

The American Racial Record

*Politicians, Parties, Civil Rights, and the Evidence from
Reconstruction through 2024*

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FULL EXAMPLE EDITION

A publication-format model built from the verified research record

The American Racial Record

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Editorial status: This is a full example-book edition, not the final 1865–August 18, 2026 edition. Its verified narrative record currently runs through 2024. The source audit, full legislative appendices, complete Louisiana statistical series, 2025–2026 expansion, and professional legal review remain in progress.

Historical and legal notice: The book documents statements, votes, sponsorships, executive actions, enforcement decisions, apologies, reversals, and other public conduct. A classification describes the evidence category; it is not a substitute for proof of private motive or a blanket label applied to a person.

Dedication

To the men and women who kept records when power preferred forgetting—and
to the generations still learning what citizenship has cost.

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Author's Note

This book began with a simple question: what does the public record actually show? Political memory often begins with a conclusion and searches backward for evidence. This project reverses that order. It starts with the statement, vote, statute, order, veto, signature, enforcement decision, resistance campaign, apology, or reversal—and then asks what can responsibly be concluded.

The standard is deliberately even. A Democratic segregationist does not become a Republican because he changed parties years later. A Republican civil-rights vote does not erase later conduct. A vote against a bill proves opposition to that bill, but it does not automatically prove personal racial hatred. A later apology matters, but it does not erase the earlier act. Every politician is entitled to the same evidentiary rules.

This is not a scorecard designed to declare one party permanently innocent. It is a chronological record of institutions, coalitions, regions, voters, officeholders, and changing arguments. The aim is strong enough documentation that readers from different political traditions can dispute the interpretation without disputing what the underlying record says.

Preface

American racial history is often told as a morality play with fixed heroes, fixed villains, and a single moment when every political identity supposedly changed places. The real history is more difficult and more useful. Parties changed. Regions changed. Voters moved. Officeholders sometimes switched parties, but more often they retired, died, lost elections, or were replaced by a new generation. Black voters changed their alignment through a long process. White southern voters moved at different rates in presidential, congressional, state, and local elections.

Reconstruction is therefore not a short prologue. It created constitutional citizenship, Black officeholding, public-school systems, biracial state governments, and federal enforcement against political terror. Its destruction shaped the next century. The record must include Black Republican lawmakers as political actors—not merely as victims—and must document the organized violence, legal machinery, and federal retreat that removed their power.

The same discipline applies after 1965. School busing, affirmative action, immigration enforcement, disparate impact, voting administration, policing, DEI, and equal-protection arguments are related to race, but they are not identical to state-enforced segregation. This book separates those categories so that moral seriousness does not become historical carelessness.

Introduction — The Record, Not the Slogan

The central unit of this book is the documented act. Names appear with the party held at the time of the event, the office, the date, the specific conduct, the politician's stated justification when available, relevant counterevidence, an evidence classification, and a confidence rating. Repeated appearances matter because a decades-long pattern carries more evidentiary weight than one disputed sentence or one procedural vote.

That approach also protects the history from partisan shortcuts. "The parties switched" is too vague to explain a century and a half of change. It can refer to presidential voting, congressional seats, state organizations, ideology, Black voter alignment, white southern voter alignment, migration, or individual party switches. Those are separate measurements. The history becomes clearer when they are tracked separately.

Eric Foner's scholarship supplies a major interpretive framework for emancipation, citizenship, Reconstruction government, Black political participation, constitutional change, and the retreat from Reconstruction. It is used alongside primary records, Black historians, congressional and presidential archives, court decisions, state records, and other respected scholarship. No historian, however distinguished, is treated as the sole authority.

Methodology — How the Evidence Is Classified

- Primary evidence first: statutes, congressional records and roll calls, executive orders, court opinions, state constitutions and journals, government reports, archived speeches, letters, audio, and video.
- Party at the time: a later party change never alters the label attached to an earlier event.
- Action before motive: the record states what was said, signed, sponsored, enforced, repealed, blocked, defended, apologized for, or repudiated before interpreting motive.
- Counterevidence required: later civil-rights conduct, appointments, apologies, changed rhetoric, reversals, and party changes are actively sought.
- Transparent denominators: percentages identify who or what is being counted and do not mix cloture, amendment, final-passage, registration, turnout, or population measures.
- Confidence is evidentiary: High, Moderate, or Limited describes source strength and completeness, not the moral importance of the event.

Evidence Codes

Code	Definition
R1	Explicit racial supremacy or inferiority statement
R2	Government-enforced racial segregation
R3	Organized resistance to racial integration or voting rights
R4	Recorded civil-rights vote or legislative action
R5	Recorded racially derogatory, stereotypical, or controversial statement
R6	Racially consequential action where discriminatory intent is uncertain
R7	Affirmative civil-rights action
R8	Institutional weakening or removal of civil-rights enforcement
R9	Alleged disparate impact without proven discriminatory intent
R10	Documented apology, repudiation, ideological reversal, or later change

Reading rule: Multiple codes may apply to the same event. The code describes the documented category; it does not replace the narrative evidence.

Chapter 1 — The Record Begins: Reconstruction and the Second Founding

The entries that follow show how this book writes from the public record. Each profile begins with a documented act, preserves party affiliation at the time, separates context from motive, and notes counterevidence or later change. The companion research dataset retains the full field structure, citations, confidence labels, and audit notes behind this narrative edition.

Andrew Johnson — Democrat — President — 1866–1867

Johnson vetoed the Civil Rights Act of 1866 and the First Reconstruction Act. These are recorded as opposition to specific congressional Reconstruction measures (R3/R4/R8), with his stated constitutional arguments to be quoted from the complete veto messages. Congress overrode both vetoes. Source route: Library of Congress Reconstruction digital collections.

P. B. S. Pinchback — Republican — Louisiana — 1867–1876

Pinchback defended Black civil rights, helped lead the drafting of a civil-rights article for Louisiana's Reconstruction constitution, became the nation's first Black acting governor in 1872, and was later denied a contested U.S. Senate seat. Blanche K. Bruce argued in the Senate for seating him. These are recorded as affirmative civil-rights and representation events (R7), while the disputed election and rival-government context remain explicit.

Ulysses S. Grant — Republican — President — 1870–1871

Grant signed the Enforcement Acts and used federal power against Ku Klux Klan violence. On October 12, 1871, he suspended habeas corpus in nine South Carolina counties and sent troops to suppress the Klan. The National Park Service reports that the campaign damaged the first Klan in the short term. The manuscript will separately examine constitutional objections, prosecutions, geographic limits, and later federal retreat.

Amos T. Akerman — Republican — Attorney General — 1870–1871

Akerman is a necessary counterevidence profile. He had owned enslaved people and served in the Confederate Army, then joined the Republican Party and, as attorney general, led federal action against the Klan. His entry therefore requires both affirmative enforcement (R7) and documented change (R10).

Woodrow Wilson — Democrat — President — 1913

The Wilson administration segregated federal office workers. The foundation record assigns R2 and treats the administrative mechanisms, responsible cabinet officials, and department-specific directives as a primary-source audit task rather than compressing them into one unsupported sentence.

Franklin D. Roosevelt — Democrat — President — 1941

Executive Order 8802 barred discrimination in defense-related employment and government and created the Fair Employment Practice Committee. This is R7. The record also notes its limits: it did not desegregate the armed forces, and enforcement was uneven.

Harry S. Truman — Democrat — President — 1948

Executive Order 9981 declared equality of treatment and opportunity in the armed services without regard to race, color, religion, or national origin. This is R7. Implementation resistance and the later pace of integration remain part of the entry.

Howard W. Smith — Democrat — Virginia — 1956

Smith introduced the Southern Manifesto on the House floor. The manifesto attacked *Brown v. Board* as judicial overreach and called for resistance through purportedly lawful means. This is organized resistance to integration (R3); the book will also preserve the signers' stated constitutional case.

Robert C. Byrd — Democrat — West Virginia — 1964

Byrd delivered a 14-hour, 13-minute speech during the Senate filibuster against the Civil Rights Act. The event is R3/R4. His later apologies, reversals, and full voting record must appear in the same longitudinal profile rather than being hidden or used to erase the 1964 act.

Humphrey, Kuchel, and Dirksen — Bipartisan Senate coalition — 1964

Democratic Whip Hubert Humphrey and Republican Whip Thomas Kuchel managed the bipartisan floor effort; Republican leader Everett Dirksen helped negotiate the compromise and deliver votes required for cloture. The Senate passed H.R. 7152 by 73–27, and President Lyndon Johnson signed it on July 2. The final appendix will distinguish cloture from final passage and list every member by party at the time.

Chapter 2 — Reconstruction Under Siege, 1873–1877

Reconstruction did not end in a single moment. It was weakened through organized violence, disputed elections, federal hesitation, court decisions, and the shrinking willingness of national institutions to protect Black political participation. Louisiana makes this process unusually visible. The 1872 election produced rival state governments amid fraud and violence. At Colfax in 1873, armed white attackers killed an estimated eighty to one hundred African Americans after a struggle over the parish government. The U.S. Senate's historical account places that massacre inside the same contested political order that shaped P. B. S. Pinchback's claim to a Senate seat.

Pinchback's case also exposes the limits of a simple partisan story. Senate Democrats filibustered his seating, but some Republicans had also lost confidence in Reconstruction policy. Blanche K. Bruce, a Republican senator from Mississippi, used his maiden speech to urge the Senate to seat Pinchback and warned that rejection would abandon Louisiana's Black citizens. On March 8, 1876, the Senate rejected Pinchback's claim. The event belongs in the record as a contest over representation, legitimacy, and federal responsibility, not as proof that every senator acted from the same motive.

Evidence boundary: Colfax and the disputed Louisiana governments are essential historical context, but the politician database records named actions. Mass violence is not assigned to an officeholder without evidence of ordering, organizing, defending, or knowingly enabling it.

Chapter 3 — Federal Retreat and the Architecture of Disfranchisement, 1877–1901

The Enforcement Acts of 1870 and 1871 had created federal supervision and criminal remedies for attacks on voting rights. By the late nineteenth century, that machinery was being narrowed or removed while southern state governments constructed new barriers to the ballot. In 1890, Republican Representative Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts introduced H.R. 10958. The measure allowed federal supervision of federal elections after a defined petition process. Lodge denounced appeals to race supremacy as a device for taking political rights from both Black and white citizens. The House narrowly passed the bill; it died in the Senate.

Black Republican Representatives John Mercer Langston of Virginia and Thomas E. Miller of South Carolina urged Senate action in January 1891. Langston treated the bill as a test of whether every citizen could use the ballot freely. Miller connected election protection to physical security, unequal courts, and lynching. Their speeches show that Black officeholders were not passive symbols of Reconstruction. They developed constitutional arguments, legislative proposals, and public records against the erosion of citizenship.

Henry Cabot Lodge — Republican — Massachusetts — U.S. Representative — 1890

Documented action: introduced H.R. 10958, the federal elections bill. Stated justification: protection against fraud, intimidation, and race-based disfranchisement. Context: the bill was the last major nineteenth-century attempt to restore federal supervision of southern federal elections. Classification: R4/R7. Confidence: High.

John Mercer Langston — Republican — Virginia — U.S. Representative — 1891

Documented action: urged Senate passage of the Lodge bill on January 16, 1891. Context: he framed the free ballot as a national democratic obligation rather than a sectional or exclusively Black interest. Classification: R7. Confidence: High.

Thomas E. Miller — Republican — South Carolina — U.S. Representative — 1891

Documented action: spoke for the Lodge bill on January 12, 1891 and linked political protection to protection from lynching and intimidation. Counterpoint: appointments to office, he argued, did not replace enforceable rights. Classification: R7. Confidence: High.

Alfred H. Colquitt — Democrat — Georgia — U.S. Senator — 1891

Documented action: delivered a speech described by the House historian as blaming formerly enslaved Black southerners for slowing regional development. Miller answered it on February 14. Because the complete Congressional Record text has not yet been extracted, this release uses R5 and Moderate confidence, not R1.

Grover Cleveland — Democrat — President — 1894

Documented action: signed the February 8, 1894 act repealing federal election supervisors and special deputy marshals, 28 Stat. 36. Classification: R4/R8. The record establishes the signing and institutional result; it does not assume Cleveland's personal racial motive without fuller evidence.

Benjamin R. Tillman — Democrat — South Carolina — former governor and U.S. senator — 1895

Documented action: led the state Democratic movement behind the 1895 constitutional convention and openly advocated white supremacy as new voting restrictions were imposed. Classification: R1/R3. Confidence: Moderate pending convention-level primary quotation and date audit.

Robert Smalls and Thomas E. Miller — Republicans — South Carolina delegates — 1895

Documented action: joined six Black delegates who protested and used parliamentary resistance against disfranchising provisions. Classification: R3/R7. Context: their efforts delayed but could not prevent the new restrictions.

George Henry White — Republican — North Carolina — U.S. Representative — 1899-1901

Documented actions: proposed reducing House representation for states that disfranchised voters; introduced H.R. 6963, the first federal anti-lynching bill; and left a final congressional defense of Black citizenship. Classification: R4/R7. His bill died in committee, and his departure preceded a twenty-eight-year gap before another Black member entered Congress.

Louisiana 1898: Mechanisms and Measurable Consequence

Louisiana's 1898 constitution combined a poll tax, educational and property requirements, and a grandfather clause. Government litigation records and contemporaneous sources describe the convention's purpose as securing white political supremacy while attempting to survive constitutional review. The mechanism mattered: formally race-neutral language could be administered within a system designed to destroy Black voting power.

The numerical collapse is stark, but each figure needs its denominator. The House historian reports approximately 130,000 registered Black voters in Louisiana in 1896, before the new restrictions. In 1900, 5,320 Black Louisianans voted. By 1904, a little more than 1,300 Black voters were registered statewide. Registration and turnout are different measures, so the 1896 registration figure and the 1900 voting figure must not be used as if they were identical series. The final Louisiana appendix will reconcile parish-level registration, turnout, population, and source definitions before calculating percentage declines.

Louisiana attribution rule: This edition describes the convention, legal devices, and measured collapse but does not yet attach an R-code to a named Louisiana convention leader. That step remains pending until the convention journal, delegate roles, and gubernatorial record are reconciled.

Chapter 4 — Anti-Lynching and Restricted Suffrage, 1900–1920

George Henry White's H.R. 6963 opened the federal legislative campaign against lynching. Introduced on January 20, 1900, it sought federal protection against mob violence and federal jurisdiction to defend trial by jury. White argued for the measure on the House floor; a New Jersey petition submitted on February 21 urged Congress to enact it. The bill died in the Judiciary Committee. That failure belongs in the institutional record, but committee inaction must be assigned to named members only after the committee file and membership are audited.

Race also entered the national woman-suffrage debate through explicit proposals to preserve racial restriction. On March 5, 1914, Democratic Senator James K. Vardaman of Mississippi proposed changing the suffrage amendment to repeal the Fifteenth Amendment. The Senate rejected the proposal 19-48. Democratic Senator John Sharp Williams of Mississippi proposed limiting the amendment to white citizens; the Senate rejected that proposal 21-44. The rejections are essential counterevidence: the record includes both the proposed restrictions and the Senate's refusal to adopt them.

James K. Vardaman — Democrat — Mississippi — U.S. Senator — 1914

Documented action: proposed repeal of the Fifteenth Amendment during consideration of woman suffrage. Vote: rejected 19-48. Classification: R3/R4. Confidence: High.

John Sharp Williams — Democrat — Mississippi — U.S. Senator — 1914

Documented action: proposed limiting the woman-suffrage amendment to white citizens. Vote: rejected 21-44. Classification: R3/R4/R5. Confidence: High.

Chapter 5 — Anti-Lynching, Poll Taxes, and the 1948 Break

Federal anti-lynching legislation moved from George Henry White's 1900 proposal to a sustained national campaign. Republican Representative Leonidas C. Dyer of Missouri introduced repeated measures after the East St. Louis violence. In January 1922 his bill reached the House floor. Dyer argued that lynching and state failure to prosecute denied equal protection under the Fourteenth Amendment. Democratic Representative Hatton W. Sumners of Texas led the opposition, framed the bill as an unconstitutional invasion of state authority, and urged Congress to leave enforcement to southern states. The House passed the measure on January 26. Southern Democrats then obstructed it in the Senate and threatened a filibuster; Senate Republicans declined to force the issue. Because the current authoritative account names the coalition but not every participating senator, this edition does not invent an individual obstruction roster.

Leonidas C. Dyer — Republican — Missouri — U.S. Representative — 1922

Documented action: sponsored the federal anti-lynching bill and secured House passage. Stated justification: federal protection of life and equal protection when states failed to act. Classification: R4/R7. Confidence: High.

Hatton W. Sumners — Democrat — Texas — U.S. Representative — 1922

Documented action: led House opposition to the Dyer bill. Stated justification: states' rights and opposition to federal jurisdiction; he urged reliance on state enforcement. Classification: R3/R4. Confidence: High.

Edward P. Costigan — Democrat — Colorado — U.S. Senator — 1933-1935

Documented action: drafted and repeatedly advanced federal anti-lynching legislation imposing penalties on officials who failed to prevent mob violence. Southern senators filibustered the renewed bill, and it was withdrawn without a final vote. Classification: R4/R7. Confidence: High.

Robert F. Wagner — Democrat — New York — U.S. Senator — 1933-1935

Documented action: cosponsored Costigan's anti-lynching proposal. The bipartisan history of sponsorship and obstruction must be recorded member by member, rather than reduced to a party slogan. Classification: R4/R7. Confidence: High.

The Poll Tax and Wartime Democracy

The wartime anti-poll-tax campaign produced a bipartisan House coalition and repeated Senate failure. On October 13, 1942, Democratic Representative Arthur W. Mitchell of Illinois urged passage of a federal anti-poll-tax bill and argued that disfranchisement at home contradicted the nation's defense of democracy abroad. The House passed the bill, but it died in the Senate. When the next Congress opened on January 6, 1943, Vito Marcantonio of New York—then the lone American Labor Party member—introduced another bill. His party label matters: he had served an earlier term as a Republican, but he was not a Republican at the time of this action.

Marcantonio used a discharge petition signed by 218 members to force the bill from the Rules Committee. Democratic Representative William L. Dawson of Illinois defended it on May 25, drawing on his experience of unequal schooling in Georgia to answer the argument that poll taxes funded education. Republican Representative George H. Bender of Ohio also supported abolition as a means of strengthening national unity. The House passed the bill 265 to 110. Dawson later testified before a Senate Judiciary subcommittee, but southern senators obstructed the measure and it died under threat of filibuster. The denominator is explicit: 265 members voted for House passage and 110 against; a party breakdown awaits the roll-call appendix.

Arthur W. Mitchell — Democrat — Illinois — U.S. Representative — 1942

Documented action: supported the anti-poll-tax bill during the October 13 House debate. Classification: R4/R7. Confidence: High.

Vito Marcantonio — American Labor Party — New York — U.S. Representative — 1943

Documented action: introduced the bill and used a majority discharge petition to force floor consideration. Classification: R4/R7. Confidence: High.

William L. Dawson — Democrat — Illinois — U.S. Representative — 1943

Documented action: defended the bill in the House and later before a Senate subcommittee. House result: passage, 265-110. Classification: R4/R7. Confidence: High.

George H. Bender — Republican — Ohio — U.S. Representative — 1943

Documented action: supported abolition of the poll tax as a democratic and national-unity measure. Classification: R4/R7. Confidence: Moderate until the exact speech date is confirmed in the Congressional Record.

Truman, Federal Employment, and the Dixiecrat Revolt

On February 2, 1948, Democratic President Harry S. Truman sent Congress a civil-rights message. On July 26 he issued Executive Order 9980, directing that federal personnel actions be based on merit and fitness without discrimination because of race, color, religion, or national origin. The order assigned department heads responsibility, created fair-employment officers, and provided an appeal route through a Fair Employment Board in the Civil Service Commission. Executive Order 9981, issued the same day and already recorded separately, addressed equality of treatment and opportunity in the armed services.

The national Democratic civil-rights plank helped provoke a southern bolt. South Carolina Governor Strom Thurmond led the States' Rights Democratic presidential ticket. The party platform expressly defended segregation and opposed federal action against segregation, racial restrictions in marriage law, discrimination in private employment, voting practices, and local law enforcement. This 1948 event is assigned to the States' Rights Democratic Party. Thurmond's switch to the Republican Party in September 1964 belongs to a later entry and cannot be projected backward onto his 1948 campaign.

Harry S. Truman — Democrat — President — 1948

Documented action: issued Executive Order 9980 governing fair employment in the federal establishment. Classification: R7. Confidence: High.

Strom Thurmond — States' Rights Democrat — South Carolina governor and presidential nominee — 1948

Documented action: led the Dixiecrat ticket associated with a platform that defended segregation and condemned the national Democratic civil-rights program. Stated justification: states' rights, local control, and opposition to federal regulation. Classification: R2/R3. Confidence: High. Counterevidence and later change: the longitudinal profile will separately examine his state record, 1964 party switch, later appointments, rhetoric, and votes.

Evidence boundary: The record distinguishes sponsorship, opposition, coalition obstruction, executive action, and party-platform leadership. A failed bill is not converted into a roll-call vote that never occurred, and unnamed members of an obstructing coalition are not assigned individual entries without member-level evidence.

Chapter 6 — Brown, Massive Resistance, and the Voting Rights Act, 1954–1965

Brown v. Board of Education changed constitutional law, but it did not by itself integrate the nation's schools. Congressional resistance was organized and public. On March 12, 1956, Democratic Representative Howard W. Smith of Virginia introduced the Declaration of Constitutional Principles in the House, while Democratic Senator Walter F. George of Georgia introduced it in the Senate. The document was signed by 82 representatives and 19 senators, all from former Confederate states. It attacked *Brown* as judicial overreach and urged the use of every purportedly lawful means to resist desegregation. The final signer appendix will list all 101 members, their party at the time, state, chamber, later party changes, and subsequent civil-rights conduct.

Southern Manifesto denominator: The documented universe is 101 signers: 82 House members and 19 senators. A signature establishes participation in the manifesto; it does not replace a separate audit of each signer's speeches, votes, enforcement actions, or later changes.

The Civil Rights Act of 1957

Republican President Dwight D. Eisenhower's administration advanced the legislation, with Attorney General Herbert Brownell Jr. developing major elements of the proposal. Democratic Representative Charles C. Diggs Jr. of Michigan documented intimidation, coercion, registration barriers, and counties in which no Black residents were registered. The House passed its stronger version 286 to 126 on June 18, 1957.

In the Senate, Democrat Paul Douglas of Illinois and Republican Minority Leader William Knowland of California worked around Judiciary Committee obstruction to bring the measure to the floor. Democratic Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson discouraged an organized southern filibuster and negotiated a compromise preserving local juries in civil-rights cases. That compromise helped secure passage but removed important voting protections. Democratic Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina then conducted an individual filibuster lasting 24 hours and 18 minutes. The Senate passed the weakened bill 60 to 15 on August 29, and Eisenhower signed it on September 9. The act created the Civil Rights Commission and the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division, but its enforcement tools proved limited.

Dwight D. Eisenhower — Republican — President — 1957

Documented action: signed the Civil Rights Act of 1957. Classification: R7. Counterevidence and limitation: the enacted compromise was materially weaker than the House bill. Confidence: High.

Strom Thurmond — Democrat — South Carolina — U.S. Senator — 1957

Documented action: filibustered the bill for 24 hours and 18 minutes. Classification: R3/R4. His later Republican affiliation does not apply to this event. Confidence: High.

Lyndon B. Johnson — Democrat — Texas — Senate majority leader — 1957

Documented action: managed the compromise and passage strategy. Classification: R4/R7. Counterevidence: the compromise weakened voting-rights enforcement. Confidence: High.

Paul Douglas and William Knowland — Democrat and Republican — U.S. senators — 1957

Documented action: worked together to circumvent committee obstruction and obtain floor consideration. Classification: R4/R7. Confidence: Moderate until the exact Senate procedural motions are attached.

Charles C. Diggs Jr. — Democrat — Michigan — U.S. Representative — 1957

Documented action: presented evidence of Black disfranchisement and argued for federal intervention. Classification: R4/R7. Confidence: High.

Little Rock and Executive Enforcement

On September 24, 1957, Eisenhower issued Executive Order 10730 after Arkansas officials and the National Guard obstructed federal court orders integrating Central High School. He federalized the Arkansas Guard and sent the 101st Airborne Division to protect the Little Rock Nine. This was a major affirmative federal enforcement action, classified R7. It did not mean that school integration proceeded quickly nationwide; the House historian emphasizes that implementation of Brown remained slow across the South.

Civil Rights Act of 1960

The Civil Rights Act of 1960 extended the Civil Rights Commission, required preservation of federal voting and registration records, and added federal judicial remedies. Southern opposition again weakened the legislation. President Eisenhower signed Public Law 86-449 on May 6, 1960. The next source audit will separate every major amendment, House and Senate final votes, Johnson's round-the-clock floor strategy, and the individual Louisiana delegation record.

The Bipartisan Coalition of 1964

Democratic Judiciary Chairman Emanuel Celler of New York sponsored H.R. 7152 and managed the House bill with Republican ranking member William McCulloch of Ohio. McCulloch organized Republican support and negotiated assurances that the House measure would not be sacrificed merely to obtain Senate passage. On February 10, the House passed the bill 290 to 130. Southern Democrats supplied much of the opposition, while 138 Republicans—nearly four-fifths of the Republican conference—supported passage.

In the Senate, Democratic Senator Richard Russell of Georgia led the organized southern opposition and promised a sustained fight. Democratic leaders Hubert Humphrey and Mike Mansfield worked with Republican leaders Everett Dirksen and Thomas Kuchel to end the filibuster. Cloture passed 71 to 29. Final passage on June 19 was 73 to 27: 46 Democrats and 27 Republicans voted yes; 21 Democrats and 6 Republicans voted no. Those are final-passage figures, not cloture figures, and the denominator is the 100-member Senate. President Johnson signed the act on July 2.

Emanuel Celler — Democrat — New York — U.S. Representative — 1964

Documented action: sponsored and managed H.R. 7152 through committee and the House. Classification: R4/R7. Confidence: High.

William McCulloch — Republican — Ohio — U.S. Representative — 1964

Documented action: helped craft the bill, managed Republican floor support, and protected the House measure in negotiations. Classification: R4/R7. Confidence: High.

Richard Russell Jr. — Democrat — Georgia — U.S. Senator — 1964

Documented action: led the southern bloc's filibuster and opposition. Classification: R3/R4. Confidence: High.

Thurmond's Party Change: Exact Attribution

The Senate Historical Office records that Strom Thurmond remained a Democrat through September 15, 1964, and became a Republican on September 16. His opposition to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 therefore remains a Democratic event. His actions after September 16—including opposition to the Voting Rights Act of 1965—belong to his Republican record. Recording the precise switch corrects retroactive labeling without turning one individual change into a substitute for analysis of voters, seats, state organizations, or national coalitions.

Voting Rights Act of 1965

After Bloody Sunday in Selma, Democratic President Lyndon Johnson sent Congress a bill authorizing direct federal intervention against discriminatory voting barriers. The Senate imposed a reporting deadline on the Judiciary Committee chaired by Mississippi Democrat James Eastland, whose resistance record made delay a central concern. A bipartisan committee group strengthened the bill. The named members included Democrats Philip Hart, Edward Kennedy, Birch Bayh, Edward Long, Quentin Burdick, and Joseph Tydings, and Republicans Hugh Scott, Hiram Fong, and Jacob Javits.

The Senate invoked cloture 70 to 30 on May 25 and passed the bill 77 to 19 on May 26. In the House, Louisiana Democratic Majority Whip Hale Boggs—who had opposed the 1964 Civil Rights Act—acknowledged discrimination in his state and spoke for the Voting Rights Act. The House passed its bill 333 to 85 on July 9 and adopted the conference version 328 to 74 on August 3. Johnson signed Public Law 89-110 on August 6. Boggs's movement from opposition in 1964 to support in 1965 is classified as both affirmative action and documented materially different conduct, R4/R7/R10.

Hale Boggs — Democrat — Louisiana — U.S. Representative and majority whip — 1965

Documented action: spoke for and supported the Voting Rights Act after opposing the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Classification: R4/R7/R10. Confidence: High.

Lyndon B. Johnson — Democrat — President — 1965

Documented action: proposed and signed the Voting Rights Act. Classification: R7. Confidence: High.

Philip Hart — Democrat; Hugh Scott and Jacob Javits — Republicans — U.S. senators — 1965

Documented action: participated in the bipartisan Judiciary Committee group that strengthened the bill. Classification: R4/R7. Confidence: High for coalition membership; amendment-by-amendment attribution remains pending.

Civil-rights voting rule: A “no” vote proves opposition to that bill. It does not, standing alone, prove personal racial hatred. The final profiles will record constitutional, jury-trial, federalism, property-rights, and enforcement arguments separately and test them against speeches, patterns, and later conduct.

Chapter 7 — Fair Housing, Desegregation, and Affirmative Action, 1963–1982

Closing a 1963 Gap: Wallace and Kennedy

On June 11, 1963, Democratic Alabama Governor George Wallace stood at the University of Alabama entrance to obstruct the enrollment of Vivian Malone and James Hood. The confrontation implemented his public promise to defend segregation and is classified R1/R2/R3. Democratic President John F. Kennedy federalized the Alabama National Guard, secured the students' admission, and addressed the nation on civil rights. Kennedy's action is R7. His administration's earlier caution and delay remain necessary counter-context, just as Wallace's later apologies and changed rhetoric require a separate R10 entry rather than erasure of the 1963 act.

Fair Housing and the Civil Rights Act of 1968

The fair-housing battle again crossed party lines. Democratic Senator Walter Mondale of Minnesota and Republican Senator Edward Brooke of Massachusetts drafted and co-sponsored the Senate amendment barring discrimination in housing sales and rentals. Brooke linked segregated neighborhoods to employment, schools, public investment, and family opportunity. The proposal initially covered about 91 percent of the nation's housing.

Democratic Senator Sam Ervin of North Carolina opposed the provision on private-property grounds. Republican leader Everett Dirksen of Illinois had previously called it unconstitutional, but he later negotiated revisions and supported a compromise. Coverage fell to about 80 percent, while interstate-riot and Indian civil-rights provisions were added. After three failed cloture attempts, the Senate passed the amended bill on March 11, 1968. Dirksen's entry therefore records both earlier opposition and materially changed conduct, R4/R7/R10.

In the House, Democratic Rules Committee Chairman William Colmer of Mississippi sought delay and referral to a conference committee where the measure could be weakened or stalled. Republican John B. Anderson of Illinois joined seven Democrats in the decisive 8-to-7 committee vote against conference. Democratic Louisiana Representative Joseph Waggoner opposed the measure and argued that rioters had blackmailed the House into acting. This is recorded as R4/R5, alongside his stated law-and-order and procedural case—not as an unsupported claim about private motive.

The House adopted the expedited rule 250 to 172 on April 10. Democratic President Lyndon Johnson signed Public Law 90-284 on April 11. Title VIII prohibited much housing discrimination; the broader law also protected specified civil-rights activities, criminalized some interstate riot conduct, and included the Indian Civil Rights Act.

Walter Mondale — Democrat — Minnesota — U.S. Senator — 1968

Co-sponsored and negotiated the fair-housing amendment. Classification: R4/R7. Confidence: High.

Edward Brooke — Republican — Massachusetts — U.S. Senator — 1968

Co-sponsored the amendment and built the bipartisan coalition that overcame a filibuster. Classification: R4/R7. Confidence: High.

Sam Ervin — Democrat — North Carolina — U.S. Senator — 1968

Opposed federal fair-housing regulation on private-property grounds. Classification: R4. Confidence: High.

Everett Dirksen — Republican — Illinois — U.S. Senator — 1968

Moved from opposition to negotiated support for a narrower bill. Classification: R4/R7/R10. Confidence: High.

William Colmer — Democrat — Mississippi — U.S. Representative — 1968

Used Rules Committee procedure to delay and attempt to redirect the bill to conference. Classification: R3/R4. Confidence: High.

John B. Anderson — Republican — Illinois — U.S. Representative — 1968

Cast the pivotal committee vote preserving the direct route to passage. Classification: R4/R7. Confidence: High.

Joseph Waggoner — Democrat — Louisiana — U.S. Representative — 1968

Opposed the bill and described its consideration after urban disorder as legislative blackmail. Classification: R4/R5. Confidence: High.

Lyndon B. Johnson — Democrat — President — 1968

Signed the Civil Rights Act and Fair Housing Act of 1968. Classification: R7. Confidence: High.

The Nixon Record: Desegregation and Affirmative Action

Republican President Richard Nixon's record resists a one-directional summary. In 1969, his administration revived the Philadelphia Plan. The program required federal construction contractors to pursue minority-employment goals and timetables while expressly distinguishing those measures from fixed quotas. Republican Assistant Secretary of Labor Arthur Fletcher issued and administered the revised order after finding minority membership in covered construction trades at approximately 1.6 percent. These are affirmative employment actions, R7.

On February 16, 1970, Nixon created a Cabinet Committee on Education to coordinate federal information, technical assistance, and emergency funding for school districts under immediate desegregation orders. The archival record shows the committee monitoring districts and helping communities implement court orders. This is also R7.

Nixon simultaneously opposed busing used primarily to create racial balance. In March 1972 he proposed legislation and a temporary halt on further court-ordered busing while offering other equal-education and desegregation measures. This book classifies that action R4/R6: a consequential dispute over remedy, neighborhood schools, and federal judicial power. It is not described as an order restoring statutory segregation. The affirmative and restrictive elements belong in the same longitudinal profile.

Richard Nixon — Republican — President — 1969

Backed the revised Philadelphia Plan. Classification: R7. Confidence: High.

Arthur Fletcher — Republican — Assistant Secretary of Labor — 1969

Issued and administered the goals-and-timetables plan for covered federal construction contractors. Classification: R7. Confidence: High.

Richard Nixon — Republican — President — 1970

Created federal coordination and assistance machinery for immediate school desegregation. Classification: R7. Confidence: High.

Richard Nixon — Republican — President — 1972

Proposed restrictions on further court-ordered busing while supporting other desegregation and education measures. Classification: R4/R6. Confidence: High.

Busing as a Separate Policy Category

In 1974, Republican Representative Marjorie Holt of Maryland and Republican Senator Edward Gurney of Florida introduced measures that would have curtailed federal busing remedies. Republican Senator Edward Brooke helped defeat both efforts and continued to support busing despite political risk in Massachusetts. Holt and Gurney are classified R4/R6 pending exact amendment and roll-call extraction; Brooke is R4/R7. This treatment follows the modern-era rule: opposition to a particular integration remedy is not automatically equated with support for de jure segregation.

Voting Rights Act Extensions, 1970-1982

The Voting Rights Act became an example of repeated presidential support across Republican administrations. Nixon signed the 1970 amendments, renewing the special provisions for five years and suspending literacy tests nationwide. Republican President Gerald Ford signed the 1975 amendments, extending the provisions for seven years and broadening protection to defined language-minority groups. Republican President Ronald Reagan signed the 1982 amendments on June 29, approving the longest extension to that date.

These signatures are affirmative civil-rights actions, R7. They do not settle every dispute about coverage formulas, bilingual ballots, Section 2's results standard, or executive enforcement. Those controversies will receive separate event entries rather than being hidden inside a presidential signing record.

Richard Nixon — Republican — President — 1970

Signed the Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1970. Classification: R7. Confidence: High.

Gerald Ford — Republican — President — 1975

Signed the Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1975. Classification: R7. Confidence: High.

Ronald Reagan — Republican — President — 1982

Signed the Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1982. Classification: R7. Confidence: High; preferred legislative terms remain a counterevidence research task.

Chapter 8 — Enforcement, Crime, Voting, and Welfare, 1982–1996

The Reagan Record Requires Both Sides of the Ledger

Ronald Reagan's record cannot be described accurately with a single favorable or unfavorable label. In November 1983 he signed the law establishing Martin Luther King Jr. Day as a federal holiday and used the ceremony to condemn continuing bigotry. In September 1988 he signed the Fair Housing Amendments Act, acknowledging that the original 1968 enforcement structure lacked effective remedies. Both actions are affirmative civil-rights records, R7.

The same administration produced contested enforcement decisions. In January 1982 it moved away from an existing IRS policy denying tax benefits to racially discriminatory schools. Reagan then repudiated racial discrimination and asked Congress to enact an explicit statutory ban. The sequence is classified R8/R10, Moderate confidence pending a final day-by-day archival reconstruction. Recording only the initial change or only the corrective proposal would misstate the record.

Reagan also vetoed the Civil Rights Restoration Act on March 16, 1988, arguing that its institution-wide coverage swept too broadly into private and religious activity. Congress overrode him six days later: 292 to 133 in the House and 73 to 24 in the Senate. The veto is R4/R8; Democratic Senator Edward Kennedy's sponsorship and the bipartisan override are R4/R7. Later that year Reagan's Fair Housing Amendments signature supplied important counterevidence rather than canceling the veto.

Ronald Reagan — Republican — President — 1983

Signed the Martin Luther King Jr. federal holiday legislation. Classification: R7. Confidence: High.

Ronald Reagan — Republican — President — 1982

The administration weakened an existing tax-enforcement position affecting discriminatory schools, then Reagan proposed an explicit statutory prohibition. Classification: R8/R10. Confidence: Moderate.

Ronald Reagan — Republican — President — 1988

Vetoed the Civil Rights Restoration Act; Congress overrode the veto. Classification: R4/R8. Confidence: High.

Edward Kennedy — Democrat — Massachusetts — U.S. Senator — 1987

Sponsored the Civil Rights Restoration Act. Classification: R4/R7. Confidence: High.

Ronald Reagan — Republican — President — 1988

Signed stronger federal fair-housing enforcement. Classification: R7. Confidence: High.

The 1986 Drug Law: Consequence Is Not Motive

Reagan signed the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986 on October 27. The statute created quantity-based mandatory minimums, including the 100-to-1 threshold that punished five grams of crack cocaine like 500 grams of powder cocaine. Later federal studies documented severe racial disparities associated with that structure. The entry is R6/R9: a racially consequential law with documented disparate effects, but without a finding here that Reagan or the bipartisan Congress enacted the ratio because of proven racial animus. The law also funded prevention, treatment, interdiction, and prosecution. Those components must be evaluated separately.

Ronald Reagan — Republican — President — 1986

Signed Public Law 99-570 and defended it as protection against drug crime, addiction, and harm to families. Classification: R6/R9. Confidence: High.

Bush: Veto, Compromise, and Language-Minority Voting Access

Republican President George H. W. Bush vetoed the Civil Rights Act of 1990, arguing that the bill would encourage quotas and excessive litigation. The veto blocked that version of expanded employment-discrimination remedies and is classified R4/R6/R8. In 1991 Bush negotiated and signed a revised act strengthening remedies for intentional discrimination and codifying a disparate-impact framework. He insisted that the compromise did not establish quotas. The second event is R7/R10 and is treated as a material legislative change, not an erasure of the veto.

On August 26, 1992, Bush signed the Voting Rights Language Assistance Act, extending and broadening bilingual election requirements. That action is R7 and adds another Republican presidential signature to the post-1965 voting-rights chronology.

George H. W. Bush — Republican — President — 1990

Vetoed the Civil Rights Act of 1990 while stating a quotas-and-litigation objection. Classification: R4/R6/R8. Confidence: High.

George H. W. Bush — Republican — President — 1991

Signed the negotiated Civil Rights Act of 1991 after the Senate passed it 93 to 5. Classification: R7/R10. Confidence: High.

George H. W. Bush — Republican — President — 1992

Signed the Voting Rights Language Assistance Act. Classification: R7. Confidence: High.

Clinton: Expanded Registration, Punitive Legislation, and Internal Dissent

Democratic President Bill Clinton signed the National Voter Registration Act in May 1993. The law required covered states to provide registration through motor-vehicle agencies, mail applications, and designated public-assistance offices while also imposing list-maintenance duties. It is an affirmative voting-access action, R7. The Senate conference report passed 62 to 36, revealing substantial opposition that will receive a full party-and-region appendix.

The 1994 crime law requires provision-level analysis. Democratic Senator Joe Biden, then Judiciary Committee chairman, was a principal Senate architect; the Senate's initial version passed 95 to 4. Clinton signed the final bipartisan package. It funded police and prisons, expanded federal penalties and the death penalty, and also included prevention programs, Violence Against Women Act provisions, hate-crime sentencing, and federal authority later used against patterns of police misconduct. The entries are R4/R6/R9. Later incarceration disparities are relevant evidence, but they do not by themselves prove discriminatory intent, and the preexisting 1986 crack-powder ratio must not be falsely attributed to the 1994 act.

Clinton signed the 1996 welfare law replacing AFDC with TANF and adding work requirements, time limits, sanctions, and state discretion. Because Black families were substantially represented among recipients, the policy had racially consequential effects; the entry is R6/R9 rather than an unsupported R1 or R2 finding. The conference report passed 328 to 101 in the House and 78 to 21 in the Senate. Democratic Representative John Lewis voted no, illustrating meaningful opposition inside Clinton's party and among Black members of Congress.

William J. Clinton — Democrat — President — 1993

Signed the National Voter Registration Act. Classification: R7. Confidence: High.

Joseph R. Biden Jr. — Democrat — Delaware — U.S. Senator — 1993-1994

Managed and supported the Senate crime package that became the 1994 act. Classification: R4/R6/R9. Confidence: Moderate pending provision-level attribution.

William J. Clinton — Democrat — President — 1994

Signed the bipartisan crime act. Classification: R4/R6/R9. Confidence: High.

William J. Clinton — Democrat — President — 1996

Signed the welfare-reform law. Classification: R6/R9. Confidence: High.

John Lewis — Democrat — Georgia — U.S. Representative — 1996

Voted against the welfare conference report and opposed reductions affecting poor families. Classification: R4/R7. Confidence: High.

Chapter 9 — Voting Administration, Race, and Public Memory, 1996–2008

The years from 1996 through 2008 resist a single partisan or ideological story. Democratic President Bill Clinton issued a formal apology for the federal government's Tuskegee study and created a national initiative on race. Republican governors and presidents opposed particular race-conscious remedies while also adopting affirmative civil-rights measures. Election administration after Florida in 2000 brought documented racial disparities, a disputed official interpretation, and bipartisan federal legislation. Public statements by politicians in both parties produced apologies and repudiations. The period ended with the election of the first Black president.

Clinton: Tuskegee and the Initiative on Race

On May 16, 1997, Clinton apologized on behalf of the nation to the surviving participants and families harmed by the federal Tuskegee syphilis study. The apology is R7/R10: an affirmative act and an institutional repudiation of prior federal wrongdoing. It did not erase the deception, untreated illness, deaths, or loss of trust. On June 13, Clinton issued Executive Order 13050 establishing the President's Initiative on Race. That consultative effort is R7, but it must not be mistaken for a new enforcement statute.

William J. Clinton — Democrat — President — 1997

Apologized for the federal Tuskegee study. Classification: R7/R10. Confidence: High.

William J. Clinton — Democrat — President — 1997

Established the President's Initiative on Race. Classification: R7. Confidence: High.

Affirmative Action: One Florida and the Michigan Cases

Republican Governor Jeb Bush's November 1999 One Florida order ended racial and gender set-asides, preferences, and quotas in Florida state employment, contracting, and education while directing agencies to pursue diversity through race-neutral outreach and admissions measures. The entry is R4/R6. It records a major policy restriction without equating opposition to preferences with government-enforced segregation. In January 2003, Republican President George W. Bush took a similar distinction into the University of Michigan litigation: the administration opposed the challenged systems as structured, supported diversity, and did not ask the Supreme Court to overturn Bakke. That action is also R4/R6, with the stated equal-protection and quota objections preserved.

Jeb Bush — Republican — Florida — Governor — 1999

Issued Executive Order 99-281, the One Florida Initiative. Classification: R4/R6. Confidence: High.

George W. Bush — Republican — President — 2003

Directed briefs opposing the Michigan admissions systems while supporting diversity and race-neutral alternatives. Classification: R4/R6. Confidence: High.

Florida 2000 and the Help America Vote Act

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights found serious failures in Florida's 2000 election administration and documented that rejected ballots disproportionately affected Black voters. In predominantly Black precincts using the butterfly ballot, the rejection rate reported in the Commission's follow-up was 18.2 percent, roughly three times the rate in predominantly white precincts using that ballot. Republican Secretary of State Katherine Harris certified the result as Florida's chief election officer. Her entry is R6/R9: a documented administrative action connected to racially disparate effects, without a finding here of discriminatory intent. The Commission's official dissent disputed the majority's legal and evidentiary conclusions and is attached as counterevidence.

On October 29, 2002, Republican President George W. Bush signed the Help America Vote Act. HAVA authorized federal assistance for voting-system replacement and set national administrative requirements while leaving substantial responsibility with the states. The signing is R7. Later disputes over identification, statewide voter databases, accessibility, and provisional ballots belong to implementation entries rather than being backdated into the signing.

Katherine Harris — Republican — Florida — Secretary of State — 2000

Certified the presidential result amid documented systemic failures and racial disparities; no discriminatory intent is found in this entry. Classification: R6/R9. Confidence: Moderate.

George W. Bush — Republican — President — 2002

Signed the Help America Vote Act. Classification: R7. Confidence: High.

Florida evidence dispute: The Commission majority report and its official dissent remain paired. The manuscript will not convert a disparate-impact finding into a claim of personal racial intent without additional evidence.

Statements, Context, and Apologies

In December 2002, Republican Senator Trent Lott praised Mississippi's support for Strom Thurmond's 1948 segregationist presidential campaign and suggested the country would have avoided problems if it had followed that course. The primary video supports R5. Lott later condemned segregation, apologized, and resigned as Republican leader, producing R10 counterevidence. President George W. Bush publicly rejected the suggestion that the segregated past was acceptable or positive; that condemnation is R7.

Three later episodes reinforce the same method. Democratic New Orleans Mayor Ray Nagin's January 2006 "chocolate city" remark is R5 because it made race central to the city's post-Katrina return debate; his prompt apology and mixed-city explanation are R10. Republican Senator George Allen's August 2006 use of "macaca" toward a South Asian American campaign tracker is R5; his apology is R10. Democratic Senator Joe Biden's January 2007 description of Barack Obama as "articulate," "bright," and "clean" drew criticism for racial stereotyping; his apology and explanation are R10. These entries document the recorded words and reactions without turning a single episode into a total characterization of a career.

Trent Lott — Republican — Mississippi — U.S. Senator — 2002

Praised the 1948 Thurmond campaign, then apologized, repudiated segregation, and resigned leadership. Classification: R5/R10. Confidence: High.

George W. Bush — Republican — President — 2002

Condemned any positive portrayal of the segregated past. Classification: R7. Confidence: High.

Ray Nagin — Democrat — Louisiana — Mayor of New Orleans — 2006

Made the “chocolate city” remark, then apologized and clarified. Classification: R5/R10. Confidence: Moderate.

George Allen — Republican — Virginia — U.S. Senator — 2006

Used “macaca” toward a South Asian American campaign tracker, then apologized. Classification: R5/R10. Confidence: Moderate.

Joseph R. Biden Jr. — Democrat — Delaware — U.S. Senator — 2007

Used a controversial formulation about Barack Obama, then apologized and explained. Classification: R5/R10. Confidence: Moderate.

Bush-Era Enforcement and the 2006 Voting Rights Act Renewal

In June 2003, the Bush administration issued federal guidance barring racial profiling by federal law-enforcement officers while retaining national-security, border, and case-specific investigative exceptions. The guidance is R7, and its exceptions are counterevidence about scope. On July 27, 2006, Bush signed a twenty-five-year renewal of specified Voting Rights Act protections after a 390-to-33 House vote and a 98-to-0 Senate vote. The denominator matters: all 33 final “no” votes were cast by Republicans, while 192 Republicans, 197 Democrats, and one Independent voted “aye” in the House; all voting senators supported the measure.

Louisiana illustrates why party, delegation, and individual action must remain distinct. Republican Representative Bobby Jindal voted yes. Republican Representative Richard Baker voted no after arguing that the Section 5 coverage formula unfairly continued to burden Louisiana and supporting an amendment to change it. Baker’s vote is R4—opposition to that bill—with his stated coverage objection included. It is not automatically an R1 finding.

George W. Bush — Republican — President — 2003

Issued federal racial-profiling guidance with stated exceptions. Classification: R7. Confidence: High.

George W. Bush — Republican — President — 2006

Signed the Voting Rights Act reauthorization after bipartisan supermajorities. Classification: R7. Confidence: High.

Bobby Jindal — Republican — Louisiana — U.S. Representative — 2006

Voted for the Voting Rights Act reauthorization. Classification: R4/R7. Confidence: High.

Richard H. Baker — Republican — Louisiana — U.S. Representative — 2006

Voted against final passage while stating a coverage-formula objection. Classification: R4. Confidence: High.

2006 House denominator: Final passage was 390-33: Republicans 192 aye and 33 no; Democrats 197 aye and 0 no; one Independent aye. Nine members did not vote. The Senate passed the bill 98-0 with two not voting.

Cold Cases and the 2008 Electoral Milestone

Democratic Representative John Lewis introduced the Emmett Till Unsolved Civil Rights Crime Act in February 2007. Republican Representative Kenny Hulshof helped lead House support, and Republican President George W. Bush signed it on October 7, 2008. These three R7 entries preserve the bipartisan chain from sponsorship through enactment while leaving implementation and solved-case outcomes for a later audit.

On November 4, 2008, Democratic Senator Barack Obama won 365 electoral votes and became the first African American elected President of the United States. This is R7 as a representation milestone. It should not be inflated into a claim that the election ended racial inequality or made every subsequent racial dispute obsolete.

John R. Lewis — Democrat — Georgia — U.S. Representative — 2007

Introduced the Emmett Till Unsolved Civil Rights Crime Act. Classification: R4/R7. Confidence: High.

Kenny Hulshof — Republican — Missouri — U.S. Representative — 2007

Helped lead Republican House support for the act. Classification: R4/R7. Confidence: High.

George W. Bush — Republican — President — 2008

Signed the Emmett Till Unsolved Civil Rights Crime Act. Classification: R7. Confidence: High.

Barack H. Obama — Democrat — Illinois — U.S. Senator and President-elect — 2008

Became the first African American elected President. Classification: R7. Confidence: High.

Modern criminal-justice guardrail: A statute may have racially disparate consequences without proof that every sponsor, voter, or signer acted from racial animus. This book records the text, vote, stated public-safety rationale, later measurements, civil-rights provisions, and subsequent reform positions separately.

Modern-era classification guardrail: Fair housing, affirmative action, school desegregation, busing, and voting-rights coverage are related but distinct policy categories. The book records the exact government action and stated justification before considering motive or pattern.

Chapter 10 — Voting, Sentencing, Policing, and Racial Politics, 2009–2016

The Obama years combined major affirmative civil-rights actions with unresolved disputes over immigration enforcement, voting rules, policing, criminal justice, and racial rhetoric. This expansion does not treat the period as a simple presidential record. It separates congressional sponsors, governors, attorneys general, mayors, and candidates; distinguishes enacted law from advisory policy; and reports judicial findings without converting every contested policy into proof of personal racial motive.

Institutional Apology and Hate-Crimes Enforcement

On June 18, 2009, the Senate agreed by unanimous consent to S. Con. Res. 26, apologizing for slavery and racial segregation. Democratic Senator Tom Harkin introduced and led the measure with Republican Senator Sam Brownback. Both entries are R4/R7/R10. The resolution acknowledged historic injustice but expressly disclaimed authorization of claims against the United States. On October 28, Democratic President Barack Obama signed the Matthew Shepard and James Byrd Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act. That R7 action expanded federal authority while retaining statutory proof and certification requirements.

Tom Harkin — Democrat — Iowa — U.S. Senator — 2009

Led the Senate apology for slavery and segregation. Classification: R4/R7/R10. Confidence: High.

Sam Brownback — Republican — Kansas — U.S. Senator — 2009

Co-led the bipartisan Senate apology. Classification: R4/R7/R10. Confidence: High.

Barack H. Obama — Democrat — President — 2009

Signed the Shepard-Byrd hate-crimes law. Classification: R7. Confidence: High.

Words, Context, and Apology: Harry Reid

In January 2010, Democratic Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid apologized after a book reported that, during the 2008 campaign, he had described Obama as light-skinned and as having no “Negro dialect” unless he chose to use one. Because the underlying conversation was private and is not independently recorded, confidence is Moderate. The reported words are R5; the public apology and Obama’s acceptance are R10. This preserves both the controversy and Reid’s broader civil-rights counterevidence.

Arizona: Immigration Enforcement Is a Distinct Category

Republican Governor Jan Brewer signed Arizona S.B. 1070 on April 23, 2010. The law expanded state and local immigration-enforcement duties and provoked challenges alleging federal preemption and a risk of racial profiling. Brewer cited border security and federal inaction. In *Arizona v. United States*, the Supreme Court held three challenged provisions preempted while allowing the status-check provision to take effect subject to later constitutional challenges. The entry is R4/R6/R9, not R1 or R2: the record documents a racially consequential controversy without claiming proven personal animus.

The Fair Sentencing Act and Federal Redress

Democratic Senator Richard Durbin authored and led the Fair Sentencing Act, and Obama signed it on August 3, 2010. The act reduced the crack-to-powder cocaine quantity disparity from 100-to-1 to 18-to-1 and eliminated the five-year mandatory minimum for simple crack possession. It is an R7/R10 reversal of part of the 1986 framework, but not complete parity and not initially full retroactivity. The Senate passed the measure by unanimous consent; the House passed it 361 to 66. Those denominators demonstrate broad support without supplying an individualized recorded vote for every senator.

On December 8, Obama signed the Claims Resolution Act, funding the Pigford II settlement for Black farmers and the Cobell settlement for Native American trust claims. The law is R7/R10 institutional redress. Obama also acknowledged unresolved claims involving women and Hispanic farmers and continuing tribal needs; the act must not be described as a universal settlement of federal discrimination claims.

Richard J. Durbin — Democrat — Illinois — U.S. Senator — 2010

Authored and led the Fair Sentencing Act. Classification: R4/R7. Confidence: High.

Barack H. Obama — Democrat — President — 2010

Signed the Fair Sentencing Act. Classification: R7/R10. Confidence: High.

Barack H. Obama — Democrat — President — 2010

Signed the Claims Resolution Act funding Pigford II and Cobell. Classification: R7/R10. Confidence: High.

Voting Rules after Shelby County

Republican Governor Rick Perry signed Texas S.B. 14 in 2011. In 2016, the en banc Fifth Circuit affirmed that the photo-identification law had a discriminatory effect under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act. The court vacated and remanded the discriminatory-purpose finding, so this edition does not report that intent finding as final at this stage. The entry is R4/R6/R9, with the state's election-integrity justification and the court's narrower holding both preserved.

Republican Governor Pat McCrory signed North Carolina's omnibus H.B. 589 in August 2013. The law restricted specified identification, early-voting, same-day-registration, preregistration, and out-of-precinct voting practices. In 2016, the Fourth Circuit held that the challenged provisions were enacted with discriminatory intent and ordered them enjoined, describing the legislature's use of racial data. That judicial finding supports R3/R4/R8. McCrory's election-integrity defense, the state's disagreement, and the district court's earlier ruling for the state remain in the record.

After *Shelby County v. Holder* disabled the existing preclearance coverage formula, Republican Representative James Sensenbrenner and Democratic Senator Patrick Leahy introduced companion Voting Rights Amendment Act proposals in 2014. Their R4/R7 entries document a bipartisan restoration effort that did not become law and used a narrower, recent-violation formula rather than reviving the former formula unchanged.

Court-finding discipline: The Texas entry reports a final discriminatory-effect holding while limiting the intent discussion to the appellate court's remand. The North Carolina entry reports the Fourth Circuit's discriminatory-intent holding. The different procedural records are not collapsed.

Ferguson, Federal Investigation, and Policing Reform

Democratic Attorney General Eric Holder announced a federal pattern-or-practice investigation of the Ferguson Police Department on September 4, 2014. The March 2015 Justice Department report found unconstitutional and racially biased policing and municipal-court practices. A separate federal investigation found insufficient evidence to prosecute Officer Darren Wilson for Michael Brown's death. These conclusions answer different legal questions and are preserved together. Holder's action is R7.

Obama also launched My Brother's Keeper in February 2014 and created the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing in December. Both are R7 initiatives, but neither is described as a binding nationwide statute. In January 2016, Obama adopted Justice Department recommendations limiting federal restrictive housing and ending juvenile solitary confinement in the federal prison system, an R7/R10 change that did not bind every state or local prison.

Louisiana and Confederate Public Memory

In December 2014, Republican House Majority Whip Steve Scalise acknowledged that he had spoken in 2002 to a group associated with David Duke. Scalise said he did not know the group's ideology, described the appearance as a mistake, and repudiated its racial and religious views. Because the appearance was not recorded and knowledge remains disputed, the entry is Moderate-confidence R5/R10: confirmed appearance and apology, without a finding that Scalise endorsed the organization.

Republican South Carolina Governor Nikki Haley signed legislation on July 9, 2015, removing the Confederate battle flag from State House grounds after the Emanuel AME Church murders. The R7/R10 entry records a material reversal from her earlier defense of the flag's placement. On the same day, Democratic New Orleans Mayor Mitch Landrieu asked the city council to begin removing four Confederate-era monuments. His request is Moderate-confidence R7/R10; council authorization and physical removal in 2017 remain separate events for the next expansion.

Campaign Rhetoric and Documented Change

Republican candidate Donald Trump's June 2015 campaign announcement described people sent from Mexico as bringing drugs and crime and as rapists, while adding that some were good people. The primary transcript supports R5. The entry distinguishes controversial ethnic and immigration rhetoric from the legal category of government-enforced segregation and preserves Trump's border-security explanation.

In February 2016, Democratic candidate Hillary Clinton apologized for her 1996 use of "superpredators," saying she should not have used the term. That is Moderate-confidence R5/R10 and is paired with her later criminal-justice reform positions. In June, Trump argued that Judge Gonzalo Curiel's Mexican heritage created an inherent conflict in the Trump University litigation because Trump supported a border wall. Curiel was born in Indiana. The statement is High-confidence R5; Trump later said it had been misconstrued as a categorical attack on people of Mexican heritage, but did not fully withdraw the initial conflict claim.

Modern rhetoric rule: The book quotes only short, verifiable excerpts; records the speaker's stated meaning and later clarification; and does not use one statement as a substitute for a longitudinal profile.

Statistical Snapshot: Controlled Denominators

The master dataset now contains 193 event-level entries: 102 identify a Republican at the time of the event, 89 identify a Democrat, one identifies an American Labor Party member, and one identifies a States' Rights Democrat. One hundred sixty-six entries are rated High confidence and 27 Moderate. One hundred twenty-five entries include R7. These counts describe only the present research sample. They are not estimates of either party's total historical record and are not weighted for repeat appearances, chamber size, region, legislative opportunity, or the difference between affirmative and restrictive actions.

Chapter 11 — Immigration, Public Memory, Criminal Justice, and Racial Politics, 2017–2020

The first Trump term compressed several distinct kinds of evidence into four years: entry restrictions and litigation; public-memory decisions; presidential pardons; school-discipline enforcement; bipartisan sentencing reform; anti-lynching legislation; census administration; competing policing bills; fair-housing and federal-training rules; and unusually direct racial and ethnic rhetoric. This chapter keeps those categories separate. A controversial statement is not treated as a segregation law, disparate impact is not treated as proven intent, and a court's administrative-law holding is not enlarged into a finding the court did not make.

Entry Restrictions, Charlottesville, and Executive Power

On January 27, 2017, Republican President Donald Trump signed Executive Order 13769, temporarily suspending entry from seven named countries and the refugee program. The administration cited national security and screening. Courts blocked major provisions, and the administration replaced the order with narrower measures. The entry is R4/R6/R9: the policy's effects on travelers from Muslim-majority countries are documented without treating disparate impact alone as proof of intent. In August, Trump pardoned former Maricopa County Sheriff Joe Arpaio after a criminal-contempt conviction arising from defiance of a court order in racial-profiling litigation. That R4/R6/R8 entry records both the pardon power and the enforcement consequence without inferring a private motive.

Trump's August 15 Charlottesville remarks are recorded from the complete White House transcript. He said there were "very fine people on both sides," but in the same exchange said he was not referring to neo-Nazis and white nationalists and that they should be condemned totally. The entry is R5. Historical accuracy requires preserving the controversial phrase, the explicit exclusion, and the condemnation together.

Louisiana: Removal Becomes Action

Democratic New Orleans Mayor Mitch Landrieu's 2015 request became completed policy in 2017 when the city removed four Confederate-era monuments. His May 19 address argued that the monuments presented a false public history centered on the Confederacy rather than the city's full past. The R7/R10 entry is High confidence because the municipal process and recorded address are available. Preservation, heritage, cost, and process objections remain in the record.

The First Step Act and Bipartisan Anti-Lynching Work

Republican Representative Doug Collins and Democratic Representative Hakeem Jeffries co-authored the First Step Act. The House concurred in the Senate amendments by 358 to 36, and Trump signed the measure on December 21, 2018. Their entries are R4/R7, with Trump's signature also classified R7/R10. The statute expanded earned-time incentives and made specified Fair Sentencing Act changes retroactive, but it did not eliminate mandatory minimums or every remaining sentencing disparity.

Democratic Senators Cory Booker and Kamala Harris and Republican Senator Tim Scott led unanimous Senate passage of the Justice for Victims of Lynching Act in 2018. It did not complete enactment in that Congress. Democratic Representative Bobby Rush's Emmett Till Antilynching Act passed the House 410 to 4 in 2020. Republican Senator Rand Paul then objected to unanimous consent without an amendment narrowing the covered conduct and penalties. His R4 entry records the procedural consequence and his stated support for a federal anti-lynching crime; it does not recast a statutory-definition dispute as support for lynching.

Administration, Enforcement, and Court Findings

Republican Education Secretary Betsy DeVos rescinded the 2014 school-discipline guidance addressing racial disparities. The department cited local flexibility, safety, and legal overreach while stating that civil-rights law remained enforceable. The action is R4/R6/R8, not a finding of personal discriminatory intent. Commerce Secretary Wilbur Ross directed addition of a citizenship question to the 2020 census. In *Department of Commerce v. New York*, the Supreme Court held the stated explanation contrived and remanded under administrative law; it did not decide that Ross acted from racial animus. The entry is R4/R6/R9.

In 2020 the administration replaced the 2015 Affirmatively Furthering Fair Housing rule with a substantially reduced planning framework and issued Executive Order 13950 restricting specified race- and sex-related training concepts. The fair-housing action is R4/R6/R8; the training order is R4/R6. Both include the administration's local-control or anti-stereotyping explanations. Neither is equated with government-enforced segregation without stronger evidence.

Rhetoric, Apology, and Institutional Response

Republican Senator Cindy Hyde-Smith's recorded "public hanging" remark is R5; her apology is R10. Republican Representative Steve King's reported white-nationalism remark is Moderate-confidence R5 because the underlying interview was not independently recorded; his House-floor denial, the House resolution rejecting white nationalism and white supremacy, and Republican removal of his committee assignments are counterevidence and institutional response. Republican Governor Kay Ivey's 2019 apology after a 1967 blackface account surfaced is Moderate-confidence R5/R10 because the old recording describes, rather than visually documents, the event.

Trump's 2019 "go back" statements are R5. The House adopted Democratic Representative Tom Malinowski's resolution condemning them by 240 to 187; that R4/R7 action is a congressional judgment, not an adjudication of private motive. Trump denied racist intent. In 2020 he repeatedly used "Chinese virus" for COVID-19, while also saying Asian Americans should be protected and were not responsible; the R5 entry preserves both. Democratic candidate Joe Biden's recorded "you ain't Black" statement is R5, and his same-day apology is R10.

Competing Policing Responses in 2020

Trump's Executive Order 13929 promoted credentialing, use-of-force standards, a misconduct database, co-responder models, and limited chokeholds except where deadly force was authorized. It is an R7 executive action with limited statutory reach. Republican Senator Tim Scott's JUSTICE Act received 55 votes for cloture and 45 against, short of the required three-fifths. Democratic Representative Karen Bass's George Floyd Justice in Policing Act passed the House 236 to 181. Both congressional entries are R4/R7. The proposals differed substantially over enforceable standards, qualified immunity, federalism, reporting, and police practice; neither is reduced to a party slogan.

Modern-era guardrail: This block reports exact actions, legal posture, stated justifications, counterevidence, and later changes. It does not infer personal racial hatred from a vote, an administrative dispute, or disparate impact alone.

Chapter 12 — Voting, Representation, Equity, Policing, and Racial Politics, 2021–2024

The 2021–2024 record combines enacted civil-rights measures, unsuccessful legislative proposals, executive policy, voting rules, judicial representation, redistricting, policing, equal-protection disputes, and documented rhetoric. The categories are deliberately not interchangeable. A bill vote proves a legislative position; an executive order proves an administrative choice; a lawsuit alleges claims until a court resolves them; and a controversial phrase must be read with the speaker's stated rationale and any later clarification.

Equity Policy, Policing, and Reversal

On January 20, 2021, Democratic President Joseph R. Biden Jr. signed Executive Order 13985, directing a government-wide equity review and revoking the prior administration's Executive Order 13950 on race- and sex-related training. The R4/R7/R10 entry records both the new framework and the explicit reversal. Executive Order 14091 expanded agency equity planning in 2023. Critics argued that the framework could foster unequal treatment or compelled ideology; both orders required compliance with existing law and were later revoked in 2025, a separate event for the next expansion.

Democratic Representative Karen Bass sponsored the 2021 George Floyd Justice in Policing Act, which passed the House 220 to 212 but did not become law. Biden's 2022 Executive Order 14074 then imposed federal standards and grant-related measures within executive authority. Both are R4/R7 actions, but the manuscript distinguishes the broader failed statute from the narrower executive order and preserves objections concerning qualified immunity, due process, federalism, and implementation.

Voting Rules and Voting-Rights Restoration

Republican Georgia Governor Brian Kemp signed S.B. 202 on March 25, 2021. The law revised absentee voting, ballot-drop-box, identification, election-administration, and related rules. The Justice Department alleged intentional racial discrimination, while Georgia defended the measure as election-integrity and administrative reform. This edition classifies the signature R4/R6/R9 and does not report the complaint as a proven intent finding. The federal government dismissed its case in 2025 without a merits judgment, later counterevidence that does not itself validate or invalidate every challenged provision.

Democratic Representative Terri Sewell sponsored H.R. 4, the John R. Lewis Voting Rights Advancement Act. The House passed it 219 to 212 in August 2021; it did not become law. The R4/R7 entry records the effort to build a new preclearance and enforcement framework after Shelby County while separately preserving constitutional, federalism, coverage-formula, and enforcement objections.

Anti-Asian Hate Crime, Juneteenth, and Representation

The COVID-19 Hate Crimes Act demonstrates a broad bipartisan coalition. Democratic Senator Mazie Hirono sponsored the Senate measure, which passed 94 to 1. Democratic Representative Grace Meng led the House version, which passed 364 to 62. Biden signed Public Law 117-13 in May 2021. The three entries are R4/R7 or R7 and are reported with their exact denominators rather than a generalized claim of unanimity.

Democratic Senator Edward Markey sponsored the Juneteenth National Independence Day Act, and Democratic Representative Sheila Jackson Lee led it in the House. The House passed it 415 to 14 after Senate unanimous consent; Biden signed Public Law 117-17 on June 17, 2021. These R4/R7 and R7/R10 entries document legislation and institutional recognition, not a claim that commemoration resolved the continuing consequences of slavery and segregation.

On February 25, 2022, Biden nominated Ketanji Brown Jackson to the Supreme Court. The Senate confirmed her 53 to 47, with three Republicans joining Democrats and independents. Her confirmation as the first Black woman to serve on the Court is an R7 representation milestone; it does not imply agreement among supporters on every later judicial decision.

The Emmett Till Antilynching Act

Democratic Representative Bobby Rush sponsored H.R. 55, which the House passed 422 to 3. Democratic Senator Cory Booker and Republican Senator Tim Scott helped carry the negotiated measure through the Senate by unanimous consent. Biden signed Public Law 117-107 on March 29, 2022. Separate R4/R7 entries for Rush, Booker, and Scott, and an R7/R10 entry for Biden, preserve the bipartisan coalition and the law's defined federal hate-crime elements. Unanimous consent is not misreported as a recorded yeay by every senator.

DEI, Equal Protection, and College Admissions

Republican Florida Governor Ron DeSantis signed H.B. 7, commonly called the Stop WOKE Act, in April 2022. It restricted specified race- and sex-related concepts in workplace training and public education. The entry is R4/R6, not segregation. Supporters described the law as protection from compelled stereotyping and discrimination; challengers described viewpoint discrimination and chilled speech. The Eleventh Circuit upheld an injunction against the workplace provisions on First Amendment grounds.

After the Supreme Court's 2023 Students for Fair Admissions decisions, Biden said institutions must comply while encouraging lawful consideration of individual adversity, broader outreach, and college access. The R4/R7 entry does not describe his response as authorizing quotas or defiance of the Court. It records an affirmative civil-rights policy position bounded by the controlling equal-protection and Title VI rulings.

Recorded Rhetoric and Material Clarification

Republican Representative Mary Miller thanked Donald Trump at a June 2022 rally for a "victory for white life" after the Dobbs decision. Her spokesman immediately said she had intended to say "right to life." The delivered words support R5; the prompt claimed verbal correction supports R10 and is essential counterevidence. No developed racial-policy position is inferred from the phrase alone.

In 2023, Republican Senator Tommy Tuberville resisted treating the label white nationalist as necessarily racist and said he called people described that way Americans. He argued that Democrats applied the label too broadly to Trump supporters. After sustained criticism, he stated categorically that white nationalists are racists and that he opposed racism. The sequence is R5/R10, with the clarification preserved rather than buried.

Republican former president and presidential candidate Donald Trump said at a December 2023 rally that immigrants were "poisoning the blood" of the country, naming arrivals from Africa, Asia, and South America. In the June 2024 debate, he said unauthorized migrants were taking "Black jobs" and "Hispanic jobs." Both entries are R5. They preserve his border-security, crime, and labor-market arguments and his rejection of racist intent; they do not classify immigration enforcement itself as historical segregation.

Louisiana Redistricting and Indigenous Apology

Republican Louisiana Governor Jeff Landry signed Act 2 in January 2024, creating a second majority-Black congressional district after Section 2 litigation. The R4/R6/R7 entry records expanded electoral opportunity alongside the litigation-driven and political character of the map. Landry had defended the earlier one-majority-Black-district map as attorney general, and the replacement map faced a separate racial-gerrymandering challenge. The change is therefore not narrated as a simple ideological conversion.

On October 25, 2024, Biden formally apologized on behalf of the United States for the federal Indian boarding-school system and its forced separation and assimilation of Native children. The R7/R10 entry is an institutional acknowledgment and repudiation. It does not imply that an apology alone supplied comprehensive reparations or enacted a truth-and-healing commission.

2021-2024 audit rule: For every modern entry, the dataset records the party at the event, the exact action, the strongest available primary source, stated justification, legal posture, counterevidence, later change, evidence code, and confidence. Allegations and judicial findings remain distinct.

Chapter 13 — Beyond “The Parties Switched”: A Framework for Realignment

The final analysis will not rely on the slogan “the parties switched.” It will independently track individual party changes, continuity of congressional seats, state delegations, presidential voting, Black voter alignment, white Southern voter alignment, regional Republican growth, conservative Democratic survival, generational replacement, migration, ideology, and national platforms. Voter realignment and officeholder switching are different measurements and will not be merged.

Chapter 14 — Louisiana: The Nation's History in Concentrated Form

Louisiana receives a dedicated chapter and data appendix. The controlled research sequence is: Reconstruction constitutions and conventions; Oscar Dunn and P. B. S. Pinchback; Black legislators; the Mechanics' Institute massacre; White League violence and Liberty Place; disputed elections and Democratic Redemption; the Constitution of 1898; disfranchisement mechanisms; registration decline; twentieth-century congressional voting; civil-rights-era changes; and modern controversies supported by adequate evidence. Charles Vincent's work will be cross-checked against legislative journals, constitutional records, official election data, and contemporaneous sources.

Conclusion — A Record Strong Enough to Disagree With

The record does not support a simple claim that one party has always defended civil rights while the other has always opposed them. It does show identifiable patterns: the destruction of Black Republican power during Redemption; long southern Democratic resistance to federal civil-rights enforcement; bipartisan coalitions that eventually broke Senate obstruction; Republican and Democratic support for important civil-rights measures; and later disputes in which the meaning of equality became more contested.

It also shows why chronology matters. Strom Thurmond's 1948 segregationist presidential campaign belongs to the States' Rights Democratic Party. His 1957 and 1964 civil-rights opposition belongs to his Democratic record. His opposition to the Voting Rights Act of 1965 belongs to his Republican record. The sequence is more accurate—and more instructive—than assigning every act to the party he ultimately joined.

The same principle applies to change. Hale Boggs opposed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and supported the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Everett Dirksen moved from opposition to negotiated support for fair housing. Robert Byrd's 1964 filibuster belongs beside his later apologies and changed voting record. Evidence of change should neither erase the past nor be hidden because it complicates a political argument.

A durable history therefore requires two kinds of courage: the willingness to document conduct that damages a preferred political story, and the willingness to record evidence that softens an accusation. The final standard is not unanimity. It is a record transparent enough that a skeptical reader can inspect the source, challenge the interpretation, and still recognize that the underlying event has been represented honestly.

Appendix A — Evidence Classification System

The classification system organizes evidence without replacing narrative judgment. Entries may receive multiple codes when, for example, a legislative act is followed by an apology or reversal.

Code	Definition
R1	Explicit racial supremacy or inferiority statement
R2	Government-enforced racial segregation
R3	Organized resistance to racial integration or voting rights
R4	Recorded civil-rights vote or legislative action
R5	Recorded racially derogatory, stereotypical, or controversial statement
R6	Racially consequential action where discriminatory intent is uncertain
R7	Affirmative civil-rights action
R8	Institutional weakening or removal of civil-rights enforcement
R9	Alleged disparate impact without proven discriminatory intent
R10	Documented apology, repudiation, ideological reversal, or later change

Appendix B — The 1964 Senate Vote

On final passage of H.R. 7152 on June 19, 1964, the Senate voted 73–27. The denominator is the full 100-member Senate. Final passage must not be confused with the earlier 71–29 cloture vote.

Party at the time	Yes	No	Total	Share voting yes
Democratic	46	21	67	68.7%
Republican	27	6	33	81.8%
Total	73	27	100	73.0%

Interpretive limit: A “no” vote establishes opposition to final passage of the bill. Stronger claims about motive require additional evidence from speeches, correspondence, amendments, patterns of conduct, and later actions.

Appendix C — Selected Modern Record, 2021–2024

These twenty-five records illustrate the modern classification standard. Immigration, DEI, affirmative action, voting administration, policing, public memory, explicit rhetoric, and institutional apologies are kept in separate evidentiary categories.

Year	Official and party at event	Documented action	Code
2021	Joseph R. Biden Jr. (Democrat)	Signed Executive Order 13985 directing a government-wide equity assessment and revoking Executive Order 13950's restrictions on specified race- and sex-related training concepts.	R4; R7; R10
2021	Karen Bass (Democrat)	Sponsored the George Floyd Justice in Policing Act of 2021; the House passed it 220 to 212.	R4; R7
2021	Brian P. Kemp (Republican)	Signed Georgia S.B. 202, an omnibus election law changing absentee-ballot identification and deadlines, drop boxes, provisional ballots, state oversight, and conduct near polling places.	R4; R6; R9
2021	Mazie Hirono (Democrat)	Sponsored and led Senate passage of the COVID-19 Hate Crimes Act by 94 to 1.	R4; R7
2021	Grace Meng (Democrat)	Led House consideration of the COVID-19 Hate Crimes Act; the House passed it 364 to 62.	R4; R7
2021	Joseph R. Biden Jr. (Democrat)	Signed the COVID-19 Hate Crimes Act, directing expedited Justice Department review and strengthening hate-crime reporting and assistance.	R7
2021	Edward J. Markey (Democrat)	Sponsored S. 475, which the Senate passed by unanimous consent to establish Juneteenth National Independence Day as a federal holiday.	R4; R7
2021	Sheila Jackson Lee (Democrat)	Led the House effort for a Juneteenth federal holiday and supported final passage of S. 475 by 415 to 14.	R4; R7
2021	Joseph R. Biden Jr. (Democrat)	Signed the Juneteenth National Independence Day Act, making Juneteenth a legal federal public holiday.	R7; R10
2021	Terri A. Sewell (Democrat)	Sponsored the John R. Lewis Voting Rights Advancement Act; the House passed it 219 to 212.	R4; R7
2022	Joseph R. Biden Jr. (Democrat)	Announced Ketanji Brown Jackson as his nominee for the Supreme Court; she was later confirmed 53 to 47 and became the first Black woman to serve on the Court.	R7
2022	Bobby L. Rush (Democrat)	Sponsored the Emmett Till Antilynching Act; the House passed the amended bill 422 to 3.	R4; R7
2022	Cory A. Booker (Democrat)	Helped secure Senate passage by unanimous consent of the Emmett Till Antilynching Act after years of bipartisan work.	R4; R7
2022	Tim Scott (Republican)	Helped secure unanimous Senate passage of the Emmett Till Antilynching Act after co-leading earlier anti-lynching measures.	R4; R7
2022	Joseph R. Biden Jr. (Democrat)	Signed the Emmett Till Antilynching Act, specifying lynching as a federal hate crime.	R7; R10
2022	Ron DeSantis (Republican)	Signed H.B. 7, called the Stop WOKE Act, restricting specified race- and sex-related concepts in workplace training and public education.	R4; R6

2022	Joseph R. Biden Jr. (Democrat)	Signed Executive Order 14074 directing federal policing standards, a national misconduct database, body-camera and use-of-force measures, grant conditions, and restrictions on specified equipment and practices.	R7
2022	Mary E. Miller (Republican)	At a recorded rally, thanked Trump for a victory for white life after the Dobbs decision; her spokesman said she had intended to say right to life.	R5; R10
2023	Joseph R. Biden Jr. (Democrat)	Signed Executive Order 14091 directing agencies to strengthen equity teams, annual planning, community engagement, language access, and accountability under the 2021 framework.	R4; R7
2023	Tommy Tuberville (Republican)	During interviews about extremism in the military, resisted treating the label white nationalist as necessarily racist and said he called those described that way Americans; after sustained criticism, he stated that white nationalists are racists.	R5; R10
2023	Joseph R. Biden Jr. (Democrat)	Rejected the Supreme Court's affirmative-action decisions as a retreat from equal opportunity and announced steps encouraging lawful consideration of adversity, outreach, and college access.	R4; R7
2023	Donald J. Trump (Republican)	Said at a recorded New Hampshire rally that immigrants entering the country were poisoning the blood of the country and were arriving from Africa, Asia, and South America.	R5
2024	Jeff Landry (Republican)	Signed Louisiana Act 2, creating a second majority-Black congressional district after federal litigation under Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act.	R4; R6; R7
2024	Donald J. Trump (Republican)	During the presidential debate, said unauthorized migrants were taking Black jobs and Hispanic jobs.	R5
2024	Joseph R. Biden Jr. (Democrat)	Formally apologized on behalf of the United States for the federal Indian boarding-school system and its forced separation and assimilation of Native children.	R7; R10

Dataset note: This appendix is a curated research set, not a census of every federal or state politician. Party totals in the master dataset describe the current selected-entry universe and must not be presented as the prevalence of conduct within either party.

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About the Author

Willie Coleman is a Louisiana writer, researcher, engineer, and producer. His historical work focuses on Reconstruction, Black political participation, civil rights, political coalitions, public policy, and the difference between documented acts and inherited partisan narratives.

The American Racial Record is designed as a source-auditable public history: readable enough for a general audience, structured enough for researchers, and cautious enough to preserve disagreement without sacrificing factual precision.