

EXHIBIT I

GEORGIA HOUSE FLOOR
Hearing - House Floor on 12/07/2023

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10 GEORGIA HOUSE FLOOR

11 December 7, 2023

12 Video Segment: 1:08:55 to 2:43:20

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1 (Beginning of Video Recording.)

2 MR. CLERK: SB 3-EX by Senator Echols,
3 the 49th; Kennedy, the 18th; Gooch, the 51st;
4 Robertson, the 29th; Brass, the 28th; and
5 others to be entitled to the act to provide
6 for the composition in a number of
7 congressional districts, and to provide for a
8 short title, and to provide for the contingent
9 nature of this act and the circumstances under
10 which it shall or shall not apply. This bill
11 had been referred to the committee on
12 reapportionment and redistricting. That
13 committee recommends this bill do pass.

14 MR. SPEAKER: Thank you, Mr. Clerk. In
15 the wisdom of the committee on rules, we have
16 limited debate on the -- on SB 3-EX to, let's
17 see, two hours, And we will allocate that time
18 after the chairman's time to an hour for those
19 that are in favor and an hour for those folks
20 who are opposed. And then we will also have a
21 minority report, and we will conclude with the
22 chairman's time. That's what we'll do this
23 morning.

24 So, Mr. Chairman, the chairman of the
25 committee from whence SB 3-EX came to us from,

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1 Chairman Leverett, is recognized to present
2 the bill.

3 REPRESENTATIVE LEVERETT: Thank you,
4 Mr. Speaker. Ladies and gentlemen of the
5 house, good morning.

6 I'm here again to present to you
7 another bill. This time, for your
8 consideration, I'm presenting Senate Bill 3-
9 EX, which, if passed, will adopt a new set of
10 electoral districts for the purpose of
11 electing our Georgia congressional
12 representatives, and that proposed map that
13 would be enacted by Senate Bill 3-EX is up on
14 the screen. I -- I'm assuming we're still
15 having, trouble with the drop down screen, so
16 we're putting there.

17 MR. SPEAKER: That's correct, Mr.
18 Chairman. So we'll just have them on the
19 screens.

20 REPRESENTATIVE LEVERETT: Thank you,
21 Mr. Speaker.

22 So the same history I related to you
23 during our discussion of the House Bill 1-EX
24 and Senate Bill 1-EX is also relevant to this
25 bill. However, I respect you've heard it two

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1 times before, so I'll just review it very
2 briefly here to put the rest of my discussion
3 in context.

4 On October 26, 2023, Judge Steve Jones
5 entered an order in which he ruled that the
6 electoral district maps we approved in 2021,
7 including our congressional map, violate
8 Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act. As a
9 result, he ordered that new maps must be
10 drawn, but he allowed us to remedy the
11 violation by drawing the new maps ourselves.
12 That's why we're here today, and that's why
13 we've been called into special session.

14 Just as with our house and senate maps,
15 Judge Jones has given us specific guidance on
16 how we can comply with his order or the
17 portion of it that involve congressional maps.
18 He wrote, and I quote, "The remedy involves an
19 additional majority Black congressional
20 district in west Metro Atlanta." That's from
21 the often quoted Page 509 of Judge Jones's
22 order. So here again, it falls to us in the
23 General Assembly to comply with Judge Jones's
24 order as he has allowed us to do.

25 The bill you have before you will adopt

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1 congressional map that judge does -- that does
2 just that. It fully complies with Judge
3 Jones's order by enacting required
4 congressional district, and it places that
5 district in West Metro. So the map is up
6 there. In compliance with Judge Jones's
7 order, the map enacts on new majority Black
8 congressional district. It creates a new
9 Congressional District 6, and that's the
10 district that's kind of the eggshell color
11 there, you know, in the -- if you're familiar
12 with the Georgia geography, the west side of
13 Atlanta, it includes portions of Fulton,
14 Douglas, and Cobb Counties just like the map
15 that was proposed by the Plaintiff's expert in
16 the Pendergrass case. That's one of the cases
17 in which the judge entered his order, and that
18 was the case involving congressional
19 districts.

20 This map would preserve the same split
21 of Douglas and Fayette Counties as under our
22 current map, so that way, we don't have to go
23 into Congressional District 3. And it also
24 incorporates into the new District 6 portions
25 of south Fulton County and southeast Cobb that

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1 are now in existing District 13.

2 As with our house and senate plans,
3 after creating this new district, changes had
4 to be made to the other districts around new
5 Congressional District 6. The changes to the
6 other districts are, as we have been recalling
7 this week, the ripple effects. That results,
8 as you recall, primarily from constitutional
9 legal requirements districts be the same size.
10 We've previously discussed on two occasions
11 how these ripple effects operate, so I won't
12 belabor that process again. I'll save you from
13 a few more minutes of your life you'll never
14 get back.

15 But I will note, however, that we're
16 allowed very little deviation in the
17 congressional maps, unlike with legislative
18 maps for our house and senate. We have
19 traditionally limited ourselves to plus or
20 minus 1 percent with respect to our state
21 house and senate maps, which, by the way, is a
22 fairly rigorous percentage. A lot of states
23 aren't quite so exacting.

24 But the law concerning permissible
25 deviations is different for congressional

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1 districts. We are constitutionally limited to
2 a deviation of plus or minus 1 person with
3 regard to congressional plans. So each of the
4 districts have to be drawn so that they are
5 within 1 person of the ideal district size.
6 So the deviations are much more restrictive in
7 these congressional districts. So as -- as
8 the ripple effect and by the way, that ideal
9 size in a congressional district is 765,136
10 people, so it's about three-quarters of a
11 1,000,000 people.

12 As the ripple effects spread and
13 changes are made to other districts,
14 traditional redistricting principles were
15 applied. The Principles include the same ones
16 we've discussed previously, maintaining the
17 district populations, so the deviations are
18 within the required range. Here, it's plus or
19 minus one person, limiting additional split
20 counties as much as possible, drawing the new
21 districts utilizing most recent precincts from
22 county government so that makes it easier for
23 our local election officials to administer
24 these elections under these maps, ensuring all
25 the districts are contiguous and reasonably

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1 compact in shape, ensuring that communities of
2 interest are protected as far as possible, and
3 another goal was to ensure that existing
4 partisan balance of congressional plan remain
5 the same, so we maintain the continuity of
6 representation. As a result, we did consult
7 political data.

8 So I'll briefly review the actual
9 changes. If you look up to Congressional
10 District 6, can we zoom in a little bit on
11 that or is that our -- there we go. That gets
12 a little better. Thank you.

13 So I mentioned Congressional District
14 6. That's the new majority Black district,
15 and it has a Black voting age population of
16 51.75 percent, which is a performing
17 percentage. So that's the eggshell district
18 there, out -- out on the -- the -- to the left
19 of Atlanta. The district connects -- and I'm
20 -- and it is located in the same location as
21 the proposed district that was submitted by
22 one of the Plaintiffs' -- or the Plaintiff's
23 expert in the congressional case. It connects
24 a number of suburbs around Metro Atlanta that
25 are all experiencing growth, and are diverse

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1 communities, and Judge Jones found that those
2 communities or that district design respects
3 communities of interest.

4 Now when we drew 6, we took significant
5 portions of existing Districts 13 and 5 and
6 parts of 14 and 11 to create District 6. So
7 those districts have to be restored to the
8 correct population size. So starting with
9 District 5, that district shifts east. That
10 was the same thing that the Plaintiff's plan
11 did.

12 It -- this district remains centered on
13 the city of Atlanta and includes the airport
14 as it has for a number of decades now. In the
15 process of drawing that district, the Black
16 voting age population increased to 51.06
17 percent, so it also comes a majority Black
18 district.

19 Kind of continuing to the east,
20 Congressional District 4, it also shifts east.
21 It moves out of the eastern suburbs it
22 previously occupied. Now, it tracks northeast
23 up I-85 in the Buford Highway corridor. It
24 includes a number of suburban Atlanta
25 communities that are growing and share a

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1 number of similar interests.

2 So now going back to the sort of south
3 side of Congressional District 6. New
4 Congressional District 6 took a lot of
5 existing Congressional District 13's
6 territory, so 13 has shifted significantly
7 around to the east. It begins in the west
8 with portions of Clayton and Henry that are
9 currently in District 13, and we preserve the
10 existing split of Henry County, which I think
11 is important because, again, that makes
12 administering an -- an election under this map
13 more familiar to election officials.

14 It stays in the Atlanta suburbs by
15 taking in all of Rockdale and part of Newton
16 Counties along with a significant portion of
17 Gwinnett. The idea is that the -- the
18 district follows an outer ring that includes
19 metro Atlanta suburbs that are similarly
20 situated and have similar interests.

21 So let me -- before I move on, let me
22 just pause and -- and be clear. The plan
23 increases the number of majority Black
24 districts from the current plan. By adding
25 the required majority Black district in Metro

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1 Atlanta or west Metro as required by Judge
2 Jones, that's the new 6, and in the course of
3 redrawing existing districts, District 5
4 became a majority Black district as well. So
5 while we currently have two majority Black
6 congressional districts, 4 and 13. This
7 proposed plan has four: 4, 5, 6, and 13,
8 which is about 29 percent of the districts in
9 the state.

10 All right. And going back to our grand
11 tour, as George Jones would say, So when new
12 District 6 was created, territory in southwest
13 Cobb was removed from Congressional District
14 14 and added to the new Congressional District
15 6, so that's no longer in Congressional
16 District 14. Meanwhile, part of northwest
17 Cobb is added to District 14. Gordon County
18 comes out of District 14 and is added to
19 District 11. So otherwise, District 14
20 maintains its general shape and the northwest
21 Georgia character of the district. That's the
22 one in, kind of pink up there in the corner.

23 Congressional District 11 also changes
24 its split of Cobb to accommodate the proposed
25 new District six. That's the one that's sort

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1 of in the, taupe color. It takes in Gordon
2 County from 14. In order to ease the burden
3 on election officials, the split of Cherokee,
4 the county that is currently in place, remains
5 the same. That split is unchanged. Cobb
6 currently is split four ways under the 2021
7 plan, but under this proposed plan, the split
8 is reduced to a three-way split.

9 So at this point, we -- we a lot of the
10 existing districts have been shifted east
11 through Metro Atlanta, which is really you --
12 you can't -- if you go west from 6, you -- you
13 can't jump over 6 to -- to try to increase
14 those districts, so that's -- that's pretty
15 much the -- the only way you can go. And then
16 District 13 has shifted east around the south
17 side of Atlanta and turned north through the
18 suburbs into Gwinnett County to maintain
19 District 13 as a district focused on Metro
20 Atlanta suburbs.

21 As a result, Congressional District 7
22 has to shift significantly north and will
23 encompass much of the territory in current
24 Congressional 6. The split of Hall County is
25 new, and that recognizes an important

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1 community of interest around Lake Lanier.
2 Moving on to -- so District 7 is the one
3 that's sort of in the lime green color there.
4 Then District 9, it -- it's -- it's in
5 the darker green. It retains much of its
6 prior character as a northeast Georgia
7 district and puts Jackson County back in the
8 district, which is Congressman Clyde's home
9 county. Because of the need for population
10 after adjusting for the new District 7
11 boundaries, proposed Congressional District 9
12 includes portions of northern Gwinnett County
13 like it did previously, but with a slightly
14 different boundary.
15 Now Gwinnett was split three ways
16 previously, but it's now split four ways.
17 It's a -- it's one of the largest counties in
18 the state. I believe it's second only to
19 Fulton, and a lot of the population changes
20 that were flowing east ended up converging
21 there. But to compensate for that additional
22 split, we reduced the split of Cobb. It went
23 from a four-way split to a three-way split,
24 which I would submit is reasonable because
25 Cobb is not as large a county.

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1 And finally, into the orange district
2 up there, Congressional District 10. Its
3 boundaries in Henry and Newton do not change.
4 That split is preserved, but it adds a portion
5 of Gwinnett and takes in Franklin and Hart to
6 account for losing Jackson. Jackson went into
7 the 9th District, as you may recall. So the
8 southern and western boundaries have not
9 changed.

10 So that summarizes the changes to the
11 map.

12 So as you all know, my primary
13 objective here, and I believe it's all of our
14 primary objectives, is to comply with the
15 court's order, which is one additional
16 majority Black congressional district in the
17 west -- in the specified area, which is mess -
18 - west Metro. This plan adds the required
19 district. It complies with Judge Jones's
20 order. It fulfills our obligation as a
21 General Assembly with respect to the
22 congressional districts, so I ask that you
23 vote in favor of it.

24 Mr. Speaker, I'll yield for questions.

25 MR. SPEAKER: You have no questions.

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1 REPRESENTATIVE LEVERETT: Thank you,
2 Mr. Speaker. I'll yield the well and ask your
3 favorable consideration of Senate Bill 3-EX.
4 Thank you.

5 MR. SPEAKER: Very thorough
6 presentation. Thank you.

7 We're going on to fulfill our
8 obligation for one hour for those opposed, one
9 hour for those in favor. Both leaders and
10 both whips, I'm on to enlist your help if we -
11 - the lights are still not working. So when
12 the last person is speaking, if they get down
13 to two minutes, I'm going to ask y'all to
14 alert the speaker in the well that they have
15 two minutes remaining so they can complete
16 their comments if -- if we need that.

17 Thank you for both for helping.
18 Teamwork, good to see.

19 We will begin our conversation with
20 those opposed to SB 3-EX with Chairman Billy
21 Mitchell. Chairman Mitchell, you're
22 recognized to speak to the bill.

23 REPRESENTATIVE MITCHELL: Mi, mi, mi.
24 Thank you, Mr. Speaker.

25 I'd like to, start off my remarks with

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1 a provision, apparently missed by many, that
2 was rendered by US District Court Judge Steve
3 Jones in his order that this legislature
4 redraw the state's political maps, ruling that
5 they violated the Voting Rights Act by
6 illegally diluting the power of Black voters.
7 Let me read it exactly as it comes from his
8 order So you don't misconstrue my comments as
9 my opinion or misreading, this is what he says
10 exactly in his order. The state cannot remedy
11 the Section 2 violations described herein by
12 eliminating minority opportunity districts
13 elsewhere in the plan.

14 The Republican-drawn map, which started
15 in and passed the senate committee on Monday,
16 creates a new court ordered majority Black
17 congressional district in west Metro Atlanta.
18 But the map seeks to preserve the Republican 9
19 to 5 advantage in Congress by dismantling the
20 current 7th District, which is heavily
21 Democratic and is majority minority, although
22 not majority Black, it is a minority coalition
23 district.

24 To repeat the judge's order, the state
25 cannot remedy the Section 2 violations

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1 described herein by eliminating minority
2 opportunity districts elsewhere in the plan.
3 The author of SB 3-X and
4 Reapportionment Committee Chairman Echols said
5 the committee has interpreted minority
6 opportunity to mean majority Black in the
7 context of Jones's ruling. He said this
8 congressional plan does not eliminate any
9 existing majority Black districts, instead, it
10 takes a district that is not a majority Black
11 district and shifts it north, where it remains
12 nonmajority Black. To be clear, Chairman
13 Echols further stated, the Voting Rights Act
14 protects distinct racial groups, not coalition
15 of voters.

16 Oh, and -- and there's more. Check --
17 Chairman Echols went on to say that the
18 redistricting committee has interpreted
19 minority opportunity to mean majority Black in
20 the context of Jones's ruling.

21 In Alabama, court appointed special
22 master ultimately drew the final congressional
23 map after federal judges found that the
24 Republican lawmakers' revised districts still
25 did not comply with the Voting Rights Act. In

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1 as much as no one knows the boundaries and
2 communities of interest of our districts
3 better than we, and the special master may not
4 necessarily give deference to incumbency. I
5 would prefer that we draw this and other maps,
6 but it looks like a virtual certainty that a
7 special master will have the last say.

8 So for the aforementioned reasons, I
9 stand before you today to urge you to reject
10 this map or amend it back to committee so that
11 we can perfect it so that the courts will not
12 have to intervene.

13 Oh, the 4 most important words in the
14 democracy are, the people have spoken. So we
15 all ought to believe in the importance of
16 ensuring that every voice is heard and every
17 vote counts. I submit to you that it is our
18 duty to uphold the integrity of our electrical
19 -- electoral process and to ensure that every
20 citizen has a fair and equal opportunity to
21 participate in the democratic system.

22 The Republican drawn map not only fails
23 to meet all the requirements laid out by Judge
24 Jones's order, but it perpetuates
25 gerrymandering and undermines the principles

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1 of fair representation. By manipulating
2 district boundaries to favor 1 party over
3 another, this map disenfranchises hundreds of
4 thousands of Georgia voters and distorts the
5 democratic process.

6 At the end of election day, the -- the
7 results ought to reflect the will of the
8 people, not the craftiness of mapmakers. To
9 end where I began, the state cannot remedy the
10 Section 2 violations described herein By
11 eliminating minority opportunity districts
12 elsewhere in the plan.

13 With that, Mr. Speaker, I yield.

14 MR. SPEAKER: Gentlemen has yield to
15 well.

16 Representative Anulewicz is recognized
17 to speak to SB 3-X.

18 Representative Anulewicz?

19 REPRESENTATIVE ANULEWICZ: Thank you,
20 Mr. Speaker.

21 I rise before you today to speak in
22 opposition to Senate Bill 3-EX. Specifically,
23 I intend to share my concerns regarding these
24 proposed maps as they are not in compliance
25 with Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act of

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1 1965, as well as with what this proposal means
2 for the community that is of the most interest
3 to me, and that's Cobb County.

4 The instructions as we've discussed in
5 the court order are clear. Add one majority
6 Black district in south Metro Atlanta without
7 eliminating any minority opportunity
8 districts. These maps do not comply with the
9 order. And the reason they do not comply is
10 because while CD 6 would be majority Black, CD
11 7, which is currently a vibrant and diverse
12 coalition district, and which was not
13 identified in being in violation of Section 2
14 of the Voting Rights Act in the judge's order,
15 went from 67 percent minority to 33 percent
16 minority, from 67 percent to 33 percent. And
17 after all that, no majority Black district was
18 added, not in Georgia and not in south Metro.
19 It's a wash.

20 It's a wash.

21 And that's not what the Constitution
22 and the Voting Rights Act demand, and that is
23 in direct contravention of the court's order.
24 This body is purposefully ceding it's duty and
25 responsibility, and is essentially going to

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1 require the court again to step in.

2 About everyone who has come to this
3 well, both for and against these maps, has
4 noted how specific the judge is in his order.
5 The judge specifically states, this is on Page
6 509, that we cannot.

7 And my page needs to turn. Come on.

8 Let's just see. Technology failure.

9 We cannot remedy the Section 2
10 violation in west Metro Atlanta by
11 "eliminating minority opportunity districts
12 elsewhere in the plan." Right now, the voting
13 age population in Georgia 7 is 30 percent
14 Black, 11 percent Hispanic, and 11 percent
15 Asian. That means it's a minority opportunity
16 district.

17 This proposed remedy map moves 88
18 percent -- 88 percent -- of the folks living
19 in this majority minority population, they
20 live in CD 7, and they're currently
21 represented by a Black woman, it moves 88
22 percent of them into a new district. Not just
23 one new district, not just 2 new districts:
24 five new districts. You cannot reasonably
25 argue that anything of that sort was the

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1 intent of the judge.

2 This map that we consider today does
3 not give Black voters in Georgia -- more than
4 a 140,000 Black voters as identified the
5 Plaintiff's map -- any expanded opportunities
6 to elect candidates of their choosing as was
7 ordered by the court. This map does not offer
8 the remedy that the court demands. And for
9 that reason, I hope you will join me in voting
10 no.

11 But beyond noncompliance with the
12 order, what do these maps do to Cobb?

13 Following the 2021 reapportionment, a
14 whole lot of folks not too far from my
15 neighborhood were mystified and frustrated to
16 discover that they were now included in CD 14.
17 Not only was this a very new district for the
18 people in that part of Cobb County and in
19 Georgia, they now had a congressional
20 representative with whom they had, to be
21 generous, very little in common. They were
22 now also in a district with other communities
23 with which they shared relatively few
24 interests.

25 Now Lafayette is a wonderful place.

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1 Right? It's beautiful. The Queen City, so
2 I'm told. And I'm going to be hard pressed
3 for you to tell me how Lafayette is a
4 community of interest with Austell. Again,
5 also a fantastic place. And why these
6 apparent -- these communities were apparently
7 so compelling as to merit moving south Cobb
8 from District 13, a district that is kind of
9 full of communities with whom they shared
10 myriad interests based on geography, based on
11 demographics, their communities of interest,
12 into 14th, let's grab a drink to discuss
13 because I would love to hear what you have to
14 say.

15 And by the way, don't tell me that what
16 these communities have in common is a road.
17 We've been down that path before. I'm not
18 buying what you're selling.

19 Two years ago, I lived in 13th. As of
20 this moment, I live in 11th. With this new
21 map, I will live in the 6th. I've lived in
22 the same house for almost 19 years.

23 To be clear, south Cobb is now in the
24 proposed CD 6, which is majority Black, as
25 we've discussed. We're not actually creating

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1 any new districts, though. And the rest of
2 Cobb is split between two additional districts
3 that will, in all likelihood, at least for
4 now, be represented by a Republican. I've
5 remarked before that fear is a powerful
6 motivator, and I believe that that sentiment,
7 that fear is a powerful motivator, absolutely
8 applies to the motivation behind these maps we
9 consider today.

10 Cobb County is a majority Democratic
11 county. That's the reality. Right? Cobb
12 voted for Clinton in 2016. We went for Biden
13 by an even wider margin in 2020. Cobb chose
14 Abrams in 2018 and again in 2022. And in
15 2022, the United States Senate results were
16 even more pronounced. This -- this in the
17 county of Isaacson, in the county of Gingrich,
18 the county of Barr, the county that in this
19 century -- in this century -- affixed stickers
20 to science textbooks stating that evolution is
21 but a theory.

22 It's going to be a long time before
23 Cobb County elects a Republican again. That's
24 just the reality. But now we're going to have
25 a congressional delegation that is two-thirds

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1 Republican.

2 I am about to throw this thing out the
3 window.

4 So I'm going to wrap up. And what I'm
5 going to tell you is that these maps are not
6 in compliance with the court order. They are
7 not in compliance with the Voting Rights Act
8 of 1965. They don't benefit anyone in
9 Georgia. We're basically telling the judge,
10 yeah, we're not going to do what you say, so
11 give us the maps that you think we deserve.

12 And I'll finish with this. I've heard
13 a lot this week that politics is a mean
14 business. But to contravene the judge's
15 order, to disregard the Constitution, to be
16 mean, that's a choice.

17 I yield the well.

18 MR. SPEAKER: The lady has yielded the
19 well.

20 Representative Jasmine Clark? There
21 she is. I couldn't find you. There you are
22 right there. Representative Clark, you're
23 recognized to speak to Senate Bill 3-EX.

24 REPRESENTATIVE CLARK: Thank you, Mr.
25 Speaker.

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1 Colleagues, today, I rise to ask you to
2 vote no on SB 3-EX because it is in violation
3 of Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act, it is
4 in violation of Judge Dean Jones's order, and
5 it is in violation of the will of the people.

6 When I was younger, my family would go
7 on road trips. And to pass the time, we would
8 play a game called I Spy. Some of you may be
9 familiar with it. It's a game where you give
10 clues about something you're seeing and others
11 would have to try to guess what you're looking
12 at. Well, colleagues, if you look on the
13 monitors on either side of you, I spy with my
14 little eye a congressional district carved up
15 like a piece of pie. Can you guess what I'm
16 looking at? If you guessed Congressional
17 District 7, then you are correct.

18 These maps blatantly target my
19 congresswoman, who, unironically, was also
20 targeted During the 2020 -- 2021 redistricting
21 cycle. While I'm sure the congressman is --
22 congresswoman is quite flattered by the GOP
23 map drawer seeming obsession, it's not quite
24 as flattering to the people of her
25 congressional district that find themselves

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1 caught in the crossfire.

2 And who are these people? Well, for
3 one, these are my constituents. But in
4 addition to that, if you have ever had a
5 chance to visit Gwinnett County or come to my
6 area, then you would know that this area is a
7 beautiful tapestry of race, cultures, and
8 perspectives. No single race or ethnic group
9 holds a majority, while over 60 percent of the
10 district is comprised of racial minority
11 groups. This area would be a prototypical
12 minority opportunity district or coalition
13 district.

14 During the 2020 election, most of the
15 voters in my district, again, to be clear, one
16 of the most racially diverse districts in the
17 State of Georgia voted in the Congressional
18 District 4 congressional race. Two years
19 later, in 2022, after the 2021 redistricting
20 cycle, they voted in the Congressional
21 District 7 congressional race. If these maps
22 were to stand, they would now be voting in
23 Congressional District 13. Three different
24 districts in three back-to-back elections
25 because the GOP wants to target one woman?

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1 A Black woman who ran for congress in
2 response to losing her only son to senseless
3 gun violence. A woman who, since being
4 elected, has been extremely effective in
5 congress and highly responsive to the
6 community she serves.

7 The people elected her, and it is not
8 the job of map drawers to seek to undermine
9 the will of the people by targeting her and
10 thus targeting our area, an area that is not
11 at all mentioned in the judge's order as
12 needing to be remedied. The judge made it
13 explicit as to where remedy was needed with
14 our current maps. He named CD 3, CD 6, CD 11,
15 CD 13, and CD 14, all districts west of
16 Atlanta, as areas needing remedy. But
17 somehow, the map drawers got lost and found
18 their way up 85 North into Gwinnett County,
19 northeast of Atlanta.

20 And by unnecessarily carving up this
21 district into oblivion, the GOP map drawers
22 eliminate a minority opportunity district. CD
23 7 goes from 67 percent minority VAP to 33
24 percent. This is in direct disregard to the
25 judge's own words, and I quote and has many

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1 others have quoted, "the State cannot remedy
2 Section 2 violations described herein by
3 eliminating minority opportunity districts
4 elsewhere in the plan."

5 So I had an opportunity to listen to
6 the hearings, and I noticed that when people
7 brought up the judge's actual words, the map
8 drawers argued that Judge Jones actually meant
9 Black when he said minority.

10 First of all, how audacious and
11 disrespectful. Judge Jones is highly
12 intelligent and incredibly capable speaking
13 for himself. When he meant Black, that's
14 exactly what he said. In that 516-page order,
15 Judge Jones uses the word Black over 600
16 times. So I don't think him using the phrase
17 minority opportunity district was him all of a
18 sudden misspeaking. He said what he said.
19 The state cannot remedy Section 2 violations
20 described herein and by eliminating minority
21 opportunity districts elsewhere in the plans.

22 Before I conclude, I want to bring up
23 the people. In addition to these maps defying
24 the Voting Rights Act, and subsequent case law
25 that states that minority coalition districts

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1 are protected under the Voting Rights Act, and
2 these maps completely defying the judge's very
3 specific instruction, this bill and this map
4 completely undermines the will of the people.

5 I listened to the testimonies from the
6 hearings, and I reviewed the public comments
7 submitted up to midnight about last night,
8 then I had to go to bed. You see, I truly
9 believe that public input is actually vital to
10 the Democratic process, and we should not
11 merely set up public comment portals as window
12 dressing or just to check off a box, but that
13 those comments should be acknowledged, they
14 should be considered, and they should be
15 amplified. These comments come from people
16 that send us here to do the job, and those
17 comments and those people matter.

18 That said, by midnight last night,
19 there had been almost 550 comments submitted
20 to that portal. Of those comments, people
21 from all across the state, including
22 individuals from Metro Atlanta all the way
23 down to Chatham County, all the way up to
24 Fannin County, and more spoke their mind.
25 Almost every single comment -- 550 of them --

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1 almost every single comment was opposed to the
2 maps we are voting on or have voted on or the
3 map drawing process with the exception of 3,
4 and one of those just said rise up. I think
5 they might have been, on the wrong portal.

6 Maybe you don't care about the Voting
7 Rights Act. Maybe you don't care to listen to
8 Judge Jones. But I would hope that you would
9 care enough to know how your constituents
10 feel. Their resounding sentiment is clear.
11 Vote no on this map. Don't let political
12 greed or partisan posturing put us in a
13 position where we end up like Alabama.

14 I started out playing a little game
15 with you called I Spy, but the truth is this
16 is not a game. Do you understand the gravity
17 of this moment? Y'all, we are here because
18 there are people in this chamber that voted to
19 rob the people of their Constitutional rights.
20 That's why we're here.

21 In 2022, people in our state were
22 forced to vote on unlawful, unconstitutional
23 maps. That is a serious thing. That is
24 shameful. We have been called here to
25 specifically right that egregious wrong. This

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1 map doesn't do that, and instead trades one
2 unlawful map for another map while going out
3 of its way to target a sitting congresswoman.
4 That's not okay.

5 Please do not vote to disenfranchise
6 Georgia voters again. Stand on business.
7 Vote no.

8 Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I yield the
9 well.

10 MR. SPEAKER: The lady has yielded the
11 well. We have another speaker.
12 Representative Kennard is recognized to speak
13 to the bill SB 3-X.

14 Representative Kennard.

15 REPRESENTATIVE KENNARD: Thank you, Mr.
16 Speaker.

17 I have lived in Gwinnett County since
18 the year of my birth, 1966. 1966, Lyndon
19 Baines Johnson was president. In November of
20 that year, Lester Maddox would be elected
21 Georgia's governor. To put it in a pro sports
22 timeline, 1966 was the year the Milwaukee
23 Braves Became the Atlanta Braves and brought
24 Hammering Hank to us. That same year, the
25 Falcons became a franchise; '66 was their 1st

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1 year.

2 In 1966, Gwinnett's population was
3 about 65,000. It was ethnically homogeneous,
4 and the county was just becoming a suburb, but
5 was still rural. For 57 years now, I have
6 been an eyewitness to my county's growth and
7 evolution. It's nothing short of dramatic.
8 Gwinnett is now home to almost 1,000,000
9 people. We are larger than six states.

10 I recently vacationed in Montana, where
11 by my surprise, I ran into Representative
12 Vance Smith and his wife. I said, what are
13 you doing here? He said, what are you doing
14 here? He was visiting son -- his son. We
15 were on vacation. But in Montana, they just
16 have a little over a 1,000,000 people, about
17 the same population as Gwinnett, but they are
18 one of the larger geographical states. So in
19 Montana, there are seven people for every
20 square mile. In Gwinnett, there are 2,300
21 people per square mile.

22 In '66, Gwinnett was almost exclusively
23 white. When I was in school, my entire K
24 through 12 experience, I never went to school
25 with one person of color. That was from '72

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1 to '84.

2 But today, Gwinnett is very different.
3 It's the most diverse county in Georgia and
4 one of the most diverse in the US. In 1990,
5 we were still 97 percent white, but 30 years
6 later, we are minority majority. In our
7 awesome public school system, students are
8 coming from a 181 countries and speak over a
9 100 languages. I love our spiritual diversity
10 in Gwinnett. We have 17 mosques, multiple
11 Buddhist temples, the largest Hindu temple in
12 the southeast is in Gwinnett County. When I
13 put my preaching glasses on, I see Gwyneth as
14 a coat of many colors and a sound of many
15 waters. It's beautiful.

16 Now the promise of representative
17 government is just that: Representation. In
18 Gwinnett, elected officials across municipal,
19 county, and state government did not reflect
20 its diverse population shifts for a while.
21 Gwinnett became minority majority several
22 years ago, but its political power was still
23 controlled by white officials.

24 But then came 2018 and 2020, when,
25 organically, because of more civic engagement

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1 and voter participation, true representation
2 happened. In the state house delegation, the
3 senate delegation, the county commission, and
4 throughout our 60 -- 16 city councils,
5 electeds now looked a lot more like Gwinnett.

6 The 2020 census came along as it does
7 every ten years and the subsequent redrawing
8 of electoral maps to account for population
9 growth and shifts. And even though there had
10 been a significant democratic, and
11 demographic, and political shift in Gwinnett,
12 at the state level, the historically dominant
13 group maintained their majority, their
14 political power, and the power of the pen to
15 create new maps. And as we witnessed, those
16 maps were drawn to the dominance group's
17 political advantage, aka gerrymandering.

18 It has been said that the pen is
19 mightier than the sword. That actually still
20 rings true because historically in this
21 nation, whoever has held the map pen in their
22 hand has had the power. From the drawing of
23 colonies and state borders over tribal lands
24 and a hostile takeover of this continent, to
25 the redlining of our US cities, a red pen and

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1 a map, circles drawn around the inner -- inner
2 city where Blacks were pressured to live,
3 property values were intentionally devalued,
4 creating a ghetto community. Outside those
5 red lines, white families created suburbia,
6 and property values were artificially
7 inflated, exacerbating the racial wealth gap
8 that we're still grappling with today.

9 Currently, white families have 13 times
10 the wealth that Black do. The pen -- this
11 pen, it's small, but it wields a lot of power.

12 We saw the power of that pen as the new
13 2021 maps that were drawn and passed from this
14 general assembly. That map drawing was
15 reminiscent of the past -- that map drawing
16 was reminiscent of the past coming from the
17 same energy, the same spirit of control and
18 manipulation, of discrimination and
19 disenfranchisement. It was so blatant that a
20 federal judge struck down the maps for
21 violating the 1965 Voting Rights Act. The pen
22 was once again used to dilute Black power.

23 I'm just so disheartened that 60 years
24 later, after the Voting Rights Act has passed,
25 these shenanigans continue. Unfortunately, we

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1 are not in a post racial society. Racism has
2 just shape-shifted.

3 The judge ordered us to redraw the map
4 sending us into special session, but these new
5 2023 maps are no better. The bad '21 electoral
6 maps are just being papered over by more bad
7 maps from this special session. We have
8 wasted our time and a lot of taxpayer money
9 with session.

10 A pastor friend of mine once told me,
11 Greg, there's nothing to be learned from the
12 second kick of a mule. Question: Is it really
13 too much to ask elected officials just to do
14 the right thing? Is it too heavy of a lift?
15 Is it a bridge too far just to do the right
16 thing and draw fair maps? Spoiler alert.
17 Georgia has changed. We grew a 1,000,000
18 people in the last decade, and the
19 overwhelming majority of that growth was
20 people of color, and they brought their
21 politics with them.

22 Georgia is a purple state, a swing
23 state, and fair maps should reflect that 50/50
24 -- 50/50 political landscape. How can you,
25 with a straight face, draw a nine/five

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1 congressional map? That's actually one more
2 than the previous eight/six map. It's -- it's
3 laughable.

4 You've now had two cracks at this and
5 still didn't get it right. So much for
6 wisdom, moderation, and justice. It's really
7 disappointing. Colleagues, it's not 1966
8 anymore. Or is it?

9 Between the Robert E. Lee and Alexander
10 Steven's statues and portraits out in the
11 Capitol Hall and these grossly gerrymandered
12 maps. I just can't tell what year or decade
13 we are in.

14 Please vote no to SB 3-EX.

15 I yield the well.

16 MR. SPEAKER: The gentleman has yielded
17 the will. That completes those that desire to
18 speak in opposition of SB 3-X. Now we'll move
19 on to those speaking in favor. Chair
20 recognizes the governor floor leader -- one of
21 them, Representative Soo Hong. Representative
22 Hong is recognized to speak in favor of the
23 bill.

24 REPRESENTATIVE HONG: Thank you, Mr.
25 Speaker, and good morning.

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1 I know there's been a lot of criticism
2 on Chairman Leverett's map, and there was a
3 alternative map that was presented by the
4 minority leader, Beverly, in committee, so I
5 wanted to kind of draw comparisons between the
6 two maps here today.

7 Chairman Leverett's plan drew a
8 congressional map that represented Georgia
9 communities of interest. And as I mentioned,
10 the Democrat plan was offered in committee as
11 an alternative, but that is not a plan drawn
12 by Georgians. That was a plan drawn by the
13 Plaintiff's expert in the Section 2 cases.
14 And that was an expert who testified that he
15 relied only on communities he could see on a
16 map.

17 He didn't look at the reality on the
18 ground in these areas and did not know about
19 other Georgia communities or interests in
20 drawing the plan. In fact, he relied on
21 regional commissions as a community of
22 interest at one point, something that doesn't
23 really make sense if you know Georgia. And
24 yet the Democratic caucus has chose -- chosen
25 to rely on that map, which was drawn by one

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1 out-of-state expert and did not rely on the
2 thoughts or opinions of any Georgians except
3 those that happen to be directly involved in
4 litigation.

5 The Democratic caucus map doesn't --
6 actually, it doesn't protect Georgia
7 communities at all. So let's compare the two
8 plans because the majority plan ensures that
9 Georgia communities are protected while
10 complying with Judge Jones's order. The
11 Democratic plan cuts across the mountain range
12 of north Georgia while the map before us today
13 maintains the current boundary between Murray,
14 and Fannin, and Gilmore Counties.

15 The Democrat plan runs District 13 from
16 Fayette County all the way out to Butts and
17 Jasper Counties, connecting counties, which
18 have little in common. The map before us
19 today places those same counties in a more
20 rural-oriented district that runs in East
21 Georgia. The Democrat plan places Hancock
22 County in the same district as the north
23 Georgia mountains in Rabun and Towns Counties.
24 That connection makes no sense, and it is
25 avoided on the plan here before us today.

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1 Now let me talk about Gwinnett County.
2 I know there were some mentions of Gwinnett
3 County, and that is my home county. Some of
4 the Democrat reps that have come up here have
5 complained about the four-way split of that
6 county. But as mentioned, we all know that
7 Gwinnett is a large and growing county, and
8 having multiple members of con -- congress
9 makes sense.

10 In fact, Gwinnett is the second largest
11 county in all of Georgia with over a 1,000,000
12 residents. And it trails close behind only
13 Fulton County in population size. And the
14 four-way split we propose here is far from
15 unprecedented. In fact, the Democrats' plan,
16 despite their complaints about the four-way
17 county split in Gwinnett and our plan have
18 their own four-way county split in their
19 proposed plan right next to our Gwinnett
20 County, and the only county with more
21 population than Gwinnett, which is in Fulton
22 County.

23 Our map here today also places areas of
24 Gwinnett County that are still represented by
25 Republicans in the general assembly and

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1 districts currently held by Republicans. As a
2 Gwinnett resident, I like and appreciate the
3 attention the county will get now with four
4 members of congress helping watch out for our
5 needs of our county.

6 The other county that I represent is
7 Hall County. The two-way split in Hall County
8 recognizes an important community of interest
9 around Lake Lanier. This map provides
10 additional representation for Hall County
11 residents, which is a positive because now we
12 have two members of congress looking out for
13 our interests.

14 And lastly, I'd like to talk about Cobb
15 County, a county that I grew up in. We've
16 heard some complaints about a three-way split
17 of Cobb County on the plan before us. But to
18 be clear, the Democrat plan also split Cobb
19 three ways. And the Democrat plan uses an
20 almost illogical split of Fayette County,
21 taking just a small number of people out
22 instead of using the existing boundaries.

23 Democrats chose to rely on the
24 Plaintiff's expert instead of using their
25 judgment to ensure people who know Georgia.

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1 People like Gina Wright (phonetic) and her
2 appropriate -- reapportionment office and the
3 elected senators in this state to draw a map
4 that fairly represents Georgians.

5 This map, Chairman Leverett's map, does
6 exactly what we were ordered to do by Judge
7 Jones, and I urge you to vote yes for this
8 map.

9 Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I yield the
10 well.

11 MR. SPEAKER: The lady has yielded the
12 well. We have one other speaker in favor of
13 SB 3-X. Chair recognize Representative
14 Reeves.

15 Speak to the bill, Representative
16 Reeves.

17 REPRESENTATIVE REEVES: Thank you, Mr.
18 Speaker, colleagues.

19 Map drawing is not an easy assess, the
20 members of the house who served on the
21 redistricting committee can confirm that, and
22 you've seen it in the last week.
23 Congressional maps So the hardest to draw
24 because pursuant to the US Constitution and
25 decisions by the US Supreme Court, you don't

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1 have a percentage of deviation. It has to be
2 down to the very person, one person, one vote.
3 And our redistricting office, led by Gina
4 Wright, has delivered maps that comply with
5 Judge Jones' order and that Constitutional and
6 US Supreme Court rule of one person, one vote.

7 Ms. Wright has been amazing in this
8 process. The -- the 500-page order was issued
9 just a few weeks before Thanksgiving. The
10 office, in conjunction with the legislature,
11 both parties, has worked tirelessly, and, Ms.
12 Wright has been a consummate professional.
13 She is -- she has been in the redistricting
14 office here in Georgia for two decades, for a
15 generation.

16 She has been qualified as an expert
17 witness in numerous federal court cases, which
18 the lawyers in the body know is the highest
19 standard for expert witnesses under the
20 Daubert standard. She has taught
21 redistricting to professionals across the
22 country as well as around the state -- state
23 legislative bodies and national groups. So we
24 have the best person and the best office in
25 Georgia, to draw maps, with Ms. Wright and her

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1 professionals in her office, and they have
2 delivered on that, and they have been
3 responsive to both parties during this
4 process.

5 Drawing the new 6th district, as we
6 were instructed by Judge Jones, impacted
7 surrounding districts. That should be no
8 surprise since you have no margin of
9 deviation. You've got to have one person, one
10 vote. And it impacted adjoining districts
11 equally.

12 The Democratic plan did not consider
13 changes in districts in my area of Gwinnett
14 County, but the congressional plan that is
15 before you from Senator Echols appropriately
16 allowed those districts to be pushed to the
17 east. Those districts inside the perimeter
18 naturally moved into my area of Gwinnett
19 County and also created the impact, which
20 moved District 7 north.

21 The map does not use the Voting Rights
22 Act to achieve political aims. It maintains
23 the partisan balance that this body,
24 previously enacted just two years ago while
25 fully complying with Judge Jones' order.

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1 And we know that the Voting Rights Act
2 does not protect officials. It protects
3 voters. It protects the rights of voters.
4 And this plan does just that. Judge Jones
5 told us how to comply, and we've done that. I
6 saw Judge Jones, when he was on the superior
7 court bench in Athens, he had the benefit of
8 Judge Lawton Stephens, who was longtime a
9 member of this body and has been a fellow
10 judge.

11 Before he went on to the federal bench,
12 Judge Jones got to see, the impact of tough
13 decisions. I saw him do a custody case back
14 when I was in law school, so he's been
15 deciding important things for a long time. He
16 had a well-reasoned, 516-page order that the
17 committee and many of you in this body have
18 read and carefully tried to comply with, and
19 Senator Echols' plan does comply.

20 Even with the compressed timeframe,
21 Shortly before the Thanksgiving holidays, the
22 -- both Senator Echols as well as the Democrat
23 side of the aisle had time to produce maps.
24 Senator Echols' map was circulated longer than
25 the alternative by the other side of the

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1 aisle, and both received public comment.
2 There was reference to the public
3 comments. The committee read them. You can
4 read them. They're online. It was about 500
5 at last count -- count, and there were many,
6 many witnesses, regarding the maps. It is a
7 fair map for the people of Georgia. It
8 complies with Judge Jones' order while meeting
9 Georgia's goals as a state that is open for
10 representation of all people.

11 And addressing some Gwinnett County
12 issues, I won't repeat what Governors Floor
13 Leader Hong eloquently said about Gwinnett
14 County being nearly as big as Fulton County,
15 but I will point out, Gwinnett has the state's
16 largest school system, nearly 200,000 kids in
17 school. So it should be no surprise with the
18 county and the magnitude and size of Gwinnett
19 that you're going to have more districts in a
20 county that size. That's larger than a lot of
21 metro areas around the country.

22 Also, Mike Collins has a very small
23 part of Gwinnett, but it's on University
24 Parkway, 316 on the way to Athens, where we
25 all drive to the football games on that road.

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1 It should be no surprise that part of Gwinnett
2 County is linked with northeast Georgia and
3 Athens with it being there on University
4 Parkway. And also from Gwinnett County, I've
5 been there 20 years. There have been multiple
6 times over the last decade and two decades
7 that Gwinnett County has been linked to
8 DeKalb.

9 Former Congressman John Linder was
10 originally from Tucker. He served in the
11 legislature from north DeKalb, and DeKalb and
12 Gwinnett were linked then. You've had both,
13 majority Democrat and majority Republican
14 districts that have had DeKalb and Gwinnett
15 combined with recent precedent. And so for
16 those reasons, I would ask -- and -- and just
17 one more time, I'd like to applaud Chairman
18 Lever (phonetic). I'd like to applaud the
19 Democrat and Republican members of the
20 redistricting committee. The time has been
21 put in on this con -- on this congressional
22 map. It is a good map, and I would ask for
23 your favorable support.

24 Mr. Speaker, I yield the well.

25 MR. SPEAKER: Gentleman has yielded the

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1 well. That concludes the speakers. We're on
2 our bill. Now, we have a couple more
3 presentations, but first, we need to -- is
4 there any objection to the previous question
5 being ordered?

6 Chair, hears none. The previous
7 question is ordered.

8 We'll move on now to the minority
9 report, which will up to 20 minutes, and then
10 the chairman's time. The minority whip,
11 Representative Sam Park is recognized to
12 present the minority report to SB 3-X.

13 Representative Park?

14 REPRESENTATIVE PARK: Thank you, Mr.
15 Speaker.

16 Good morning, colleagues and friends.

17 To begin, I would like to thank the
18 gentleman from House District 123, Chairman
19 Rob Leverett, for doing his duty with honor,
20 integrity, and fairness. While I strongly
21 disagree with the Republican maps that have
22 come out of the house for the apportionment
23 and redistricting committee, I appreciate the
24 manner in which the representative from
25 Elberton conducted his comedian committee

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1 meetings under the circumstances.

2 I also recognize that I've made
3 statements here in this well and during the
4 fight over Gwinnett's local maps last year
5 that have offended some members here in this
6 body. That was not my intent.

7 I'm not here to be mean for the sake of
8 being mean. I've been taught that open rebuke
9 is better than hidden love. I've been taught
10 to speak up for those who cannot speak for
11 themselves, to speak up for all the rights of
12 all who are destitute, to speak up and judge
13 fairly and defend the rights of the poor and
14 needy. I've been taught that when I see
15 something that is not right, not just, not
16 fair that I have a moral obligation to say
17 something, to do something, to -- to do my
18 part to help bend the arc of history toward
19 justice for all. That is why I fight as hard
20 as I do.

21 These Republican maps for Congress, for
22 the State Senate and House, they are not
23 right. They are not just. And they certainly
24 are not fair to Georgia voters, especially for
25 Black voters and voters of color whose freedom

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1 to elect their candidate of choice is being
2 attacked and undermined.

3 As recognized by the federal court that
4 struck down the 2021 Republican maps for being
5 racially discriminative, Black voters in
6 Georgia, whose voting rights have been injured
7 by the violation of Section 2 of the voting
8 rights hat right voting rights act have
9 suffered significant harm.

10 Now as a member from Gwinnett County as
11 well, frankly, I've been disappointed to hear
12 members from the other side who represent
13 Gwinnett talking about these maps being fair
14 for Gwinnett County. I cannot ever forget
15 what happened with Gwinnett's local maps just
16 last year, in which members in this body, in
17 my opinion, broke the rules of this house to
18 draw out the first Black woman in 200 years
19 elected to the Gwinnett Board of
20 Commissioners. That is unacceptable.

21 And I will always, always remember that
22 action that was taken here in this body,
23 unfortunately.

24 As noted by my Democratic colleagues,
25 The Republican map clearly violates Judge

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1 Jones' federal court order. On Pages 509 to
2 510, in Section G, regarding the remedy, Judge
3 Jones writes, the State cannot remedy the
4 Section 2 violations described herein by
5 eliminating minority opportunity districts
6 elsewhere in the plan.

7 Further, on Pages 510 to 511, Judge
8 Jones writes, an acceptable remedy must
9 completely remedy the prior dilution of voting
10 -- of minority voting strength and fully
11 provide equal opportunity for minority
12 citizens to participate and to elect
13 candidates of their choice.

14 Like the unlawful Republican map for
15 State Senate, the Republican congressional map
16 does not provide relief for voters in the
17 areas identified by the court as needing
18 relief from vote dilution. More than a
19 140,000 Black voters are still denied the
20 ability to elect their candidate of choice.

21 And like the unlawful Republican map for State
22 House, the Republican congressional map
23 eliminates a minority opportunity district in
24 Gwinnett County by obliterating Georgia's 7th
25 Congressional District, a majority minority

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1 district where 67 percent of the voting age
2 population is comprised of Black, Hispanic,
3 and Asian American voters. Now this district
4 contains 67 percent white voters and only 33
5 percent minority.

6 This open defiance of a federal court
7 order is alarming. It is reminiscent of the
8 refusal to accept the outcome of the 2020
9 presidential election that led to the January
10 6th Insurrection.

11 On that note, we've seen bipartisan
12 condemnation against acts of violence and
13 domestic terrorism. We all care about public
14 safety, and it is disingenuous to state
15 otherwise. I look forward next year to the
16 bipartisan condemnation against The January
17 6th domestic terrorist who attacked the United
18 States Capitol building, who injured a 138
19 police officers, and killed 5 people,
20 including a police officer.

21 I sincerely hoped my Republican
22 colleagues would understand and comply with
23 Judge Jones' order. I was glad to hear y'all
24 say, repeatedly, that your primary goal was to
25 comply with Judge Jones' order in every

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1 respect. I held out hope that y'all would do
2 as y'all said. But upon careful analysis of
3 the Republicans' maps, it is self-evident that
4 the Republican Party's primary goal is to
5 maintain political pop -- political power at
6 all costs to the detriment of Georgia voters,
7 our representative democracy, and the rule of
8 law.

9 As I noted last week, the blatant
10 disregard for existing law that protects
11 majority minority districts such as the 7th
12 Congressional District demonstrates an intent
13 to once again attack the Voting Rights Act by
14 narrowing its protections. Recognize that it
15 will be Hispanic Americans and Asian American
16 voters who will be harmed and lose protections
17 if Republicans succeed in their continued
18 attacks against the Voting Rights Act.

19 For more than 30 years, the 11th
20 Circuit Court of Appeals held that minority
21 coalitions are protected from having their
22 votes diluted under the Voting Rights Act.
23 Yet multiple times throughout this special
24 session, Republicans, including the senate
25 chair of the apportionment, have publicly

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1 stated that they know better, that a minority
2 opportunity group -- that minority opportunity
3 district must be a district where a single
4 racial group is a majority. That excludes
5 Hispanic Americans and Asian American voters.

6 The public positions taken by
7 Republicans on coalition majority minority
8 districts means Hispanic and Asian American
9 voters who vote together in a coalition should
10 not be afforded an opportunity to elect their
11 candidate of choice. That multiracial
12 coalitions can and should be divided and
13 conquered. What a shame.

14 As the first Asian American Democrat
15 ever elected to the Georgia general assembly,
16 I was provided the opportunity to serve here
17 in this body by building a multiracial
18 coalition. A coalition of white, Black,
19 Hispanic, and Asian American voters who share
20 the same values, hopes, and dreams; who want
21 access to quality affordable healthcare;
22 world-class public education; and safe
23 communities free from gun violence. The
24 ability to transcend our differences and find
25 common ground makes Georgia and our state, and

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1 our country stronger. We are stronger
2 together.

3 Unfortunately, this Republican effort
4 to dismantle the voting rights act, to divide
5 voters by race and dilute their political
6 power, to foster division by pitting
7 communities against one another, will only
8 make us weaker.

9 As the good book says, you know a tree
10 by its fruit. Every good tree bears good
11 fruit, but a bad tree bears bad fruit. Thus,
12 by their fruit, you will recognize them.

13 Unfortunately, there is a lot of bad
14 fruit coming out of today's Republican Party,
15 a lot of Republican policies and actions that
16 have and will cause great harm. I also know
17 there are a lot of good men and women in the
18 Republican Party. I have family members who
19 are Republicans. I've been taught to love the
20 sinner and hate the sin.

21 So to the best of my ability, I would
22 do what love requires in all circumstances as
23 that is what my faith commands. And I would
24 treat every member in this body with respect
25 and kindness that many of my Republican

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1 colleagues have shown me.

2 But I will also not be silent. I will
3 do all I can to stand and fight against the
4 harm caused by Republican policies that put
5 the pursuit of power before God, country, and
6 my fellow Georgians. So as I began my remarks
7 last week, I will end my remarks today.

8 This Republican map is unlawful. Judge
9 Jones can and should reject it. I urge every
10 member of this body to vote no.

11 Thank you, Mr. Speaker, I yield the
12 well.

13 MR. SPEAKER: The gentleman has yielded
14 the well.

15 Minority Leader Beverly, you're
16 recognized to speak to SB 3-X. SB 3-X;
17 Representative Beverly.

18 REPRESENTATIVE BEVERLY: Thank you, Mr.
19 Speaker, and good morning, colleagues.

20 Before I begin my comments, a member of
21 this house referred to the Democratic map, and
22 so I'd like to address that for just a moment
23 for those who have not seen the map or have
24 watched the hearings.

25 I'm grateful that you referred to the

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1 map because that's the map, the substitute,
2 that we should use to send back to the judge.
3 But I want to correct something that you said,
4 and that is this: is that it was the
5 illustrative map that was given to me by the
6 senate, by every congressional member,
7 Democratic member, who said we agree to this
8 map. You call it an outside map. I call it
9 inside map because I gave that map to Gina,
10 who you referred to -- who you guys refer to,
11 who we love as a house. And she cleaned it
12 up. Because they were wrong. She had to move
13 certain blocks -- 25 or so, Gina? We had to
14 clean that map up. It was -- it's a Georgia
15 map.

16 Please stop with the shenanigans
17 already.

18 I rise in opposition to Senate Bill 3-
19 EX. The Republican map have redrawn the
20 state's congressional districts, but before I
21 let -- no. I'm just kidding. I'm not going
22 to go that fast. I know y'all rush for time,
23 but I need to slow to sit down because I want
24 y'all this.

25 There are two people -- groups of

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1 people I don't like very much right now. The
2 senate, because they left a couple days ago.
3 I don't like them right now. They think we as
4 a house don't like them right now. And I
5 really can't stand the State of Alabama. But
6 what they did? Go dogs. Sic 'em. Last week.

7 And the senate, in their arrogance,
8 threw a couple of hand grenades into the
9 house, and then they walked away as if they
10 didn't do it. We had to deal with issues of
11 international significance. Started in the
12 senate, they throw it in the house, and they
13 walk away. We had to deal with a training
14 center. Another hand grenade, throw it in the
15 house; walk away.

16 And now we have to take up their map.
17 Another hand grenade, they throw into our
18 house and walk away. Mr. Speaker, I say we
19 return a few cannonballs to them, one of which
20 being let's expand Medicaid now that comes out
21 of the house. Let's deal with seal wind as it
22 relates to maternal mortality, and let's send
23 it back to them and make them deal with that.

24 And lastly but not least, let's take
25 this map and rip it up. Because a judge is

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1 going to do the same thing I suspect. Why
2 don't we, as a house, stand for something in
3 this moment? I oppose this map because this
4 ain't a Georgia map. This is a Alabama map.

5 Let me explain. A federal court in
6 Alabama held earlier this year that Alabama's
7 congressional map violated Section 2 of the
8 Voting Rights Act because of diluted voting
9 strength of Black folk in Alabama. The court
10 gave the Alabama legislator an opportunity to
11 redraw the map, to add an additional Black
12 opportunity district -- that It is a district
13 in which Black voters would have an
14 opportunity to elect candidates of their
15 choice to the United States House of
16 Representatives. That happened in Alabama.
17 But what did Alabama do?

18 The Alabama legislator thumbed its nose
19 at the federal court and drew a new plan
20 without any additional opportunity districts.
21 The federal court quickly rejected that map
22 and drew its own. And in the process, Alabama
23 became the laughing stock of the nation for
24 its unwillingness to change their opinion and
25 their backwardness. What do you call those

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1 Alabamas? What do what do you call Alabama?

2 I don't know what you call them. I call them

3 backwards.

4 And as I look at the analysis of

5 Georgia game, it was a team loss. I look at

6 the events that have unfolded over the past

7 few days. The senate and the State of Alabama

8 want to deal -- want us to do their bidding,

9 but this is our house.

10 This is our house. We're the big dogs

11 in this house. And we need to say, as the big

12 dogs say, go dogs. Sic 'em. Woo, woo, woo,

13 woo, woo.

14 I fear, ladies and gentlemen, that SB

15 3-EX takes us down the Alabama path. They

16 want us to blatantly and intentionally defy

17 the federal court's order that found our

18 congressional map in violation of the Voting

19 Rights Act. As in Alabama, the federal judge

20 in Georgia has given us an opportunity to draw

21 a new map. He instructed that the new map

22 must create an additional majority district in

23 west Metro Atlanta. Page 509 of 511. It was

24 clear that the state cannot remedy Section 2

25 violations described herein by eliminating

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1 minority opportunity districts elsewhere in
2 the plan, but that is precisely what the
3 senate map did that we're carrying their
4 water? Get out of here.

5 It creates a new majority Black
6 district in west Metro Atlanta, but it also
7 eliminates an existing minority opportunity
8 district in Gwinnett. We've already litigated
9 that even though we're in a public space.
10 Make no mistake, this is no accident. It's
11 unlawful. It's unconstitutional. It's wrong.
12 And we should not want any part of that.

13 Football aside, we don't want to be
14 like Alabama. Georgians, all Georgians,
15 deserve better than that.

16 Vote no and say to the senate and to
17 Alabama, we reject Alabama's playbook. We are
18 the big dogs, and we call the balls and
19 strikes.

20 Before I close, I want to correct the
21 record on one thing. During the debate on
22 this bill in the senate, one of our colleagues
23 over there asserted that the Voting Rights Act
24 doesn't protect minority opportunity districts
25 like the one in Gwinnett County that this map

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1 -- map eliminates. That simply isn't true.
2 We are the last people standing. I
3 think they got the last word, but we should
4 get the last laugh in. The 11th Circuit Court
5 of Appeals, which covers Georgia, Alabama, and
6 Florida, has long recognized that Section 2 of
7 the Voting Rights -- Rights Act protects
8 minority opportunity districts like the one in
9 Gwinnett that this map eliminates.

10 The leading case -- the leading case is
11 Concerned Citizens of Hardee County versus
12 Hardee County Board of Commissioners, where
13 the 11th circuit, the same circuit, recognized
14 that the Voting Rights Act protects districts
15 like the one in Gwinnett where Black,
16 Hispanic, and Asian voters vote cohesively as
17 a political coalition, and by doing so, can
18 elect candidates of their choice. Judge Jones
19 certainly knew that. And that's why he said
20 that this body can't remedy the Section 2
21 violation by eliminating minority opportunity
22 districts elsewhere in the map.

23 The law on this is clear in the 11th
24 circuit. And we must act -- we must not act
25 as though it isn't. If we do so, it's to our

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1 peril. Our peril.
2 This map, this hand grenade they
3 thrown, and they putting us on a sinking ship
4 right now, right before holiday vacation,
5 while they're somewhere -- somewhere maybe on
6 an island having a good old time for the last
7 couple days while we're sitting here doing our
8 people's work. So I respectfully urge you to
9 vote no on Senate Bill 3-X. They want us to
10 fall on the sword while they are having mai
11 tais somewhere, and they're doing whatever
12 they're doing.

13 We're the big dogs. Mr. Speaker, I --
14 go dogs. Sic 'em.

15 I yield the well.

16 MR. SPEAKER: Gentlemen, has yielded
17 the well. That completes our minority report.

18 We'll now move on to chairman's time
19 for up to, not mandatory, but up to 20
20 minutes. Chairman Leverett is recognized to
21 speak to SB 3-EX.

22 REPRESENTATIVE LEVERETT: Thank you,
23 Mr. Speaker.

24 Ladies and gentlemen of the house,
25 we've heard a number of arguments, and I would

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1 -- I would like to respond to them in a -- in
2 a brief manner, if I may.

3 The primary argument I'm hearing is
4 that although the maps create an additional
5 majority Black district in the area the judge
6 specifically told us to, they somehow do not
7 comply with his order. And the reason we're
8 told is because of the language dealing with
9 minority opportunity districts.

10 Now it is admittedly, the quote up
11 there is accurate. That is an accurate quote.
12 That is what Judge Jones said. And I -- I,
13 like the previous speaker, believe him to be a
14 very intelligent person, and he knows how to
15 write an order. This is -- this order, I
16 don't agree with everything he says in it, but
17 nobody can deny the craft and the hard work
18 that went into that order. It's very
19 impressive. But I believe we're being unfair
20 to Judge Jones when we're construing some of
21 this language outside the context of the case
22 that actually was litigated.

23 So there is a -- there is a provision.
24 The -- the -- I've had it on the screen
25 before. At this point, I'm assuming you've

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1 already memorized it, but it said the remedy
2 involves an additional majority Black
3 congressional district in west Metro Atlanta.
4 That's the portion of the remedy provision of
5 his order that addresses the congressional
6 maps. The map you looked at earlier does
7 that.

8 District 6, majority Black district.
9 It's in west Metro Atlanta. It almost matches
10 the proposed district that the Plaintiff
11 submitted.

12 But we're told well, no. It really
13 doesn't comply because of this language about
14 minority opportunity districts. Well, I
15 agree. It is meaningful language, but it does
16 not have the meaning that my friends across
17 the aisle ascribed to it. And the reason it
18 doesn't is because that minority opportunity
19 districts, as it's being construed by our
20 friends across the aisle, was never mentioned
21 in that phrasing or that definition in the
22 case. That is not a legally defined term.
23 The term gets used loosely in different
24 contexts.

25 In the context of this case, the

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1 minority that was being discussed whose rights
2 were trying to be vindicated were Black
3 voters. If you take the same page that was
4 quoted from and run down the page. All right.
5 So on Page 509 at the bottom, it starts, the
6 State cannot remedy the Section 2 violations
7 described herein by eliminating minority
8 opportunity districts elsewhere in the plans.
9 Keep in mind, the judge was careful to say an
10 additional majority Black congressional
11 district. Additional.

12 He was trying to make it clear to us to
13 avoid confusion that had happened in Alabama,
14 and that is the bitterest pill right there, to
15 be accused of being like our friends to the
16 west. That is really a low blow, I would
17 submit to you.

18 My goal this whole session has been to
19 -- to do just not what they did, to do
20 everything opposite from what they did. And I
21 don't think you can say that we are being like
22 Alabama when we are passing a map that
23 includes an additional majority Black
24 congressional district. And I credit Judge
25 Jones because he was writing in the context of

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1 the Allen decision. And so he knew that that
2 order was not exactly clear, so he wanted to
3 make it abundantly clear what we have to do.

4 But he is writing in the context of a
5 case in which the only claims have involved
6 Black voters. They didn't involve other
7 minorities, and they didn't involve this not -
8 - somewhat novel and largely rejected theory
9 that you can take people from different
10 minorities and add them up to get above 50
11 percent in a potential proposed district.
12 We're -- we're citing from 11th Circuit, but
13 the -- the language in that -- that Hardee
14 case is dicta. And the lawyers know what that
15 means. Those of you who are not lawyers,
16 basically means it's just something that the
17 judge said that was not part of his holding or
18 his ruling. It isn't precedent. It doesn't
19 govern things going forward.

20 And as a matter of fact, a three-judge
21 panel in the northern district, right here, as
22 recently as October 23rd, the same date this
23 order came out, said just that. That's only
24 dicta. It's not binding. And it's kind of
25 interesting to know that one of the judges on

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1 the three-judge panel was Judge Steve Jones.

2 Now the only district, the only circuit
3 court, and it -- and for those who don't know,
4 the -- the United, States, the federal
5 appellate system is divided up into circuits.
6 We're in the 11th here. The 6th Circuit has
7 specifically rejected this notion that my
8 friends from the other side are pushing about
9 the -- the -- whether the voting rights
10 protection to those kinds of districts.

11 To be clear, District 7 is not a
12 majority Black district. It was not
13 litigated. It wasn't the subject of this
14 lawsuit. Nobody was talking about it in here
15 because it -- it was out beyond the scope of
16 the claims. All the claims had to do with the
17 rights of Black voters, had to do with
18 statistical data involving Black voters, not
19 other minorities. The only minority they were
20 talking about in this case, or these three
21 cases, was Black voters. That was it.

22 And if you read on down from the
23 sentence that was put up there earlier, the
24 judge said the court retains jurisdiction
25 determine whether the remedial plans adopted

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1 by the general assembly remedy the Section 2
2 violations by incorporating additional
3 legislative districts in which Black voters
4 have a demonstrable opportunity to elect their
5 candidates of choice. Later on, he says, this
6 will require the court to evaluate a remedial
7 proposal under the -- the Jingle (phonetic)
8 standard, which is a -- a law suit or a spring
9 court case that everyone's still traveling
10 under when we do voting rights cases. Under
11 the Jingle standard to determine whether it
12 provides Black voters with an additional
13 opportunity district.

14 So the 6th Circuit has specifically
15 rejected this -- this sort of coalition --
16 this notion that coalition districts are
17 protected under the Voting Rights Act. The
18 11th Circuit case that keeps being sort of
19 passed around as providing just irrefutable
20 support is not that at all. And the third --
21 a three-judge panel has said so, and the
22 Supreme Court has never said that. If -- if
23 anything, we believe Spring Port (phonetic)
24 precedent supports just the contrary that is
25 not protected on the Voting Rights Act.

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1 So this notion that we're violating the
2 order because we're doing something that the -
3 - that the judge told us not to do is
4 misconstruing that language. Any way you --
5 every time the word opportunity appears in
6 this order, it is either within the same
7 sentence, or the same phrase, or the same page
8 as a reference to Black voters. That was the
9 minority that was an issue. Those were all
10 the claims in this case.

11 So I think to -- to say, well, Judge
12 Jones knew what he was doing. He sure did.
13 He was working his tail off to get a 500-page
14 order out in a limited amount of time because
15 he was being caring and considerate enough to
16 us to get that out to us so we would have time
17 to act before he felt like he needed to.

18 And I take -- I appreciate that so
19 much, and I take the responsibility we have to
20 comply with that order so seriously. And this
21 notion that -- that we're throwing plans up
22 here that cavalierly don't comply with the
23 order or that -- that follow the example of
24 our good neighbors to the west is just
25 particularly offensive. And we're -- we're

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1 adding the additional majority Black districts
2 in every plan just like the judge is telling
3 us, and I appreciate him so much for giving us
4 that degree of guidance.

5 Now, so we had some other claims made
6 here that, Of course, we we're not in
7 compliance with Section 2. Well, again, I --
8 I think the argument being made about this
9 coalition district thing, or this argument is
10 -- is going beyond Judge Jones' order and
11 going a little his head and say, well, you
12 should have, you know, if -- if we don't do
13 that, even though the judge didn't say that's
14 a issue or a consideration, you've still got
15 to deal with it.

16 It's sort of like saying, well, you may
17 comply with the order, but you're still not
18 complying with Voting Rights Act because Judge
19 Jones didn't know what he was doing. And I --
20 I -- I -- I -- I would agree that I -- I don't
21 agree uniformly with his ruling, but I don't
22 think you can say that we're not complying
23 with the order by creating the additional
24 majority Black district.

25 One of the people in the well said that

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1 there was no majority Black district added.
2 We actually added two. 6 and 5 is now a
3 majority Black district. 6 was the one that
4 we specifically, pursuant to the court's
5 order, 5 became majority Black as part of the
6 redistricting process.

7 And the split in Cobb is actually
8 reduced. It was split four ways. It's
9 reduced three ways. And the -- the area that
10 -- that was so controversial last time around
11 in southwest Cobb, it's been taken out of 14
12 and put in the new 6. I think that'll be a
13 great relief to people in that area and would
14 be a great relief to their rep -- current
15 representative as well.

16 Now there are also allegations that
17 we've targeted particular people, and that's
18 simply not the case. We were -- we were
19 redistricting. That's what it's called. We
20 didn't ask for the lawsuit. We didn't want to
21 be here. Judge Jones ordered us to be here.
22 That's the reason we're redrawing the maps.
23 We would just as soon been at home right now.
24 We're having to draw the maps because the
25 judge has ordered it because a lawsuit was

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1 filed.

2 And that's fine. You know, everyone's
3 got a right to file lawsuits if they feel
4 their rights need to be vindicated by a judge
5 and by court. But to say that we've targeted
6 ignores the posture of this session. This was
7 not just called by us for fun. It was -- it
8 was called because we were ordered to by the
9 judge and because a lawsuit was filed to -- to
10 invoke his jurisdiction.

11 The -- the other argument that I think
12 is misconstrues Judge Jones' order. So -- and
13 this is referred to in the minority report,
14 that we are somehow going -- we are violating
15 his order because we are going beyond the
16 scope of the area he told us we needed to
17 address. And the primary basis for that
18 argument is Page 513, where the judge said the
19 Pendergrass Plaintiffs have carried their
20 burden of demonstrating a lack of equal
21 openness in Georgia's election system, as a
22 result of the challenge redistricting plan, SB
23 2-EX, as to the following enacted district or
24 areas: enacted congressional districts 3, 6,
25 11, 13, and 14.

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1 So the argument goes, well, all he said
2 is 3, 6, 11, 13, 14. That's all you can
3 touch. You can't touch anything else. No
4 voting rights act order is ever read that way,
5 and I'm -- I'm not aware that any judge has
6 ever ordered that because it would, I think,
7 be patently unconstitutional to tell us you've
8 got a redistrict, but this is all you can do.
9 That would make redistricting virtually
10 impossible to do. He's just simply again
11 trying to tell us the area that we need to
12 look at based on the evidence that was
13 produced in the case.

14 And moreover, the minority report
15 points that up and says our plan has a legal
16 infirmity. But the plan offered by the my by
17 our friends on the opposition touched more
18 districts than those. As -- as -- as
19 Representative Hong mentioned, it -- it -- it
20 touches a number of other districts. So if
21 that is a problem, it's problem with both
22 plans, not just our plan. But I would submit,
23 it's not really a legal issue. I would say
24 that that is not an infirmity of the -- of the
25 opposition's plan, nor is it one of ours.

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1 The -- the other thing that is
2 particularly frustrating to me is -- is a
3 number of people have saying this plan
4 disenfranchises -- disenfranchises Black
5 voters, but it's creating additional majority
6 Black district that is designed and will give
7 Blacks voters a reasonable opportunity to
8 elect the candidate of their choice. That's
9 the whole point of the lawsuit. So to say
10 that you're disenfranchising someone by
11 creating a new district in which that's going
12 to happen, that just -- that strains logic
13 from my perspective.

14 Now, and again, I just -- it bears
15 repeating. You cannot equate this plan or any
16 plan that has been presented to this body with
17 the Alabama situation. The court over there
18 didn't give us the guidance that Judge Jones
19 has kindly given us. We have not thumbed our
20 nose at him. We have done what he told us to
21 do. And these plans will comply, I feel, with
22 his order. I -- I -- I take that obligation
23 very, very seriously to produce plans to
24 comply with the order. I truly do sincerely
25 believe these do based on what I believe is a

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1 reasonable reading of the order, and not
2 that's strained for political gain.
3 So Mr. Speaker, that's about all I have
4 to say. I ask that this body please vote in
5 favor of these plans, so we can comply with
6 Judge Jones's order. And we're all going to
7 find out, I think, soon enough if this is --
8 sort of been an unusual situation. Usually,
9 Judge Jones is in the role of trying to
10 interpret what we meant when we passed words.
11 Now we've sort of placed ourself in that role.
12 I suppose that if -- if nothing else, Judge
13 Jones may have been getting a little chuckle
14 out of this saying, you know, it's not as easy
15 as it looks, is it?

16 So I appreciate everybody, in this
17 room, I appreciate the debate. I appreciate,
18 so much the comments of the whip of the
19 minority party, and I have the utmost respect
20 for him and the leadership on that side of the
21 aisle, I know we're all ready to get home, and
22 I would ask that you vote in favor of Senate
23 Bill 3-EX. And thank you.

24 MR. SPEAKER: Gentleman has yielded the
25 well, and you did make your time constraints.

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1 Thank you very much.

2 Mr. Chairman, I think, all members of
3 this body as it was expressed by the minority
4 whip appreciates your openness and your
5 willingness to hear from everyone. You had a
6 tough job to do, and we appreciate your --
7 your professionalism and your knowledge, and
8 we appreciate you working with all of us as we
9 move through this process.

10 All members, if you'll return to the
11 floor, that concludes the comments that we
12 have on SB 3-EX. All members return to the
13 floor.

14 Is there any objections to agreeing to
15 the report of the committee, which was
16 favorable to the passage of the bill?

17 There is objection. Does the gentleman
18 move -- does a gentleman move?

19 MALE VOICE: Yes.

20 MR. SPEAKER: Gentlemen moves. All
21 those in favor agreeing to the report of the
22 committee will vote yes. That's green. All
23 those opposed vote no. That's red. And the
24 clerk will unlock the machines.

25 Have all members voted? All members

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1 voted? If so, the clerk will lock the
2 machines on agreeing to the report of the
3 committee.

4 The yeas are 97, the nays are 71, and
5 this body has agreed to the report of the
6 committee.

7 Shall this bill now pass? All in favor
8 of the passage of this bill will vote yes.
9 All those opposed will vote no. And the clerk
10 will unlock the machines.

11 Have all members now voted?

12 For what purpose does -- you're off?

13 I'm going to take two inquiries. For
14 what purpose does Leader Beverly rise?

15 REPRESENTATIVE BEVERLY: Mr. Speaker, I
16 move to adjourn.

17 MR. SPEAKER: Don't recognize you for
18 that motion there, mister leader, but it was
19 pretty clever.

20 For what purpose does representative
21 Becky Evans rise?

22 REPRESENTATIVE EVANS: Thank you, Mr.
23 Speaker.

24 Parliamentary inquiry.

25 MR. SPEAKER: State your inquiry.

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1 REPRESENTATIVE EVANS: Isn't it true,
2 Mr. Speaker, that the judge's order said that
3 while creating these majority Black districts,
4 you cannot eliminate minority opportunity
5 districts elsewhere. Isn't that true, Mr.
6 Speaker?

7 MR. SPEAKER: Representative, I've
8 heard that stated a couple times on both --
9 both ways. And but I'm sure the lady believes
10 exactly what she stated. I think we've --
11 we've all been heard. We've had opportunity
12 to be heard on this bill. And I think it's
13 time if all members have voted, and I think
14 they have, that the clerk will lock the
15 machines.

16 On the passage of the bill, the yeas
17 are 98. The nays are 71. This bill, having
18 received a requisite constitutional majority
19 is therefore passed.

20 Thank you, members, for your attention.
21 We are moving on to afternoon orders.

22 (End of Video Recording.)

23

24

25

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1 CERTIFICATE

2

3 I, Wendy Sawyer, do hereby certify that I was
4 authorized to and transcribed the foregoing recorded
5 proceedings, and that the transcript is a true record, to
6 the best of my ability.

6

7

8

DATED this 15th day of December, 2023.

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WENDY SAWYER, CDLT

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