dogging.

When I moved to DC, I still continued to do the show and it was pretty straightforward. People knew I had a camera, I had a mic, and I was still breaking news that way though.

The first week I was in DC I had a clip with Louis Gohmert where, this is going to sound really quaint now, but at the time it was a big deal.

McNally:

Understood.

Windsor:

I remember just being in sort of grassroots circles on both the Left and the Right, because you remember that at the time, the Tea Party activists were really the right wing side of Occupy. There was a lot of overlap. There was some convergence with

the two movements.

But anyway, I got Gohmert to talk about - it was something about Obama, and he said that President Obama should be impeached for it. And I think it was something about immigration, I want to say...

And I remember talking to my then boss but now business partner, Mike, and as soon as I said the word impeached, he said, "What? He said he should be impeached? That's a big deal." And so we cut the video and we ended up getting it placed on M-S-N-B-C. So it was newsworthy enough that Ed Schultz had it on his show.

McNally:

This is heady stuff for someone that a few months ago was just learning how to do this.

Windsor:

Well, yeah, this is early in my career. And so I was like, okay, yeah, I'm already getting hits on M-S-N-B-C. This is a big deal.

Within my first year in DC, I had a source materialize that gave me several hours of audio from a Koch brothers retreat. And so I went out to the retreat. I wasn't able to get in during the actual operating...but I was undercover quote-unquote directly before the event.

So that was one of the biggest stories of that particular news cycle, because we had audio on Mitch McConnell and this crazy speech that he gave on campaign finance reform.

He said that McCain-Feingold was the worst day of his political career. And you need to keep in mind that this is a man who'd been the Senate for even at that time, I think it was 30 years and had been through the 2008 financial crisis, had been through 9/11, the Iraq War, all of this stuff - and the passage of an obscure campaign finance bill was what he was telling these billionaire donors was the worst day of his political life.

I wrote that story for *The Nation*, and we had partnered with them on the exclusive for the audio. And the way that I wrote that saying basically what I just said, ended up in a speech that Bill Clinton gave at the Harkin Steak Fry that year. So that was insane.

Undercover was something that I really only reserved for if I couldn't do it any other way - like for ALEC conferences, American Legislative Exchange Council. Otherwise, I'd just show up at events with a camera and try to talk to people.

I'm aggressive, and I just will show up and get into the press scrum and fight for my questions. I will go toe to toe with anyone.

2020. We're at the height of the pandemic, and I just returned from a hiatus. I had taken a break to work on a presidential campaign, Tom Steyer's out in San Francisco.

I get back. Biden wins the election, but it's clear there's going to be this historic Senate runoff, and it was clear that Trump was not going to concede the election. It was just going to be a dog fight.

I knew when they said that there was going to be this historic thing in Georgia, I was like, I need to be there, I want to be in all to action. I want to report on this and do whatever I can to expose what they're doing.

And sure enough, got down there and was able to break the news that Tommy Tuberville, who was a then Senator-elect, that he wanted to challenge the Electoral College. The reason this was a big deal was because at the time, conventional wisdom was, this is a crazy thing going on over in the House led by Freedom Caucus member Mo Brooks. It's not going to go anywhere. Everyone just dismissed it out of hand. But I'm hearing all of these surrogates.

You've got to keep in mind that all of Trump's minions descended on Georgia to stump all over the state for Kelly Loeffler and David Perdue. And so I'm seeing all these people out on the campaign trail and they're like, "You got to keep fighting for President Trump."

(This is in December. This is nuts. This is nuts. This is well after the election, several weeks. He is lodging all of these lawsuits, contesting everything everywhere. And in Georgia, they're saying, "We still have tricks up our sleeve. We still have cards to play.")

And I remember being at this one event with Madison Cawthorne, Byron Donalds and Tommy Tuberville, and Madison was on stage saying, "We still have tricks up our sleeve." And Tommy Tuberville gets on stage, "Y'all keep fighting for President Trump. Don't give up now. Don't give up on him." And so when he comes down, I'm like, "Senator, what can you do?"

I'm chasing him out the door. And I had a mask on at the time. Everyone...

McNally:

Everyone did...

Windsor:

Well, you'd think everyone did... This is Atlanta, Georgia. So not everyone did. I stuck out a little bit, and he almost didn't talk to me.

He was like, "You're going to have to take that off." And as soon as I took it off, he was smiling at me, and like "Okay, hey..."

But I was like, "What are you going to do to fight for President Trump?"

"Well, you see what they're doing over in the House, we're going to have to do it in the Senate too."

So it made huge news. It was all over CNN and MSNBC, local news. And a couple of days later, I talked to David Perdue, and asked him the same question.

"What are you going to do to fight for President Trump? Are you going to challenge the Electoral College like Tommy Tuberville?" And he was like, "Yes, ma'am, I am."

I didn't have the audio on that because my camera malfunctioned unfortunately. I had gotten a picture with him in the ?? line, and so I contacted a couple of reporters and I'm like, "Oh my God, he told me this. I totally got the story, but I don't have it because they don't have the audio. I don't have the video."

And they're like, "Well, you can report it out as that's what he told you, give as much proof as you have. If that's what he said, you can say it." And so I was like, "Yeah, you're right." And so I posted the photo of me with him and said what he told me, and Trump tweeted out both stories.

McNally:

Right? Rather than contesting it, they actually go, great, let's get this out there. And let me just say one thing, listeners, as you heard her slip a little bit more into her southern drawl... What we haven't quite said yet, Lauren, is that when you are confronting folks, in this case, Tuberville and Perdue and so on, you give them clear indications that you are on their side and that you need encouragement from them about the fight you're in with them together. Your goal is to have them assume you are one of them, and that seems to help open up the floodgates.

Windsor:

Yeah, the whole thing is employing a bit of psychology. You're wanting to really impart to someone, "I am with you. We are on the same side. You can trust me."

Going into it, I wasn't like, you know what? I bet if I thrust a camera and a microphone in someone's face, they're going to tell me all about how they plan to overturn the election.

McNally:

Right....

Windsor:

To do it from a straight reporting standpoint, to me... We had a limited amount of time. The stakes were very high, and I felt like preserving democracy was worth it and it worked. It's amazing what people will tell you when they don't think they're on camera.

McNally:

Originally, when you're bird dogging, it's very obvious you have a camera and a mic. Now that you're undercover, which begins there and continues up to the present, you have a hidden camera and mic, correct?

Windsor:

Yes.

McNally:

Where does it fit? How big is it just so people can get kind of a sense of...

Windsor:

I employ a variety of techniques. I will decline to go into it in depth, but I've used a variety of types of hidden cameras.

McNally:

So that's the 2020 situation in which you are one of the people who gets behind enemy lines as you will, and finds senators who are going to take this to the next step. You continue in this mode during the Biden administration, and now I'd say your biggest scoops have been - and this is just my take - with the Supreme Court Justice Alito and his wife, and then with people who are planning for Insurrection or January 6th point 2, like Roger Stone. The documentary is so hot off the editing bay that these are in it.

Windsor:

Yes. That's made this entire process very challenging.

McNally :

Sure. A moving target...

Windsor:

Producing something, you're building the plane as you fly it. It's like, "Okay, we've got to continue to report, but we're making a movie, so the script is going to change, but we can't really make the movie if we don't have the fundraising, and we can't really get the fundraising in without getting the scoops..."

So then we have to use some of the scoops, but then we've lost those, but then we

need new ones so that when we put the movie out, there's something new and fresh and exciting that people can be like, "Oh wow."

McNally:

Right. Something beyond, there's a new documentary out. It's like the Roger Stone scoop from a week and a half ago, and then that will be in this new movie. You need the scoop to get people to want to read about the movie.

Windsor:

Well, the whole thing was, it's a media narrative project, so it's like, can we report and break scoops? Oh, by the way, we can deliver a comprehensive sort of narrative about the entire body of work in a separate vehicle of the documentary?

McNally:

And also, as I said, about the context in which this work is happening, both the context among the American people, the context among the American Right, etc.

Windsor:

I think you're exactly right. The biggest story for sure was the Alito story. Prior to that, it had been John Eastman, the coup attorney who devised the fake elector scheme.

The Alito story took two years. The first event that I went to was in June of 2023, and that was spurred on by this ProPublica reporting on Clarence Thomas. I had known that he attended this Supreme Court Historical Society event. I had read about the event in a *New York Times* article about this anti-abortion activist who used the Historical Society to lobby the justices. And I remember reading it and just being like, "Oh, liberals should do that. We should be lobbying Supreme Court justices in that way."

And I just thought that would be a really good opportunity at some point to try to talk to justices. And once the Clarence Thomas stuff happened with ProPublica, it was like, "Oh, well, I should see if I can go talk to him. What will he say if I ask him some pointed questions?"

McNally:

...in what he considers a friendly environment.

Windsor:

Yeah, I mean, you've got to consider that this is the cocoon of the court because when we say the Supreme Court Historical Society Dinner, the gala, it's not some separate building. It's actually held in the court, in this grand hall in front of the chambers. So this is their home. There's security that you have to go through to get in. And it wasn't the inner sanctum of the Court itself...



McNally:

But it was the outer sanctum.

Windsor:

Yeah, it was the outer sanctum for sure. And I think that first year there were more Justices in attendance. In 2024, there were only three.

It was pretty wild that first year, seeing so many of them, meeting them in the wild, it felt like. It was almost on Juris Prudential Safari or something...You turn and “Oh, oh my God, there's Brett Kavanaugh.” That's insane. “Oh my God. There's Amy Coney Barrett.”

The guidelines they issue for the event from the Society say that you're not to engage the justices in any political conversation. You can't engage them in anything that's a case before the court. So it was really hard to know what the lines were to not cross. You could be kicked out, asked to leave the event or be thrown out of this Society entirely. So that first year I was really finding my bearings. I talked to Alito and we had a conversation about the polarization in this country. I was able to push it a little bit further and ask him about the leaker for Dobbs.

I made it very clear that I was an observant Catholic and appreciated his work on Dobbs so much and “Were you able to find the leaker?” “No.” It was interesting, but it wasn't newsworthy.

I didn't want to burn that bridge, and so I waited to go this year, and in that time, Alito faced so much more harsh scrutiny. It just so happened to be very serendipitous from a news perspective that it was a couple of weeks before the gala that Alito and his wife were in this firestorm over political flags that they'd flown at their house and their vacation house. So one of the factors that really drove the Alito story was that I was able to talk to his wife, Martha Ann ([29:12](#)) for an extended amount of time,

McNally:

Yes...

Windsor:

...and she said some very unguarded things, very colorful. Without having talked to her, the story would not have been as big as it was.

I did talk to Justice John Roberts too, and the way that I packaged the story was to really present what Alito said in contrast to what Justice Roberts said. And that really, I think helped to tamp down.... I still faced a huge amount of criticism for this, don't get me wrong. There were pearl-clutchers being like, “This is such a huge offense against journalism... against the court...”

And there were a lot of people that defended me who said, “No, this was absolutely necessary, given everything that’s gone on with the court and this shroud of secrecy...” But being able to juxtapose the extremity of what Alito said with a much more proper response from Chief Justice Roberts was key to the success of that story.

McNally:

I agree. I agree, by the way. And let me just reemphasize what she's saying. She interviews both of them. She asks about similar turf, and Roberts gives the, if you will, prescribed answers. He is not willing to talk about anything political. He's very bureaucratic in what he says and so on. So then the contrast with Alito, who can't control his passions to the same extent that John Roberts can, do you agree?

Windsor:

Yes.

McNally:

Yeah. But it helped journalistically. It helps your story a great deal.

Windsor:

Because I know the criticism that I will face of, “Oh, you're just the Left-wing James O’Keefe. I’m not. James O’Keefe didn't invent undercover journalism. I have to say this over and over to people because...

McNally:

...so for folks who don't remember James O’Keefe... James O’Keefe’s Project Veritas...disguises, carefully edited videos, and so on.

Windsor:

Yes, and I actually have history with him. You mentioned Project Veritas Exposed. He infiltrated my office in 2016. We sued in 2017 and won, I guess it was in 2022 now. It’s forever ago. We still haven’t gotten the money that we were awarded, but I think we were successful on a number of fronts, given that we won the case and Project Veritas basically no longer exists.

McNally:

That's right.

Windsor:

O’Keefe was forced out.

I don't want to make this a story about O’Keefe, but to say that I hear this criticism all the time, and I definitely go out of my way to be as forthcoming with context to these

conversations as possible with minimal edits. I might cut off the front or the end if the conversation isn't relevant or it's obscuring details of someone who should be undercover, like personal detail. But for the most part, I try to really present the entirety of an interaction from beginning to end.

It's harder when you have a longer interaction, right... If I talk to somebody for 10 minutes, 20 minutes, you're not going to post a 20-minute video. There's a lot of stuff that people just aren't going to be interested in, so you cut to the relevant portion. Whatever I'm presenting, my number one goal is to not have any internal cuts in whatever the clip is.

McNally:

So that what people see shows, here's the question, here's the answer, rather than what Project Veritas did, which was chop and cherry-pick, and basically create an event rather than record an event.

Windsor:

Yeah...And there's times that things aren't newsworthy, and I'm not going to stick words in somebody's mouth, say, it doesn't do me any good to portray something in a false light. It would only destroy my credibility. So to the degree I can be as honest and as forthcoming as possible, that's what I really strive for. I'm not going to be deceptive.

What I'm doing here, I'm trying to get people on the record about what their motives are, because as a public servant, I think that that accountability is owed to the public. So the big difference between me and James O'Keefe is I'm going after actual office holders and people who are public servants, whereas the majority of the time you see his, and it's in mid-level managers and staffers.

McNally:

Yeah...yeah...

Windsor:

I talked to Justice Alito. Roger Stone is not a public servant, but he is...

McNally:

...a public figure for sure.

Windsor:

Yeah, a hugely public figure who has the ear of the president.

When determining who to try to talk to, to go undercover with, I definitely try to think about it in terms of, "Is this in the public interest?" I wouldn't want to try to destroy somebody's life, which is what a lot of people of that ilk have done to people on the Left. It's been devastating for a lot of people. When I was producing that website [Project Veritas Exposed] in the heyday of it, I did a lot of victim outreach, and it was really depressing and very sad to talk to people whose lives had been upended by Project Veritas. Being stung by Project Veritas destroyed their lives. I don't think that my undercover work has destroyed anyone's life *per se*. It has brought accountability to people's lives, I think...

McNally:

Or at least the possibility of accountability...

Windsor:

Well, John Eastman, for example, is facing disbarment. So He's been recommended to be disbarred. He is suspended. And I've heard from many people who've said, "I don't think that that would've happened without your reporting."

A lot of the reason why I have gone after attorneys in this journey, this Gonzo journey, was politicians have a different slipperiness about them to be able to evade accountability, right? Because as long as they get elected and as long as they can spin it, so long as what they did wasn't illegal, it's just a lot harder to hold them accountable.

Like someone like Ted Cruz, for example... Will he be held accountable in this run this year? We'll see if Colin Allred is able to capitalize on Ted Cruz's role. I did a lot of reporting on Cruz to show his role in January 6<sup>th</sup>, but with lawyers, they have a professional code of ethics, and with the professional code of ethics, being able to expose any sort of crimes they've taken part in, it is easier to hold them to account, obviously, because **they're** the law is a totally different standard than a political standard.

McNally:

Right...right... In other words, the politician, as long as he can get a majority of the votes of the public, who is less informed, he survives. A lawyer has a profession to deal with - until they get to the Supreme Court.

Windsor:

I didn't go undercover with Rudy. That was a straight bird dog. So I talked to him in Atlanta in the state capitol when he was presenting to the election committee, when they were contesting the vote in Atlanta. I think it was December 5th I want to say. I talked to him there and asked him if he had asked President Trump for a pardon, and have you committed any crimes that you would need a pardon for? "Of course not. That's an insulting question."

But I staked out his apartment when I was starting the documentary. I did a workshop with New York Film Academy last summer, so August of 2023, and produced a mini documentary that really served as a basis for this called *Rudy and Me* playing off of the classic documentary *Roger and Me*.

I broke a big story with Rudy at the end of his... Actually, I talked to him when the verdict came down on his defamation case. I basically owned him. As soon as he stepped away from the press conference he was giving, I was in the scrum and had him the entire time, walking to his car, and I asked him, "Was it worth it? Why did you risk... You're America's mayor. Why'd you risk it all for Donald Trump? What did Donald Trump do for you? And we got it on Joy Reid. So it was on MSNBC.

McNally:

Your film lays out the context in which these battles are taking place and the agendas of what I call Christian nationalist, white supremacist, anti-democratic minority rule folks. But anybody who listens to this podcast has heard that many times.

Instead, let me ask you kind of a final question, which is - Your scoops, as you said, you might record for 10 minutes, you might record for five minutes, sometimes two or three minutes. That's what the public ends up seeing. But you have spent weekends in far-right gatherings, whole days in far-right gatherings, and so on. Talk just a little bit about that experience. And my guess is during that experience, even though you're not scooping someone undercover at that point, you basically stay within your role, I would imagine, of a fellow traveler. So what has that been like for you and what have you learned?

Windsor:

I grew up in the South in a really mostly conservative state. I grew up in Nashville, which was a more progressive city. I remember having a Democratic mayor when I was, I guess in middle school or high school. So it wasn't totally red, but it was red enough. Very politically conservative, religious conservative, and they're not foreign waters for me to swim in by any means. but

I'm someone who, though I grew up in the South, very quickly realized that I wanted to live in New York and live in Los Angeles, live in a big city. It's not my environment. I'm agnostic. I am a liberal. I definitely... California is much more my philosophical spiritual home. So when I'm swimming in those waters, it's not entirely comfortable, but it's familiar... because I grew up in that. And I go back to see family and friends, and I know a lot of people, family and friends, who are Trump supporters, so I know how to talk to them. I know how they talk about things. It's not hard to play as one of them. It's a familiar role. I just think about what my friends or family who support Trump or support Republicans, how they would approach something and just take on that persona.

McNally:

I can imagine that, yeah, basically you can be successfully undercover being your cousin or something, right? Basically. You know what I'm saying?

Windsor:

I mean, it's kind of like an amalgam of different things. People that I grew up with,...It's not one individual...

McNally:

I grew up in the South myself, left north to college, and...

Windsor:

Whereabouts?

McNally:

In Florida, which at that point wasn't Alabama, but it might've been Nashville. I was in Jacksonville for five years, which is just a few miles from the Georgia border, and I went away to college and then moved to California, and I've gone back many times. My family moved to Atlanta in 1970, so basically when I go home to family, it's to Atlanta. So I understand what you're saying when I am thinking about the Right, I remember sometimes just the kind of conversations me and my high school buddies would have.

Okay. I'm, I'm going to bring it to a close.

Again, the new documentary is Gonzo for Democracy. The websites [laurenwindsor.com](http://laurenwindsor.com), [theundercurrent.tv](http://theundercurrent.tv), and the undercurrent channel on YouTube where you can watch the trailer for Gonzo for Democracy right now, and where the full film will be streaming for free later this week.

For this conversation and many other interviews and articles, to join me in pursuit of a world that just might work, go to [terrencemcnally.net](http://terrencemcnally.net) or [aworldthatjustmightwork.com](http://aworldthatjustmightwork.com). They're the same website.

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and most of all you, my listeners. Please share this podcast widely. And finally, thank you, Lauren Windsor, and keep up your good work.

Windsor:

Thank you so much, Terrance.

McNally:

Okay, great talking to you.

Windsor:

Likewise.