

REPEATING HISTORY

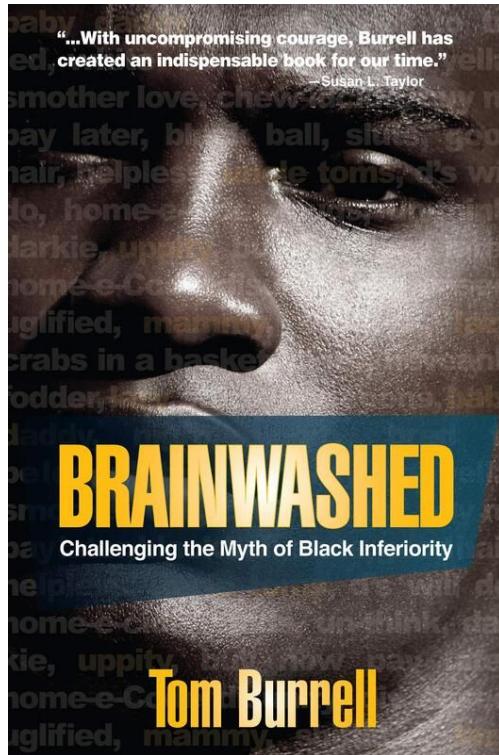
How Extremists Attack Black Political Power

James E. Ford, PhD
Executive Director of CREED



The Black Inferiority Campaign

The Black Inferiority Campaign



- Burrell argues as a marketing professional that the United States is engaged in a centuries long media campaign
- The purpose of this campaign is to propagate the myth of Black Inferiority and justify slavery in a democracy
- He writes, **“The early American ruling class used every available tool – religion, law, politics, art, literature, even the nascent field of science – as tool of sales promotion and PR strategy”**

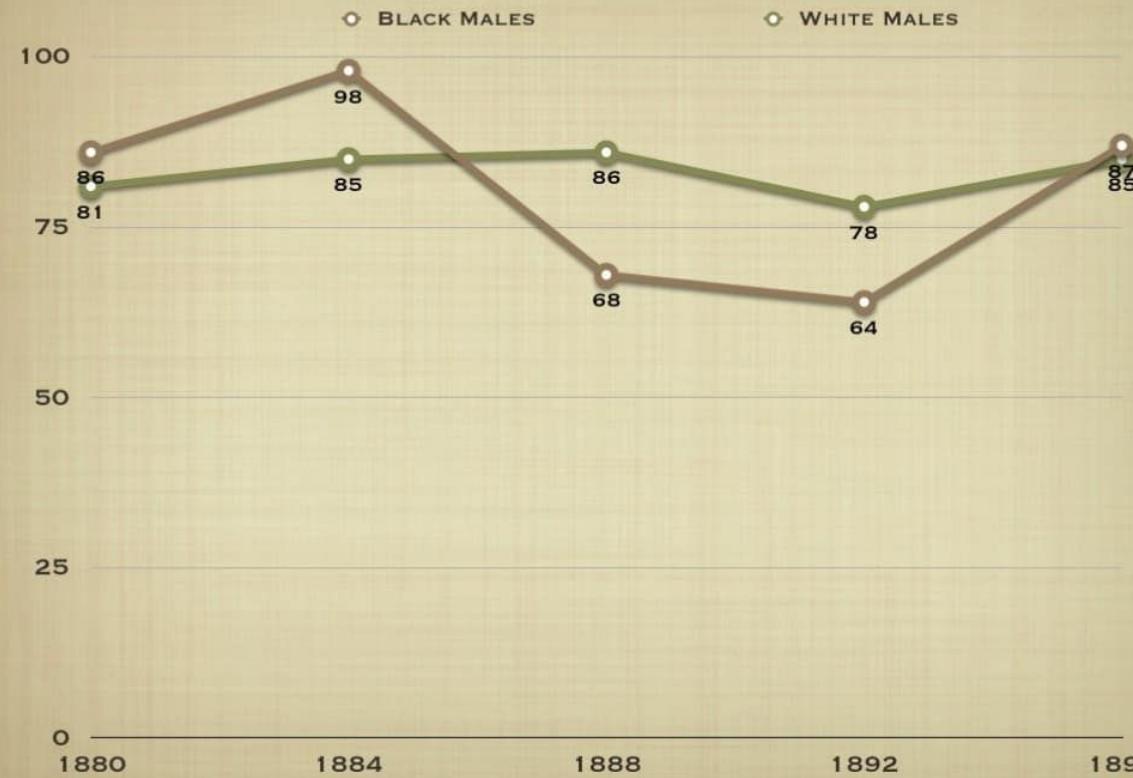


The Case of Edward Austin Johnson

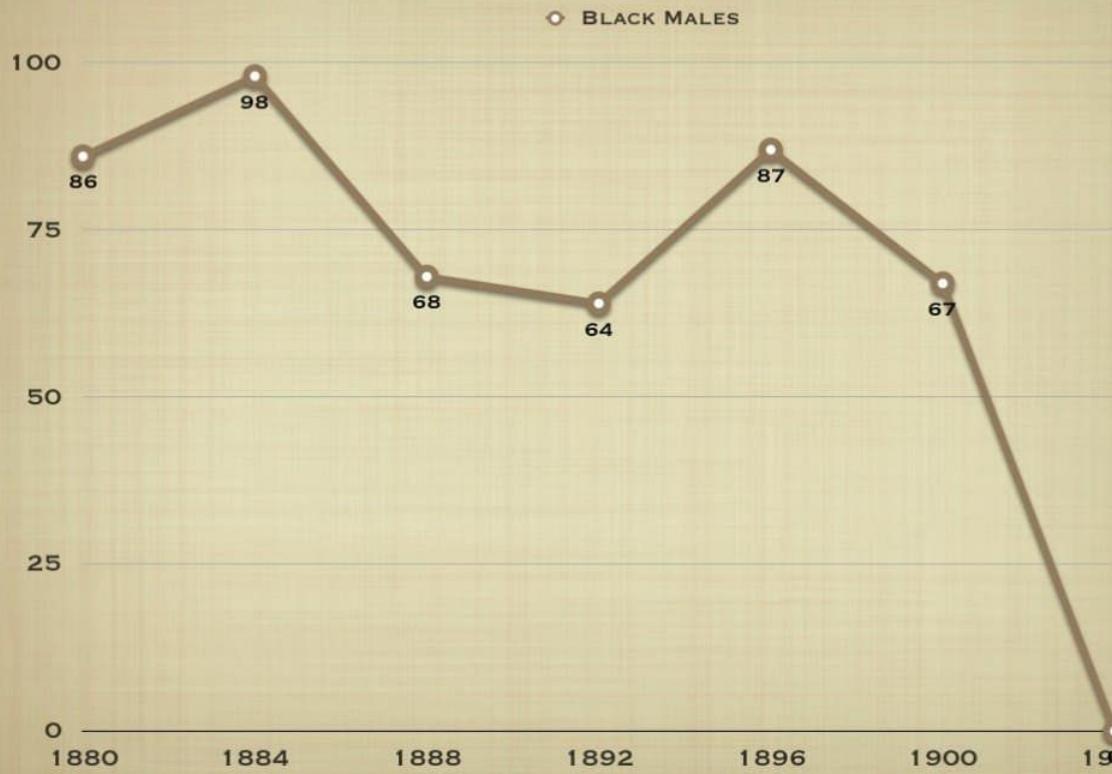


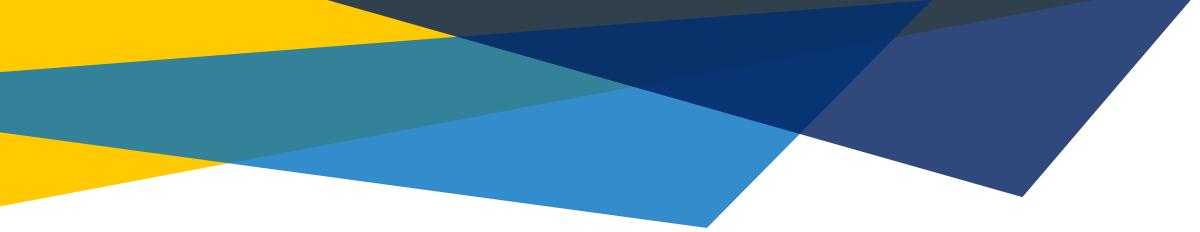
ATTORNEY E. A. JOHNSON.

Estimated Percentage Voting for Governor



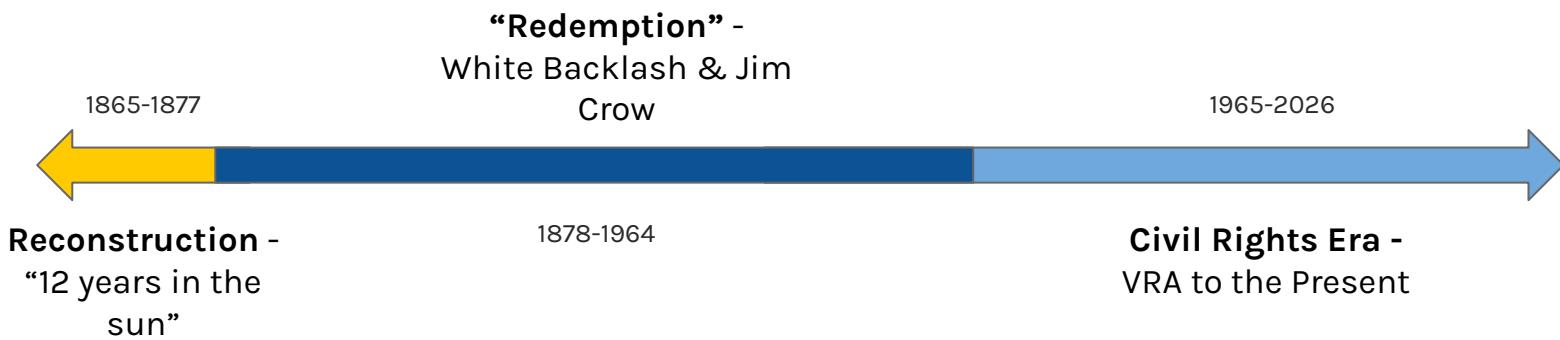
Estimated Percentage Voting for Governor





“Stop talking about the South. As long as you are south of the Canadian border, you are South.”

- Malcolm X





Weaponized Scrutiny & Political Disenfranchisement



Attacks on Positional & Professional Power

Weaponized Scrutiny

- ◆ When Black leaders are held to more strictly to supposedly neutral standards (e.g. education, politicians, etc.)
- ◆ Used to create narratives, drain resources, deterrence, and erode public trust
- ◆ *Ex. Dr. Claudine Gay, Former President of Harvard University*

Harvard's Claudine Gay was ousted for 'plagiarism'. How serious was it really?

Gay resigned amid claims of plagiarism, but was it the person being accused rather than the violation itself that brought about her downfall?



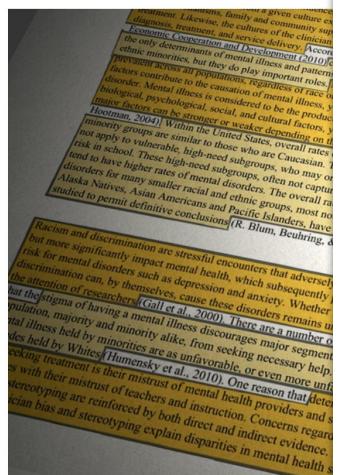
© Harvard's president, Claudine Gay, resigned on 2 January. Composite: Reuters

Stacey Abrams: I'm running for governor and am \$200,000 in debt

Chapel Hill schools s
draws plagiarism co

By Dan Kane

Updated January 26, 2025 8:18 AM

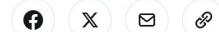


Turner Cowles · Producer
November 6, 2018

A comparison of text from Chapel Hill-Carrboro schools and text from a U.S. Surgeon General's report



a 'garden
DOJ argues



Anti-Affirmative Action & DEI

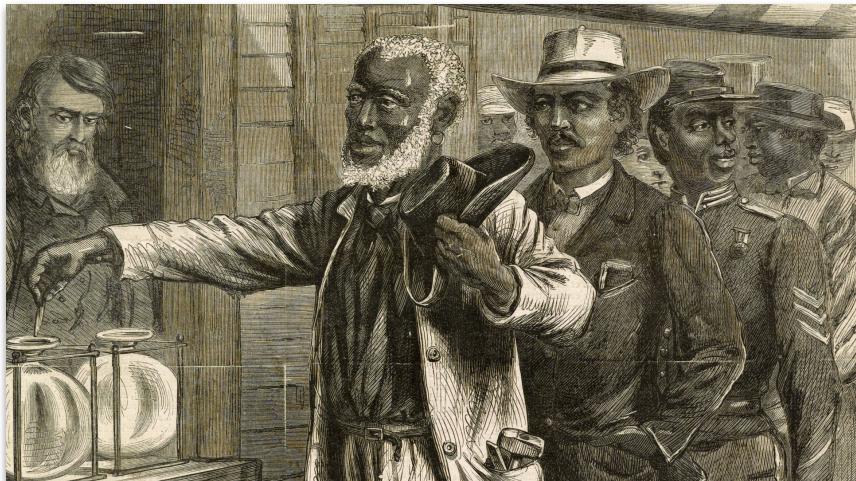
- ◆ Calls into question qualifications and assumes lack of merit
- ◆ Fulfills narrative of Black Inferiority
- ◆ Activates emotional response



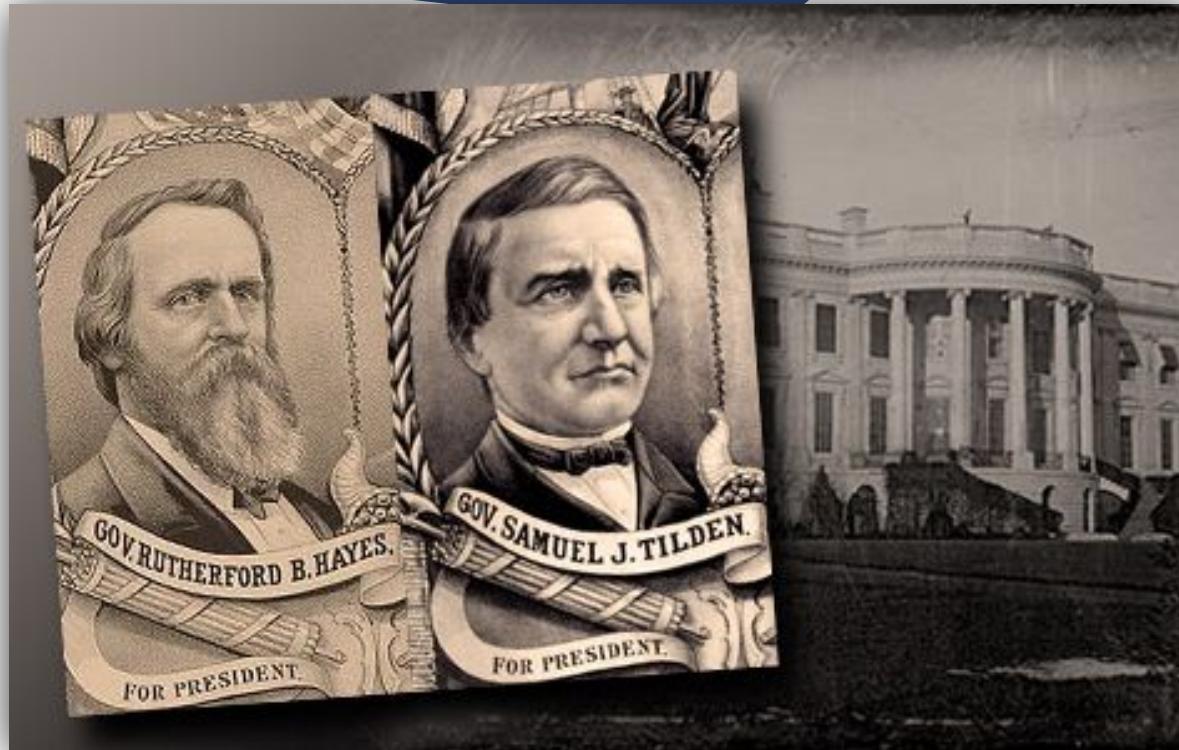


From Reconstruction to “Redemption”

Radical Reconstruction Post-Civil War



The 1876 Election (Hayes-Tilden Compromise)



Fear of Black Leadership — “Negro Rule”

The News and Observer.

VOL. XLV. NO. 17.

RALEIGH, N. C., TUESDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 27, 1898.

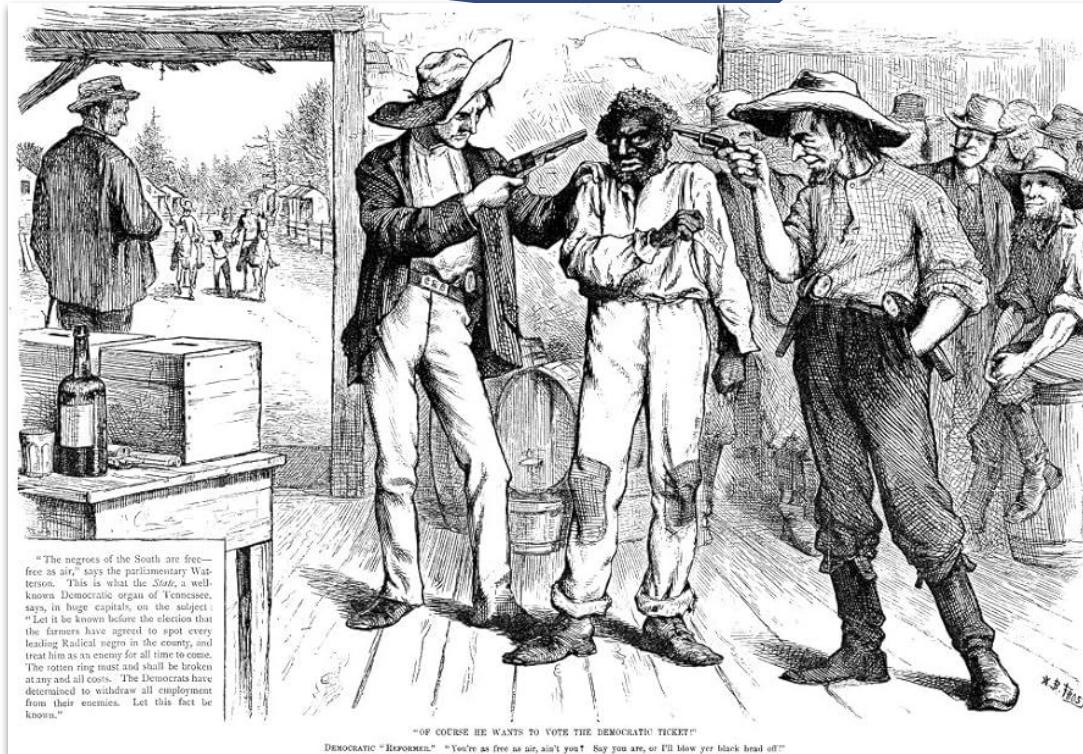
PRICE FIVE CENTS.

LEADS ALL NORTH CAROLINA DAILIES IN NEWS AND CIRCULATION.



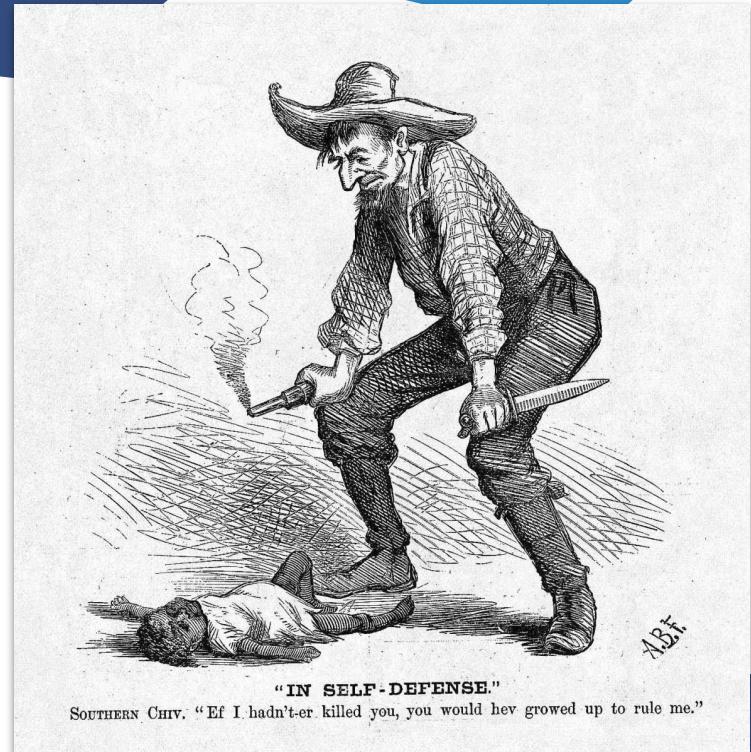
The Vampire That Hovers Over North Carolina.

Voter Intimidation and Vigilante Violence



Inside-Out Strategy (Repression & Violence)

- ◆ Poll taxes
- ◆ Literacy tests
- ◆ Grandfather Clauses
- ◆ All-White Primaries
- ◆ Discretionary Registration Processes
- ◆ Timing & Location
- ◆ Economic Reprisals
- ◆ Lynching & Extra-Judicial Violence





Voting Rights Act (VRA) & Modern Tactics

Shelby v. Holder (2013)

- ◆ This case effectively gutted the Voting Rights Act
- ◆ Actions by states no longer required preclearance
- ◆ Made the way for increased Black voter suppression

Since ***Shelby County v. Holder***,
restrictive voter laws have increased the gap in voter turnout between white voters and nonwhite voters to

18

PERCENTAGE POINTS.

*Red
Wine & Blue*

SOURCE: BRENNAN CENTER FOR JUSTICE

Contemporary Tactics of Suppressing Black Voting Power

- ◆ Gerrymandering
- ◆ Election Boards
- ◆ Voter ID Laws
- ◆ Purging Voter Rolls
- ◆ Reducing Early Voting & Closing Polling Places
- ◆ Felony Disenfranchisement
- ◆ Criminalizing Voting Activities

Contemporary Tactics of Suppressing Black Power

- ◆ **Gerrymandering**
- ◆ Election Boards
- ◆ Voter ID Laws
- ◆ Purging Voter Rolls
- ◆ Reducing Early Voting & Closing Polling Places
- ◆ Felony Disenfranchisement
- ◆ Criminalizing Voting Activities

“Cracking and Packing”

PACKING

The opposing party's voters are pushed into one or a few districts. The majority party surrenders the packed district to the opposition party in order to win other districts.

CRACKING

The opposing party's voters are divided into many different districts, allowing the preferred party to win elections in several districts against a divided opposition.

GERRYMANDERING: How to Steal an Election

PACKING

CRACKING

FAIR OUTCOME

Tippecanoe County Habitat for Humanity. (n.d.). *Gerrymandering and redlining*. Retrieved February 4, 2026, from <https://www.tchabitat.org/blog/gerrymandering-and-redlining>

States scramble to gerrymander US House districts after Trump sought edge in midterm elections



Which states are considering redistricting?

Tracking states where officials have adopted new congressional districts or indicated they are open to redrawing them, by party that could benefit.

U.S. House after 2024 elections: ● 220 Republicans ● 215 Democrats

Targeted by Democrats

Considering

Adopted new map

Single-district state

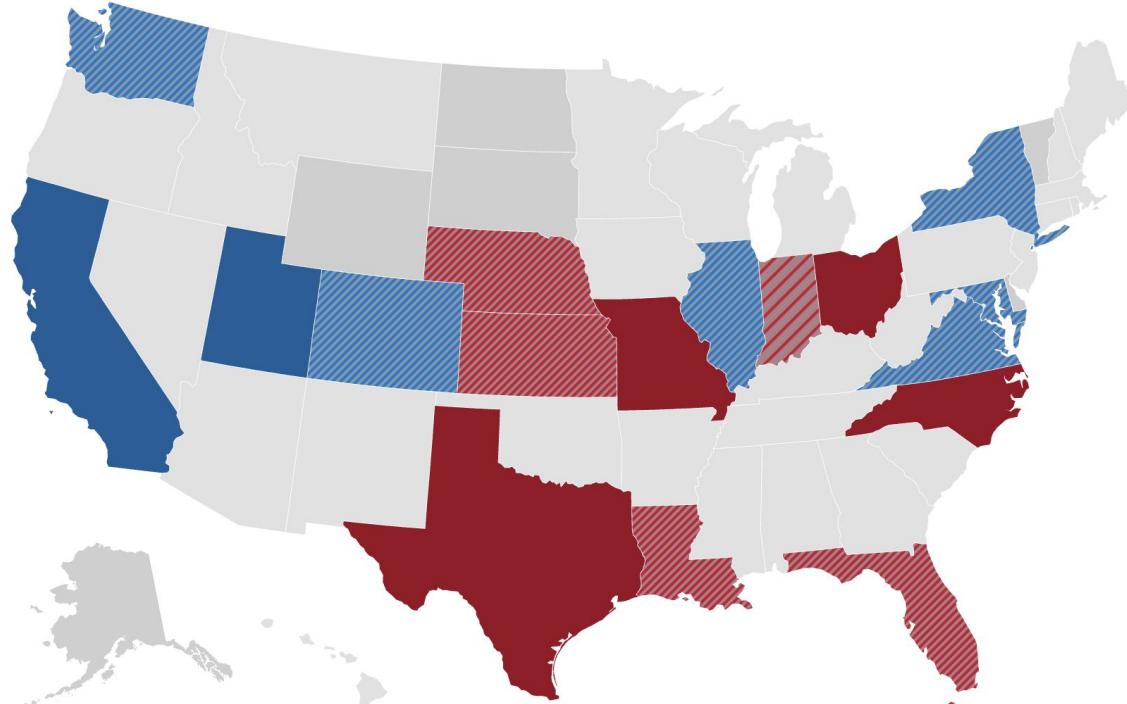
Targeted by Republicans

Considering

Rejected

Adopted new map

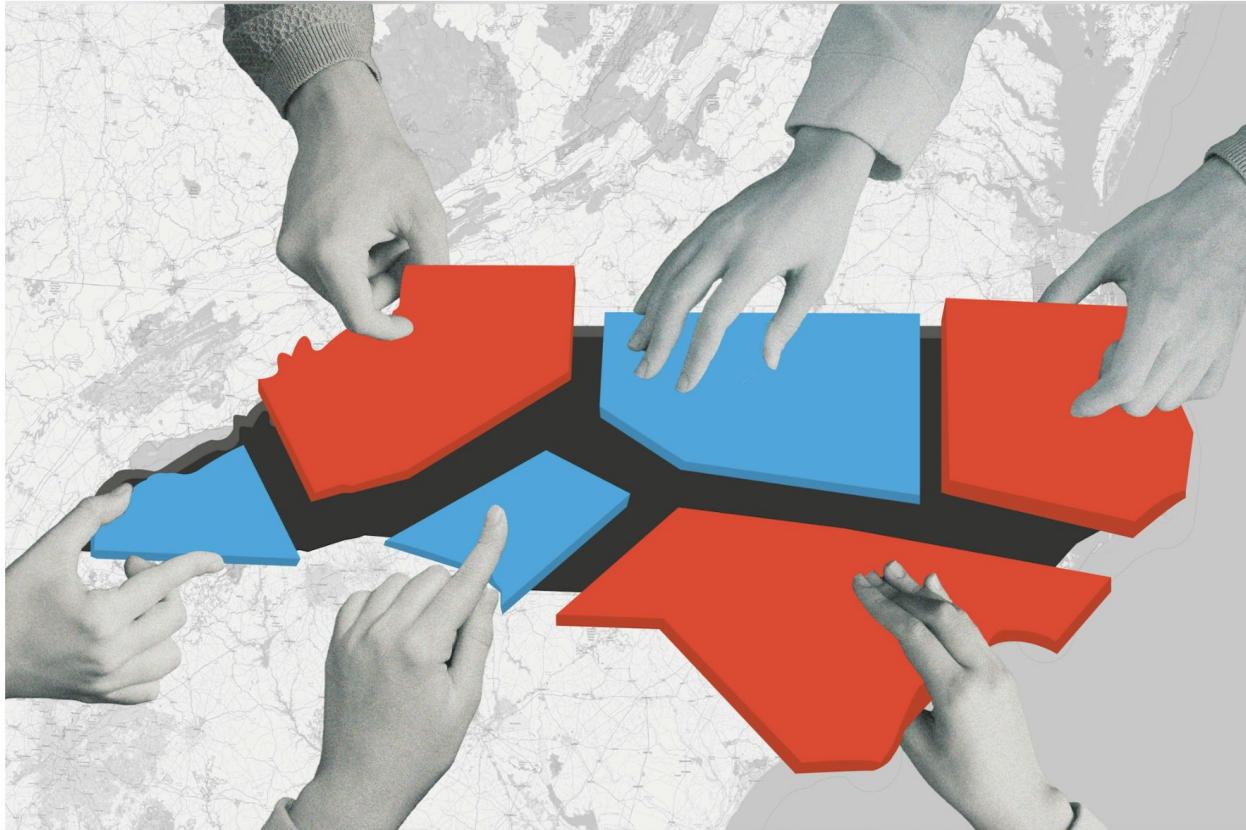
No status



The party that could benefit is determined by which party gains more potentially winnable seats as a result of the new map.

Source: AP / Graphic: Maya Sweedler

Federal judge rejects claim that N.C. Senate maps are racially gerrymandered



Contemporary Tactics of Suppressing Black Power

- ◆ Gerrymandering
- ◆ **Election Boards**
- ◆ Voter ID Laws
- ◆ Purging Voter Rolls
- ◆ Reducing Early Voting & Closing Polling Places
- ◆ Felony Disenfranchisement
- ◆ Criminalizing Voting Activities

Election deniers now hold posts on local US election boards, raising concerns for midterms

'Election integrity' activists have found way to positions of power, raising red flags about potential partisan meddling



People protest on the one-year anniversary of the attack on the US capitol to overturn the presidential election in Reno, Nevada, in January 2022. Photograph: Ty O'Neil/SOPA Images/LightRocket via Getty Images

ANALYSIS

North Carolina Court Enables a Partisan Shift on State Elections Board

The court approved a law to strip the governor's election board powers, risking creating a precedent for partisan power-grabbing.



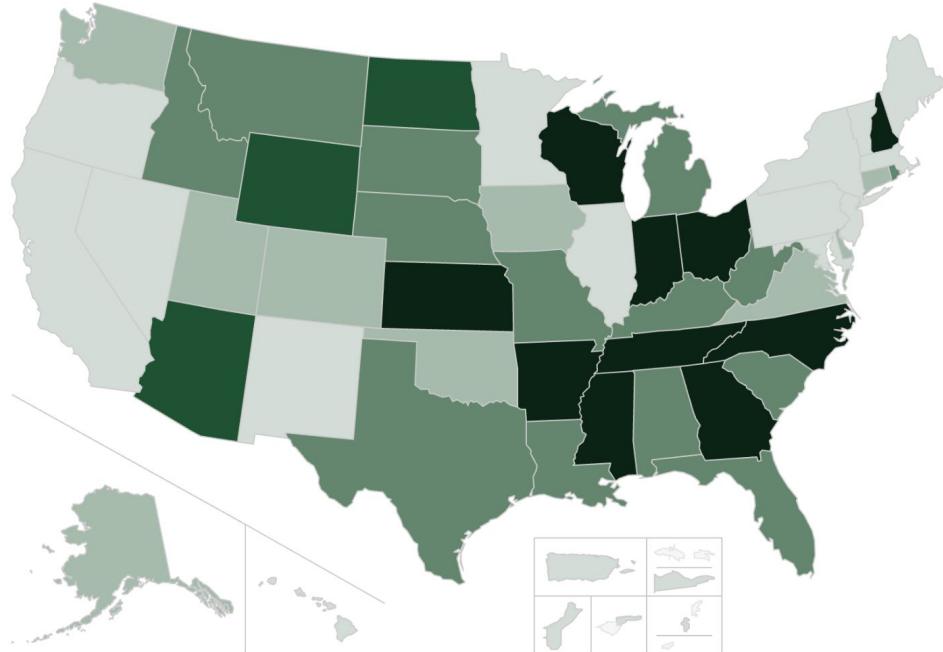
Contemporary Tactics of Suppressing Black Power

- ◆ Gerrymandering
- ◆ Election Boards
- ◆ **Voter ID Laws**
- ◆ Purging Voter Rolls
- ◆ Reducing Early Voting & Closing Polling Places
- ◆ Felony Disenfranchisement
- ◆ Criminalizing Voting Activities

Voter Identification Laws in Effect

Switch View ▾

- Strict photo ID
- Strict non-photo ID
- Photo ID requested
- ID requested; photo not required
- No document required to vote



NCSL. (2026, February 3) *Voter ID Laws*. National Conference of State Legislatures. <https://www.ncsl.org/elections-and-campaigns/voter-id>

Contemporary Tactics of Suppressing Black Power

- ◆ Gerrymandering
- ◆ Election Boards
- ◆ Voter ID Laws
- ◆ **Purging Voter Rolls**
- ◆ Reducing Early Voting & Closing Polling Places
- ◆ Felony Disenfranchisement
- ◆ Criminalizing Voting Activities

North Carolina election board flags hundreds of thousands of voters for potential disenfranchisement

By Yunior Rivas | February 3, 2026



FILE – Poll workers set up ballot-marking machines at an early in-person voting site at Asheville-Buncombe Technical Community College, Wednesday, Oct. 16, 2024, in Marshall, N.C. (AP Photo/Stephanie Scarbrough, File)

RELATED LINKS

[North Carolina weighs investigating 'presumptive noncitizens' in latest attack on voting](#)

[Leading election denier claimed DHS 'wants to partner with us' on voter roll checks. Now he's a top official there](#)

[FBI raids Fulton County, Georgia election hub, probing 2020](#)

[North Carolina cut voting sites at nation's largest HBCU. Students are suing](#)

[This week at Democracy Docket: DOGE, True the Vote, and blackmailing Minnesota](#)

Contemporary Tactics of Suppressing Black Power

- ◆ Gerrymandering
- ◆ Election Boards
- ◆ Voter ID Laws
- ◆ Purging Voter Rolls
- ◆ **Reducing Early Voting & Closing Polling Places**
- ◆ Felony Disenfranchisement
- ◆ Criminalizing Voting Activities

The Black Church has been getting 'souls to the polls' for more than 60 years

Published: October 30, 2020 8:45am EDT



Volunteers outside the Christian Cultural Center in New York register new voters as part of the 'Souls to the Polls' initiative. AP Photo/Bebeto Matthews

Amid protests, NC elections board rejects campus voting sites and Sunday voting in several counties

BY: LYNN BONNER - JANUARY 13, 2026 7:00 PM



Contemporary Tactics of Suppressing Black Power

- ◆ Gerrymandering
- ◆ Election Boards
- ◆ Voter ID Laws
- ◆ Purging Voter Rolls
- ◆ Reducing Early Voting & Closing Polling Places
- ◆ **Felony Disenfranchisement**
- ◆ Criminalizing Voting Activities



Contemporary Tactics of Suppressing Black Power

- ◆ Gerrymandering
- ◆ Election Boards
- ◆ Voter ID Laws
- ◆ Purging Voter Rolls
- ◆ Reducing Early Voting & Closing Polling Places
- ◆ Felony Disenfranchisement
- ◆ **Criminalizing Voting Activities**

Georgia ban on 'line warming' at the polls revived after new ruling

BY: MAYA HOMAN - DECEMBER 2, 2025 9:45 PM



Q&A

James E. Ford
Executive Director of CREED
james@creed-nc.org