

Ed King: Notes--11/14/94 Separate But Equal Elections  
 Box 55673 /Jackson, MS 39296  
 601 366-5829

(MAPS at back)

Elections 1994/ Black Quotas: Separatism; Gerrymander; Control

Issue: My concern is not with general election results in this 1994 GOP landslide, attributable to many factors from Clinton to anxiety about the economy, crime, the decline in traditional values, etc., but in the possible effects of: Black separatism, white power and control, and bipartisan creation and support for safe Black democratic districts. What are some of the results:

I. Positive:

A. Some blacks do get elected and this is rare without easy districts. But I wonder if such elections from safe districts are not the easy way out, the short term victory of visible black faces in exchange for long term growth in power and visibility. The present plan of safe gerrymandered "reserved" black electoral districts means black candidates do not have to face the hard task of winning white votes and of building interracial progressive political coalitions. However, each year seems to bring blacks elected from somewhere with some white support. But this year some of those black winners are Republicans.

B. So this is some power:

1. "Black" votes on major issues (but more than offset by lost votes of increased conservatives on all national issues.)
2. Cheap payoff of local patronage, a lot of money and jobs for a few blacks, but could be and may actually be easily offset by another kind of "black power," that of being a key portion of the vote in any district so any elected official (and candidate), black or white, will have to have some black jobs, some liaison, small portion of the patronage.

C. Some black "role-models," for what that is worth.

II. Negative:

A. Black vote is controlled, predicted, managed by white power at a very cheap price.

1. Black Democrats beg, demand, or just take for granted they can get one or two seats, but "Reserved Seats," plan is now so taken for granted, even in interpretation of laws that districts must be drawn for deliberate election of blacks--not that the black vote shall be heard and powerful, but only visible, predictable, manageable.
2. It is easy to know how blacks elected from safe districts will vote. They do not have to take radical or extreme or even left leaning stands on social

issues to keep the vote of their constituency; reelection almost automatic. Black officials can be brought in to line by Democratic Party as the base block on party issues, and of little influence for truly progressive issues.

B. The GOP joins Democratic Party at national level, in Justice Department, in the Federal Courts, and in local state parties to appease the blacks at a cheap price: visibility instead of the potential power and influence. Net result of extreme gerrymandering to create "safe" black districts is net loss of progressive votes on issues of education, health care, peace, welfare, etc. that would benefit most Americans, black and white. By allowing blacks the phoney power of visibility, the real conservative power is increased where it matters--taxes, governmental programs and expenditures, etc. With the black separatists and with other black leaders calling for safe districts there should be surprise that either national party so easily supported the demand, but especially when George Bush and Republican Justice Department and Republicans in local state legislatures all across nation supported redistricting, not just to create black districts but:

1. to create "super safe" black districts by adding black progressive voters from bipartisan districts where candidates of both parties had to pay attention to black voters;
2. to create "super safe" conservative white districts, especially Republican districts, (for example Georgia where Newt Gingrich in old districting in 1990 was almost defeated, but in his new district in 1994 he wins easily with 65+ %.

Net result of 1990 gerrymandering in 1992 elections in South was to increase the number of blacks in Congress AND to increase Republicans in even greater numbers; thus actual number of progressive votes from South on any issue in Congress was lowered, just on party identifications; but some political science students ought to do a study to see if a likely result was also increased conservative voting (opposite of what the black congress persons voted) by white Democrats who no longer had a large enough group of black voters in their districts to bother with. Concentrating the black vote in heavily black districts thus lowers the numbers of blacks in other districts and, overall, **REDUCES THE INFLUENCE OF THE BLACK VOTE, REDUCES TRUE BLACK POWER IN EXCHANGE FOR CHEAP VISIBILITY.**

Net result of 1990 gerrymandering continues in 1994 elections in the South with major influence, usually the decisive influence, on election this time of ZERO new blacks but 16 new white Republicans (in the 11 old CSA states, based on still incomplete returns, Nov. 14, 1994, some still being recounted). Probably at least 8 or more of these new white conservative seats are a result of the Black Power guaranteed by the extreme gerrymandering into safe districts. Some of the new conservatives are, of course, just part of the national trend--but even there, these new conservatives, if they had more black voters in their districts, might not be so conservative on every issue. In 1992 gerrymandering produced 12 safe black districts to join 5 existing (Atlanta; Memphis; Houston; the Delta; New Orleans) for a total of 17 black districts

in South. In 1992 GOP added 11 seats; in 1994 GOP added 16, for present total since redistricting of 12 new blacks and 27 new GOP. Likely next results of redistricting in 1996 will be about 7 or 8 more GOP districts and about 3 or 4 others; total of 36 to 40 more GOP for 12 more black Dems. New safe black districts are a major direct factor in at least 16 and likely up to 24 of these conservative GOP gains, as well as redistricting helping "save" at least two Republicans. And other white Democrats may vote more conservative.

C. Another awful and very measurable and consistently present result is the lowered black turn out. The black vote is bought but when will other Democrats say that blacks are not worth the price? The price seemingly being, "We, the whites in power, will give you what you ask, safe black seats, in return for: (1) voting with us on what matters to us in Congress, or State Legislature; and (2) the other part of the deal, which blacks do not deliver, black votes for their white Democratic partners in statewide elections. From Texas to Maryland in the South the black voter turnout in safe districts is terrible and cheats the statewide Democratic candidates of at least 50,000 votes per congressional district of a moderate turnout, actually cheats a statewide (or citywide or county wide) of 85,000-100,000 votes per district. Nationally there are about 40 safe black districts. If only 30 of those fail to deliver the minimum, 50,000, that is 1,500,000 lost progressive votes; throw in something substantial for the other ten safe districts and you have a loss of almost 2 million votes, enough to change a national presidential election, and far more than enough to change any statewide election. So Democrats can (and will) see and count the price: e.g., lost Governors and Senators. If blacks and Hispanics voted at higher levels they could save statewide liberals and progressives. Perhaps that does not matter to black separatists and black nationalists, satisfied with the crumbs they get for the black people, but telling the black voters to enjoy the glow of the glory of black elected officials.

There is no need for a black sheriff to register (much less educate and organize) most black voters if a black will be elected no matter what the turnout. But county lines are pretty old and not quite set up for that purpose. But supervisor districts, city election districts, and now congressional and state legislative districts are created to guarantee safe black elected officials. The elected official's job and glory and patronage is guaranteed, without the hard work of getting out a larger black vote, which could help a progressive candidate for governor, senator, judgeship, etc. The black official in a safe district also does not have to listen to white voters; white officials from safe GOP districts do not have to listen to black voters.

### III. Who pays the price:

- A. The American people as separatism is promoted and no efforts at ending prejudice.
- B. The black people who do not get positive results of progressive legislation, defeated because of lack of coalition support, etc.
- C. The working class and middle class whites who have traditionally been part of progressive alliances and the Democratic Party. Particular losers are those in organized Labor,

who see their white members of Congress or potential members dumped in favor of blacks from safe districts to represent only blacks, and country club whites from new districts to represent white elites. The always feared coalition of black and white working and middle class persons which could so shake up this American System ("turn it upside down," as Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer and other wise people have said) is thus prevented. We used to think this powerful coalition was prevented by denial of the right to vote to blacks. Why should we think that powerful interests in this country who have always used racism to divide people and promote selfish interests, should not be "modern" and sophisticated enough to give black voters a few pennies, a few crumbs from the table, if it appeases the new black voting blocs, produces "safe" black leaders as well as "safe" black districts, gerrymandered districts that are "safe" for black politicians and "safe" for the white rulers who can tolerate this limited amount of "black power?"

IV. N.B., This matter of safe racial districts applies to urban North as well as South, and to Hispanic districts as well as black districts. What a grand scheme!

V. Analysis of results of 1994 election.

An examination of the "winning" black Congressional candidates in "safe" bizarrely created gerrymandered districts will show that, in the newly created "safe" white districts adjoining the black districts the GOP won a disproportionate number of seats in 1992 and this year, 1994, perhaps 8 to 10 of the 15 or 16 new GOP seats are a result of removing black voters and distorting lines, thus making it easier for white conservative of the Republican stripe to defeat white Democrats. And we should later look at the likely increasing conservative votes of the white Democrats who do survive but do not need black progressive votes, or a black/white progressive coalition. Such whites will think they have to move to the right just to save their seats. Thus we have "safe" seats for the Right Wing and for Conservatives in general. Ultimately this hurts blacks, and whites, and Hispanics, and all Americans.

The weird lines of the safe black districts in North Carolina now have produced three, perhaps four, new white conservatives in Congress in this election. The weird lines of the safe black districts in Georgia have produce two or three new white conservatives in Congress in this election. Remember, these weird lines already added white conservatives in Congress in the 1992 election. Etc.

Way up North, in New York, the Democrats lose a governor for many reasons. A major reason is the failure of blacks and Hispanics in safe districts to vote. Hot contested districts have over 100,000 votes for both Dem. and GOP candidates for Congress. Yet Rangle's safe Harlem district has a total black vote of only around 75,000--off by about 125,000+ black voters; at least 110,000 of which are missing Democratic voters. Same for other safe racial and ethnic districts.

~~A safe NY Hispanic district has total Congressional vote of around 60,000--off 150,000~~

voters from some other districts; and off at least 140,000 Democratic votes. Etc. Etc.

Same generally true from black districts in Baltimore to Dallas and inbetween. Even John Lewis's Atlanta area district has a total vote of only around 115,000, off at least 85,000, and most of those missing voters are missing Democrats. This time a Democratic incumbent governor moved to the right and barely was reelected. Georgia has already lost a liberal white Democratic senator in 1992. When will there be another progressive senator, black or white?

North Carolina's District 12 is most bizarre of all the new safe black districts. Total vote turnout was 90,000. Yet there are other contested districts with turnouts over 200,000. GOP picks up 5 seats in N.C. These are adjacent to the safe black District 12 and/or the almost as oddly shaped safe Black district 1 (whose total vote was only 99,000--for another 50,000 to 100,000 missing black voters, voters who have no power but the pride in their black Congresswoman, allowed them as a "colored crum" by the white powers of both political parties. And there are no crumbs at all allowed for the white working class millworkers of North Carolina. I hope they do not get misled, as so often in the past, to thinking blacks are their enemies and an Oliver North or David Duke or Senator Jessie Helms is their only hope.

A. South: the Border States. Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, Oklahoma.

State	Year	House: Dems	Blacks	House: GOP	Blacks	Black gain	GOP gain
Del	1990	1					
	1992			1			1
	1994			1			
Senate: 1 Dem, 1 GOP; no change; no change likely in 1996 Gov. GOP (?), no change likely in 1996.							
MD	1990	5	1	3			
	1992	4	2	4	1		1
	1994	4	2	4			
Senate: 2 Dems; no change; no change likely in 1996. Gov. Dem (but being recounted), possible change to GOP in 1996 or soon.							

NOTE: For example. The safe established black Democratic district centered in urban Baltimore represented by Kweisi Mfume has a Democratic vote in 1994 of 93,170 (81%) and total vote of 115,049. Some other MD districts have vote totals of: 162,315; 193,499; 179,328,

196,486, etc. The total vote of the safe ethnic district should have been at least 175,000. Actual voter population will exceed 300,000. If this district had a vote of 175,000 and same Dem. percentage, 81% (although the actual Dem. percentage in a safe black urban district is probably even higher) then the Dem. vote would have been 141,750 instead of 93,170--a net loss of 48,580 black Democratic votes. This is close to my estimate of a minimum loss of at least 50,000 ethnic Democratic votes for each safe ethnic district; a few will have better turnouts; most will have far less. In Maryland's statewide race for Governor, now being recounted as of Nov. 11, the Democratic incumbent governor is still ahead by 6,000 votes. The Democratic almost (and may yet) lost this Democratic governor. An extra 50,000 ethnic votes which are not turned out in the safe district by the easily elected ethnic politicians, would have made this a safe governorship.

District 4. Albert Wynn; this district is also black, the D.C. Maryland adjacent cities, heavily black neighborhoods. Here the total vote is also far below the other districts. Total is 120,641. Dem. wins with 75%. The missing vote is: 175,000 less 120,641 = 54,359. If Dem. % of that missing vote of 54,359 is 75% then total absent black Dem. vote is 40,769.

If both of these are safe black Democratic districts the missing potential black Democratic vote reaches is 89,349. My rough general estimate for average for U.S. is at least 50,000 lost black liberal votes for every rigged safe black congressional district. My hunch is that the longer the rigged safe districts have been around (or even automatic safe districts in some of largest urban areas like Harlem and Chicago, then the incentive for blacks to organize and vote drops steadily and the actual lost potential vote is probably much higher than 50,000.

Using the moderate estimate of 50,000 missing black liberal Democratic votes, not given to any liberal candidate outside the district, then amounts to several hundred thousand in most states with any concentration of black voters; enough to make a powerful interracial coalition with organized labor and other progressive white groups and enough to win many elections; but also enough to cause liberal loss of Congressional seats, and statewide races of governor and senator. Consequences in next decade as this trend continues will get steadily worse.

**THE NATIONAL NET LOSS OF BLACK LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC VOTES BY SAFE DISTRICTS IS TWO MILLION VOTES.** There is no reason any white liberals should tolerate that failure of black partners to deliver to help the general good, so, in my opinion, what is served is the White Power System that will tolerate black faces in designated black districts into which most black voters are directed, corralled, dumped, forced, or whatever word is needed, in order to prevent real black power in alignment with poor whites, Hispanics, labor unions, middle class people of all races, environmentalists, "peaceniks," academics, health care reformers, etc., etc., the coalition Dr. Martin Luther King tried to lead and for which effort he was removed.

Predictions for MD for 1996: Dem. for President but close, can go GOP, but so many DC bureaucrats, etc., that Dems. probably safe. But GOP will take governorship even if they do not take it this year (still being recounted). No more Cong. district shifts, but GOP may soon

get a Senate seat.

State	Year	House: Dems Blacks	House: GOP Blacks	Black gain	GOP gain
WVa*	1990	4			
	1992	3			
	1994	3			

Senate: 2 Dems, no change, no change likely in 1996

Gov.: Dem, (?) no change, no change likely

State	Year	House: Dems Blacks	House: GOP Blacks	Black gain	GOP gain
KY*	1990	4	3		
	1992	3	3		
	1994	2	4 (recount, may be 5)		1 (or 2)

Senate: 2 GOP, no change, no change likely in 1996

Gov.: GOP (?), no change, no change likely in 1996

MO	1990	6	2	3	
	1992	6	2	3	
	1994	6	2 (?)	3	

Senate: 2 GOP, no change, no change likely in 1996

Gov.: GOP, no change, no change likely in 1996

OK	1990	4	2		
	1992	4	2		
	1994	1	5	1	1

Senate: 2 GOP, change: increase of 1 GOP; no change likely in 1996

Gov. GOP, increase to GOP; no change likely in 1996

N.B. One black Republican elected in 1994 to defeat white Democrat.

\* 1990 census change, either increase or decrease in number of Congressional districts.

B. The "Old South," the "Solid South," the eleven former Confederate states: Virginia; North Carolina; South Carolina; Georgia; Florida; Alabama; Mississippi; Tennessee; Arkansas; Louisiana; Texas.

State	Year	House: Dems	Blacks	House: GOP	Blacks	Black gain	GOP gain
MISSISSIPPI	90	5	1				
	1992	5	1				
	1994	4	1	1			1

Senate: 2 GOP; no change; no change likely in 1996  
 Governor: GOP; no change; no change likely in 1996.

This was an "off year" election with voter disgust and low voter turnout nationally. All U. S. Congressional districts, whatever their ethnic makeup, have approximately the same population and same possible voter turnout. I have looked at Congressional district races in 1994 all over the country. Most turnouts of total vote is around 165,00-190,000; but some districts with tight races have turnouts over 225,000; some, like Maine District 1, over 260,000. Congressional districts have roughly equal populations, especially this soon after the 1990 census.

In an earlier off year, for comparison, in Mississippi in the 1984 in the election in our "black" majority district Robert Clark, black, "lost" with over 89,154 official votes; the G.O.P. white "winner" claimed 92,392. A white conservative independent had 874. Total official vote: 182,420. I worked in that election and especially observed the vote counting, etc. There was massive Republican white racist fraud; many blacks had their votes rejected on flimsy grounds so not counted; many more were still prevented from voting although they actually tried to reach the polls; even more had their votes stolen and distorted. My estimate of actual black vote for Clark is just over 100,000. By 1986 new district lines have been drawn by court order and the district has higher black percentage. This is still District 2, that Mike Espy won and then Benny Thompson won.

By 1992 the District has been redrawn again, with backing of black politicians and the national and state G.O.P., to have an even higher black concentration (thus moving black Democrats into a district that will vote Democratic anyway; thus moving black Democratic voters out of two other districts that gain a far higher concentration of white conservatives and so look more attractive to Republicans.

The fourth district is made to include even Laurel and Jones county, historically conservative white and for past three decades Republican territory. Only way Democrats won back this district from GOP a few years ago was with progressive coalition of black vote and



AFL-CIO vote and organized work to elect Wayne Dowdy. New district lines now would have likely been impossible for any white as liberal as Wayne Dowdy to win. Some blacks and some white liberals criticize present Democrat, Mike Parker, for his often conservative votes. With so many black voters taken out of the district to make the safe black district even safer, is it any wonder a surviving white Democrat moves to the middle or the right, even, on some issues?

To satisfy the gerrymandering goals of the blacks and of the white conservative Republicans, an unholy alliance if there ever was one, from Washington to Mississippi, the City of Jackson has been so split up that the area now has no congress seat; it is split between three districts. The symbolism of a dead or dying city is here in Jackson. There is no "live" center to this area. Fearful whites (and affluent fearful blacks) will abandon the city to blacks and let them have the leftovers and elect a black mayor. The splitting up the city into three congressional districts is a visible symbol of the fact that Jackson now is not a city, does not function as a city, does not have enough power to prevent the shattering and scattering of its voters. It could be the logical center of one district; or, at least, only split between two districts.

The conservatives are glad to control two of the Jackson districts; a cheap price to pay to let blacks have one district and high visibility, but lower actual power in congress. The present white Democrat, Mike Parker, of course, has a very good record. The second conservative, also a Democrat, Sonny Montgomery, has a less good record. GOP confident of taking Montgomery's seat when he retires. The pressure on Parker to become more conservative then will increase if he is to save his seat. Only with more black and more Democratic voters could he move towards more progressive policies and votes. The pressure from the Democratic White House (so long as it remains Democratic) will be very heavy on the black legislators from the safe black districts on the issues that matter to the White House. It will be more and more difficult for black legislators from arbitrarily created safe districts to stand up to White House pressure. So the definition of "liberal" and "progressive" will not come from the people, black or white, but from the top down. That was not the goal of the Movement.

The first Congressional district has been one of the most solidly Democratic districts in all America, especially outside urban North and California. This is the old TVA country which so profited from the Democratic policies of the "New Deal," and this area never had the great cotton plantations and powerful upper class wealthy white aristocracy of the Delta and River Country of Vicksburg and Natchez. Here there has always been solid old fashioned "progressive" strength that should/could have been goal of black/white alliances. Here the Democrats have salvaged several statewide elections until recently. Here there are the small factories of furniture, clothing, etc., and the strongest labor unions in the state. Here are the best public schools; where the whites were too middle class and too poor to set up a private white school system. Here are newspapers as in Tupelo that give strongest support to public education including increased taxes for schools, etc. Here is Oxford and the Univ. of Miss. If any district in the state could vote Democratic on ideological lines this should be it. Or have we reached a point that the only thing that can lead one to vote Democratic is blackness? Are all black/white alliances to be ignored? This should have been a "safe" Democratic district.

But, to guarantee the safe black district AND to remove black Democratic voters, the Republican Party supported the black political move to strengthen the black/Democratic vote in adjacent District One, with bizarre carefully drawn lines of masterful gerrymander that may have been drawn by Henry Kirksey or attorney Frank Parker, or others, but might just as well have been drawn by the Republicans and white conservatives, for it is they who benefit the most. In this 1994 GOP national landslide it is likely the GOP would have won this area with the retirement of Jamie Whitten, but it is still the critical reduction in black Democratic voters and consequent increase in conservative strength that made this such a GOP target.

Note that Mike Espy and Benny Thompson win in a district with even higher black population than Clark's district. It is certainly much easier for blacks in Mississippi Delta to vote in 1994 than a few years ago in 1980s. Thompson wins the guaranteed black seat in 1994 with 66,224 to 48,504 for the black conservative nominee of Republicans and 9,356 for a conservative "tax party" white independent. The 1992 G.O.P. vote for a white conservative was 41248. Thus the total 1994 vote for the two conservatives was 55,750, an actual increase in the "off year" of 25%. A precinct analysis will probably show that most of the Republican votes are white but that a few more blacks voted for the black Republican. But the Democratic vote for Thompson would have had a white drop off from the few white votes he received in 1992; more significant is the black drop off. The total drop in Democratic vote is 67,137, a decline of slightly over 50%-- and there was a white "liberal" running for the U.S. Senate against one of the most right wing GOP senators, Trent Lott.

In the safe black second district in 1994 at least 15 to 35,000 more blacks should have voted, and helped the Democratic Party in statewide race for Senate and modified the stands and attitudes of the GOP candidate for Senate, etc. and etc. If in 1980's Robert Clark could get almost 100,000 votes then in these easier times and safer district the black Democratic vote in this "off year" really should have been around 100,000 minimum. For such a safe district it really should be above 115,000. Even with the missing black vote from this district the Democrats could not have won the Senate; but the Senate race was written off early by almost everyone and even national Democratic Party funds were withheld. Problem is, with the low black voter turn out in rest of the state, in the other safe black majority counties and supervisor districts and judicial districts and state house and senate districts, a large number of blacks will automatically be elected to offices and be visible, even if 2/3 of blacks never vote, for local or state wide or district elections. Present Republican governor, very conservative, elected chiefly because of failure of black voters to vote. Issue now: why should any Democrat, black or white, dare run for major statewide office in next decade. Those already in jobs, e.g., attorney general, secretary of state, etc., in traditional Democratic offices, may barely survive in their present jobs, but the big jobs, the most powerful jobs, are now beyond hope for Democrats unless some crazy internal GOP fight or personal GOP scandal or a national Depression, etc. Why should young moderate or progressive whites who want political careers make the foolish decision to work within the Democratic Party in Mississippi? Will the Democratic Party be a black party?

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Predictions for 1995-96: (of course I hope for surprises that change predictions):

Mississippi will vote GOP for President, by huge landslide; will keep GOP governor, 2 senators, 1 black Dem. in Congress, 1 GOP in Congress; remaining 3 Democrats will become far more conservative or will each be defeated; in two to four years Montgomery will retire, district will go GOP.

State legislature will slowly have GOP increase but quickly heavy conservative growth with a few white Dems. changing party but most just voting more conservative. Basically GOP will be the "white" party but smart enough to recruit and back black conservatives who may pick up a few offices. As the dominant party, in state and nation, the party of the future, the Republican success will attract more black voters and will be able to attract and buy or reward increasing number of young black conservatives, wealthy and successful in professions and business, etc. GOP control of legislature, etc., will let them spread patronage, contracts, etc., to young blacks they solicit. GOP will, as demonstrated in election in 2nd district, provide their conservative black candidates with money, the famous life blood of politics. With rigged congressional and legislative districts to guarantee election of blacks with very low voter turnouts, the GOP is smart enough even seek to gain, to win, to purchase some of those seats. Any young whites entering politics will understand the obvious; there is no place nor future for them in the declining black Democratic party. Black democrats will be elected in more abandoned cities like Jackson with more celebrations and TV and Clarion Ledger features of the wonderful, historic, etc., etc., black achievements of being the first black mayor of Jackson, etc., etc.. Already the efforts to expand the City limits of Jackson into the affluent predominantly white (but with room, now, for affluent blacks also escaping Jackson) have been blocked and denounced by black nationalists like Kirksey claiming the reasonable goal of expanding the tax base of Jackson, preventing the northern model of a ring of towns of whites, et al, who have fled the city, etc., is only a white racist device to prevent black control of the city. Bull. But it works; white conservatives and, now, increasingly, exhausted and frustrated white moderates and liberals, are saying, "If they are that naive and gullible, let them have it." The "it" being the City of Jackson and the public schools and everything else, which will obviously steadily decline as tax base and jobs and everything quickly declines.

Slightly long range prediction for eight years. After the next census, only six years away, Mississippi will lose one more Congressional seat. By that time Sonny Montgomery will have retired and been replaced by our second (or third) GOP Congressman. As the present five districts are compacted into four districts the "protection" of the safe black district 2 will be the chief goal of the white conservative Republicans (and their white Democratic allies and their new black conservative allies.) Every conservative interest, from the Governor to the Chamber of Commerce business types will know that it would be bad public relations for Mississippi to lose its black congressman. And keeping that black congressional district as chief device for keeping white conservative control of the black vote and this cheap price will be the base for the redistricting plan--even if militant black lawyers or militant white lawyers supporting black separatism go to court and "fight" to "win" a court ordered

black district. As a result there will probably be even more black voters from the present Fourth Cong District and Third Congressional and Fifth Cong. District shifted around and dumped into the padded black district. Then Mississippi will have one black congressman and three white congressmen. The three whites will, naturally, be conservative Republicans. If Mike Parker and Gene Taylor have not already changed parties, or become ultra conservative, given present political trends of black separatism backed by GOP conservatives, then both will be defeated. It is logical for them to soon switch parties--unless something happens to move away from black separatism and get back on the road to integration and coalition politics. The big surprise that is quite likely for 2002 is that, with the shift from five to four districts and each district having an expanded population, there are bound to be about 75 to 100,000 white voters added to the safe black district, along with about 100,000 black voters--but the powers that be know that most of those blacks will not be voting (why should they bother, since a black is bound to win and that is all that counts.... Oh, Freedom!)

In 2002, therefore, if present black separatism, gullibility, and cheap pay off continues, then MISSISSIPPI WILL ELECT FOUR CONGRESSMeN, ALL REPUBLICAN, INCLUDING ONE CONSERVATIVE BLACK REPUBLICAN. How will the national liberals, Democrats, and progressives feel about that? How will blacks in other states feel--although they are guilty of exactly the same kind of separatist politics?

#### OTHER SOUTHERN STATES:

State	Year	House: Dems	Blacks	House: GOP	Blacks	Black gain	GOP gain
VA*	1990	6		4			
	1992	6	1	5		1	1
	1994	5	1	6			1
Senate: 1 GOP, 1 Dem., no change; no change likely in 1996							
Gov.: GOP, no change likely in 1996.							

The 1990 census added one seat to Virginia; the safe black district 3 was created, adjacent to 2 GOP districts and 2 Dem. districts. No direct correlation in 1994; the district which the GOP gained was not adjacent to black district. Nevertheless net result since new safe black district is one new black Dem. and new white GOP. I do not know without 1990 district maps whether much juggling by GOP helped here or not. However there is still the problem of the total voter turnout. In safe ethnic district there is still a good Dem. vote, 108,080 of total of 136,109. Dem. vote is 79%. Only one other district has similar low total. Most Va. districts

have turnouts around 175,000 and some are: 186,000; 192,000; 197,000, and 210,000 (in a very safe GOP district without hot Cong. contest, but Senate race was hot.) Thus missing total vote in safe ethnic district is significant. In defeat of Col. North press says black vote was important and went heavily Democratic. But in this safe district more people should have voted than in any other congressional district, even with some black hostility to Robb because of Wilder-Robb feuding. Wilder did get out of the race to help Robb stop North. So total district vote should have been at least same as highest other district: 210,000. So missing vote is 210,000 minus total turnout of 136,109 = 73,891. It is reasonable to assume more absent voters are black than white so a reasonable formula for such calculations might well be to add another 5% to the Dem. 79% of turnout. The district, of course, is not 79% black. A few blacks will vote GOP; but much higher numbers of whites will vote Democratic. But, even at only 70% black for missing voters the total of nonvoters is 51,723.

The margin by which Col. North was defeated was only 51,546. The black vote was important, but if progressive Americans counted on black vote to block the Colonel, that vote was not delivered. The crucial factor in blocking North was the division within GOP with strong GOP support, from Nancy Reagan on down, to the independent GOP candidate. Otherwise Virginia would have gained a GOP senator and the stay at home or never registered black vote would have been crucial. But why bother to register or educate or organize all those potential black voters if you can have a black member of Congress put in office because of political deals and court games, but not a real response to real black power, but just to manipulate that black vote, and increase the white conservative vote. Remember, in Oklahoma the white conservatives showed they were not concerned with old fashioned racism but with deeper conservative concerns of power and money, etc. This 1994 election will likely attract new young black conservatives to the GOP.

1996 predictions: Virginia will vote GOP for President, Governor, might gain 1 in Congress.

State	Year	House: Dems	Blacks	House: GOP	Blacks	Black gain	GOP gain
NC*	1990	7		4			1
	1992	8	2	4		2	
	1994	4	2	8			4

Senate: 2 GOP; no change; no change likely in 1996.

Gov. GOP, no change, no change likely in 1996.

NOTE: Because of the extremely bizarre gerrymandering to create two safe black districts; the GOP gains four votes, that is a two to one gain in real power; the GOP new wins are in districts adjacent to the weirdly shaped black districts, no 12, "The Interstate District," and District no. 1. District 12 is adjacent to: District 1, still Dem; 8, which barely stayed Dem., 52%; 6, GOP; 9: GOP; 10, GOP; 4, shifted from Dem. to GOP; 5, shifted from Dem. to GOP. District

1 is adjacent to : district 7, which barely stayed Dem, 51%; district 5, which shifted from Dem. to GOP, a blame shared with the other safe black district, 12, also adjacent to 5; district 2, a GOP gain; and district 3, a GOP gain. What a price to pay. Who pays? The working class white union members who now have country club Republican white representatives. The working class alliance of blacks and whites is further from reality than thirty years ago.

What are likely results in 1996: GOP WILL GAIN TWO MORE SEATS as a result of racial guaranteed seats. The two white Dems won with less than 52% of vote each. N. C. will have white GOP governor, two senators, and will vote Republican for President.

What about the black turn out in these weird districts?

The turn in several other districts is: 143,000; 137,000; 154,000; 147,000, 149,000+ etc.  
The turn out in the highest district is: 188,311.

Turn out in safe black district should have been at least same, 188,311, or more. BUT:

District One: Hypothetical 188,311 less 108,998 actual = 79,313 absent votes.  
Black Dem. % should be greater among the absent voters, likely black, but figure with actual winning 61%.  
Estimate missing black voters at about 61% of 79,313 = 48,381

District Twelve, the I85 District: 188,311 less actual 87,502 = 121,800 absent votes.  
Est. missing black voters at about 66% of 121,800 = 80,388.

So in these two safe black districts over 125,000 black Democratic voters did not vote. A needed district by district precinct analysis is needed to see if black voter turnout is lower in heavily contested districts without a guaranteed black winner. Who knows? If black turn out even worse there then the hopes for coalition politics is even worse. These 125,000 nonvotes, if not loaded into gerrymandered safe black districts, and if they had been educated, organized, and voted, would have had great power, the decisive bloc vote in saving three districts from going GOP in the 1994 election and 2 districts earlier. And, if not changed, the likely result in 1996 is two more white Democratic districts will be lost to white GOP.

Is the only pay off for black votes to be black faces; does policy count for nothing? Is it better to lose progressive legislature while having visible black faces on the losing side? Or is it better to work for coalition, "integration," etc., and have votes, black and white, for progressive legislation. White Democrats, liberals, progressives, should vote for black legislators because of their platforms and support for common goals, not just some quota balancing that defeats progressive legislature and strengthens conservatives. Black legislators are now winning districts by court order and the trickery of the conservatives, not by true show of black power that forced Democrats, for instance, to place blacks on tickets for balancing as in old fashioned traditional big city politics, of an Irish candidate for governor, so a Jewish Lt. Gov., and an Italian member of congress with an Anglo for senate, etc. Have we abandoned making that now work for blacks? The Irish, Italian, etc., blocs of voters had to do their share--

i.e., deliver the votes. We should worry that blacks have been given, almost on a "silver platter," so condemned in the past, rather than "earning" those seats through traditional political power. Any "black power" achieved so cheaply, actually "given" or "allowed" by white conservative power, should be questioned.

The next obvious, almost logical, steps are for more corruption. If the black local political bosses are to keep their goodies and patronage, then they will have to begin to deliver some votes at some point. So the temptation to massive voter fraud, which will be acceptable to both conservative GOP and white Democrats. Both sides will just overlook (if not encourage) the corruption of stealing votes in massive one party areas. If the hypothetical vote should be 200,000 that would be fought by white power. But if a safe district basically functions to disenfranchise over 100,000 potential black voters--since the local black bosses will win without those votes so never register them etc., then the settlement acceptable to white power could be for the black districts to always turn in around 100 to 125,000 votes, always predictable. Thus if actual turn out only 50,000 no one will care if local boss cheats and reports the acceptable 100,000. In fact traditional white power would prefer this than to having real, live, educated, organized, active black citizens. White power fears black citizens; white power does not fear black political bosses and token elected faces. Traditional power in America most fears organized citizens reaching across racial lines. Have we now reached the point where the front line in opposition to interracial progressive politics, is now the safe, satisfied black elected officials? What a cheap price for the Establishment to pay for this victory.

North Carolina now has 1 white GOP governor; 2 white GOP senators; 8 white GOP Congressmen; 2 white Democratic Congressman (likely to be reduced to zero in 1996 since both white Dems. barely won this time with less than 52% of vote.), and 2 black Democratic Congressmen. That is not coalition politics.

1996 Predictions: NC will go GOP for president; keep 2 GOP senators; keep GOP governor; lose two white Democrats as GOP gains two Congressional seats. Only Democrats left from North Carolina in Washington will be two blacks; other 12 members will be white. When will the GOP get even more daring and run some safe young successful black professional to seize one of those black democratic seats in DC? There will certainly not be any white Democrats left to help.

State	Year	House: Dems	Blacks	House: GOP	Blacks	Black gain	GOP gain
SOUTH CAROLINA	1990	4		2			
	1992	3	1	3		1	1
	1994	2	1	4			1

Senate: 1 Dem, 1 GOP; no change; no change likely till Dem. Sen. Hollings retires, then GOP gains another Senator.

Gov., GOP, no change; no change likely in 1996.

South Carolina clearly shows over two years the "price" of appointing, putting in the proper place, creating a segregated special safe black district, or whatever it is called, is the doubling, at least, of white conservative GOP strength. What a trick!

SC now has 2 white GOP senators; 4 white GOP Congressmen; 1 black Dem. Congressman and 1 white Democratic Congressman. That isn't coalition politics, but it may appease, cheaply, black separatist, nationalist, or whatever you call them leaders. This is the easy way out.

SC has lowest turnout in safe black district. Total of 138,925, but not that far off from turn out in other districts; highest was 149,907. Black safe Dem. (James Clyburn) wins with 64% of vote.

1996 Predictions: SC will go GOP for president; when Sen. Thurmond, R., retires he will be replaced by another white Republican; when the present Democratic senator retires, he will be replaced by a white Republican. Governor will stay Republican. The one Democrat Congressman who barely survived this time with about 52% of the vote will be replaced by a white Republican. Thus SC will have 5 white GOP, and the only Democrat in House will be black; soon SC will have two white GOP senators, a white GOP governor, five white GOP Congressman, and the lone Democrat in DC will be black. Real black power, that.

State	Year	House: Dems	Blacks	House: GOP	Blacks	Black gain	GOP gain
GEORGIA*	90	9	1	1	(N.Gingrich)		
	1992	7	2	4		2	3
	1994	4	2	8			3

Senate: 1 GOP, 1 Dem.; no change; no change likely in 1996.

Gov. Dem., no change; change to GOP likely in 1996 or next election.

In Georgia in 1990 the one GOP in Congress, Newt Gingrich, was almost defeated; surviving by only 78,768 to 77,794 a margin of 974 votes. But the supposed "black power" which led to concentrating black voters in their place in safe black districts also redistributed everything in Georgia. So: THE FIRST RESULT OF SUPER SAFE BLACK DISTRICTS WAS REELECTION OF NEWT GINGRICH IN 1992 with a new safe white conservative seat; his 1992 vote was 158,761 to 116,196, for 58%. In 1994 Gingrich wins his safe district with 64%. Perhaps Newt Gingrich will be so grateful to the black voters safely put into the black districts that he will move to the left as he takes over the Speakership; perhaps Newt Gingrich



and the other white conservatives are so terrified of the growing number of blacks in Congress from safe black reservations/ that is, uh, safe black ghettos, well, now what is the word, must be something with a lot of black pride in it,....oh well... point is, will these white power folks, the Establishment folks, be so scared of all this visible "black power" they will never try to move the US Congress to the right? Sure.

In Georgia in 1992 the net result of redistricting black votes into safe old Atlanta district and the new truly bizarre district was two new black seats and one safer old black seat, two blacks in Congress in exchange for Preserving Newt Gingrich and ADDING 3 GOP votes. Who won that exchange? Not the AFL-CIO and the working class whites or the small farmers. Etc.

In Georgia in 1994 the newest result of the 1992 redistricting of black voters was 3 MORE GOP seats in Congress. So Net Gain since 1992 is 2 new black seats in exchange for price of safe seat for Newt Gingrich and net increase of 6 white conservative GOP seats. Who pays the price for such phenomenal black power success and black visibility? In the immediate sense it is the working class white voters who lose Democratic votes in Congress. In the long run (which will be very soon) the blacks celebrating the cheap power of black visibility as faces "in power" will suffer as progressive black/white political coalitions crumble and as white conservative power in GOP grows (and surviving white Democrats, realizing the black vote does not want nor need them and they can't get the black vote, move to the right for political survival.)

What about the black turn out in these weird districts?

Black Democratic liberal voter turnout in the "reserved" seats, in the safe black districts, "in their place," as, expected, was terribly below the turnout in other districts.

The turn in several other districts is: 116,000; 128,000; 156,000, 151,000+ etc.  
The turn out in the highest district is: 186,231

Turn out in safe black district should have been at least same, 186,231, or more. BUT:

District Two: (Sanford Bishop)

Hypothetical 186,231 less actual 97,543 = 88,688 absent votes.

Black Dem. has 66% to win.

Estimate missing black voters at about 66% of 88,686 = 58,534.

District Five: (John Lewis)

Hypothetical 186,231 less actual 123,093 = 63,138 absent votes.

Black Dem has 69% to win.

Estimate missing black voters at about 69% of 63,138 = 43,565.

District Eleven: (Cynthia McKinney)

Hypothetical 186,231 less actual 109,199 = 77,032.

Black Dem has 66% to win.

Estimate missing black voters at about 66% of 77,032 = 50,841.

(N.B., Again, my earlier rough estimate of a shortfall of an average of about 50,000 black voters, liberal, progressive Democratic votes, per each gerrymandered safe district holds up.)

So in Georgia in these three safe black districts over 152,940 black Democratic voters did not vote. That quickly becomes a major failure of black side of supposed liberal/Democratic Party coalition to deliver for state wide candidates, black or white, who do not run in safe black enclaves, or for campaigns off the reservation. The incumbent Democratic governor in Georgia, the only state that has never elected a Republican governor, moved to the right to appeal to conservatives (while appeasing black voters and the Chamber of Commerce by supporting moves to remove Confederate battle flag from the Georgia state flag--that really feeds the poor, well it does appease many people quite cheaply.) This governor did have some progressive programs, of removing food in grocery stores from sales tax; but basically he moved to the right. This Governor barely survived in very close election. The next time the massive missing black vote will be crucial in the success of the Republicans who will win the governorship. But, since the legislative districts are also being successfully redistricted and gerrymandered like congressional districts, there will be lots of black legislators on hand to welcome the Republican governor in 1996 and the new white Republican state legislators replacing the old white Democrats, some of them old fashioned racists, but most just the white small farmers, merchants, labor union leaders, teachers, etc. Who will notice where have all the white moderates, the white liberals gone? Who cares. Well, for damned sure, the Republicans and the Conservatives and the Right Wing cares. They are glad to be rid of the whites who wanted to make interracial politics work to change the South, to change America.

1996 Predictions: Georgia will vote GOP for President; Senate will stay divided between GOP and moderate/conservative Dem. Sen. Nunn; Governor will shift to GOP in next election; the two white Democrats who have survived seem to have won with comfortable margins, 66% and 58%, so they will survive till retirement. I have not checked their ages. Likely to survive the next election but at their retirement one or both of these districts soon will be GOP, leaving Georgia with one white Democrat in national and statewide major offices, only Sen. Nunn; the two black Democrats will soon be the only Democrats from Ga, in Congress; others in Congress will move from seven to nine whites. As in rest of state surviving local Democrats will become more conservative and some, perhaps many, will go ahead and switch to GOP giving GOP soon the majority of the Georgia legislature (as now or soon in KY, MO, OK, VA, NC, SC, FL, AL, TN. Dems may still have majority of state legislatures only in Arkansas, La, MS, and Texas, but those legislatures will shift far to the right, even if Democrats stay "in control."

OTHER SOUTHERN STATES: to be continued.

C. NORTHERN AND WESTERN ETHNIC RESERVES/Gerrymandered safe black and

Hispanic seats in Congress and total turnout of vote: lost votes for liberals.

NEW YORK\* (lost three seats after census; I have not tried to do detailed analysis of state)

Black and Hispanic Democratic liberal voter turnout in the "reserved" seats, in the safe black districts, "in their place," as, expected, was terribly below the turnout in other districts.

The turn in several other districts is: 180,000; 193,000; 173,000; 184,000, 205,000, etc.  
The turn out in the highest district is: 210,321

Turn out in safe black district should have been at least same, 210,321, or more. BUT:

District 15: (Harlem, Charles Rangel)

Hypothetical 210,231 less actual 76,333 = 133,898 absent votes.

Black Dem. has only 73,571 to win with a 96% against Jose Suero, Ind.

Estimate missing black voters at about 96% of 133,898 = 128,542. (!!!)

(This may be an excellent example of a safe district where incumbent sure of winning and does not have to deliver a big vote to survive himself, so doesn't get out a decent vote for statewide Democratic ticket. This shabby black performance is probably well established and taken for granted in such places as NYC. It is almost a strange kind of white racism, that no one expects the standard level of performance from blacks, in this case, the turnout of fair number of black voters for other Democrats on the ticket in exchange for the creation and protection of the safe black district--unless the true party being served in this deal is not the naive white liberals but the white conservatives, who tolerate black visibility in token or more faces in Congress, etc., as long as this device serves to keep down the active political participation of the greater number of blacks.)

District 10: (Edolphus Towns)

Hypothetical 210,231 less actual 81,588 = 128,643 absent votes.

Black Dem has 89% to win.

Estimate missing black voters at about 89% of 128,643 = 114,492. (!)

N.B. Governor Cuomo, Democratic, loses NY to Republicans by less than 200,000 votes; these two districts alone should have provided enough of the missing votes to save this governorship. I will not even bother checking more black districts in N.Y.

District 12: (Nydia Velazquez). Same ethnic "safe" reservation formula works here too.

Hypothetical 210,231 less actual 41,645 = 168,586.

Hispanic Dem has only 38,324 votes but a winning 92%.

Estimate missing Hispanic Dem. voters at about 92% of 168,586 = 155,099. (!!!)

District 16: (Jose Serrano)

Hypothetical 210,231 less actual 58,616 = 151,615.

Hispanic Dem has 98% to win.

Estimate missing Hispanic voters at about 98% of 151,615 = 148,583 (!)

Democrats lost the Governorship of New York by just less than two hundred thousand votes; but these four sample safe ethnic districts (not all, of course, created in the current extreme gerrymandering) contain about 546,716 missing potential Democratic votes. Certainly NY voters were tired of old face of Cuomo and "ready for a change," but most Democratic voters were loyal; the failure of these black and Hispanic "reserved seat" districts to deliver their fair share of the liberal vote is far more than enough to have saved the liberal Democratic governor. Again it is the white conservatives who benefit the most from these safe black and Hispanic districts; again it is the middle class and working class whites who want to build a coalition with similar black voters, who are the immediate losers; in the long run blacks, Hispanics, and everyone loses--except the Hispanics and blacks who "win" easy, safe elections, never having to compete (or never after, occasionally, the initial election) the way other Americans do to win elections. The standards are lower. Voters in these districts as a standard result of segregation do not even know their internal standards on the reservation are lower. They do not aim higher since they do not know higher standards exist. On the outside prejudice is furthered as white voters have lower expectations of voting deliverance by their black allies; at best this is condescending; at worst, it is recognized, understood, and used by white power to control and manipulate black voters almost against their potential white progressive allies. A dangerous situation!

Does this chilling analysis hold up in other states outside the South? I don't have time to sample every district. I've already said there are about 40 safe black districts in Congress; that is a net loss of 2 million liberal votes in national elections; in state elections that's several senators and governors, as well as many congressmen and women. For a sample I will now test out a small California\* (gained seven seats after census) sample.

Black and Hispanic Democratic liberal voter turnout in the "reserved" seats, in the safe black districts, "in their place," as, expected, was terribly below the turnout in other districts.

The turnout in several other districts is: 189,000; 205,064; 215,747; 214,000; etc.

The turn out in the highest district is: 215,772 (quick survey of 52 districts; there may be a higher one I did not spot.)

Turn out in safe black/Hisp. district should have been at least same, 215,772, or more. BUT:

District 33: (LA Hispanic: L. Roybal-Allard)

Hypothetical 215,772 less actual 37383 = 178,389 absent votes.

Hispanic Dem. has only 30,350 to win with a 81%.

Estimate missing Hispanic vote at 81% of 178,389 = 144,495.

District 35: (LA: Black, Maxine Watters)

Hypothetical 215,772 less actual 77,248 = 138,524 absent votes.

Black Dem has only 60,446 to win with 78%.

Estimate missing black vote at 78% of 138,524 = 108,049 (!!!!!)

THIS GETS WORSE AND WORSE. I DO NOT LIKE MY HYPOTHESIS AND WISH THE NUMBERS DISPROVED IT. BUT MY EARLIER ESTIMATE OF 50,000 lost liberal votes per safe reservation district may well be far too low. I don't even know how many Hispanic districts there are but it was clear in the 1992 redistricting supported by the Republican Justice Department of George Bush (and now supported by the Democratic Justice Department of Reno and Clinton's White House) that GOP strategy was to push, to dump, the blacks and Hispanics into the Democratic Party, into safe districts, removing white pro-labor Democratic congressmen from their seats since they would look racist if they fought the blacks and Hispanics in their own party so many white Dems. were scheduled to resign in tight areas; in most major redistricting in Texas, Georgia, N.C., VA., Florida, etc., the new seats meant few white Dems. dumped the first round of 1992, although some were, but many more retired to leave "open" seats in less Democratic districts that GOP won in 1994. ETC. But in the North, in NY, PA, Michigan, Ill, Ohio, etc., where many states lost seats in Congress it would be interesting to see if any losses were borne by the black and Hispanic Democrats; probably their seats increased as traditional pro labor white Democrats paid the price.

If these Hispanic districts are added to black safe districts to reach around 50 reserved seats, then total liberal/Democratic/Progressive loss of potential voters, should be voters, potential power, should be real power, is more like THREE MILLION VOTES. That's hog heaven for GOP. It is brilliant. Blacks and Hispanics don't even have to come up to traditional political standards of hard work, etc., and they are appeased, bought off cheaply, and controlled and used. Are Hispanics supposed to be "happy in their place?"

What needs to be studied is a long historical perspective. It is possible, although I doubt it, that earlier minorities (Irish, Italian, etc.) were brought into the American system this same way and had terribly low voter turnouts for their safe districts. This could be checked. I think the Irish, etc., actually had to register, educate, organize, and deliver large numbers of voters, of bloc voters. Of course there were geographic enclaves, like South Boston and eventually the Irish Democrats were the largest bloc of Democratic voters in all of Massachusetts. But were they tolerated with low turnouts and safe seats at start of process and eventually things changed???

B. cont. It's time to get back to the rest of the Old South.

State	Year	House: Dems	Blacks	House: GOP	Blacks	Black gain	GOP gain
FLORIDA*	90	9	0	10			
	1992	10	3	13		3	3
	1994	8	3	15			2

The gerrymandered plans for Florida for three safe black districts included the south Florida district 23 won in 1992 by Alcee Hastings. It is carefully drawn, a "kite" shape, and is separated from district 15 by only a few miles, but it is not adjacent. District 15 changed from Democratic to Republican this year, 1994. A slightly differently drawn district would have saved this Democratic seat, but might not have guaranteed a black seat, but would likely have kept two "safe" Democratic districts. District 16, directly adjacent to the black district, in fact, created in its present weird shape to accommodate the weird shape of the safe black district, was a Democratic district until 1992 when taken by GOP as part of the immediate price of the safe black districts. District 14, again just a few miles away, easily could have included some of black voters put into safe District 23, shifted from Democratic to GOP in 1992

This new district in 1992 is bordered by:

District 16	GOP
17	Dem.
18	GOP
19	Dem.
20	Dem.
22	GOP

The second "kite" district is 17, where Carrie Meek, black Democrat was "elected" in 1992 and no opposition this time.

This new district in 1992 is bordered by:

District 18	GOP
20	Dem
21	GOP
22	GOP
23	Dem

The more typical district (that is, almost more bizarrely drawn lines, carving out the black reservation) starts in central Florida, then snakes north and moves around to end up back in central Florida, what might be called the A&G district, stretching from the Atlantic side to the Gulf. The black who "won" in 1992 this new safe seat is Corrine Brown. Typical of the racial-redistricting done by both Democrats and Republicans in 1992 is this district bordering

the following other districts:

2	Dem, still, the middle panhandle, Old South, rural, no big cities
4	GOP
5	Dem
6	GOP
7	GOP Shift Dem to GOP in 1992, result of carving black district
8	GOP

The other district to shift from Dem. to GOP in 1994 is the westernmost district in the panhandle, Pensacola, etc. This is not adjacent or close enough to the gerrymandered safe black districts for that to have any effect. Obviously this year in the Republican landslide GOP gains will be made many places for many places, probably chiefly because of discontent with Clinton and general undefined anxiety. I am focusing on places where the safe black districts are a significant or direct causal factor in massively reducing the liberal vote and increasing the conservative vote. Some of GOP gains in Florida are a result of the great increase of four new house seats because of population growth. Even here I suspect that the drawing of lines to "help" blacks also "helped" the Republicans.

At a minimum the price of the two new safe black districts in Florida since the 1992 election is at least 3 GOP seats. I have no time for detailed study of redistricting business but the safe black district 3 touching on six more districts, now 4 GOP and 2 Dems, surely could have redistributed the black Democratic vote to have saved 2 more Democratic districts. So I think the price of the 2 safe black districts is actually five more conservative seats, votes in Congress.

What about the black turn out in these weird districts?

Black Democratic liberal voter turnout in the "reserved" seats, in the safe black districts, "in their place," as, expected, was terribly below the turnout in other districts.

The turn in several other districts is: 173,000; 217,538; 163,000; 212,000; etc.  
The turn out in the highest district is: 229,873.

Turn out in safe black district should have been at least same, 229,873, or more. BUT:

District Three: (Corinne Brown)

Hypothetical 229,873 less actual 108,040 = 121,833 absent votes.

Black Dem. has 58% to win.

Estimate missing black voters at about 58% of 121,878 = 70,663.

N.B. Remember I am just using the actual % of the winning safe black incumbent. Therefore I am distributing the missing vote evenly; in reality I think a far higher percentage of the missing vote is stay-at-home blacks, not needed at the polls for the black politician to win, so actual

missing black vote not delivered to the Democratic candidate for governor, in this particular election, is probably over 100,000. Again, I do not know what the black turnout in places like Tampa without a safe black guaranteed winner is; perhaps the same, perhaps lower, but may even be higher in coalition, integrated politics.

District Twenty-Three: (Alcee Hastings).

This incumbent had no challenger so no congressional vote reported. Other data sources, not available at present to me, could, with great effort to match these precincts in this artificially created district with actual county lines and precincts would show what the turn out was. I do assume the black turnout in the safe districts with no challenger was even far worse than in the other districts where there was a hopeless token GOP challenge. So here I can only use data from the only "election" Hastings has "won", the first after the district was created, 1992, but this is a presidential election year so turnout always much higher. Even so, this district had lowest turnout in all of Florida; second worst, no surprise, was the other safe black district. But the focus now is on Dist. 23, with artificial but helpful and illustrative comparison terrible low black turnout, missing support for other liberals, using the same formula but just the 1992 data.

District Seventeen: (Carrie Meek)

This incumbent (naturally) had no challenger so no congressional vote reported. In 1992 she had all of the total 102,784 votes cast for congress. The total Democratic vote for President was 99,539 for 74%. Blacks are 58%; Hispanic 23%.

Highest Florida congressional district vote in 1992 = 281,294

Hypothetical 281,294 less total 133,613 vote of = 147,681 absent votes.

Black Dem has 100% to win. But total Clinton vote was 99,539.

Estimate missing black voters at 58% of 147,681 = 85,655.

1996 Predictions: Democrats barely saved Governorship this year with old and popular long time political leader, incumbent Gov. L. Chiles. Next time GOP will win the governorship; GOP will easily win Florida for President; GOP will keep two GOP senators; GOP will pick up one more Congressional seat, probably district 11 where Dem. barely survived this time with 52% and would be lost in a landslide GOP presidential year. And in next few years if some of the few surviving Democrats retire at least some of those may go GOP.

Lord Help Us! If my low estimate of 50 - 75,000 missing potential liberal votes for every safe black district (around 40) in US for off year elections is true, does this mean that the estimate of lost liberal votes in a Presidential year is 75-100,000 lost votes per safe district. I fear it does. That of course does not mean a 85 or 90% black turnout; only a turnout the same as achieved in some other district with a contest between Democrat and Republican candidate. On a national scale that means about FOUR MILLION VOTES. That does seem accurate. There are probably about six million potential black votes never cast, but blacks should at least have as high a turnout as best white districts. That means four million votes any and every liberal candidate on state or national level does not receive. Is it any wonder that black congressmen and women, so visible and even vocal, put into office from their safe districts, do



not seem to have much real impact on truly progressive legislation--or the White House?

The conservatives, the white power and their increasing number of black faithful allies, are laughing on their way to the Bank, to the Republican Congress, to the statehouses, to the White House, to Wall Street. What an easy way to keep blacks happy in their place--and to crush progressive whites and hope the whites get angry at black Democrats and not the System.

State	Year	House: Dems	Blacks	House: GOP	Blacks	Black gain	GOP gain
ALABAMA	90	5		2			
	1992	4	1	3		1	1
	1994	4	1	3			

No change in Alabama line up in 1994, but in 1992 the price of the gerrymandered safe black district is the loss of one Democratic seat and the increase of one GOP seat. In 1994 the GOP statewide defeats a Democratic governor. GOP also gains a Senator by conversion. The safe black district, no. 7, is drawn so weirdly as to be adjacent to presently Democratic districts 3 and 4 and GOP districts, 1, 2, and 6. Different lines could have saved one of those districts for the Democrats in 1992 and 1994.

What about the black turn out in this weird district?

Black Democratic liberal voter turnout in the "reserved" seat, in the safe black district, as expected, was terribly below the turnout in other districts.

The turn in several other districts is: 152,000; 170,000; 175,259; etc.  
The turn out in the highest district is: 193,416.

Turn out in safe black district should have been at least same, 193,416, or more. BUT:

District Seven: (Earl Hilliard)

Hypothetical 193,416 less actual 148,634 = 44,782 absent votes.

Black Dem. has 77% to win.

Estimate missing black voters at about 77% of 44,782 = 34,482.

The white Democratic incumbent Governor was defeated by less than 12,000 votes. The missing black vote thus helped defeat another Democratic leader and put in another Republican conservative. Future white Democrats in Alabama running for statewide office will have to move to the right, become more conservative, to gain white votes since the black vote is safe for electing one black congressman and probably a highly visible number of black state legislators, but not a real power to be trusted, appealed to, feared, or respected.

1996 Predictions: Alabama will go GOP for president; keep GOP governor; keep two GOP senators; pick up Cong. District 5, which barely went Dem. this time only after absentee ballots, etc., for tiny margin, about 1800 votes. That will leave 2 white Dems and 1 black Dem in Congress--for a while. Those white Dems. will probably have to become much more conservative on all social, educational, health care, etc., issues that matter to blacks, that matter to liberals, that matter to conservatives. But that single safe black district which so helps the conservatives in the GOP will probably be solid for years. White Power Loves it!

State	Year	House: Dems	Blacks	House: GOP	Blacks	Black gain	GOP gain
TENNESSEE	90	6	1	3			
	1992	6	1	3			
	1994	4	1	5			2

Tennessee has a traditional black urban safe Congressional seat in Memphis (Harold Ford, Dst. 9) that touches barely one solid Dem. district and one solid GOP district, so no direct effect of districting on TN elections. In Memphis back to the ancient Boss Crump machine days and the long well organized black political community, there has been a tradition of a strong turnout of black voters (welcomed and needed by white Democratic "city machine.")

1996 Predictions: Tenn. will go GOP for President; will keep GOP governor; will keep two GOP senators; will add one more GOP Congressman as GOP takes from white Democrat in Dist. 6, barely held this time with a margin around 2000 votes; GOP control of state legislature; steady shift to more conservative positions by surviving white Democrats. Thus soon Tenn will have a DC delegation of 8 white Republicans to 2 white Dems, and 1 black Dem. Again, as in other Southern states, when one of those whites retires from Congress even district may go Republican. But the black Democratic district is assured. Such assurance probably helps GOP.

State	Year	House: Dems	Blacks	House: GOP	Blacks	Black gain	GOP gain
ARKANSAS	90	3		1			
	1992	2		2			1
	1994	2		2			

Arkansas is so small as to have no redistricting to create safe black reservation district for 1992.

1996 Predictions: Arkansas will be the only Old South to vote Democratic for President; it will join the Border states of West Virginia and Maryland (perhaps) and, of course, DC, for

Democrats; other 14 states will go GOP. Arkansas will keep state and DC officials as they are. Two Dem. senators and two Dems in Congress.

State	Year	House: Dems	Blacks	House: GOP	Blacks	Black gain	GOP gain
LOUISIANA*	90	4	1	4			
	1992	4	2	3		1	
	1994	4	2	3			

(The loss of a seat in 1990 actually led to loss of one GOP seat in initial redistricting. But they will probably pick up several seats in next few years.)

The weirdly shaped safe black new district for 1992, Number 4, goes all over the map from the northwest corner, almost touching Texas, runs along Arkansas border to hit the Mississippi River then heads south, then splits out west and east at the same time. WOW! It touches present GOP districts 5,6, and 1, and also touches present Dem. districts 3 and 7. More reasonable lines could already have protected at least one more Democrat. Because of the strange La election rules I do not have enough data now to see how close the elections were for those surviving white Dems. It is reasonable, based on the other Southern states, however, to think that at least one of those surviving white Dems. was made more vulnerable because of the overall result of the gerrymandering to create the safe black district and that soon the GOP will get one more seat. Again, surviving Dems will become much more conservative--especially since they have no reason to appeal to the black voters who have been safely put back in their place, a new place, to be sure, with a real live black congressman as the prize.

Louisiana has odd election rules of early fall "primary" winners automatically being the winners in November unless there is a runoff between top two if no one gets 50%. Some student could get list of precincts in the safe black districts and see if voter turnout is much lower than other districts, as in rest of South, rest of nation. I assume it is, especially in the extremely bizarre newly created black reservation district, no. 4 (Cleo Fields); probably significantly low also in the traditional black urban district in New Orleans, no. 2 (William Jefferson). Only kind of comparable figures I have available at moment are numbers I've been using for all other states. Only clear comparison for is for 1992 where presidential election.

What about the black turn out in these weird districts?

Black Democratic liberal voter turnout in the "reserved" seats, in the safe black districts, as expected, was terribly below the turnout in other districts.

The turn in several other districts is: 257,000; 258,000; 260,000; 261,565; etc.

The turn out in the highest district is: 276,415.

Turn out in safe black district should have been at least same, 276,415, or more. BUT:

District 4 (Cleo Fields, the Ark to-Miss border)

Hypothetical 276,415 less actual 222,481 = 53,934 absent votes.

Dem. Clinton has 66% to win. Black percentage of missing votes must be higher.

But, estimate missing black voters at about 68% of 53,934 = 36,675 to 50,000.

District 2 (New Orleans, with affluent whites carefully carved out, Wm. Jefferson)  
Hypothetical 276,415 less actual 225,384 = 51,097 absent voters.

Dem. Clinton has 66% to win. Black percentage of missing votes must be higher.

But, estimate missing black voters at about 66% of 51,097 = 33,724 to 50,000.

Predictions for 1996: Louisiana will go GOP for President; GOP for governor; but keep for some years two Democratic senators, both of whom will become much more conservative, as the younger senator is now proclaiming. When the elder senator, Bennett Johnson, retires, perhaps in four years or so, that Senate seat will go Republican. GOP may pick up another Congressional seat soon.

State	Year	House: Dems	Blacks	House: GOP	Blacks	Black gain	GOP gain
TEXAS*	90	19	1	8			
	1992	21	2	9			1
	1994	19	2	11			2

What about the black turn out in these weird districts?

Black Democratic liberal voter turnout in the "reserved" seats, in the safe black districts, as expected, was terribly below the turnout in other districts.

The turn in several other districts is: 170,000; 201,000; 157,000; 177,000; etc.

The turn out in the highest district is: 201,996.

Turn out in safe black district should have been at least same, 201,996, or more. BUT:

District 18 (Houston area, Sheila Lee)

Hypothetical 201,996 less actual 118,405 = 83,591 absent votes.

Black Dem. has 72% to win.

Estimate missing black voters at about 72% of 83,591 = 60,186.

This very gerrymandered, although urban, district is adjacent to:

District 8: GOP

7: GOP

9: GOP.

This district was represented by Democrat Jack Brooks; it

one of two districts shifting to GOP in 1994. The district could have been saved for the Democrats had the safe black district not been so bizarrely drawn. The missing black voters numerically were replaced with white voters, many of them conservatives. Net result of the safe black district is one more conservative Republican.

25: Dem. BUT Dem barely survived with less than 52% of vote; as in District 9, black voters are put into safe black district and more white conservative voters put into former safe Dem. district which likely will switch GOP next election. Net result by 1996 even yet another GOP conservative in "exchange" for super safe black district.

29: Dem. This is a safe Dem. district and will survive.

22: GOP

SO: Net result of super safe black redistricting of 1992 and 1994 is one and likely soon two more conservative Republicans.

District 30 (Dallas area, Eddie Bernice Johnson)

Hypothetical 201,996 less actual 100,742 = 101,254 absent votes.

Black Dem. has 73% to win.

Estimate missing black voters at about 73% of 101,254 = 73,915.

This very gerrymandered, although urban, district is adjacent to:

3: GOP

5: Dem. The Dem. barely survived, winning with less than 50% of vote, but GOP had to share vote with three independents; Dem. margin was still around 2734. Dem. district could have been stronger if black voters not concentrated in safe district and replaced with more conservative voters. Democrats will lose this seat in the next election. Another part of the price of the "victory" of creation by courts of another safe black district instead of blacks registering, educating, organizing, and turning out a high number of black voters so that, when they do support liberal whites and Asians and Hispanics, etc., as well as black candidates, in reasonable numbers, some blacks will be elected as well, with integrated, coalition politics. But it seems the separatists and nationalists are pleased, appeased with the present tokenism based on highly visible blacks and greatly reduced actual

power, and massively reduced power for white liberal allies.

- 6      GOP
- 26     GOP
- 24     Dem. Dem. incumbent made it this time with 53% so he is very vulnerable and might soon lose, making even another casualty of the safe black district. Whenever this is an open seat election it will go conservative Republican, as planned, as schemed, as the price of safe black seats.

SO: net result now of safe black seat is no Dem. loss yet, although the adjacent GOP districts are made stronger and probably result soon is two lost Dem. seats, the going price on the auction block for the "set aside" acceptable "quota" of black seats given in such generosity and appreciation by the white power system which, do tell, does still seem to be quite in control. The surprise is that this conservative white power system is able to get black separatists and black nationalists as its front men. Live and learn. And who pays the price. In TX things were simplified with the luck of population growth so new seats were added state wide which came out, simplistically, as one new black Dem and two new Republicans. (The GOP picked up one new seat in the 1994 election in Panhandle, so not a result of present redistricting of blacks.)

Texas predictions for 1996. Texas will vote GOP for President; will keep two GOP senators; will keep GOP governor; will increase number of GOP Congressmen by two or three, unless there is some party switching, in which case GOP increase will be even more. The safe black districts will stay safe and black and power gets weaker and weaker.

Again, who pays the price for safe black and Hispanic districts? In Texas and everywhere. First victim, as usual, is working class whites, labor union constituency which will lose actual seats of progressive white Democrats elected by coalition black/white/Hispanic votes and, worse, will lose influence over the congressmen and women who do survive as these people become more conservative in their voting records. Next, blacks will suffer as actual power is reduced, despite the visibility of the black elected official in any safe district, whether statehouse, city hall, or Congress) as safer white district candidates do not need black votes so can ignore black voters, black voices, black needs. (The problem is that the black voices, at least of "elected" officials, is totally out of proportion to black voters who actually are voters and active in politics); then, all Americans who want integration and progressive politics and "reform," (none of which is possible without integration and coalition politics) will all suffer.

#### V. Closing general observations:

Most of the special safe ethnic districts were created out of the last national census and redistricting, although this has been fought for within states for years. Note that the Democrats controlled most key state legislatures and governorships in the last national redistricting, so, in

many states, Texas and New York for example, the present congressional district lines were skewed in favor of the Democrats, as has been the case the last 50 years. Yet the Democrats still suffered an enormous defeat. The next census is in six years; then massive redistricting for the first time in memory with GOP actually in charge in most large states. Hopefully Democrats will win back California and New York and Penna, etc. by that time. But before that happens the Dems. will probably lose even Florida. So, despite a few hoped for returns to Dem. party of state control, more states will be controlled by GOP for redistricting than ever in recent history. GOP will certainly work to keep and strengthen the safe black districts, even increase them, and dump more blacks into these reservations; removing black Democrats from districts the GOP wants, and replacing liberal black voters with conservative voters. GOP may even draw some safe black conservative GOP districts. Net result will be no decrease in black seats, but another big increase in conservative GOP votes in Congress. Who pays?

These states may lose seats: Mass; NY; Pa; Ohio; Mich; Ill; Wisc; Mississippi and Ark (?). Now GOP controls all but Ark. If no black Dems lose out then the loss, no surprise, will all be from white progressive, pro labor districts. These states may gain seats: NJ; Va; NC; SC; Ala; Tenn; Fla; Ga (?); Texas; Colorado; Utah; Nevada; Arizona; Calif. GOP is in charge. So we look into the next century. Pretty frightening for all Americans except conservatives, Republicans, and black separatists and/or blacks satisfied with scraps.

GOP, 1994, takes House with 14 vote margin. In 1992 & '94 South has added 28 GOP votes; 19 as direct result of racial gerrymandering, and saved 3 more old marginal seats. Racial gerrymandering gives America 12 new blacks plus Newt Gingrich and GOP Congress.

One minority that seemed to be making steady progress in numbers of persons in Congress was women. Now we see conservative Republican women making some of those gains. Interesting. Also interesting and worth contemplation in all my many pages of numbers above on blacks elected to Congress from safe districts, it may be that an unusual number of black women have those seats in Congress. Again blacks count twice as minority race and minority women. But is the proportion of black women in congress compared to black men, much higher than for other groups of Americans? Just curious, I don't have time to check.

Already Asian Americans do not need the traditional immigrant place of starting in the Democratic Party. Already most Asians vote "white," that is, conservative Republican. Many Hispanics of Cuban connections in Florida have long voted "white" (and most are very white) and Republican. How long before the Hispanics wise up and begin to leave the Democratic Party. That may not be tomorrow since the few safe gerrymandered Hispanic districts seem to serve same purpose as safe gerrymandered black districts. But I think Hispanics will fairly soon move out of the ghetto and into the mainstream.

I see this situation as a new example of white power and white racism, this time with black allies. Blacks have, again, taken the "easy way out" without being required or expected to be able to function at the political activity level of all other groups of Americans. (The Hispanics may get stuck here, but that is still not settled.) Conservative whites make

unrecognized alliances with politically correct liberal whites and with black separatists and black nationalists to create these safe black districts, from city wards, to county districts, to state houses, to Congress. Even to the Supreme Court the GOP strategy of keeping a black man in the "black seat" worked wonderfully to get an extreme right winger (but black and supported by blacks from NAACP to the old neighbors in Georgia) confirmed when no white person that far to the right could have been confirmed. Thomas screamed that he was the "victim" of a modern version of lynching; black criticism all but ceased and white progressives were trapped and blocked in their resistance. Thomas may be a good example of the essential racist idea that the only thing that matters is skin color; no other standards, from ideology to performance matter. Most verbal blacks, as individuals and as organizations, were controlled by the white conservative Republicans into supporting Thomas, just because he was black. Some blacks probably argued that a black face had to be kept on the Supreme Court as the Supreme Role Model. I guess if you totally buy the role model theory, that makes Justice Thomas the ideal role model for black youth. On one of the few obviously race sensitive issues to come before the Court, Thomas strongly spoke up in the Ayers case in favor of preserving separate black public colleges. My hunch is that Thurgood Marshall would strongly have been against the Ayers plea for returning to a better funded separate but equal, dual system of higher education. From my perspective, on most issues, Thomas may turn out to be the blackface curse on progressive Americans, black and white, for the next generation.

The same alliance of conservative whites with real power, politically correct whites, black nationalists, and black separatists is working to keep the reservation schools going, under black control and with mostly black students, from public schools to the colleges, as seen in the Ayers case to strengthen the segregation, separation, while increasing the money to the black colleges. This too is a cheap price for white power to pay. The standards for black controlled colleges do not have to be so much lower than the other American standards, but, in reality, they are. White Americans assume black state colleges, etc., will be run with lower academic standards, acceptable to black elites and acceptable to white America as long as enough blacks are "educated" (or "trained") to fill "quota" and "set aside" job needs; then to hell with most of the black students who will get an inferior education and never know it. We have almost reached the point where conservative white Americans do not think blacks want, deserve, need, nor even recognize a quality education; or a quality political performance. With all these guarantees it seems clear, sociologically, that white American racism is still strong; that white American racism does not truly believe blacks are equal since expectations of performance and achievement for black Americans are lower in almost every category. Most verbal black leaders, black separatist and nationalist leaders, encourage this. Of course these black separatists leaders, black segregationists, do sometimes have high personal standards of achievement and a tiny few may try to demand that of the young people they control in education, or the voters they control, etc., but few sociologists or historians think that "separate but equal," ever worked, ever could work, or ever will work.

The safe seats for the victims may be easy for minority leaders to use as the basis for their own personal advancement and achievement, although that is not the reason such people originally run for office; most truly want "to serve." But this status of privileged victims not



expected to be able to perform at equal standards may reflect racism of the subtle kind, probably the most dangerous kind, but the old fashioned more overt racism may yet be revived. When working class and middle class whites, especially the males, see that, once again, even here in politics, it is they who are put aside by the power system to make a space for selected blacks, what will happen? The present "reserved seats" on a "reservation," or in a "separate but equal" congressional district scheme is, in my opinion, the System's way of controlling blacks--and controlling all people by blocking black growth in more significant power, and blocking the dreaded black/white progressive coalition. Many working class whites have shown their political volatility for several years. No traditional fascist/racist demagogue has arisen yet to exploit this. But such demagoguery (probably financed and abetted by the very white power system elites now in control) will increase black/white tensions. And blacks now profiting as politically correct victims may, once again, be turned into scapegoats for all that is wrong in America. Then it will not be just young black males that frighten many whites, but all blacks. Meanwhile the conservative power system just goes merrily along, unquestioned, unchallenged. And a few black separatists who never thought integration could work refuse to give "the dream" a chance and go about their promotion of separate but equal (or more than equal with reparations financing and money taken away from desegregated colleges) as what they truly want.

Some black leaders, no doubt, are convinced that white racism in American can never be changed, so integration is not worth fighting for; therefore you make the best of what you have, returning to the segregated world of the past, but with a higher share of public goods (taken by tax money from those frustrated white working class people who, I think, will end up either as allies or enemies of the black population, a self fulfilling prophecy some separatist blacks desire). The sins of white racism are real and do continue. The matter of racially gerrymandered Congressional districts was started here in Mississippi when, after the 1965 Voting Rights Act and blacks began to become voters, the old Second Congressional District in the Delta with a potential black voting majority was divided among three safe white districts and enough safe white voters added to the newly created, bizarrely drawn, Second, to keep it white. This obviously was a device to steal from new black voters the possibility of electing Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer to Congress--or any other black. Now blacks (and their white conservative Republican allies/guardians/masters) are given, served up, safe black districts all over America and with boundaries even more bizarre than that late 1960's dirty deal in the Delta. Two wrongs do not make a right. Of course it was right to fight in court to have the old black majority Delta district restored. But not as a forever guarantee; not as the kind of district lines as in Jackson (never part of that district culturally, economically, geographically, or historically anyway) where race is the only characteristic that matters and lines are drawn block by block, house by house. Will black political bosses now try to prevent their voters from moving into a white or an integrated neighborhood; black politicians now have a vested interest in preserving segregated housing. What a twist!

Some blacks have given up the Movement Dream in exchange for a "mess of porridge," for the crumbs from the Table. In the Movement people one time sang, "I'm gonna sit at the Welcome Table." Now many people, black and white, believe that is never possible; that there will always be a White Welcome Table, so the best blacks can do is create their own

Black Welcome Table. This is to abandon the religious perspective, the faith perspective, to live for the present moment, grabbing and holding on to as much as we can, which, ironically, is the all American Capitalist perspective of today: Greed. We live as if God is dead, as if there is no tomorrow.

I have commented on white fear and anger, especially working class young white males. Gender voting patterns in 1994 election are interesting. NYTimes (11/13/94, p. 15) reports:

White men voted for GOP for Congress at 62% to 38%.  
 White women voted for GOP: 55 45

Whites (men/women)in South voted GOP 65 35.  
 By my estimate Southern white men voted GOP 75% 25.  
 Remember most Southern white Democratic incumbents survived with no serious contest (like conservative Sonny Montgomery of Mississippi. So white Southern male tilt to GOP is really closer to 80% or higher; I think the younger voters will be even heavier Republican.

Is there any significant improvement in voter turnout by the safe black districts in Presidential election years? NO. Obviously the voter turnout does increase but in the few sample districts I examined, the black turnout is still terribly below what is needed; it guarantees a black local "victor" and undercuts the needs of state and national Democrats/ progressives. Typical turnout in most states in Presidential years is 165-285,000 with many districts around 325,000. That is 1992, a year most regard as a very low voter participation. Potential vote in any Congressional District, including the safe black and Hispanic ones, must be around 450,000. My only concern now is the failure of blacks in safe districts to help the progressive coalition in comparison with other voting patterns in that election in that state.

Texas: 1992 Dist. 18-- 91,000 fewer votes than high district. Dem. loss-- 65,570  
 Dist. 30 112,000 81,760.

Voter turnout in black districts was better than "off year" but net liberal loss even greater: about 150,000 votes lost for two "safe" districts. Texas had a hotly contested state in 1992 and Democratic party and AFL-CIO etc. would have worked to encourage black turnout, even if the safely elected black Congressmen and women, etc., did not need the extra black vote. That probably will average 75 - 100,000 lost liberal votes for every safe black/Hispanic district in US. In any state election that is potentially significant, and could swing Governor, Senate, and, especially, a big pile of presidential electoral college votes. Nationally that is a loss to progressives of about four to five million votes (in an "average" national turn out).

SUMMARY: After 1992 redistricting the 5 existing black Congressional districts in South were strengthened and 12 super safe black districts created at this cost: in 1992 GOP had direct gain of at least 9 and saved 1 old seat; in 1994 GOP has direct gain of 10 seats from new black districts and 2 from strengthening old black district; final installment of payment for black redistricting due in 1996 when GOP will directly gain 7 or 8 more seats, and 3 or 4 elsewhere

in South. Net result of racial gerrymandering to "favor" blacks will be 12 new blacks and 29-30 new conservatives directly related to safe black districts; another 6-10 GOP will also be elected.

Now GOP has majority of House members from these Southern states: VA, NC, SC, Ga, FL, TN; will add AL and probably TX in 96, leaving Dem. majorities only in AK, LA, MS. Soon it might be just AK.

Congressional Quarterly, selected comments on racial redistricting:

This is not new for 1990 but just greatly increased.

Congressional Redistricting in the 1980's, Congressional Quarterly, Washington, D.C., 1983.

The Atlanta district represented by Andrew Young who resigned and was replaced with a white liberal was only about 50% black. The legislative 1980 redistricting plan increased this to a 57% black majority. Some blacks protested, wanting a heavier concentration of black voters, and were supported by the Reagan Republican Justice Department.

"The (black) appeal received some initial support from white Republicans, but was denounced by most liberal Democrats. The Atlanta Constitution accused (plaintiffs) of trying to create a 'ghetto' district and engaging in black racism." (p. 133)

The Reagan Republican Justice Department disallowed the Georgia Legislature's plan for a merely 57% black district. So :

"Under the new plan the proportion of blacks in the 5th district was increased from 57 to 65%. The new plan was approved by the Federal Court and the Justice Dept." (p. 133)

Ed King comment: With friends like Reagan in the White House and allies like the Republicans in the Justice Department, blacks must have great power as well as mighty comfort in America.

Congressional Redistricting in the 1990's, Congressional Quarterly, Washington, D.C., 1993.

Alabama: "Alabama Republicans emerged elated from 1992 redistricting and for good reason: They trounced the Democrats in congressional redistricting. The map adopted by a federal three-judge panel in Mobile was a slightly modified version of a plan drawn by a Republican state senator... While creating the black-majority... district that made Democrat Earl Hilliard the first African American to be elected to Congress from Alabama since Reconstruction, the map also fortified both of Alabama's Republican-held districts. And in moving blacks from Birmingham and Tuscaloosa into the 7th to help boost its black population to 67.5%, the map created one of the most heavily Republican districts in the country." (p. 19)

Florida: (where Democrats controlled the legislature and governor's office): "The Democrats' upper hand quickly faded amidst the overlapping interests of African Americans, Hispanics, and

whites... the districts drawn to enhance the electoral candidacies of blacks were drawn with particular cartographic aplomb... a wishbone or horseshoe wandering across parts of 14 north Florida counties to find a black majority... Two other districts... looked like kites..." (p. 166)

Georgia: "Republican House candidates in Georgia enjoyed a breakthrough year in 1992... Republican strategists made no effort to disguise their short-term goal, which was hardly unselfish if not a little Machiavellian. The Republicans anticipated that in order to create more minority districts, the mainly black and Hispanic constituencies would have to be drawn from the districts of incumbent white Democratic House members who had strongly relied on the Democratic habits of the minority-group voters. These members would then be left with districts that would be more white, conservative, and potentially accommodating to Republican candidates." (p. 201)

EKing comments: The Republican Justice Department and President Bush strongly supported the "demands" of blacks for more and more safe black districts. Congressional Quarterly does not mention "black power" as the reason for the increase in the segregated but safe black districts.

#### WHO PAYS THE PRICE? WHO IS DECEIVED? WHO WINS?

ITEM: Jackson Clarion-Ledger, 11/20/94. Feature on women in Mississippi state legislature. Comment from Rep. Alyce Griffin Clarke, black woman from Jackson, when asked:

But can't men represent family issues? Can't they know what's best for everybody?

The polite answer, says Rep. Alyce Griffin Clarke of Jackson, is "no."

**"WOMEN ARE BEST REPRESENTED BY WOMEN, JUST AS BLACK DISTRICTS ARE BEST REPRESENTED BY A BLACK LEGISLATOR."**

Well, that does simplify things. Gerrymandering seems about to perfect some of this. Mississippi has some problem with an uneven number of seats, but a reasonable racist solution (and racism, etc., now seem the reasonable norm in America) would be to have one district for black males; one district for black females; one district for white males; one district for white females. I guess that left over fifth district could be for the Choctaw Indians, the Asians, the Hispanics, and the transplanted Yankees. Of course one would not want any legislator under seventy to vote on any bills about senior citizens. And we certainly would not want any legislator not a parent of a public school child to vote on schools; so how do we figure it out? Only with some common sense and old fashioned ideas of community, courage, compassion, and sacrifice, perhaps, even, faith, hope, and charity.

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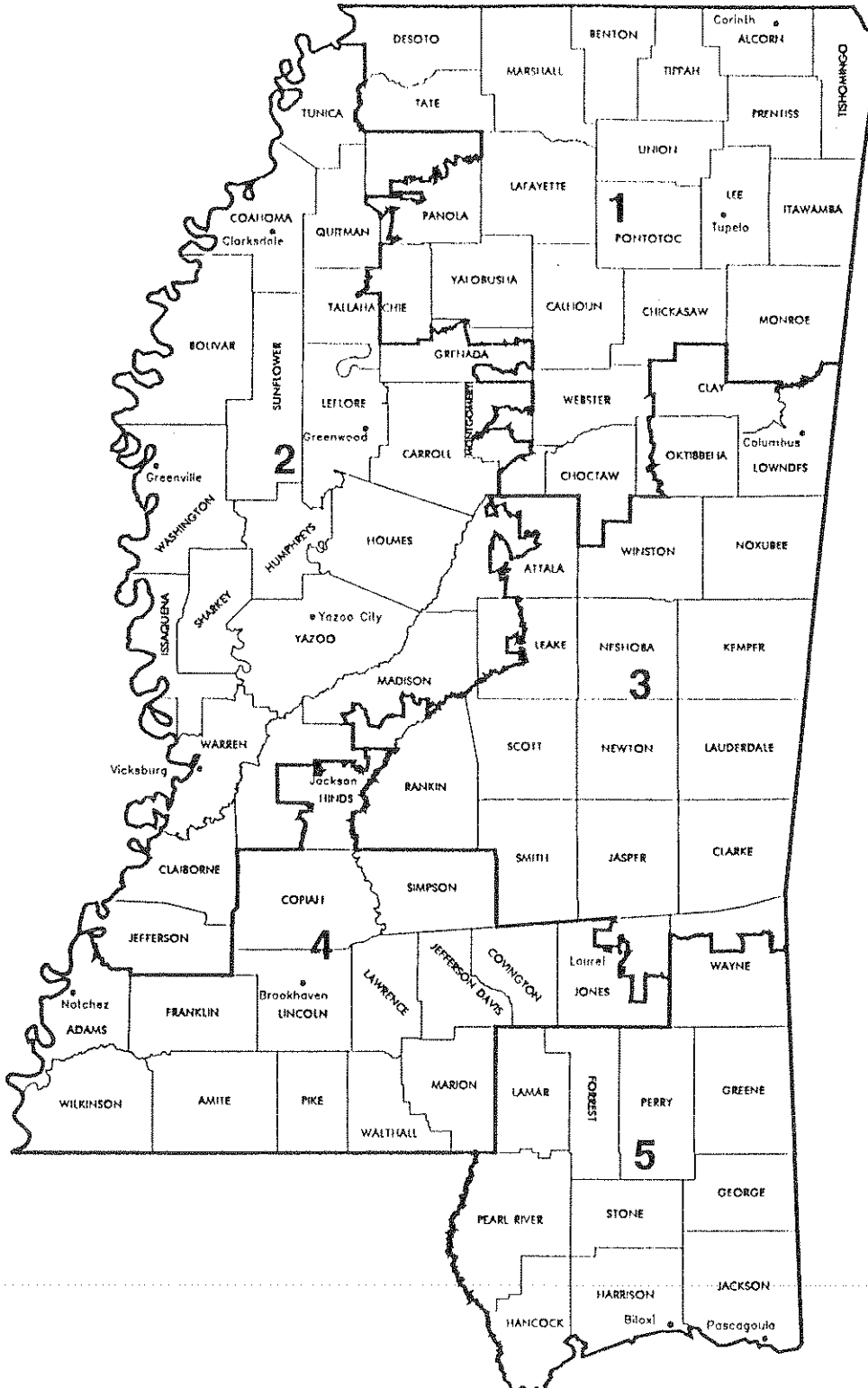
Segregation still is no good for blacks, for whites, for America, for the world.

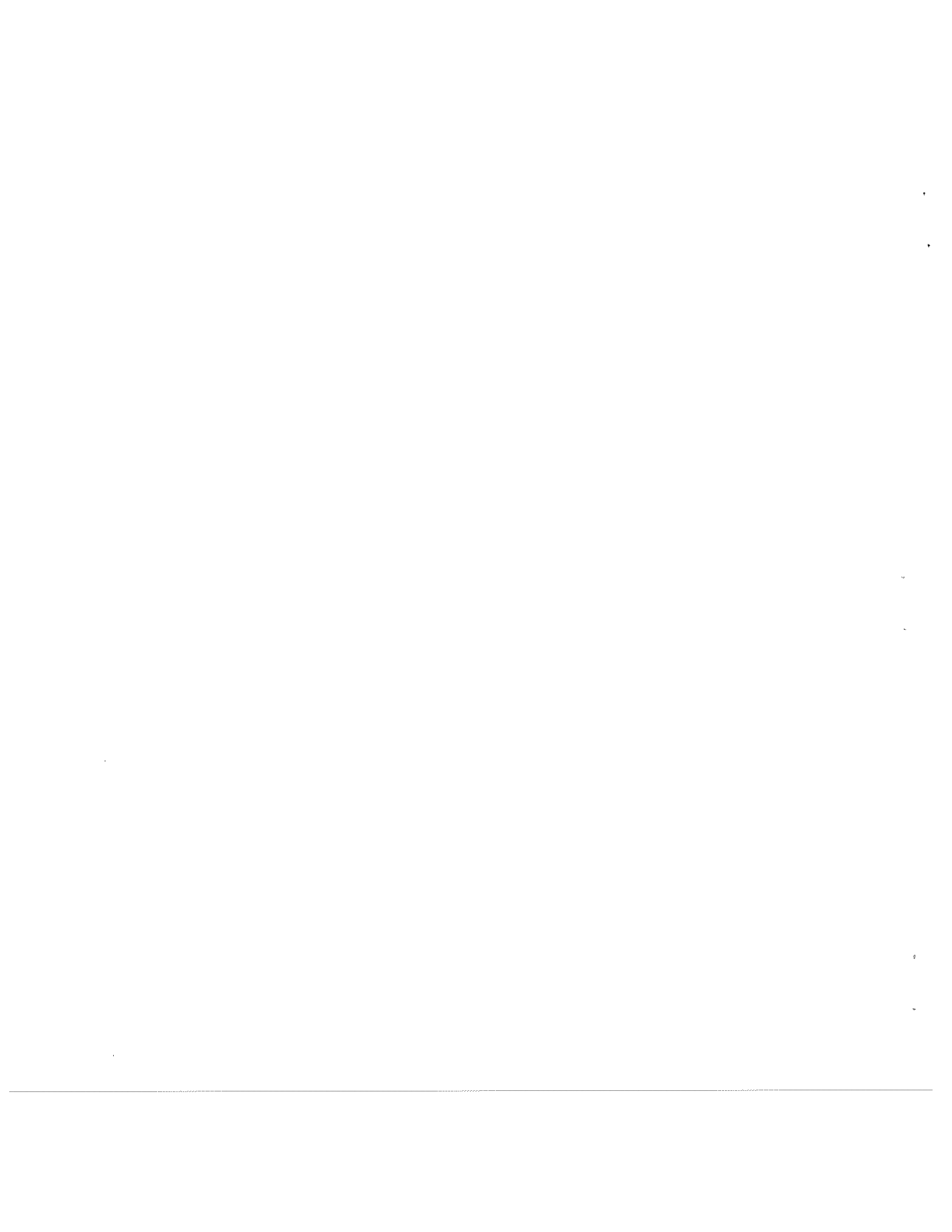
MISSISSIPPI

SENATORS  
Thad Cochran  
Trent Lott

REPRESENTATIVES BY DISTRICTS  
1. Jamie L. Whitten *Dem - to GOP*  
2. Bennie G. Thompson *B*  
3. G.V. (Sonny) Montgomery  
4. Mike Parker  
5. Gene Taylor

*1994*





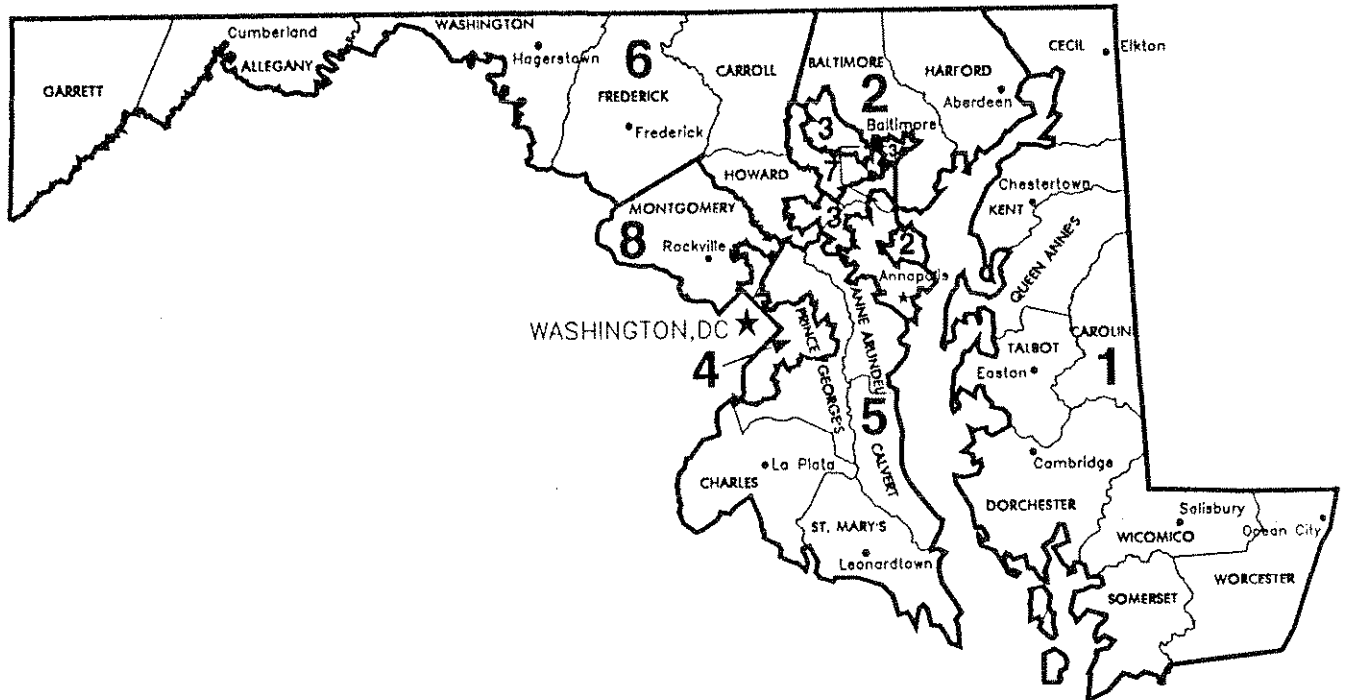
MARYLAND

SENATORS

Paul S. Sarbanes  
Barbara A. Mikulski

REPRESENTATIVES BY DISTRICTS

1. Wayne T. Gilchrest
2. Helen Delich Bentley
3. Benjamin L. Cardin
4. Albert R. Wynn *B*
5. Steny H. Hoyer
6. Roscoe G. Bartlett
7. Kweisi Mfume *B*
8. Constance A. Morella



6

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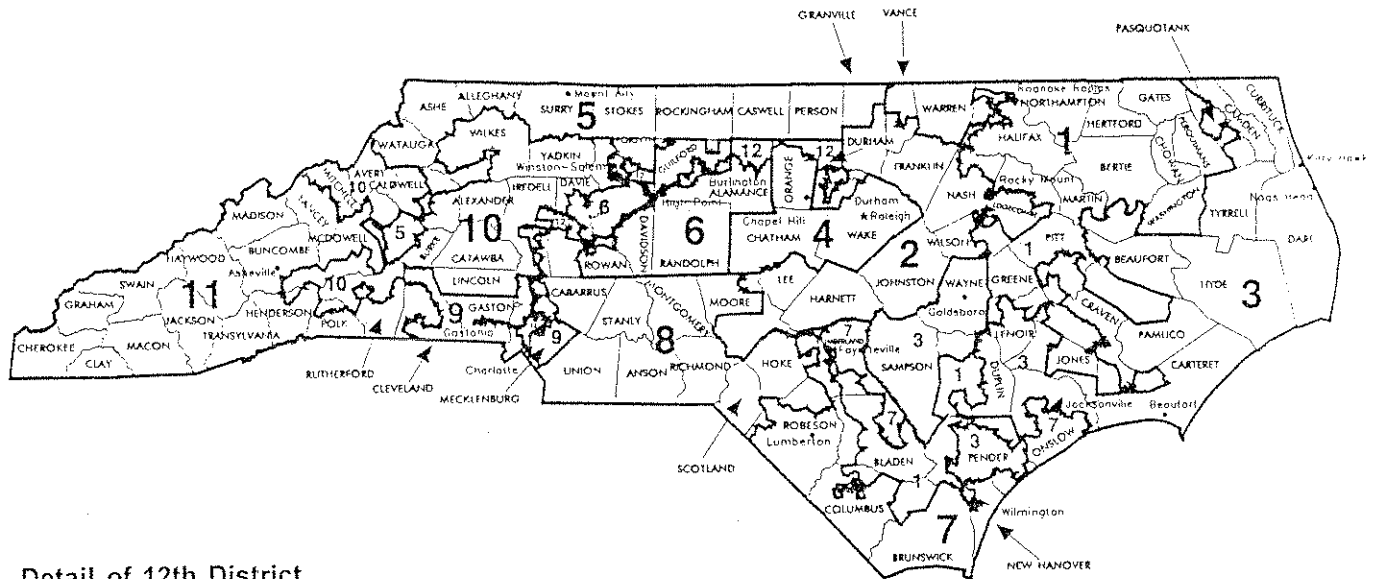
NORTH CAROLINA

SENATORS

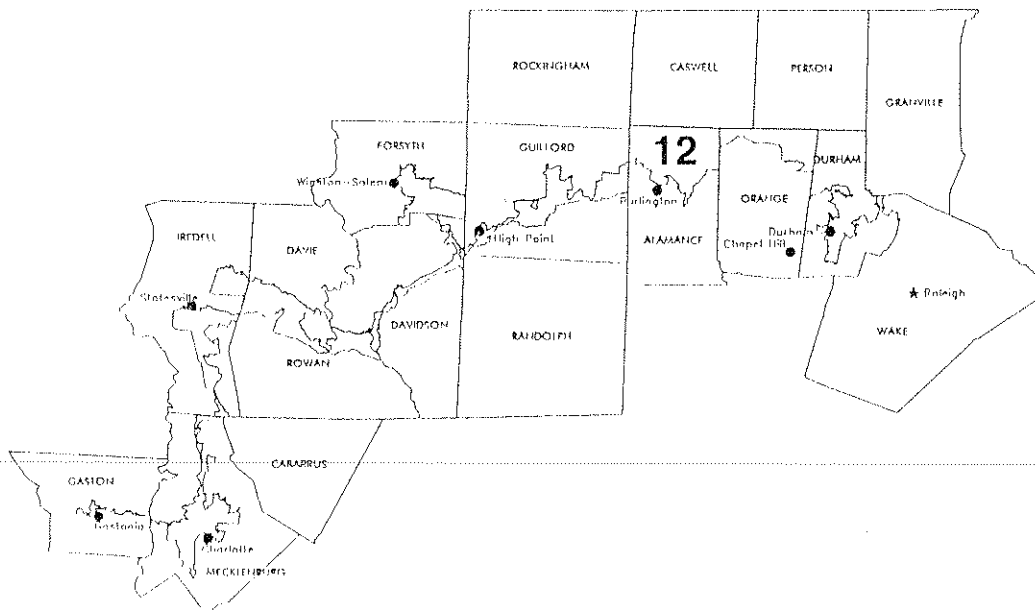
Jesse Helms  
Lauch Faircloth

REPRESENTATIVES BY DISTRICTS

1. Eva Clayton **B**
2. Tim Valentine
3. H. Martin Lancaster
4. David E. Price
5. Stephen L. Neal
6. Howard Coble
7. Charlie Rose
8. W.G. (Bill) Hefner
9. Alex McMillan
10. Cass Ballenger
11. Charles H. Taylor
12. Melvin L. Watt **B**



Detail of 12th District





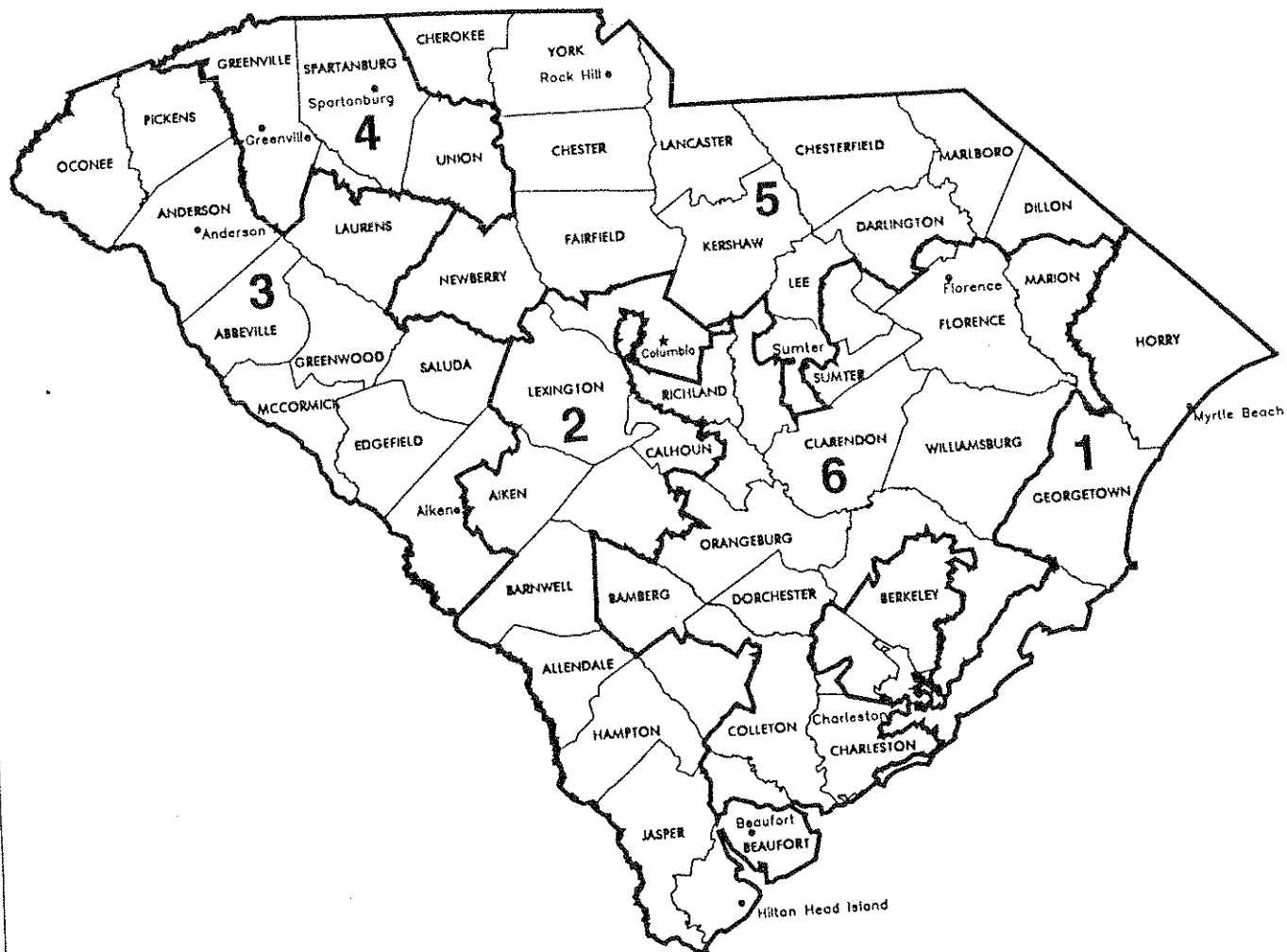
# SOUTH CAROLINA

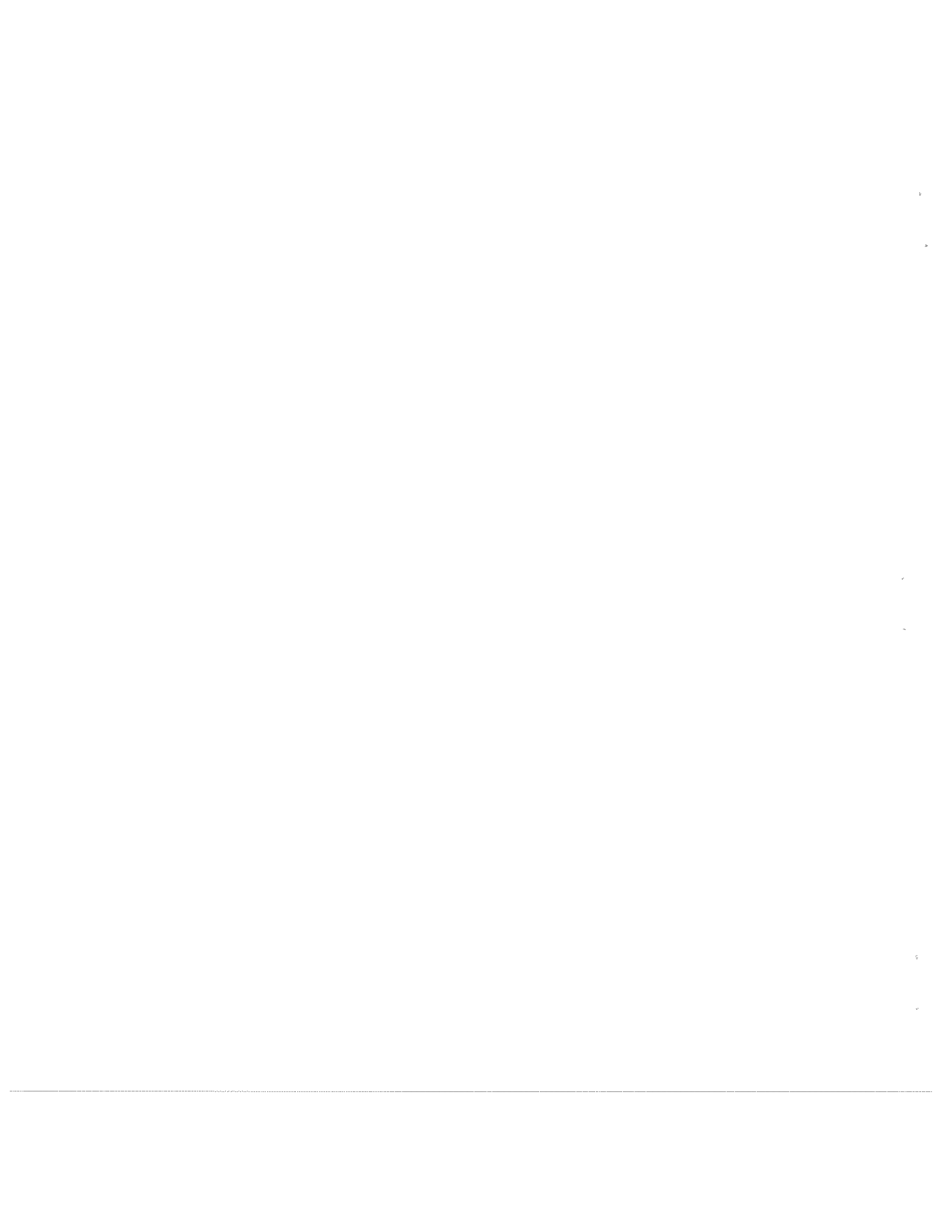
## SENATORS

*Strom Thurmond*  
Ernest F. Hollings

## REPRESENTATIVES BY DISTRICTS

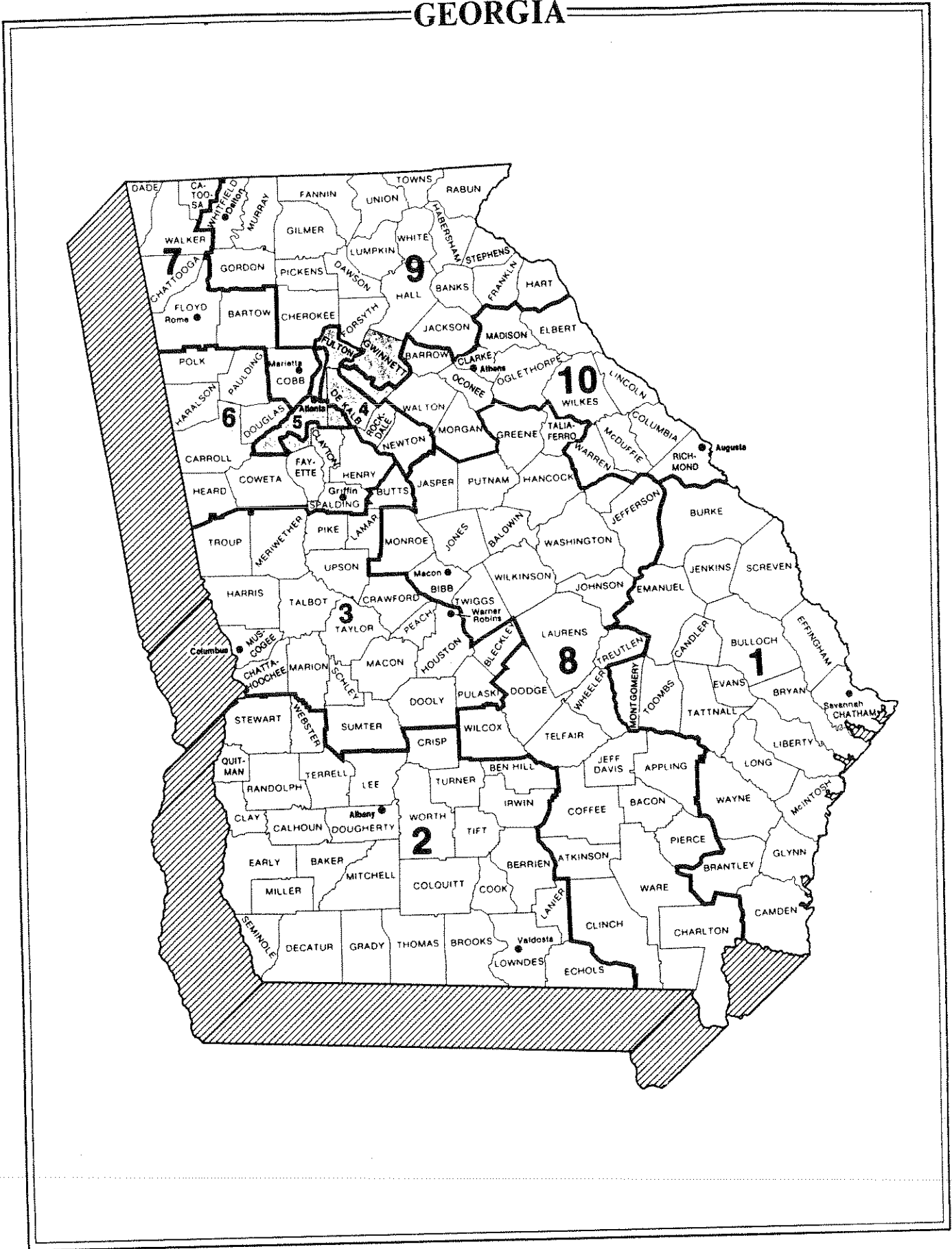
1. *Arthur Ravenel, Jr.*
2. *Floyd Spence*
3. *Butler Derrick*
4. *Bob Inglis*
5. *John M. Spratt, Jr.*
6. *James E. Clyburn*





After 1980 redistricting

# GEORGIA





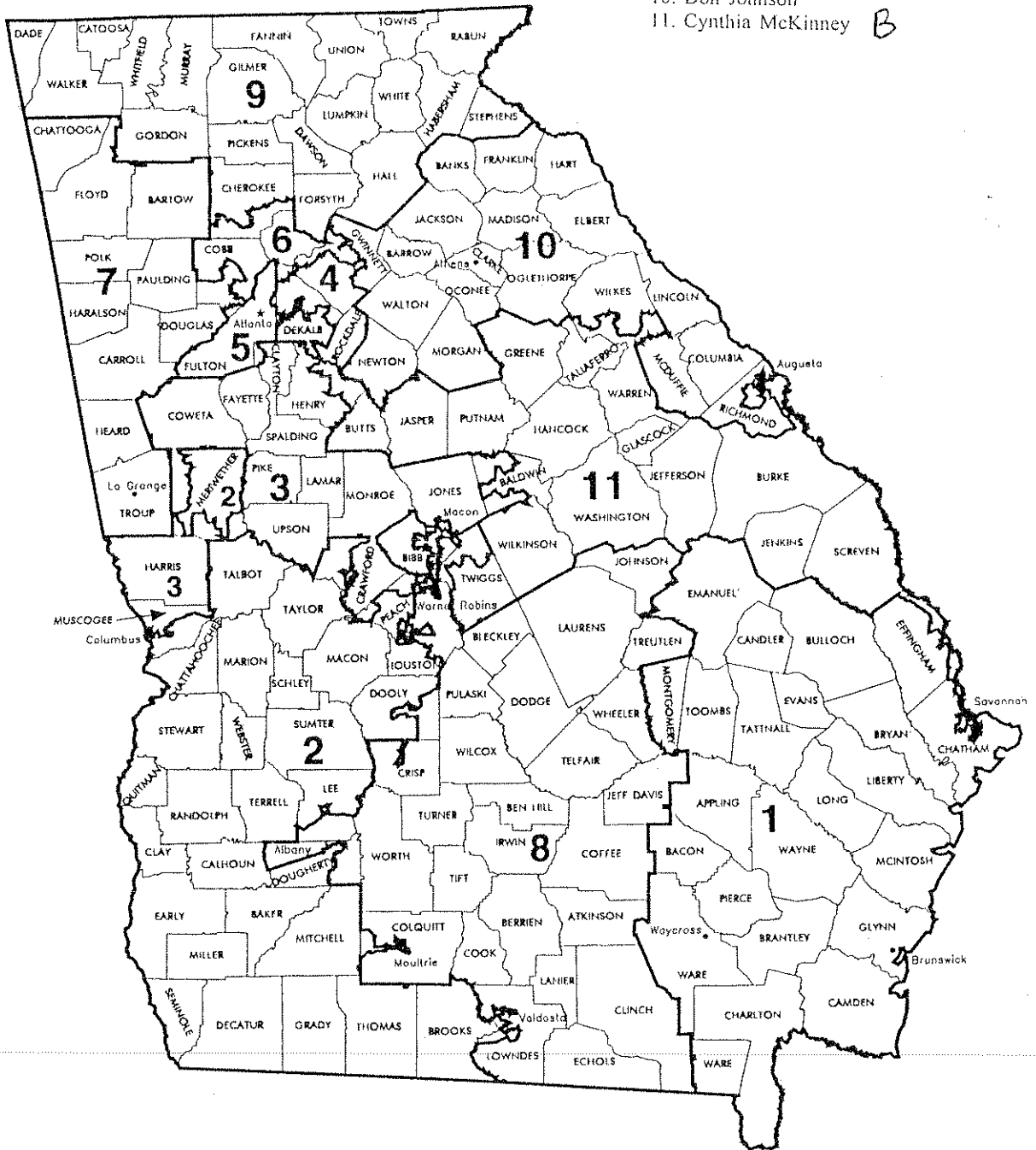
GEORGIA

SENATORS

Sam Nunn  
Paul Coverdell

REPRESENTATIVES BY DISTRICTS

1. Jack Kingston
2. Sanford Bishop **B**
3. Mac Collins
4. John Linder
5. John Lewis **B**
6. Newt Gingrich
7. George (Buddy) Darden
8. J. Roy Rowland
9. Nathan Deal
10. Don Johnson
11. Cynthia McKinney **B**







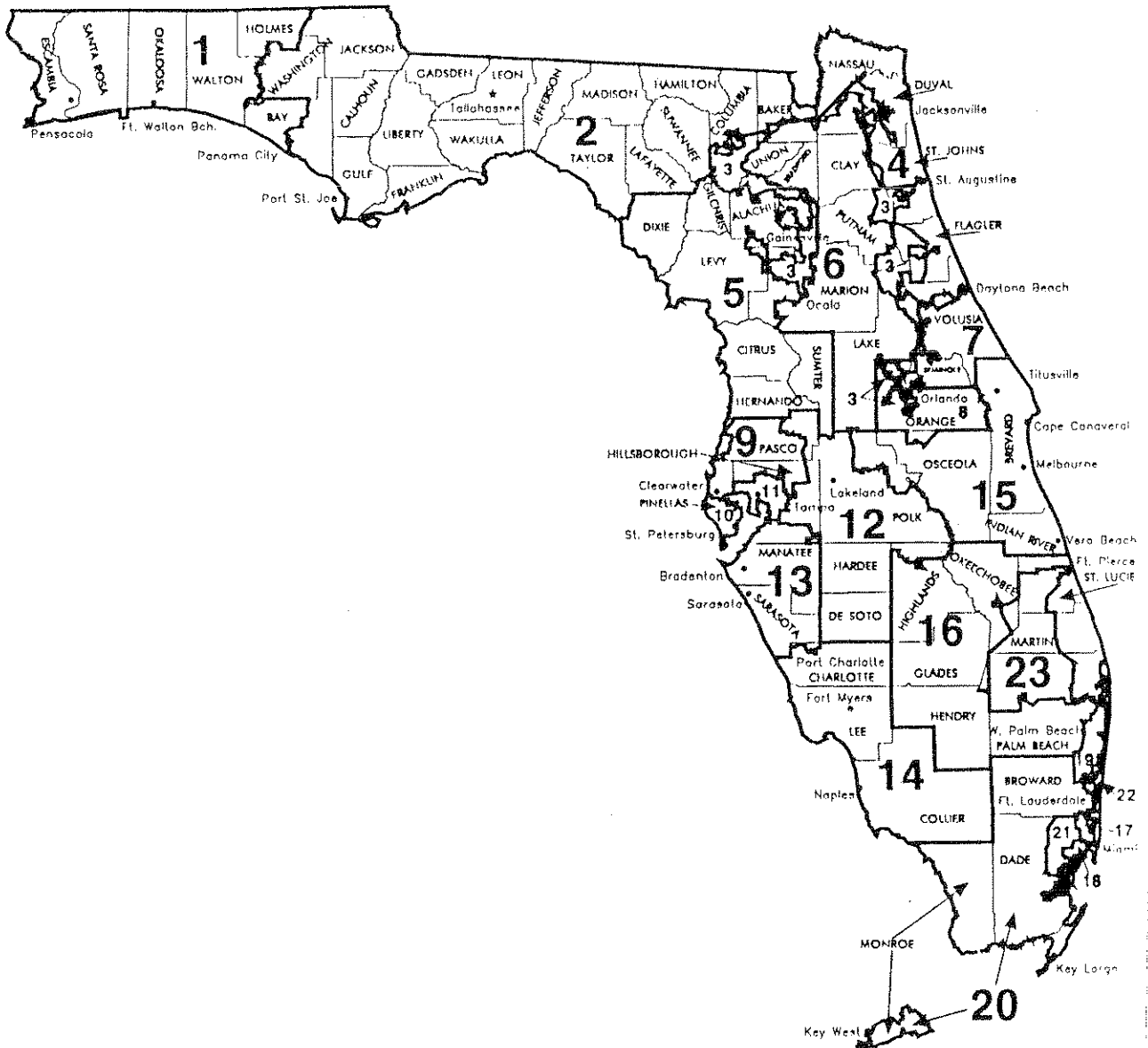
FLORIDA

SENATORS

Bob Graham  
 Connie Muck

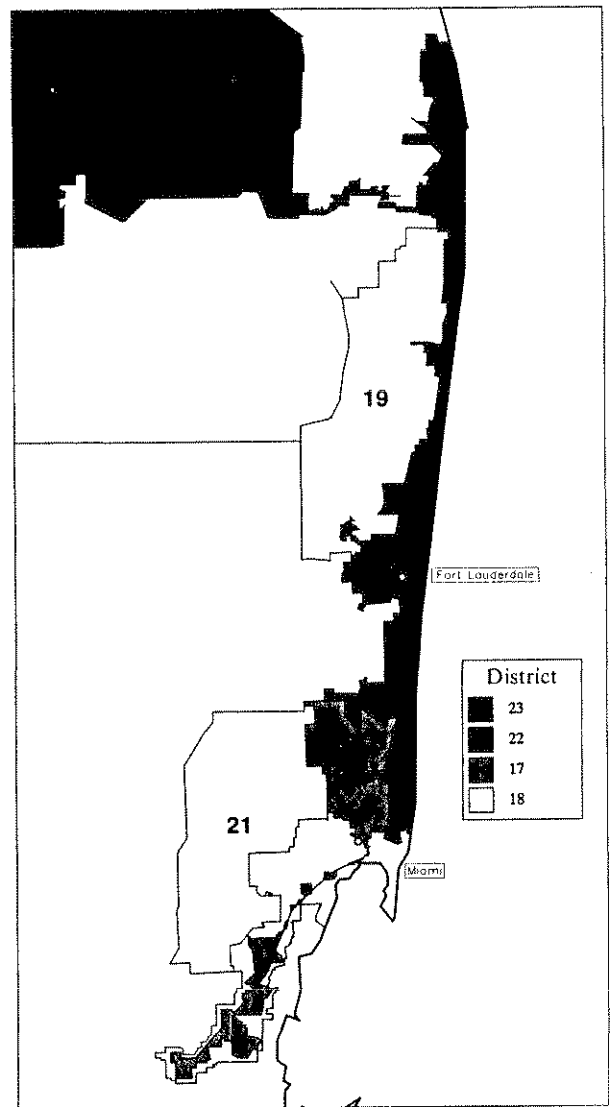
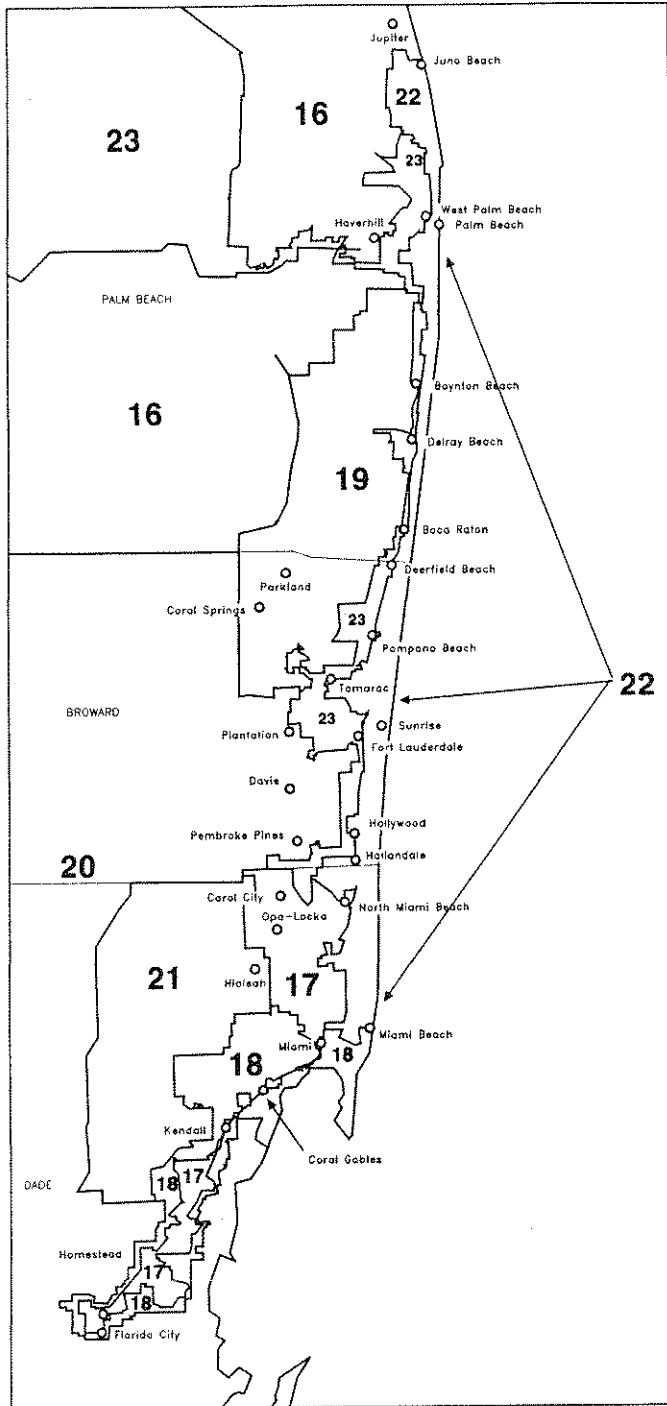
REPRESENTATIVES BY DISTRICTS

- |                            |                                |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Earl Hutto              | 13. Dan Miller                 |
| 2. Douglas (Pete) Peterson | 14. Porter J. Goss             |
| 3. Corrine Brown <b>B</b>  | 15. Jim Bacchus                |
| 4. Tillie Fowler           | 16. Tom Lewis                  |
| 5. Karen L. Thurman        | 17. Carrie Meek <b>B</b>       |
| 6. Cliff Stearns           | 18. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen        |
| 7. John L. Mica            | 19. Harry Johnston             |
| 8. Bill McCollum           | 20. Peter Deutsch              |
| 9. Michael Bilirakis       | 21. Lincoln Diaz-Balart        |
| 10. C.W. Bill Young        | 22. E. Clay Shaw, Jr.          |
| 11. Sam M. Gibbons         | 23. Alcee L. Hastings <b>B</b> |
| 12. Charles T. Canady      |                                |





# MIAMI AREA





# State Delegations and District Maps

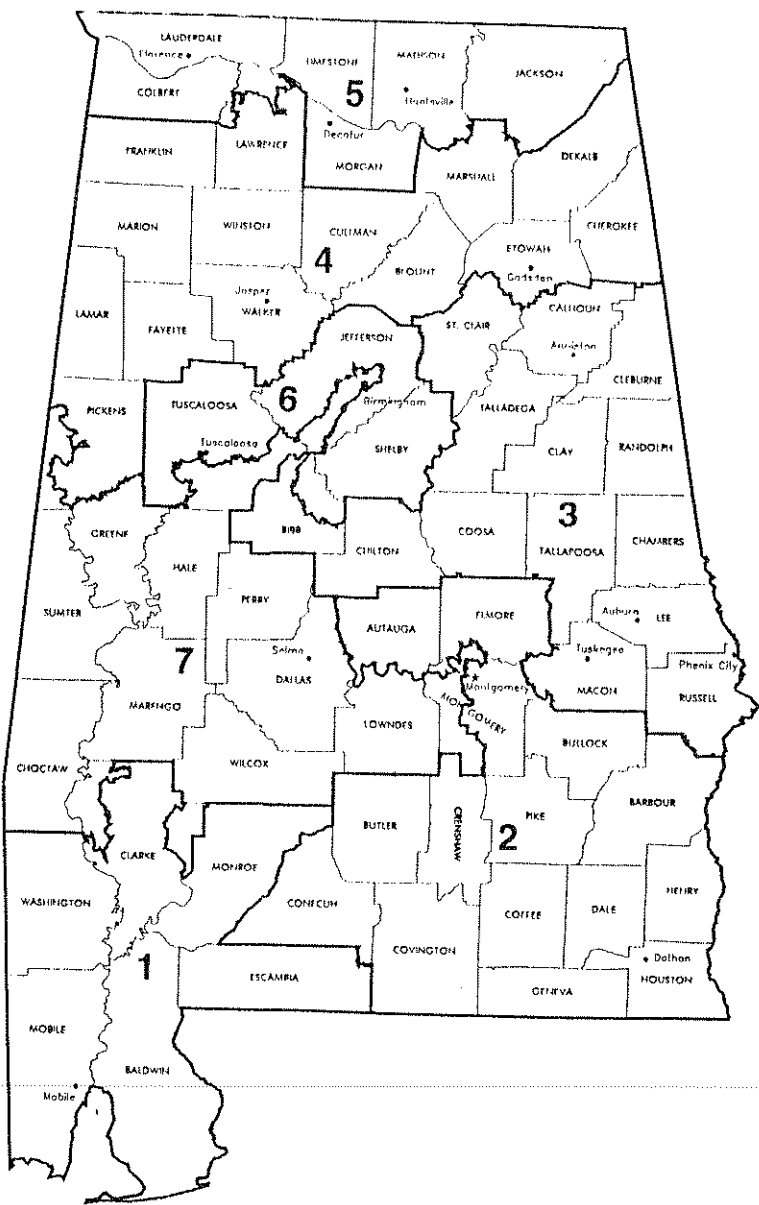
## 103rd Congress

Democrats are listed in roman type; Republicans in *italics*. The first Senator listed for each state is the senior Senator for that state.

### ALABAMA

**SENATORS**  
 Howell T. Heflin  
 Richard C. Shelby

**REPRESENTATIVES BY DISTRICTS**  
 1. *Sonny Callahan*  
 2. *Terry Everett*  
 3. Glen Browder  
 4. Tom Bevill  
 5. Bud Cramer  
 6. *Spencer Bachus*  
 7. Earl F. Hilliard **B**





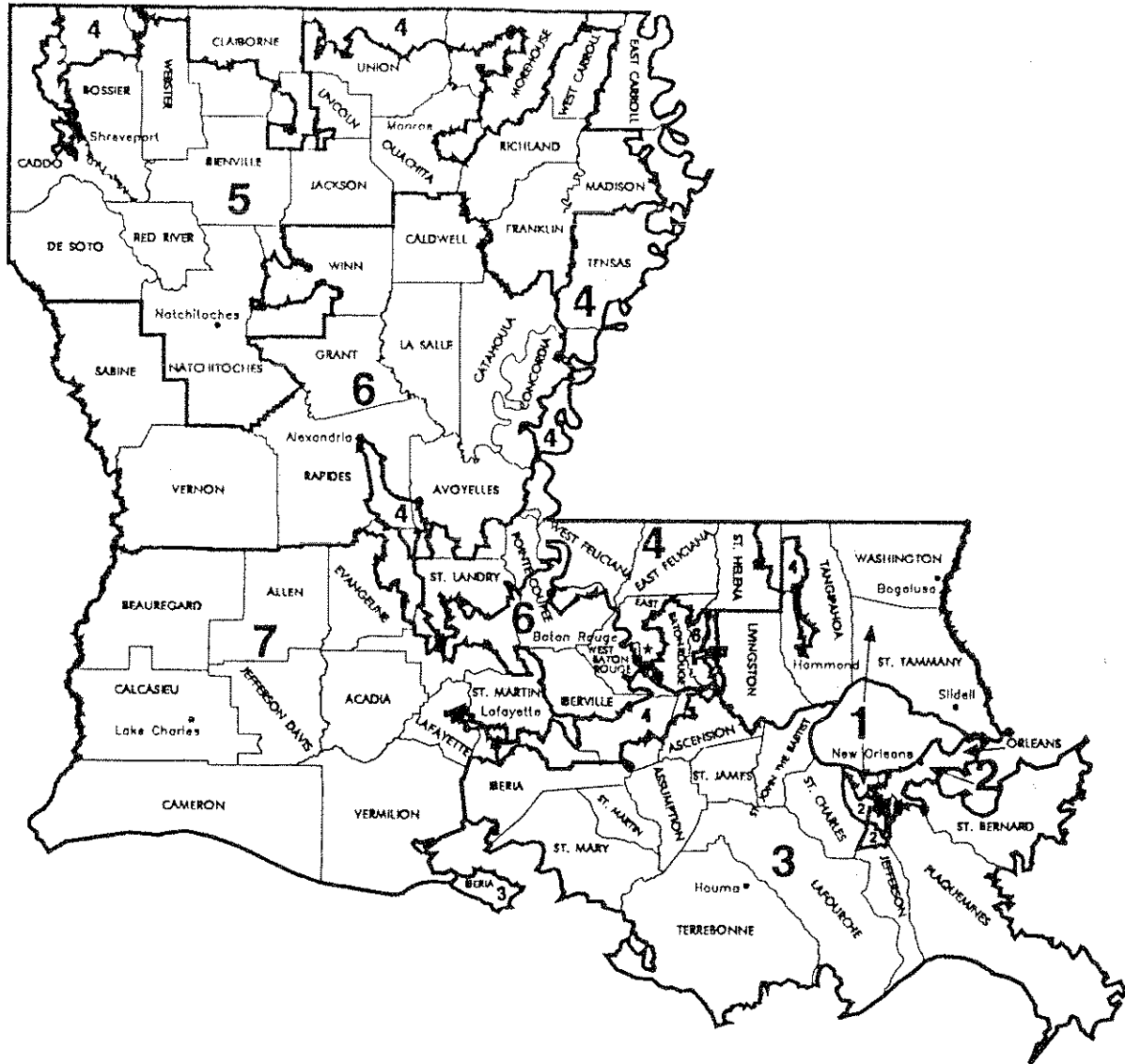
LOUISIANA

SENATORS

J. Bennett Johnston  
John B. Breaux

REPRESENTATIVES BY DISTRICTS

1. Bob Livingston
2. William J. Jefferson **B**
3. W.J. (Billy) Tauzin **B**
4. Cleo Fields **B**
5. Jim McCrery
6. Richard Baker
7. Jimmy Hayes







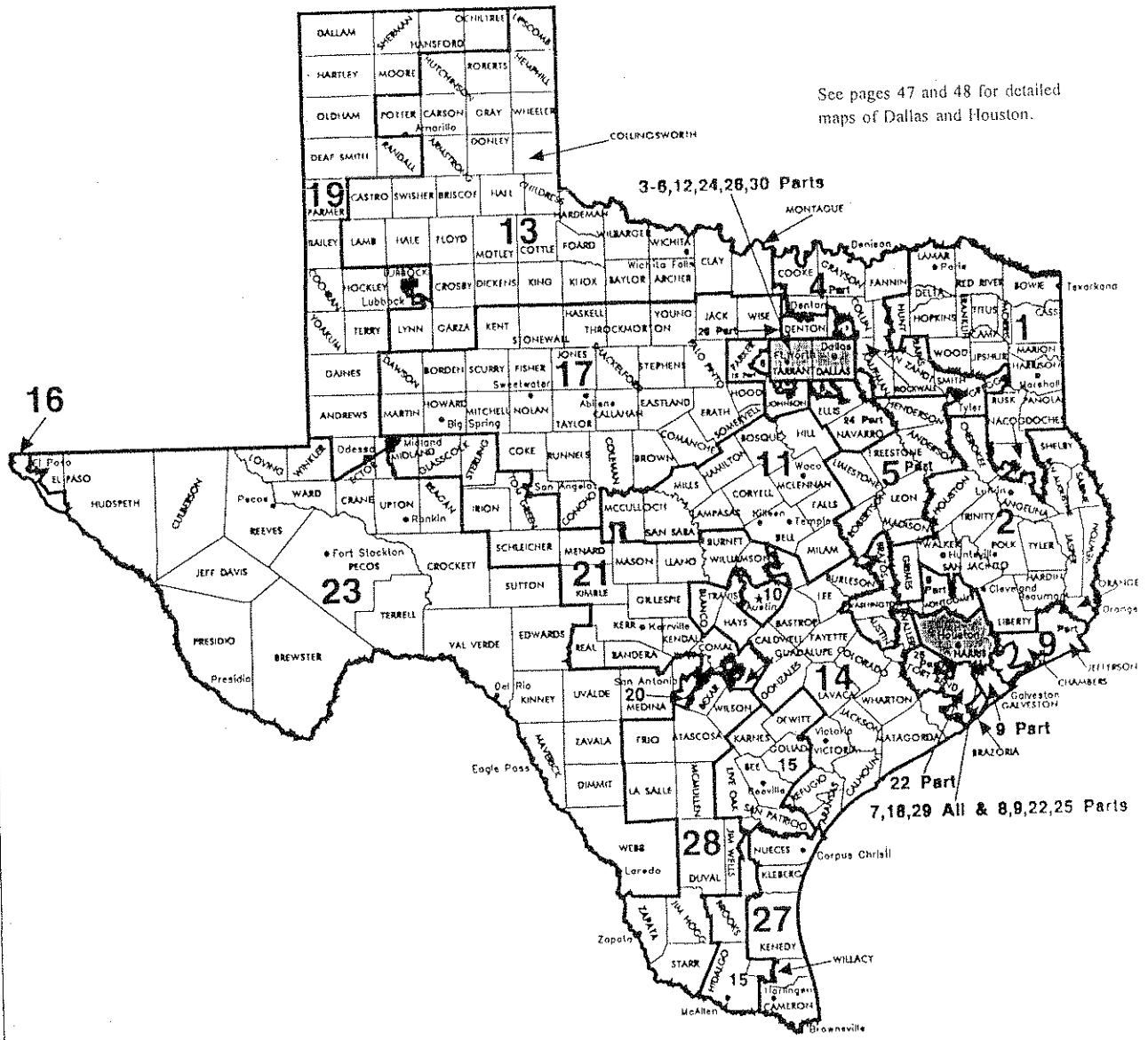
TEXAS

SENATORS

Phil Gramm  
Kay Bailey Hutchison

REPRESENTATIVES BY DISTRICTS

- |                          |                                    |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Jim Chapman           | 16. Ronald D. Coleman              |
| 2. Charles Wilson        | 17. Charles W. Stenholm            |
| 3. Sam Johnson           | 18. Craig A. Washington <b>B</b>   |
| 4. Ralph M. Hall         | 19. Larry Combest                  |
| 5. John Bryant           | 20. Henry B. Gonzalez              |
| 6. Joe Barton            | 21. Lamar Smith                    |
| 7. Bill Archer           | 22. Tom DeLay                      |
| 8. Jack Fields           | 23. Henry Bonilla                  |
| 9. Jack Brooks           | 24. Martin Frost                   |
| 10. J.J. Pickle          | 25. Michael A. Andrews             |
| 11. Chet Edwards         | 26. Dick Armey                     |
| 12. Pete Geren           | 27. Solomon P. Ortiz               |
| 13. Bill Sarpalius       | 28. Frank Tejeda                   |
| 14. Greg Laughlin        | 29. Gene Green                     |
| 15. E (Kika) de la Garza | 30. Eddie Bernice Johnson <b>B</b> |



See pages 47 and 48 for detailed maps of Dallas and Houston.

2

4

13

2

12

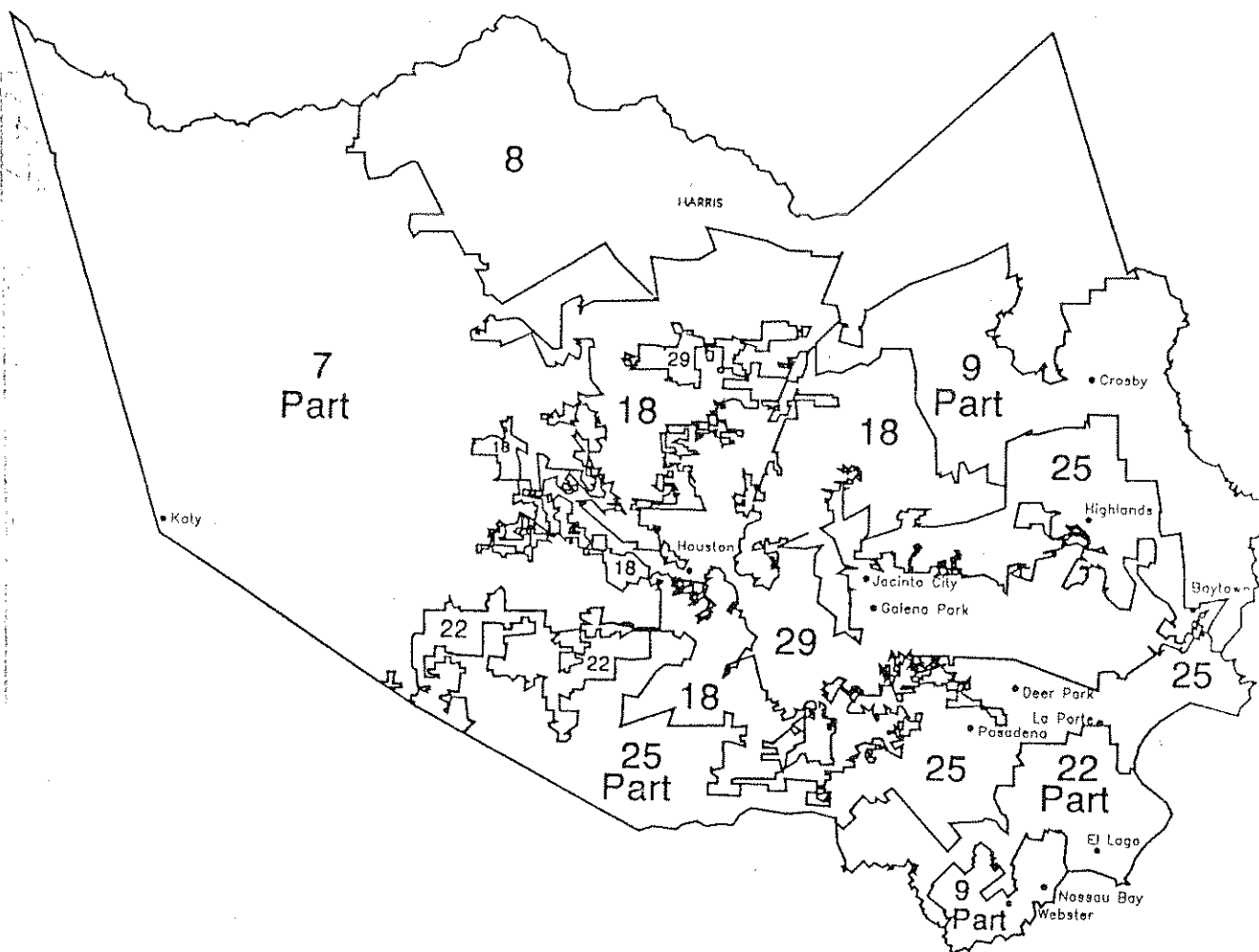
6



### HOUSTON METROPOLITAN AREA

#### REPRESENTATIVES BY DISTRICT

- 7. *Bill Archer*
- 8. *Jack Fields*
- 9. *Jack Brooks*
- 18. *Craig A. Washington* B
- 22. *Tom DeLay*
- 25. *Michael A. Andrews*
- 29. *Gene Green*

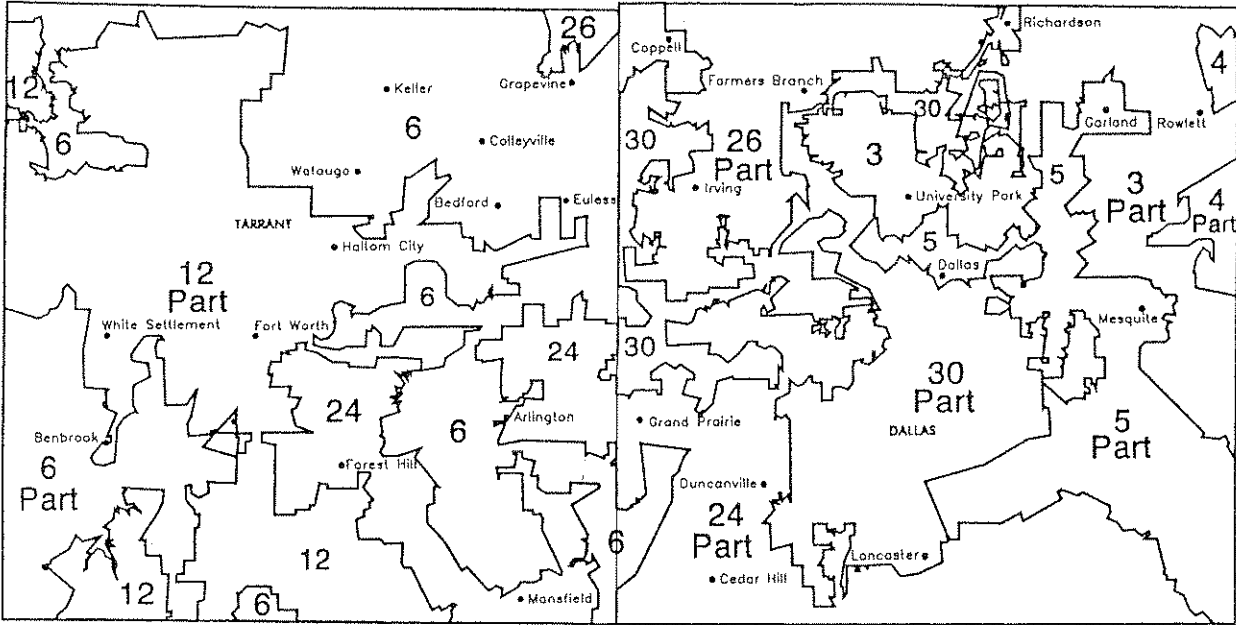




DALLAS/FORT WORTH METROPOLITAN AREA

REPRESENTATIVES BY DISTRICT

- 3. Sam Johnson
- 4. Ralph M. Hall
- 5. John Bryant
- 6. Joe Barton
- 12. Pete Geren
- 24. Martin Frost
- 26. Dick Armey
- 30. Eddie Bernice Johnson **B**





Note from Ed King - 11/17/1994 -  
I just found this

New Orleans

Louisiana Politics

What effect will election upheaval

By JACK WARDLAW  
Capital bureau chief

**B**ATON ROUGE — It was kind of eerie Tuesday night, as if a hurricane was sweeping over the rest of the country while Louisiana sat high and dry.

Voters across America made history — turning over Congress to the Republicans for the first time since the 1950s and showing similar GOP gains in governorships and legislatures.

Louisiana was an island of calm in this sea of turmoil for the simple reason that we weren't voting on anything much.

There was no U.S. Senate race here to start with. And we settled our U.S. House elections — such as they were — in the Oct. 1 primary without changing a single face. Indeed, most of our incumbents hardly broke a sweat getting re-elected.

There were only faint echoes in Louisiana of the national trend.

When the 1996 elections do roll around, can Louisiana Republicans repeat the miracle of

"Miracle"

have statewide?

their national colleagues and gain control of either or both houses of the Legislature? It seems like a long shot, but the GOP wasn't expected to win control of the U.S. House either.

Flush from Tuesday's victory, two Republican legislative leaders were eager to get going.

Wednesday morning, Reps. Garey Forster, R-New Orleans, and Chuck McMains, R-Baton Rouge, held a news conference both to float and to vow to continue the drive in Louisiana.

"If the Republican Party can take over in New York and Texas, and it has its act together in Louisiana in 1995, we can do the same thing," Forster said. "We are the next target."

McMains said "a number of members of the House and Senate" who are now Democrats have been "sitting on the fence" for a while thinking about switching parties, and will be encouraged to do so by Tuesday's results.

He didn't name the fence-sit-

ters, but some who've been rumored as potential converts include Sens. Chris Izzo, D-Marero, Hank Lauricella, D-Harahan, and Reps. Edward Deano, D-Mandeville, and Sean Reilly, D-Baton Rouge.

The interesting thing about the legislative situation is that the most recent reapportionment, while creating several more black-majority districts in both houses, also created a large number of districts that are whiter and more conservative.

Many of those districts are served by incumbent Democrats who were elected when the districts had sizable black minorities. Those minorities are gone, and a strong GOP push could topple those Democrats. That could mushroom into a sweep rivaling the one that hit Congress.

← "while... also" — And how!

The "miracle" is Blacks accepting separatism while conservatives use "Black Power (visibility) to expand conservative Power

"Minorities"

Who wins? Blacks + Rightwing?

Who pays?

ave govern.

Clumped into "black districts" reservations.

