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IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE
NORTHERN DISTRICT OF FLORIDA

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,)	
)	
Plaintiff,)	CIVIL ACTION NO. TCA-80-1055
)	
v.)	
)	CONSENT DECREE
STATE OF FLORIDA; GEORGE)	
FIRESTONE, SECRETARY OF)	
STATE OF THE STATE OF)	
FLORIDA,)	
)	
Defendants.)	

A. Stipulations of the Parties

The United States of America, plaintiff, and the State of Florida and George Firestone, Secretary of State of the State of Florida, defendants, stipulate and agree that:

1. This action was brought by the Attorney General on behalf of the United States to enforce the provisions of the Overseas Citizens Voting Rights Act, 42 U.S.C. §§1973dd et seq., and the Federal Voting Assistance Act, 42 U.S.C. §1973cc(b).

2. This Court has jurisdiction over this action pursuant to 28 U.S.C. §1345.

3. The Overseas Citizens Voting Rights Act guarantees to citizens residing outside the United States the right to register and vote absentee in federal elections conducted by the State in which they last were domiciled (so long as certain minimum conditions are met). 42 U.S.C. §1973dd-1. The Federal Voting Assistance Act provides, inter alia, that members of the Armed Forces and Merchant Marine (and their spouses and dependants) located abroad, who are otherwise qualified to vote, have the right to register and vote absentee in federal elections conducted by the State of their voting residence. 42 U.S.C. §1973cc(b).

4. Under the Overseas Citizens Voting Rights Act and the Federal Voting Assistance Act, defendant State of Florida is charged with the responsibility of assuring that Florida election law permits Florida voters to exercise the rights guaranteed by the Acts. Defendant George Firestone, sued in his official capacity as Secretary of State of the State of Florida, is chief election officer of the State. Fla. Stat. §97-012.

5. The United States, by this action, seeks injunctive relief to remedy the failure of defendants to ensure that United States citizens located abroad, who are guaranteed by the Overseas Citizens Voting Rights Act or the Federal Voting Assistance Act the right to vote absentee in federal elections conducted by the State of Florida, receive absentee ballots on a date sufficiently preceding election day to permit them to return their ballots in a timely manner.

6. Florida law provides that an absentee ballot may be counted if it is received by the appropriate county supervisor of elections by 7:00 p.m. on the day of the election. Fla. Stat. §101.67(2).

7. For the November 4, 1980 federal election, over 23,000 citizens located outside the United States, who were eligible to vote in Florida, requested absentee ballots from Florida election officials. Approximately 87 percent of these applications were received on or before the thirtieth day prior to the election.

8. With a few exceptions, however, Florida counties did not begin to mail ballots to overseas citizens for the November 1980 election until at least 20 days prior to the election, and

in numerous counties the mailing was not begun until several or many days closer to the election. The following chart sets forth the mailing dates for Florida counties:

<u>Date 1980</u>	<u>No. of Counties</u>	<u>Date 1980</u>	<u>No. of Counties</u>
October 11	1	October 19	2
October 12	0	October 20	5
October 13	1	October 21	13
October 14	3	October 22	7
October 15	5	October 23	1
October 16	9	October 24	2
October 17	11	October 25	1
October 18	5	Unknown	1

(October 15 was 20 days prior to election.)

9. The mailing of absentee ballots, on the dates described above, to eligible overseas voters who had filed timely applications for ballots threatened to deprive a substantial number of these voters of the opportunity and right to vote in the November 1980 federal election. That is, these voters did not receive their ballots on a date sufficiently preceding election day to permit them to return their ballots to Florida election officials by 7:00 p.m. on election day, the deadline for receipt established by Florida.

10. The late mailing of absentee ballots to overseas citizens, described above, violated the Overseas Citizens Voting Rights Act and the Federal Voting Assistance Act.

11. To remedy the late mailing of absentee ballots for the November 1980 general election, this Court entered a Temporary Restraining Order on November 6, 1980 extending for ten days the deadline for receipt of ballots cast pursuant to the Overseas Citizens Voting Rights Act or the Federal Voting Assistance Act.

12. As a result of the Temporary Restraining Order of November 6, 1980, approximately 4,700 American citizens located abroad were able to vote in the November 6, 1980 federal election. Approximately 900 ballots from overseas citizens were received after the ten-day extension period and were not counted. Approximately 13,800 ballots from overseas citizens were received before the close of the polls on election day.

13. Florida election officials were precluded from mailing absentee ballots for the November 1980 federal election in a timely manner to citizens located abroad by the election schedule established by the State of Florida. Florida held a "first primary election" on September 9, 1980 (the first Tuesday that fell on the sixth day or later in September) and four weeks subsequent, on October 7, 1980, held a "second primary election" (a primary run-off). The general election followed on November 4. Fla. Stat. §§100.031, 100.061, 100.091. Before election officials could begin to mail out ballots for the general election, ballots for the second primary had to be tabulated by county, the state Elections Canvassing Commission had to declare the primary winners for federal and state offices, Fla. Stat. §102.111(1), and ballots had to be printed. The four week interval between the second primary and the general election did not allow Florida election officials, under the present system of providing absentee ballots to overseas voters, sufficient time to complete the process leading up to the mailing out of ballots on a date that would in turn allow overseas voters a reasonable opportunity to return their ballots by the Florida deadline for receipt.

14. For the 1982 federal elections, Florida plans to use the same election schedule used in 1980. The first primary is set for the first Tuesday that falls on the sixth day or later in September, a second primary is scheduled four weeks subsequent, and the general election in November will occur four weeks after the date for the second primary. Fla. Stat. §§100.031, 100.061, 100.091. As a result, there is a substantial likelihood that, as was the case in 1980, thousands of eligible overseas voters will not receive their ballots for the November 1982 general election on a date sufficiently preceding election day to allow them to return their ballots by the deadline for receipt, 7:00 p.m. on election day, thus violating the Overseas Citizens Voting Rights Act and the Federal Voting Assistance Act. Furthermore, there is a substantial likelihood that the four week interval between the first and second primary elections likewise will result in the late mailing of absentee ballots to overseas voters for the second primary, thus disenfranchising numerous such voters. The Overseas Citizens Voting Rights Act and the Federal Voting Assistance Act protect the right to vote absentee in federal primary elections as well as federal general elections.

15. Florida law provides that, beginning in 1984, the State will hold its second primary three, not four, weeks after the first primary. The first primary will continue to be held on the first Tuesday that falls on the sixth day or later in September. Fla. Stat. §§100.061, 100.091. Under this revised schedule, in most election years the general election will occur five weeks after the second primary (occasionally, as in 1988 and 1994, the general election will occur six weeks after the second primary). Though this schedule in most elections will allow overseas voters an additional seven days in which to return their ballots for the general election, there remains a substantial likelihood that, under

the present system of providing absentee ballots to overseas voters, this additional time still will not allow numerous eligible overseas voters to receive their ballots on a date sufficiently preceding election day so as to be able to return their ballots by the deadline for receipt. The three week interval between the first and second primaries also will exacerbate the problem, described in paragraph 14, of providing ballots to overseas voters.

16. The mailing time (one way) between the United States and persons in foreign countries varies depending upon the country of destination. The maximum mailing time generally is two and a half weeks, according to information presently available to the parties.

17. To insure that all citizens located abroad, protected under the Overseas Citizens Voting Rights Act and the Federal Voting Assistance Act and qualified to vote in Florida, have a reasonable opportunity to return their ballots for primary and general elections prior to the Florida deadline for receipt, it is necessary that Florida election officials mail out ballots to such persons at least 35 days prior to the deadline for receipt of ballots for such elections (if the voter has registered and a ballot application has been received at least 35 days prior to the deadline).

18. This Consent Decree is final and binding as to all issues resolved herein.

B. Order

WHEREFORE, the parties having freely given their consent, and the terms of the Decree being fair, reasonable, and consistent with the requirements of the Overseas Citizens Voting Rights Act and the Federal Voting Assistance Act, it is hereby ORDERED, ADJUDGED, and DECREED that:

1. The State of Florida does not grant American citizens located abroad a reasonable opportunity in federal elections to exercise their right to vote absentee in violation of the Overseas Citizens Voting Rights Act and the Federal Voting Assistance Act.

2. For the 1982 federal elections only, as an interim solution, the State of Florida shall take the following steps:

- a. With respect to the November 2, 1982 general election, any ballot cast for federal offices by a citizen located in a foreign country, which is post-marked no later than November 2, 1982 and received by the appropriate election officials no later than 5:00 p.m., November 12, 1982, shall be counted, so long as the ballot would have been counted if it had been received by the close of the polls on election day;
- b. Voters located in a foreign country shall be notified of the change effected by subparagraph "a", at the time they receive their ballot for the 1982 general election;
- c. With respect to the first primary election in 1982, absentee ballots for citizens located in a foreign country shall be mailed to these persons at least 35 days prior to election day (the deadline for receipt of ballots), for those voters who have registered and submitted a ballot application at least 35 days prior to election day.

3. Within 45 days after the 1982 general election, defendants shall file a report with this Court, with respect to the 1982 federal elections, which sets forth the following information: (a) the dates on which each county began to mail out ballots to citizens located in a foreign country for voting in the first primary, the second primary, and the general election; (b) the number of valid absentee ballots, by county, received before the close of the polls in the first primary, the second primary, and the general election from citizens located in a foreign county; (c) the number of absentee ballots, by county, received after the close of the polls in the first primary and the second primary, from citizens located in a foreign country, which would have been counted if they had been timely; (d) the number of absentee ballots, by county, in the general election received after November 2, 1982 which were counted pursuant to this Consent Decree; and (e) the number of absentee ballots, by county, in the general election which were not counted which were received after the close of the polls on election day from citizens located in a foreign country (not counted because postmarked after November 2 or received after 5:00 p.m., November 12, 1982).

4. For federal elections occurring subsequent to 1982, defendants shall, within 60 days after the close of the 1983 regular session of the Florida Legislature, submit to this Court a Plan of Compliance. The Plan shall effect such measures as are necessary and appropriate to permit American citizens located abroad a reasonable opportunity to return their ballots for federal primary (first, second, and presidential primaries) and general elections prior to the deadline for receipt of ballots. The Plan shall be drawn in accordance with the determinations stipulated to by the parties in section "A" of this Decree, in particular paragraph 17.

The time period provided, within which the Plan shall be submitted to the Court, will permit the Florida Legislature to study and act on this matter. However, if the Florida Legislature does not act, a Plan of Compliance nevertheless shall be submitted by the date specified above.

5. After submission of the Plan of Compliance, plaintiff United States of America shall be given a reasonable opportunity to study and comment on the Plan. The Court thereupon may determine that the Plan adequately resolves the voting problems that are the subject of this litigation or may order such additional relief it determines is necessary and appropriate.

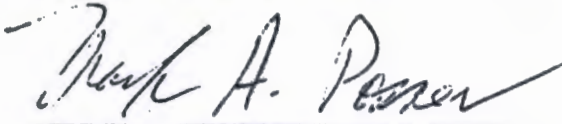
4. The Court retains jurisdiction of this action for the purpose of implementing the foregoing provisions.

ORDERED this *2nd* day of *april*, 1982.


United States District Judge

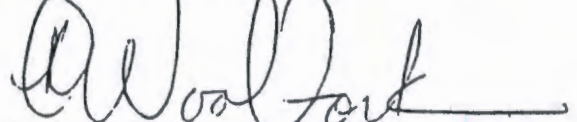
The undersigned agree to the entry of this Decree.

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Jody Powell/*Fight waged to guarantee the right to vote*

WASHINGTON — When my home state of Georgia became the first in the nation to give 18-year-olds the right to vote, the rallying cry was, "Old enough to fight, old enough to vote." That was during World War II. Forty years later, 18-year-olds can vote in every state of the Union — except for the young people who are most likely to be doing the fighting, those in the armed forces.

State election laws in most of the 50 states can, and do, deprive many Americans who are serving their country of the right to help select its government. The culprit is the way absentee ballots are handled. Most states send them out so late and require them to be returned so early that voting is a practical impossibility for Americans stationed overseas — and some in this country. (That problem also affects business people, tourists, missionaries, diplomats and Peace Corps volunteers. But by far the largest group is military personnel.)

No matter how early one applies for an absentee ballot, in most states election officials do not start mailing them out until three weeks before the election. In 45 states, the marked ballot must be re-

ceived by polling officials — not just postmarked by election day.

It's not that anyone set out to disenfranchise Americans in uniform. The rules exist primarily for reasons of convenience, having to do with the date of primaries, ballot certification and petition drives for independent candidates. Nevertheless, the effect is denial of the right to vote.

According to a survey conducted by the Department of Defense, almost 10 percent of those in the armed forces — some 182,000 men and women who tried to vote in 1980 could not do so. In fact, the number of disenfranchised Americans is probably much higher. The Pentagon survey did not include those who were unaware that their vote was never counted because it was received too late by election officials. Thousands of others may have been discouraged from even making the attempt because of past difficulties. Nor does the Pentagon figure include military dependents.

The number who wanted to vote but couldn't, through no fault of their own, may have exceeded a quarter of a million in 1980. Presidential elections have been decided by fewer votes than that. But that is not really the point. The issue is whether those Americans who put their lives on the line to protect our political freedoms should be given a reasonable opportunity to enjoy them.

Ironically, those who are the victims of discrimination in this case also are barred from seeking redress through traditional channels. Members of the armed forces are legally prohibited from lobbying state legislatures or the Congress.

Fortunately, there is something the rest of us can do. Six states — Texas, California, Connecticut, Indiana, Maine and Tennessee — have taken steps to remove the most grievous barriers. (Georgia, which is one of the worst cases — requiring that absentee ballots not be mailed before 19 days prior to the election — also passed a reform measure; but it was vetoed because of an unrelated rider having to do with public utilities.)

That progress has come largely through the efforts of Samuel Wright, a young lawyer from Arlington, Va., who served as Voting Assistance Lawyer for the Judge Advocate of the Navy from 1977 through 1980. He is recruiting a cadre of volunteers to explain the problem to state legislators and governors and to lobby for reform. Also, he is signing up volunteers to work with local election officials to improve procedures within existing law — work that needs to be done even in states with acceptable legislation. So far, he has some 300 working in several dozen states. But more are needed.

Mr Wright can provide advice on what changes are needed to make the process work better

as well as the names of people already active in a given state. Information is also available to state and local officials through the Federal Voting Assistance Program at the Department of Defense.

With many state legislatures meeting for limited sessions early in the year, the time to start work is now. Nor could there be a more fitting time, with Veterans Day just behind us and scenes of young Americans coming home to grieving families fresh in our minds. One would think that this would be a made-to-order cause for veterans' groups, who can muster considerable political clout and who must surely feel an obligation to those who now wear the uniforms they served in so proudly.

Sam Wright recognizes that the changes he seeks may mean inconvenience for state and local officials as well as some added expense to taxpayers. But, he says:

"These are small accommodations to make to facilitate the enfranchisement of young men and women who are prepared to lay down their lives in defense of our country. Were it not for the sacrifices of military personnel, now and in the past, none of us would have the opportunity to vote in free elections."

And I say "Amen to that."

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Organization Lobbies States For Easier Absentee Voting

By LAURIE PARKER
Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — Military members may find absentee voting easier in future elections, thanks to a network of volunteer lobbyists trying to change state voting laws.

The network is being organized by Samuel F. Wright, a Virginia lawyer and Naval Reserve lieutenant (1201 S. Scott St. No. 422, Arlington, Va. 22204).

Wright started by helping to push through legislation in Texas to allow county clerks to mail absentee ballots 45 days before an election instead of 30 days and to extend the deadline for receiving marked ballots from 1 pm to 7 pm on election day.

Wright now is organizing volunteers — mostly military retirees and reservists — in 37 states to lobby for changes elsewhere.

One volunteer in Georgia is retired Rear Adm. William O. Miller, a former Naval Judge Advocate General. Another is H. Layban White, a retired Army Reserve lieutenant colonel who was in the West Virginia legislature for 12 years, four as Speaker of the House.

Wright himself was a voting assistance officer on active duty from 1977 to 1980 but he says his network program is unofficial. While he works with officials at the Pentagon's Federal Voting Assistance Office, he says it is as a concerned citizen, not as a Reservist.

A 1980 survey by the Voting Office found that about 182,000 voters — almost nine percent of the eligibles — tried to vote but couldn't because their ballots arrived late or not at all.

Wright contends that many more voters were disenfranchised and didn't know it because of tight deadlines. In most states, he said, election officials reject ballots received after election day and don't notify the voters.



Staff Photo by Kate Patterson

WRIGHT

Many absentee voters don't bother trying to vote because they know from past experience they probably won't beat the deadlines, he said.

Mail delay is the most serious problem, Wright said, particularly for people on ships. Most states won't mail ballots until about 30 days before an election and most require that they be received by election day. Wright thinks ballots should be mailed to voters at least 60 days before elections. He thinks that marked ballots should be accepted up to the time of the official county examination of the votes — seven to 10 days after elections — if they are postmarked by election day.

Wright concedes that changing the mailing-out dates for ballots would require other changes such as earlier primaries, earlier petition drives for independent candidates and earlier ballot certification. Most legislators balk at changing the absentee process because of these other effects. But Wright thinks it would be only a small accommodation to

make for the sacrifices military members make for the country.

He also thinks that special ballots should be considered for the military. If early mailing means that all candidates can't be named, partial ballots could allow a straight-ticket vote for "Republican nominee" or "Democrat nominee," he said.

That would not be admitted perfect, Wright admitted, but an incomplete ballot received in time to count would be better than a full ballot received too late.

Other changes Wright and his network are urging would:

- Have absentee ballots counted at a central point in a county rather than in each precinct to reduce losses and misdeliveries.

- Exempt military and overseas voting from registration or accept post card applications for the purpose as many states do now.

- Improve residency requirements so a voter wouldn't have to provide a specific address in a state so long as he still claims to live there.

- Drop notarization requirements, which add nothing to the security of the voting process since someone intent on fraud can forge a notarization.

In addition to the state lobbying, Wright is beginning to organize county-level volunteers to visit local election officials to be sure voting laws and procedures are followed. They also are to contact local postmasters to remind them that voting materials should have highest priority. That job should take only 10 to 15 hours every two years, Wright said.

Wright is still looking for state-level volunteers in a number of states. The network uses non-active-duty members and dependents since the work involves lobbying, from which active members are barred. County-level volunteers include active-duty people since no lobbying is involved, he said.

Some Ballotting Procedures Improve, Others Remain Difficult, FVAP Says

WASHINGTON — States have made "encouraging" progress in adopting recommendations toward improving the absentee voting process, but some people still have difficulty casting ballots, the Federal Voting Assistance Program (FVAP) office has said in its latest report to Congress.

The FVAP advises state and local election officials on federal laws and makes recommendations pertaining to their electoral systems. It also assists persons trying to vote by absentee ballot or in person.

Every two years the FVAP reports to Congress on the status of state absentee voting systems.

On the positive side, the 1981 report noted that all states now accept the Federal Post Card

Application form as a request for a ballot when used by military members.

All states also provide specially marked, gummed and sized envelopes for absentee voting materials that simplify identification and speed up handling by the Postal Service.

The report also said that 34 states now accept the FPCA as a simultaneous application for voting registration and absentee ballots. This saves time for potential voters.

But the report cites "cumbersome" state administrative procedures, oath requirements and ballot time restraints that it says must be overcome to simplify the absentee voting process for all concerned.

The lack of uniform absentee voting procedures among the states makes it difficult for voting assistance officers and counselors to advise their personnel, the report said.

"Familiarity with the procedures of one state provides no basis of knowledge for assisting voters from another state," it said. "In fact, knowledge of one state's procedures may mislead a person in dealing with another state's procedure."

The lack of uniformity even within a state causes more confusion, the report added. Local election officials may give erroneous advice or require that more rigorous procedures be followed than are necessary, it said.

NAVY TIMES

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Melvin Ryder, Founder, 1893-1979

30th YEAR, NO. 44

AUGUST 17, 1981

Voting Signals

AS REPORTED in this issue, a Pentagon survey has shown that about one-half of the military people polled did not make any effort to vote in last year's presidential election.

Some of those responding presumably were under 21 years of age. Until the Constitution was amended in 1971, most Americans under 21 could not vote.

A few of those who did not bother to vote may have been residents of the District of Columbia. Until the Constitution was amended in 1961, D.C. residents did not have the vote.

Some of those uninterested in the election probably were women. It was not until 1920 that a constitutional amendment gave women the vote.

There may have been blacks among the non-voters. It was 1870 before the Constitution was amended to assure that no citizen was denied the vote "on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude."

In the early days of the republic, few citizens participated in the election of presidents. The original Constitution left it to each state to choose electors "in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct" and the electors then cast their votes for the president. It was many years before the votes of the electors were tied to the popular vote.

The point of all this is that various groups of citizens have had to struggle over a period of more than 200 years to win the right to have a say in the choice of a president. It seems a pity not to use it now.

The most common reason the non-voters gave for not participating was that they had no preference among the candidates.

The major candidates for the presidency now are chosen under a system of conventions and primaries leading up to the national party conventions. Until 1830, candidates were chosen largely by secret party caucuses. Citizens who had preferences had little or no chance to express them.

Some people feel that not voting sends a signal that they do not care for any of the candidates. What it really signals is that they don't care who picks their president, even if it is a minority of the registered voters.

During the past 20 years, between 50 and 60 percent of the nation's registered voters turned out to vote for presidents. At least twice during those years, a president has been elected with less than one-half the popular vote. In those two elections, fewer

than one-third of the registered voters selected the presidents.

If more non-voters had voted, would the outcome have been different? We'll never know. The signal was garbled.

The Pentagon's survey also showed that 8.9 percent of the military people polled had tried to vote in 1980 but could not. They sent for ballots and either did not receive them or received them too late to cast votes. If the survey is an accurate sampling of service voters, that means that about 182,000 military members did have candidate preferences in 1980 but were prevented from expressing them. At least once within the past 20 years, a president has been elected by a margin of fewer than 182,000 votes.

The right to vote carries the implied right not to vote if one so wishes. There is little the rest of us can do about the non-voters except, perhaps, to prick their consciences from time to time and to tell them to shut up if they criticize the person who was elected. They took no hand in the process and have no business criticizing the outcome, we can say.

Likewise, there is not very much most of us can do about those who wanted to vote and couldn't, but there are some people who have the power to help see that this doesn't happen.

The unit voting officers can make sure they have done all they can to help people register, send for ballots and return them in time. State and local election officials can see that ballots are printed and sent early enough so that they can be returned in time to be counted. And voters can be certain that they do not cheat themselves by waiting too long to apply or to mail back their marked ballots.

On the bright side, last year's military voting rate was up slightly from that in the previous presidential election. It's a pity that it was lower than the national average. Somehow, we would think that military people, who are barred from many political activities, would be even more interested than other citizens in using the principal means they have to signal their preferences.

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More Military Voted in 1980 Than in 1976

By LAURIE PARKER

Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — A higher percentage of military members voted in the 1980 general election than did in 1976, but their voting rate was still below that of the U.S. population as a whole, a recent survey by the Federal Voting Assistance Program has found.

The FVAP, which coordinates federal efforts to assist absentee voters, surveyed 17,500 military people — 1500 officers and 2000 enlisted from each of the four Department of Defense services and the Coast Guard — and 2500 federal civilian employees stationed outside the United States.

Other parts of the survey went to 1540 unit voting officers in the four services and to 400 local election officials from the most populous congressional districts in the country.

A total of 7515 military people and 834 federal civilian employees responded to the survey.

The survey showed that 40.8 percent of the military respondents did vote in 1980, compared to 38.1 percent in 1976. For the eligible voting population as a whole, the figures were 53.95 percent in 1980 and 59 percent in 1976.

Federal civilian voting decreased, however, from 48.5 percent in 1976 to 47.7 percent in 1980.

Thirty-two percent of the military respondents and 45.9 percent of the federal civilians voted

absentee in 1980; the corresponding figures for 1976 were 30.48 percent for the military and 43.65 percent for the federal civilian employees.

Responses also indicated that 8.8 percent of military voters and 1.8 percent of federal civilian employees voted in person for the 1980 election.

But 50.5 percent of the military respondents and 42.3 percent of the federal civilian employees said they took no action in the election — they neither registered, applied for a ballot nor voted. Similar figures were not compiled for 1976, FVAP officials said.

"No candidate preference" was the reason most often cited for the lack of participation by both military and federal civilian employees respondents.

The survey also found that 8.9 percent of the military respondents and 9.9 percent of the federal civilian employees said they had applied for absentee ballots and either never received them or received them too late to return in time to be counted. An FVAP official said these percentages were slightly improved from the 1976 election.

It is the absentee voting figures, especially those that indicated late or never-received ballots, that concern the FVAP officials.

"We don't try to gear the program to the total number of people who voted," an FVAP spokes-

man said, but to make sure "that people who do want to vote absentee get to vote."

Across the services, the percentages of respondents who said they tried to vote absentee but either never received a ballot or received it too late for the election ranged from a low of 5.5 percent in the Coast Guard to a high of 11.2 percent in the Marines.

FVAP officials said those figures are down slightly from 1976, when they ranged from eight to 13 percent.

Navy respondents said 39.3 percent voted, 8.6 percent tried to vote, and 52 percent did not try. Marine Corps respondents said 38.1 percent voted, 11.2 percent tried and 50.6 percent did not try. Army respondents said 32.8 percent did vote, 9.1 percent tried but could not, and 58.1 percent did not try to vote. Coast Guard people said 51.7 percent did vote, 5.5 percent tried, and 42.8 percent did not try to vote. Air Force people said 52.3 percent voted, 8.2 percent tried, and 39.5 percent did not try.

Survey officials said they could find no definite tie-in between late requests for ballots and late or never-received ballots. People who never received their ballots or received them too late generally sent in their requests for ballots at the same time as those who did receive their ballots.

While about 57 percent of the local election officials who responded to the survey said they mailed absentee ballots during the first two weeks in October, approximately 25 percent mailed the ballots out in the third week —

barely two weeks before the November 4 election.

The local election officials said that their major problems in processing requests for absentee ballots resulted from the applicants not completing their Federal Post Card Application correctly or legibly.

But 65 percent of the responding officials said that they were able to process between 96 and 100 percent of all the FPCAs received.

Respondents in each survey category stressed different areas for improvement in the absentee voting program.

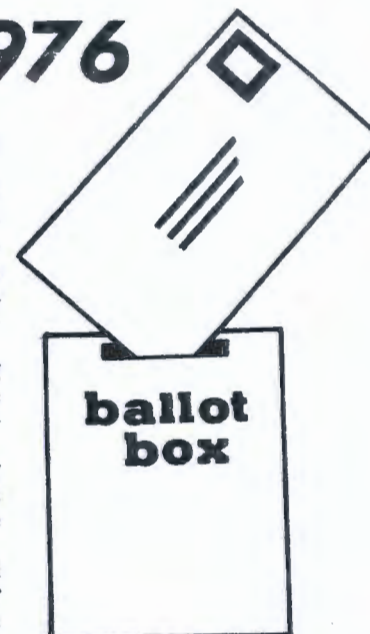
Local voting officials said absentee voters should apply for their ballots earlier, and potential voters and unit voting officials said local officials should mail the ballots out sooner.

For their part, survey officials said it appeared that many military people and civilian employees overseas never were informed of their voting rights and how they could exercise them, and they made little effort to find out.

Also, the variety and complexity of state laws on residency possibly confused many citizens as to where they were eligible — and even if they were eligible — to vote, the officials added.

FVAP officials said the only major change in the program they are planning is a redesign of the FPCA format.

The new FPCA will include a detachable card that local election officials can return to the applicant, telling him that his application has been received and is being processed, or that they



need more information to process the request.

Officials also said that they were trying to make the Voting Assistance Guide — the primary tool of the unit voting officers — simpler and clearer.

Meanwhile, the FVAP staff continues to work with election officials across the country to try to simplify voting requirements.

The FVAP cannot do much more, the spokesman said.

"Our program can do all it can," he said, "but it's still up to the local commander or the unit voting officer to inform personnel of their voting rights and to make sure that they get all the necessary information to exercise them."

"A lot of these kids have never voted before and someone has to give them an appreciation of participation," he added.

MINORITY VOTING RIGHTS VIOLATIONS
IN THE 1981-83 REAPPORTIONMENT

Present to:

Summer, 1983
for
The National Foundation
to
Fight Political Corruption, Inc.
516 Galer Place
Glendale, California 91206
(213) 241-0133

Submitted by:
Louis William Barnett, Chairman

The Proposal:

An in-depth research project on the violations of voting rights in the 1981-83 redistricting process:

- Were minority voting rights violated?
- How were they violated?
- What the minority community can do under the law to reverse this (these) violations.

And to establish a national clearinghouse for minorities and others concerned with the illegal dilution of voting rights or in academic study of or direct action against ethnic based gerrymandering.

"We are involved today in a fundamental constitutional issue, one that goes to the very democratic roots of this country. That issue relates to the right of people to cast a meaningful and effective vote. The preservation of this right is important to the vitality of this country's political system. Its denial, its enfeeblement can only jeopardize our commitment to democratic principles. The discriminatory practices include at-large board elections, redistricting, registration and voting irregularities, changes in polling places and lack of bilingual registrars and election officials. The total effect of these practices has been a negligible level of representation for Mexican-Americans."

--Congressman Edward Roybal

Forward

The National Foundation to Fight Political Corruption, Inc. is a California-based non-profit, tax-exempt corporation chartered by the State of California and organized under section 501 (c) (3) of the Internal Revenue Code.

Now in its third year of operation, the Foundation has completed numerous complex research projects dealing with such diverse subjects as the organized-crime links of a federal appeals court nominee, and the funding sources of the Tom Hayden-Jane Fonda, spawned political phenomena known as the Campaign For Economic Democracy.

In 1982, the Foundation published its first book, The Destruction of the California Judiciary, which was an exhaustive study of Governor Jerry Brown's judicial appointments, the operation of the California Supreme Court, and a number of chapters devoted to proposals for reform.

Proposal Background

Reapportionment will continue to be a major political battleground for the minority community in the 1980s. Contrary to popular myth, some minorities' lack of political visibility cannot be attributed merely to lack of political sophistication or to political apathy; restrictive election laws and discriminatory legislative attitudes have also hindered the political aspirations of the minority populations. The 1960s and 1970s witnessed a concerted effort by Chicanos and Blacks to challenge and eliminate obsolete legal provisions which limited the participation of Chicanos and Blacks in the American political system. Some progress in election reform has been achieved, as is evidenced by the elimination of filing fees, the elimination of literacy and language requirements, the shortening of residency requirements for the right to vote, and the lowering of qualifications for third parties and independent candidates to achieve ballot status. The culmination of the struggle of Hispanics and Blacks against restrictive election laws as the 1975 Voting Rights Act passed by the United States Congress and signed into law by President Gerald Ford. The past two decades have witnessed the passage of federal legislation designed to protect the voting rights of minorities. This legislation has been successful in eliminating or modifying several political obstacles and devices used to discourage political participation and/or dilute minority voting strength. However, despite governmental intents, one barrier which has not been eradicated

is racial gerrymandering despite efforts by minority groups to eliminate the practice during reapportionment.

The original Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the new one passed in 1982 were passed in reaction to--and in an effort to redress--the established, long-term and continuing problem of voting rights violations in the United States. The 1982 Voting Rights Act passed by Congress and signed into law by President Reagan includes a new test for voting rights discrimination called "the effects test." Under the old act, a violation could only be established if an intent to discriminate could be proven. The new law requires that all that must be demonstrated is that the effort of a given action is discriminatory.

Proposal Summary

Historically, the decennial census triggers a partisan or bi-partisan gerrymander every ten years. That is, the political party in power will gerrymander state legislative and congressional lines to protect its incumbents and defeat more of the opposition party. When the power to reapportion is divided between political parties, a bi-partisan gerrymander will usually occur wherein both parties incumbents are protected.

In the 1980, 1970, 1960, and earlier reapportionments, redistricting experts believe when the Democratic Party was in charge of redistricting the voting rights of minorities were intentionally diluted to maximize the number of white Democrats elected. Minority communities were intentionally divided and successfully appended to white Democrats' districts to ensure their election or re-election. Alternatively, Republican plans which were largely unsuccessful in this same time frame were viewed by many minority leaders as efforts to "pack" as many minorities as possible into as few districts as possible.

In Phase I, the National Foundation to Fight Political Corruption proposes to form a Project Steering Committee to be composed of politically knowledgeable experts who will oversee and direct this Project. They will have full authority over the Project on all policy matters. However, of necessity, the Foundation will continue to exercise fiscal control to insure the integrity of all grant funds. The Project Steering Committee shall be controlled by a majority of minority representatives.

In Phase II, the Project proposes to study the 1980-1983 reapportionment process and document any violation of minority voting rights in major urban centers in the United States. (Specifically, the Project will focus on the nation's ten largest states and at least ten other states with large minority populations.)

In Phase III, the Project proposes to communicate the facts of such violations to minority communities and to the American public.

The Project will utilize both classical and modern methods of research and communications including literature review, field interviews, census data, questionnaires, surveys, geographic data bases, and graphic displays, as well as press releases, interviews, press conferences, etc.

In Phase IV, the Project will provide technical assistance in preparing complaints to be filed under the 1982 Voting Rights Act or related litigation prompted by or related to this project's research and communications activities.

Phase I, II, and III of this Project will cost approximately \$245,758. Costs of Phase IV will depend upon the interest in litigation or other remedial action generated in the minority communities by Phases II and III. Preliminary estimates of the cost of technical assistance in Voting Rights litigation is \$200,000 to \$500,000. Savings from Phases I, II, and III will be carried forward into Phase IV.

The Foundation seeks Project funding from a single source or a consortium of sources.

Need Assessment

The minority populations of the United States are rapidly increasing because of recent immigration and differential birth rates (i.e., higher birth rates than the nation as a whole).

Today, Los Angeles is the second largest Spanish speaking city in the world.

Blacks comprise 35% of the population in Mississippi and 30% of the population in South Carolina. In the District of Columbia, the percentage is 70%.

37% of New Mexico is Hispanic.

In Texas, 21% of the population is Hispanic and 12% is Black...for a combined percentage of 33%.

For California, the figures are 8% Black and 19% Hispanic...plus 5% Asian...for a total of 32%.

Yet minority spokesmen constantly articulate a feeling of alienation from the political process.

Note the recent racial overtones to the major elections in Chicago and Philadelphia in the Spring of 1983.

Note also the recent call for a Black presidential candidate.

Clearly, the abuse of the reapportionment process has disenfranchised and alienated our nation's minority communities.

In the Hispanic community, for example, one Chicano redistricting expert has identified the following effects:

1. Underrepresentation has denied Mexican-Americans a full opportunity to contribute to the process of

government which establishes the rules by which we all live.

2. It has excluded Mexican-Americans from significant participation in forming state policies, and has therefore led to policies which have provided Mexican-Americans with an inferior education, denied them equal economic opportunities, called into question the state's commitment to equal justice, and generally worked to keep Chicanos in in the status of second-class citizens.

3. Underrepresentation has closed off certain political avenues through which Chicanos could otherwise voice their problems and grievances.

4. Underrepresentation has limited the ability of

Chicanos to introduce and support critical legislation to alleviate immediate social and economic problems which plague the barrios.

5. Underrepresentation has softened the Chicano voice on how state and federal funds are distributed to communities for human and social services, including health services, education, housing, and transportation.

6. The low political visibility of Chicanos at the local and state levels has hindered their upward political mobility to higher offices of increased influence, especially on the national scene.

7. The shortage of Chicano political representatives limits Chicano access to the mass media which could serve as vehicles to articulate the aspirations and problems of the nation's Spanish-speaking communities.
8. The shortage of political leaders denies the Chicano community the powerful personalities around whom the community might rally to work together on issues of importance to Chicanos and other Hispanics.

The 1980 reapportionment saw minority communities in the forefront of the redistricting struggle in this country. For example, Hispanics were well organized in several states including California, Colorado, New Mexico, Texas, Michigan, Illinois, New York and Pennsylvania. These activities reflected a highly sophisticated group of people influencing the reapportionment process. Yet despite their sincere efforts, minority concerns were not adequately addressed by the state legislatures. The final plans fell short of fair and equitable districts for Hispanics and Blacks.

The activities of minorities regarding redistricting was not limited only to lobbying for districts but also included (1) drawing up alternative plans for enhanced minority political influence, (2) hosting conferences, (3) reports and publications, and (4) testifying before legislative and public meetings.

After all the political dust had settled and in spite of promises made by legislative leaders, Hispanics and Blacks were denied the basic right to cast a meaningful vote as a result of

continued racial gerrymandering and, in some cases, the election winner already decided regardless of minority political voting.

Our project has already taken several steps to consult with minority leaders and scholars regarding our project. Our discussions have been exhaustive and well-received. There exists overwhelming support for our activities. There also exists a loose network of interested individuals and organizations for redistricting, some research, and court cases. What our project will accomplish is to centralize all of these activities to establish a needed clearinghouse for minority redistricting focusing on public policy to enhance the right of minorities to participate in civic affairs without the obstacle of discrimination.

Minority leaders' and scholars' major concern is that there does not exist a central clearinghouse to disseminate and share information. A second concern is the resources to research if racial gerrymandering did occur. Our project is the vehicle to fill this research void much needed by minority communities. Discussions with Hispanic leaders in California, Colorado, Michigan, Illinois, and New York underscore this need.

Just as it is clear that the existing political structure has caused disenfranchisement and alienation, it is equally clear that the political structure will not voluntarily correct its own inequities.

It is equally unrealistic to expect minorities to write patiently until after the 1990 census or to expect 1991 to bring any appreciable change in the status quo.

Significant change will have to come from outside the legislative process.

Minorities will have to be given the tool necessary to fight their own fight.

We propose to develop some of the statistical tools which minorities need. We propose to assist in the education and capacity building within minority communities.

We do not propose nor do we need to "create" a demand or need in the minority community for our assistance. We are responding to an existing, established, and clearly defined desire on the part of many minority community leaders, academicians, and redistricting experts for the tools specified in this proposal.

Project Statement

We propose to research, study, and report on the violations of minority voting rights in the 1981-83 redistricting process.

Reapportionment is more than an episodic occurrence in the on-going political evolution of this country. Intended to be a process to distribute political representation among the states (on the federal level) or among the people (at the statelevel), the reapportionment process has taken into itself a life of its own which brings out the worst in the involved politicians.

Reapportionment has become the vehicle by which all incumbents seek to insulate themselves from the electorate and the vehicle by which the majority party in the reapportionment process seeks to eliminate the effective participation in electoral politics of the minority party.

Following a politically "successful" reapportionment, it is not unusual for the minority party in reapportionment to win 48% of the vote (as California Republican congressional candidates did in 1982) and win only 37% of the seats.

The so-called "Burton lines" in California in 1982, produced approximately 25% of the Democrats' national gains that year!

From a historical perspective, minority groups are treated as bad as-or worse than-the minority party.

In the 1981-82 reapportionment period, Republicans controlled the reapportionment process in only one of the ten most populous states...Indiana, a state in which only 8% of the

population is black and less than 2% is hispanic.

Hence, it is important to focus on the traditional complaints of minorities that their communities are divided and parcelled-out by Democrats to bolster the re-election prospects of white Democrats in suburban Republican areas. (Minority communities tend to be in the "core" areas of our major metropolitan cities. The surrounding suburbs tend to be white and Republican. By including enough "core" area in the adjoining suburban districts, you create a district in which only a white Democrat can win either the primary or the general election. However, by reducing the size of the "core" area you reduce the number of minority districts which can then be created in the remaining territory.)

Note: Since minorities tend to be concentrated in specific neighborhoods and communities, politically motivated gerrymandering has the effect of dividing specific neighborhoods and communities. A politically neutral plan which maintained the integrity of neighborhoods and communities would have the effect of being fair to minorities as well.

Where either the above discriminatory process or any other discriminatory process can be shown to have taken place during the reapportionment process, we propose to provide the effected minority community with the statistics and data necessary to file a complaint with the United States Department of Justice under the 1982 Voting Rights Act.

The Department of Justice is empowered by the Voting Rights Act to take said state or states to court and strike down said

reapportionment statutes and seek court action to ensure the establishment of more minority districts.

Project Objectives

There are four basic Project Objectives:

(A) to form a Project Steering Committee including a majority of recognized leaders in the minority communities with technical expertise or practical knowledge of reapportionment and/or discrimination;

(B) to study the reapportionment process and document discrimination in reapportionment where it is found [see Addendum: Project Objectives (B) Specific Goals];

(C) to communicate such findings to the affected minority communities; and

(D) to assist those affected minority communities in filing complaints of Voting Rights Act violations with the U.S. Department of Justice...when appropriate.

(A) A majority of the Project Steering Committee will be composed of minority members. Each minority and non-minority member shall have either professional experiences or a personal interest and record in either the field of reapportionment and Voting Rights Violations, or in the larger area of discrimination. An effort will be made to recruit some established minority political leaders.

(B) The Project will study the reapportionment process as it applies to minorities in the nation's ten largest states, and in at least ten other states where large minority populations are

concentrated and where preliminary evaluation indicates that there is a reason to believe that discrimination in reapportionment may have taken place.

The ten largest states are New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania in the East; Illinois, Michigan, and Ohio in the Midwest; Florida, North Carolina and Texas in the South; and California in the West.

The ten smaller states selected will have to have reasonably large percentages of minority populations (this will exclude states like Vermont and Iowa but not exclude states like Hawaii and Indiana). Further, those states selected will have to have concentrations of minorities wherein voting rights violations could have occurred.

Finally, the percentage of minority state legislators and congressmen shall be compared against the state's percentage of minority population to evaluate the effect of the reapportionment process. If minorities are so fully assimilated into a state's political environment that they can be elected to office even when faced with a discriminatory reapportionment it is questionable as to what the judicial interpretation of the "effects test" in the new Voting Rights Act would be. Further, it would also bring into question the true "need" for such a project in that state.

In approaching the problem of reapportionment, some preference shall be given to those minorities who are least able to cope politically--i.e., those minorities who are most discriminated against.

This Project will not pursue purely theoretically Voting Rights Act violations in reapportionment that did/do not adversely impact on a given minority group. A proof of discriminatory effect will have to be present.

Census data, past voting trends, and party registration data will then be compared against each state's state legislative and congressional district lines.

If on the basis of this level of research and study it appears that a Voting Rights Act violation did occur, The Project will then begin a "modeling phase." The Project will attempt to model districts which are fair to all minority groups without creating a reverse gerrymander...i.e., drawing bizarre looking districts for the sole purpose of creating one or more minority districts.

While federal law will be guiding in so far as this Project's goals are concerned, whenever possible the Project's modeling will be done within the confines of existing state guidelines--i.e., following city boundaries, two lower house seats per upper house district, etc. However, if it becomes apparent that existing state law is discriminatory (that is, it either limits the number of minority seats or it restricts the number of minority seats which can be created), then the Project will simply use the controlling federal law and cite such state law(s) as further evidence of discrimination in the state's reapportionment plan.

(C) Liaison will be established with affected states' minority communities.

An effort will be made to identify and coordinate with interested minority leaders.

(Already, many of these leaders have been identified and communications established.)

Such minority leaders will be shown how discrimination in reapportionment can take place, how to collect the evidence to prove such discrimination, and finally, now to seek redress under the Voting Rights Act.

Further, minority leaders and community organizations will be involved when and where appropriate to conduct vital forums for educating various minority communities.

(D) After each individual state report is completed, the findings will be reviewed.

Based upon the findings, the reports may be filed where appropriate for theoretical future study (if not, action is warranted) or press conferences, speaking tours, and other actions may be warranted where a clear case of Voting Rights Act violations can be shown.

If local minority leaders wish to file a complaint under the Voting Rights Act--and such a complaint is both substantive and sustainable based on the Project's research and report,--then the Project will assist where possible in aiding such local minority groups.

Note: Due to the tax-exempt status of the Foundation, IRS restrictions on lobbying by tax-exempt organizations, and the Foundation's own self-imposed prohibitions on lobbying the

Project will not directly or indirectly advocate, propose, draft, or encourage any legislative action to review, study, or amend existing or future legislative lines. However, if requested, the Project will provide expert testimony in any appropriate legislative forum. Said testimony shall be limited to the Project, its work, its report(s) and findings, as well as methodology.

Methodology

Research of this nature is relatively easy yet laborious and time consuming.

The United States Bureau of the Census can provide virtually all of the census data necessary.

Past voting patterns and party registration can be provided by the appropriate Secretaries of State and/or local county clerks or registrars of voters.

Collecting the data is not as difficult a task as analyzing and modeling which will require extensive data manipulations and double checks.

While it may appear that the analysis is simple, such is not the case. One given set of figures may lead to two different yet logical conclusions. It will be incumbent upon the Project's senior staff to carefully review all data manipulations for accuracy and to maintain an openness to more than one possible interpretation of specific data. Further, senior staff will review all interpretive data prepared by other staff members to validate both numbers and interpretation.

Evaluation

A subjective evaluation or self-analysis will take place as a byproduct of each state report. This evaluation will help to focus attention "on the progress of the Project toward its objectives."

A post-Project evaluation will take place through the circulation of the Project's Final Report(s). Critical comments will be reviewed closely by NFFPC to obtain an objective evaluation of the Final Report(s).

PROJECT BUDGET

Total Program	Total Requested	Total Donated
Personnel costs		
Consultant or Contrast Services		
(1) Project Dir. at \$40/hr. x 25 hrs./mo. x 6 mos.	\$ 3,000	\$3,000
(1) Project Mgr. at \$3,300/ mo. x 6 mos.	\$19,800	
(1) Communications Con- sultant at \$4,000/mo. x 3 mos. at 1/2 time	\$ 6,000	
(1) Senior Research Asst. at \$3,000/mo. x 6 mos.	\$18,000	
(2) Research Assistants at \$2,500/mo. x 6 mos.	\$30,000	
(1) Secretary at \$2,000/ mo. x 6 mos.	<u>\$12,000</u>	
	88,800	\$3,000
Payroll Service, S.D.I.,	<u>4,808</u>	
	\$93,608	
Non-Personnel		
A. Office Expenses		
Office Space - 1,200 sq. ft. at \$10/ft./yr. x 6 mos.	\$ 6,000	
Utilities - \$200/mo. x 6 mos.	\$ 1,200	
Data (census and elections)	\$10,000	\$1,000
Maps (census, elections, others)	\$ 7,000	\$1,000
Graphic Materials	<u>\$ 5,000</u>	

Office Subtotal	\$29,200	\$2,000
B. Equipment		
Computer Services	\$40,000	
(1) Word Processing Machine - \$2,000/mo. x 6 mos.	\$12,000	
Mapping Table(s)	\$ 500	
Calculators	\$ 250	\$ 250
(4) Desks at \$100 ea.	\$ 400	\$ 300
(5) Desk Chairs		
(2) Filing Cabinets at \$100 ea.	\$ 200	
(4) Typewriters		\$ 180
(1) Storage Cabinet at \$100 ea..	\$ 100	
(1) Copying Machine at \$200/mo. x 6 mos. <u>\$ 1,200</u>		
Equipment Subtotal	\$54,650	\$ 730
C. Consumable Supplies		
Desk Top Supplies for Staff	\$ 450	
D. Travel		
Local Mileage for all Staff - 4,000 mi./mo. at \$.20/mi. x 6 mos.	\$ 4,800	

Air Travel - 20-man trips at \$800 ea.	\$16,000
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Car Rental/Ground Transportation - 20 trips at \$50/day x 2 days	\$ 2,000
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Meals - \$30/day x 40 days	\$ 1,200
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Lodging - \$50/day x 40 days	<u>\$ 2,000</u>
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Travel Subtotal	\$26,000
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E. Communications

Telephone Installation \$50 monthly \$30/mo. x 4 units Tolls \$600/mo. x 5 (Note: The Foundation currently has a Sprint service.)	\$ 3,170
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Postage	\$ 750
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Printing	\$ 2,000
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Reports/Publication Press Releases Summary Report Appendices	 \$ 1,000 \$ 5,000 \$10,000 <u>\$ 5,000</u>
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	\$26,920
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F. Contingency (4%) \$ 9,200*

Total Requested \$240,028

Total Donated \$5,730

TOTAL PROJECT COST: \$245,758

*Includes Project Steering Committee expenses as necessary.

THE PEOPLE AND THE REGIONS

Minorities Population (Rounded Off to Nearest Thousand)

State	Total Pop.	Black Pop.	%	Hispanic Pop.	%	Am. Ind. Pop.	%	Asian Pop.	%
U.S.	226,505	26,488	12	14,606	6	1,418	1	3,501	2
EAST	54,586	6,351	12	2,696	5	89	--	635	1
Conn.	3,108	217	7	124	4	5	--	19	1
Del.	595	96	16	10	2	1	--	4	1
D.C.	638	448	70	18	3	1	--	7	1
Maine	1,124	3	--	5	--	4	--	3	1
Md.	4,216	958	23	65	2	8	--	64	2
Mass.	5,737	221	4	141	2	8	--	50	1
N.H.	921	4	--	6	1	1	--	3	1
N.J.	7,364	925	13	492	7	8	--	104	1
N.Y.	17,557	2,402	14	1,659	9	39	--	311	2
Pa.	11,867	1,048	9	154	1	9	--	64	1
R.I.	947	28	3	20	2	3	--	5	1
Vt.	511	1	--	3	1	1	--	1	--
MIDWEST	58,853	5,337	9	1,276	2	249	--	390	1
Ill.	11,418	1,675	15	635	6	16	--	160	1
Ind.	5,490	415	8	87	2	8	--	20	--
Iowa	2,913	42	1	26	1	5	--	12	--
Kans.	2,363	126	5	63	3	15	1	15	1
Mich.	9,258	1,199	13	162	2	40	--	57	1
Minn.	4,077	53	1	32	1	35	1	27	1
Mo.	4,917	514	10	52	1	12	--	23	--
Neb.	1,570	48	3	28	2	9	1	7	--
N.D.	653	3	--	4	1	20	3	2	--
Ohio	10,797	1,077	10	120	1	12	--	48	--
S.D.	690	2	--	4	1	45	7	2	--
Wis.	4,705	183	4	63	1	29	1	18	--

WEST	43,165	2,262	5	6,252	14	719	2	2,081	5
Alaska	400	14	3	9	2	64	16	8	2
Ariz.	2,718	75	3	441	16	153	6	22	1
Cal.	23,669	1,819	8	4,544	19	201	1	1,254	5
Colo.	2,889	102	4	339	12	18	1	30	1
Hawaii	965	17	2	71	7	3	--	584	60
Idaho	944	3	--	37	4	11	1	6	1
Mont.	787	2	--	10	1	37	5	3	--
Nev.	799	51	6	54	7	13	2	14	2
N.M.	1,300	24	2	476	37	105	8	7	1
Oreg.	2,633	37	1	66	3	27	1	35	1
Utah	1,461	9	1	60	4	19	1	15	1
Wash.	4,130	106	3	120	3	61	1	103	2
Wyo.	471	3	1	24	5	7	2	2	--
SOUTH	69,900	12,539	18	4,381	6	362	1	395	1
Ala.	3,890	996	26	33	1	8	--	10	--
Ark.	2,286	373	16	18	1	9	--	7	--
Fla.	9,740	1,342	14	858	9	19	--	57	1
Ga.	5,464	1,465	27	61	1	8	--	24	--
Ky.	3,661	259	7	27	1	4	--	10	--
La.	4,204	1,237	29	99	2	12	--	24	1
Miss.	2,521	887	35	25	1	6	--	7	--
N.C.	5,874	1,316	22	57	1	65	1	21	--
Okla.	3,025	205	7	57	2	169	6	17	1
S.C.	3,119	948	30	33	1	6	--	12	--
Tenn.	4,591	726	16	34	1	5	--	14	--
Tex.	14,228	1,710	12	2,986	21	40	--	120	1
Va.	5,346	1,008	19	80	1	9	--	66	1
W. Va.	1,950	65	3	13	1	2	--	5	--

ADDENDUM

Project Objectives (B) Specific Goals

As a result of our discussions with minority leaders and scholars, we propose to research, study, and report on minority voting rights in the 1981-83 redistricting effort. Our project will be involved in several research activities and will address the following questions:

1. What role did minorities play in the 1981 redistricting?
2. What impact did the legislative plans have on the political aspirations of minority communities?
3. Is there evidence that minority voting rights under the Voting Rights Act of 1982 were violated?
4. Does the creation of minority districts favor Democratic or Republican incumbents?
5. What is the impact of partisan gerrymandering and the casting of electoral votes during presidential campaigns and how does this affect minority representation?
6. Does the creations of minority districts enhance minority communities as swing votes for state and federal offices?

and will:

- A) Work with minority scholars to develop alternative or model plans to enhance minority representation.
- B) Establish a minority steering committee to outline policy recommendation for the 1990 reapportionment.
- C) Establish a national minority reapportionment clearinghouse

to provide technical, legal, and research support for minority groups presently involved with the 1981 redistricting efforts.