

WHAT HAPPENS IN THE SOUTH DOESN'T STAY IN THE SOUTH:

***Louisiana v. Callais:* The Supreme Court Case That
Could Enable Republicans to Rig Congress**

Presented by:

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WHAT *LOUISIANA V. CALLAIS* MEANS FOR THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT

On October 15, 2025, the U.S. Supreme Court will [rehear *Louisiana v. Callais*](#), a pivotal voting rights case that goes to the core of what kind of country we will be. The case centers on Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act – the central safeguard against racially discriminatory redistricting. The ruling will reveal how strongly the law still protects Americans of color from having the power of their votes weakened.

Combined with Republicans' [mid-decade gerrymandering](#), a ruling gutting Section 2 could help secure an additional 27 safe Republican U.S. House seats when compared to the 2024 House maps – at least 19 directly tied to the loss of Section 2. It's enough to cement one-party control of the U.S. House for at least a generation.

The extraordinary step of a rehearing comes months after the Court first heard arguments – and there are [credible indications](#) the far-right majority may be preparing a sweeping shift in the law. At issue is whether Louisiana's court-ordered creation of a second majority-Black congressional district, drawn to fix a proven Voting Rights Act violation, is [unconstitutional](#).

But this case is about far more than Louisiana. If the justices rule that remedying racially discriminatory maps is itself “racial gerrymandering,” they could [dismantle](#) Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act (VRA).

Section 2 is one of the most transformational policies Congress has ever passed. It helped to end Jim Crow and expanded political opportunity for minorities nationwide,



particularly for Black people in the South. By prohibiting lawmakers of any party from adopting redistricting maps that have racially discriminatory effects, Section 2 works to fulfill the guarantee of the 14th and 15th Amendments that minority voters must have equal voting rights.

Opponents paint Section 2 as a partisan tool, but that is false. The VRA's purpose is to give minority voters a fair chance to elect candidates of their choice who are responsive to their needs, a safeguard created in response to discrimination that persists to this day. Section 2 has protected against racially discriminatory redistricting maps adopted by Democrats in places like Baltimore, MD and Albany, NY. Section 2 has been the critical guardrail against this, no matter which party is in charge.

In places like the South, where there is extreme racially polarized voting – wherein Black voters tend to vote for Democrats and white voters tend to vote for Republicans – Republicans have taken aim at Black political power. Rather than building a multiracial coalition as their own “[autopsy](#)” after the 2012 election recommended, they doubled down on attacking minorities – abandoning outreach in favor of [anti-DEI](#), [anti-LGBTQ](#), and “[anti-woke](#)” policies that disparaged communities of color to energize their base. The targeting of Section 2’s protections for minority political power is a direct outgrowth of that choice.

A decision against Section 2 could rewrite redistricting rules nationwide – not just for Congress, but for state legislatures, city councils, and school boards – and make redistricting open season at all levels. The Court has already given a pass to [partisan gerrymandering](#) – without racial protections, legislatures could redraw maps with almost no limits.

Dismantling the VRA isn’t incidental – it has become a ruthless GOP tool for entrenching power by targeting minority political power, replacing any pretense of “compassionate conservatism” with a scorched-earth strategy to lock voters of color out of representation.

We’ve always supported nonpartisan, fair redistricting and backed reforms like the Freedom to Vote Act and the John R. Lewis Voting Rights Advancement Act. But Republicans are [openly moving](#) to redraw maps to cement their U.S. House majority – failing to fight back now would mean surrendering to the authoritarian scheme Donald Trump and his allies are advancing.

Striking down Section 2 would strip voters of one of the few safeguards that has held both parties accountable.



FAST FACTS

What's Happening

The Supreme Court will rehear [Louisiana v. Callais](#) on October 15, 2025 – a rare step taken just months after first hearing the case in March, signaling the far-right majority on the Court may be preparing a landmark decision on voting rights.

What's at Stake:

Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act, the core provision that protects against racially discriminatory voting maps. If struck down, it would be the most significant rollback of voting rights since *Shelby County v. Holder* (2013).

Representation Loss:

Without Section 2, up to 25 – 30% of the Congressional Black Caucus and as much as 11% of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus could lose their seats.

The Core Question:

Does Louisiana's decision to create a second majority-Black district violate the Constitution's 14th or 15th Amendments? In plain terms, the justices will now decide whether considering race to address proven racial discrimination in electoral maps can itself be treated as unconstitutional because of the Constitution's promise of equal protection. This is a radical argument.

National Political Impact:

Combined with Republicans' [mid-decade gerrymandering](#) in states like [Texas and Missouri](#), a ruling gutting Section 2 could help the GOP secure an additional 27 U.S. House safe Republican seats when compared to the 2024 House maps – at least 19 directly tied to the loss of Section 2 – enough to lock in one-party control of the U.S. House.

Civil Rights Impacts:

A decision to strike down Section 2 could essentially take America back to pre-1965, when there were no effective protections against racially discriminatory voting maps – maps that prevent minority voters the chance to elect candidates of their choice, effectively stripping them of meaningful political representation, a foundational element of American democracy.

BACKGROUND

How We Got Here:

After the 2020 census, Louisiana’s legislature drew a congressional map with just one majority-Black district out of six – even though Black Louisianians make up about one-third of the state’s population. Civil rights groups and Black voters sued ([Robinson v. Landry](#)), arguing the 2022 map violated Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act (VRA) by weakening Black voting power.

In 2022, a federal court [agreed](#), finding the map likely gave Black voters a fair chance to elect their preferred candidates in only one district, far short of what the VRA requires. A panel of federal judges unanimously ordered the state to remedy the likely Voting Rights Act violation by drawing a second district where Black voters have an opportunity to elect their candidates of choice. This remedy was consistent with the Supreme Court’s 2023 decision in [Allen v. Milligan](#) – a case that reaffirmed states must create additional minority opportunity districts when they violate Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act by weakening minority voting power.

A key way Section 2 works is through the creation of minority opportunity districts – districts where a community of color makes up enough of the population to have a real chance of electing their preferred candidates. These districts became necessary because lawmakers often drew maps that split minority communities apart or folded them into larger white-majority districts, making it nearly impossible for them to elect someone who fought for their priorities.

By early 2024, under court supervision, Louisiana’s legislature [enacted](#) a new map (Senate Bill 8) with two majority-Black districts – a map designed to finally give Black voters a fair chance to elect their preferred candidates.

The New Challenge:

Almost immediately, a group of self-described non-Black voters [filed a lawsuit](#) in federal court (*Callais v. Landry*), claiming that the 2024 map that gave Black voters a fair chance to elect their preferred candidates was a racial gerrymander, violating the 14th and 15th Amendments. Their core argument was that fixing racial discrimination in voting by creating a second minority opportunity district for Black voters amounted to discrimination against non-Black voters.



This argument is based on a warped interpretation of the 14th and 15th Amendments, which were enacted after the Civil War to enshrine the equal rights of formerly enslaved persons in a new America, particularly in the context of voting. The plaintiffs in *Callais v. Landry* attempt to distort these Reconstruction-era Amendments into weapons to attack the very rights they were intended to protect.

In April 2024, a divided three-judge panel sided with the plaintiffs and [struck down](#) the map containing the second minority opportunity district, ruling that race was the predominant factor in drawing the lines. This decision came even though Louisiana legislators had stated their top priority wasn't race, but [protecting](#) powerful GOP incumbents – like U.S. House Speaker Mike Johnson and U.S. House Majority Leader Steve Scalise.

Louisiana state officials (joined by the original Black plaintiffs in *Robinson v. Landry*, who stepped in to defend the fair map) [appealed](#) to the Supreme Court. The Court put the lower court's ruling on hold, allowing the 2024 election to proceed under the map with the second minority opportunity district. The Court then consolidated the cases under *Louisiana v. Callais* and heard arguments in March 2025.

Reargument and SCOTUS:

Instead of issuing a decision by the end of its term in June 2025, the Supreme Court took the unusual step of [ordering a rehearing](#) for the next term – a signal that the justices may be preparing a landmark ruling.

In an August 2025 [order](#), the Court narrowed in on one question: Does Louisiana's decision to create a second majority-Black district violate the Constitution's 14th or 15th Amendments? In plain terms, the justices will now decide whether considering race to fix proven racial discrimination in electoral maps can itself be treated as unconstitutional because it clashes with the Constitution's promise of equal protection.

Notably, Louisiana's attorneys have [reversed course](#) in this rehearing. In a new brief, the state argues that "race-based redistricting is fundamentally contrary to our Constitution." They're urging the Court to overturn the longstanding *Thornburg v. Gingles* precedent that underpins Section 2 of the VRA and to declare that any use of race in districting – even to remedy discrimination – is unconstitutional.

This marks a dramatic shift. Earlier, Louisiana [defended](#) its 2024 map with two majority-Black districts. Now, the state is effectively asking the Supreme Court to gut Section 2 of the VRA altogether.

WHAT'S AT STAKE

Section 2 of the VRA – a Cornerstone of Voting Rights:

Section 2 is the heart of the Voting Rights Act. It prohibits racially discriminatory voting practices, including maps that weaken the voting power of minority communities. For decades, it has ensured that Black, Latino, and other communities of color could elect representatives of their choice – driving historic gains in representation at every level of government, from Congress to local city councils.

Louisiana v. Callais comes on the heels of earlier Supreme Court rulings that already weakened the VRA. [Shelby County v. Holder](#) (2013) gutted “preclearance” – the rule requiring states with long histories of discrimination to get federal approval before changing voting laws. [Brnovich v. DNC](#) (2021) made it harder to challenge discriminatory voting restrictions. Now, the Court could go even further by dismantling Section 2 itself.

If the far-right justices rule that creating a majority-minority district to comply with Section 2 is unconstitutional “race-based redistricting,” they would strip away one of the last remaining tools to protect Americans from unfair maps that weaken their votes and political representation. That could mean neither courts nor lawmakers could take race into account to avoid or correct racial discrimination in voting.

The Voting Rights Act – already battered – would take a devastating hit. As one expert [bluntly warned](#), the Court appears ready to declare that Section 2 itself violates the Constitution: “To me, this is it...I would bet my left arm that they will tell us that Section 2 is in violation of the Fifteenth Amendment.”

Landscape of Current Redistricting Battles and Broader Civil Rights Protections:

The outcome in *Louisiana v. Callais* will reach far beyond Louisiana’s state lines. It will determine whether communities of color across the country can continue to have meaningful representation in government – or whether the promise of a multiracial democracy, where every vote counts, has been broken.

If Section 2 is sidelined, aggressive gerrymandering will only accelerate. Republican-led legislatures have already started mid-decade redistricting (in some cases, in violation of Section 2 and/or the Constitution) to entrench their power ahead of the 2026 elections – moves unprecedented in modern times.

After direct pressure from Trump and his DOJ, Texas and Missouri recently passed gerrymandered maps openly designed to split minority communities, weakening voters’ ability to elect candidates who represent their interests in the 2026 midterms. As of September 2025, other Republican-controlled states – including Florida, Indiana, and Ohio – are moving to follow suit.

If the far-right Supreme Court justices accept the extreme argument that eliminating racial discrimination means eliminating all consideration of race in redistricting, it could open the floodgates for states to redraw maps with few guardrails, particularly in the South where the majority of Black people in America live. The result would likely be fewer seats at every level of government where Black, Latino, and other minority voters can elect candidates of their choice – and even fewer districts where incumbents can be held accountable.

But the consequences of Section 2 being struck down wouldn't stop with redistricting. If the Court embraces this logic, it could destabilize civil rights protections far beyond voting – including in housing, employment, and education – by suggesting that race can never be considered, even when used to remedy current discrimination. This would accelerate the broader erosion of civil rights, coming on the heels of earlier court rulings that already stripped away key protections.

In short, *Louisiana v. Callais* could not only reshape redistricting law nationwide, it could forever alter the trajectory of our elections and the health of our multiracial democracy. The stakes for civil rights and democratic representation could not be higher, and experts and advocacy groups are warning that fair representation itself is on the line in this momentous case.

Republican Entrenchment in the US House:

Republicans are aggressively working to lock in their U.S. House majority with mid-decade redistricting. Democrats responded in California to blunt some of the damage, but those gains won't be enough if the Supreme Court strikes down Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act.

The end of Section 2 would be an existential threat to American democracy. It would push the country toward what would essentially become a one-party system, where the rules are stacked in favor of Republicans. In that system, Democrats' only realistic path to victory would be a rare "blue wave" election scenario where voters turn out at overwhelming rates.

Without Section 2, Republicans would be constrained by few requirements to prevent discriminatory redistricting. Republican legislatures – especially across the South – could redraw maps with little restraint.

If the Supreme Court strikes down Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act, it would expand the number of seats Republicans can target in their redistricting scheme. There are 33 congressional seats in Republican-controlled states that could be targets for mid-cycle redistricting. Our analysis shows 27 of those seats could be drawn into safe GOP territory, while 6 could become battlegrounds. 19 of those 27 safe seats would be a direct result of Section 2 being struck down.

Even if Democratic-controlled states all were to respond in-kind with aggressive partisan gerrymanders of their own, the GOP may still be able to maintain a national advantage.

The U.S. Constitution provides certain protections against discriminatory redistricting that would still limit the ability of states to discriminate on the basis of race in redistricting if Section 2 were struck down. In addition, some states include protections in state law against discriminatory redistricting, which would still apply if Section 2 were ruled unconstitutional. Because federal and state

courts would ultimately decide the scope of those protections, the analyses in this report do not consider how those protections will impact congressional redistricting following a decision in *Louisiana v. Callais*.

The table below highlights states that could potentially redraw their maps before 2026, showing current Democratic and Republican seats – and projections of how the balance could change if Section 2 is struck down and state legislatures attempt to entrench their power by targeting minority voting power.

State	Potential GOP Redistricting Targets	Likely VRA-Protected Seats at Risk	Current Democratic Seats	Projected Democratic Seats	Current Republican Seats	Projected Republican Seats
USA	33	19	48	15	121	154
AL	2	2	2	0	5	7
FL	3	3	8	5	20	23
GA	2	2	5	3	9	11
IN	2	0	2	0	7	9
KS	1	0	1	0	3	4
KY	1	0	1	0	5	6
LA	2	2	2	0	4	6
MO	2	1	2	0	6	8
MS	1	1	1	0	3	4
NC	1	1	4	3	10	11
OH	4	0	5	1	10	14
SC	1	1	1	0	6	7
TN	1	1	1	0	8	9
TX	10	5	13	3	25	35

For the Congressional Black Caucus, 13 to 16 members could become vulnerable – up to 30% of the 62-member caucus.

The Congressional Hispanic Caucus could also take major losses. As many as 5 seats could be lost – 4 in Texas and 1 in Florida – amounting to 11% of the 43 member caucus.

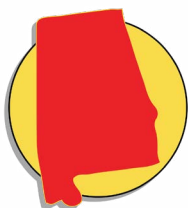
Here are examples of the potential new maps Republicans could draw if the VRA's Section 2 protections are eliminated:

Alabama: 7 seats

Current Map: 2-5 (Dem-GOP)

New Map: 0-7 (Dem-GOP)

Republican lawmakers could eliminate both minority opportunity districts while drawing a map that locks in Republican control.



Mississippi: 4 seats

Current Map: 1-3 (Dem-GOP)

New Map: 0-4 (Dem-GOP)

Mississippi's single minority opportunity district could be eliminated if Section 2 is struck down – eradicating Black voters' ability to elect any candidate of their choice to Congress in the Blackest state in America.



Georgia: 14 seats

Current Map: 5-9 (Dem-GOP)

New Map: 3-11 (Dem-GOP)

The battleground state nature of Georgia makes it difficult to totally eliminate Democratic districts. But, if Section 2 of the VRA is struck down, Republican lawmakers could be positioned to eliminate two minority opportunity districts.

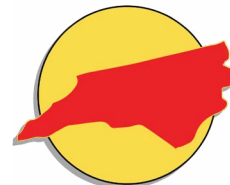


North Carolina: 14 seats

Current Map: 3-10-1 (Dem-GOP-Battleground)

New Map: 3-11-0 (Dem-GOP-Battleground)

Similar to Georgia, the battleground state nature of North Carolina limits the ability of Republican lawmakers to completely undermine minority voting power, but they could eliminate the VRA-protected seat in eastern North Carolina.

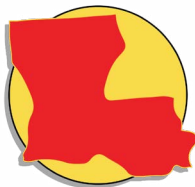


Louisiana: 6 seats

Current Map: 2-4 (Dem-GOP)

New Map: 0-5-1 (Dem-GOP-Battleground)

Without Section 2 of the VRA, the new minority-opportunity seat ordered by the court in the *Robinson* litigation could be eliminated. Republican lawmakers could also turn the other minority opportunity district into a battleground seat.

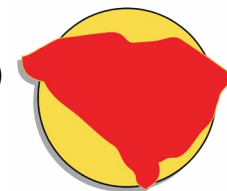


South Carolina: 7 seats

Current Map: 1-6 (Dem-GOP)

New Map: 0-7 (Dem-GOP)

The single minority opportunity district could be eliminated if Republican lawmakers are able to split apart the Black communities in South Carolina.

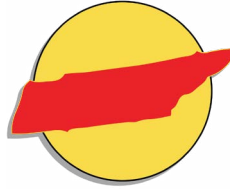


Tennessee: 9 seats

Current Map: 1-8 (Dem-GOP)

New Map: 0-9 (Dem-GOP)

GOP lawmakers could split the single minority opportunity district and ensure that all 9 districts are safely Republican.



Missouri: 8 seats

Current Map: 2-6 (Dem-GOP)

Recent Map: 1-7 (Dem-GOP)

**New Map: 0-7-1
(Dem-GOP-Battleground)**

Republican lawmakers have already moved to eliminate the Kansas City district, and their new map is being challenged in court as racially discriminatory, but without Section 2 of the VRA they could make the minority-opportunity district into a battleground.



Texas: 38 seats

Current Map: 11-25-2
(Dem-GOP-Battleground)

Recent Map: 8-29-1
(Dem-GOP-Battleground)

**New Map: 3-35 or 4-34
(Dem-GOP)**

Texas' new maps are already aggressive gerrymanders, but without Section 2 of the VRA, they could almost entirely silence people of color. Without Section 2, the map could have just 3 districts where minorities are able to elect their preferred candidates.



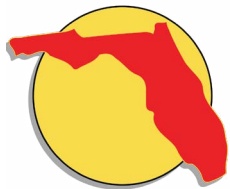
Methodology: To be included in this analysis, Republicans must either have a trifecta or a veto-proof majority in the legislature in a given state. Lawmakers in each of these states know where the communities of color reside. Given the brazenness of the GOP's current gerrymandering push, it is not a far leap to expect them to pack and crack these populations in service of the goal of entrenching the Republican U.S. House majority for at least a generation.

Florida: 28 seats

Current Map: 8-20
(Dem-GOP)

**New Map: 5-23
(Dem-GOP)**

Florida has already been aggressively gerrymandered, but without Section 2, the number of districts where minorities could elect their preferred candidates could drop to just 5. This analysis does not account for the state constitutional limits on gerrymandering in Florida.



NEWS DESK

THE SECRET FILES OF THE MASTER OF MODERN REPUBLICAN GERRYMANDERING

By David Daley

THE NEW YORKER 100

Hofeller Files – A Blueprint for Racial Gerrymandering

Thomas Hofeller, the GOP's longtime gerrymandering strategist, left behind [over 70,000](#) files after his death in 2018. Those files revealed in stark detail how Republicans deliberately used race data to redraw maps across the country, with the explicit goal of entrenching their political power. Hofeller's work exposed the blueprint for a decades-long strategy.

Targeting Black Voters: Hofeller's files revealed what appeared to be [meticulous racial targeting](#) when drawing maps. His hard drive included spreadsheets tracking thousands of students at the historically-Black North Carolina A&T State University – sorted by race, age, and voting status – alongside maps of the state explicitly labeled with Black voting-age population. This precision allowed him to literally carve the campus in half, ensuring that its overwhelmingly Black student body would be split between two Republican-controlled districts.

Census Citizenship Question: Hofeller's secret files revealed he had written a [2015 study](#) concluding that adding a citizenship question to the census would “be advantageous to Republicans and non-Hispanic whites” while hurting Democrats and Latinos. He warned this would be a radical [departure](#) from the “one person, one vote” principle established in the 1960s. But Hofeller didn't stop at analysis: after [urging](#) Trump's transition team to add the question, his hard drives show he drafted the key language for a Justice Department letter claiming it was needed to enforce the Voting Rights Act – the very rationale the administration later used in court. The Supreme Court ultimately struck down that rationale as “[contrived](#),” but the episode exposed how Hofeller's playbook shaped both the political strategy and the legal justification behind Trump's census scheme, which critics warned would undercount immigrant communities and shift political power toward red states.

Exporting Tactics Nationwide: Hofeller's files reveal just how far his influence reached. He wasn't confined to North Carolina; he collected citizen voting-age data and

drafted maps for states like [Alabama](#), [Arizona](#), [Florida](#), [Maryland](#), [Mississippi](#), [Missouri](#), [Ohio](#), [Tennessee](#), [Virginia](#), and [West Virginia](#) as well as counties in [New York](#) and [Texas](#). In Florida, voters passed a 2010 constitutional amendment explicitly barring partisan gerrymandering – but Hofeller and Republican operatives [worked around it](#). Hofeller’s files contained mapping software tagged with incumbents’ addresses and spreadsheets tracking minority voting strength, showing how operatives packed Black and Latino voters into as few districts as possible. In 2014, a Florida judge ruled the scheme a secret “shadow” redistricting process in violation of the state constitution. The files underscore Hofeller’s role in creating the GOP’s national template, used across the country to secure Republican advantage.

Even after receiving a grim lung cancer diagnosis, Hofeller wrote that he still had time to “[bedevil the Democrats](#)” with more redistricting plans before he died. It underscored his single-minded devotion: gerrymandering wasn’t just his profession, it was his life’s mission.

Leo’s Legal Manipulation – Engineering Cases to Reshape the Law

For decades, Leonard Leo and his allies have [worked to transform](#) the courts into a reliable arm of the conservative movement. As co-chair of the Federalist Society, Leo built a [talent pipeline](#) of ideologically vetted lawyers, then [paired it with a dark-money machine](#) that used a web of organizations to pour hundreds of millions into judicial confirmations. Leo also formed and chairs a political consulting and public relations firm, [CRC Advisors](#), which his network’s organizations routinely use to coordinate messaging, media, and influence campaigns.

Stacking the courts: Leo-connected groups like the Judicial Crisis Network and the Honest Elections Project funneled millions into judicial confirmations and case strategy, ensuring that Federalist Society–vetted judges hostile to voting rights filled the bench. Judges like David Stras, Raymond Gruender, and Neil Gorsuch – all linked to Leo’s network – have gone out of their way to [question or roll back Section 2](#) of the Voting Rights Act.

We Don’t Talk About Leonard

The conservative legal movement in the United States is more powerful than ever. One largely unknown man has played a significant role in pushing the American judiciary to the right: Leonard Leo.



Manufacturing cases: Installing judges was only half the strategy. The same network manufactured cases designed to advance its agenda, often by recruiting plaintiffs and bankrolling test litigation. Edward Blum, founder of the Project on Fair Representation, perfected this model. [Backed](#) by Leonard Leo's dark-money network, Blum secured funding and legal teams to turn local disputes into vehicles for national precedent. He [personally recruited](#) Shelby County, Alabama, as a plaintiff – transforming a blocked redistricting plan into *Shelby County v. Holder* (2013), the case that gutted preclearance and opened the door to a new wave of restrictive voting laws. He also [recruited](#) Abigail Fisher to challenge and successfully end race-based affirmative action in higher education in *Fisher v. Texas* – a case Fisher's own father admitted they would never have brought without Blum covering the funding. Louisiana's arguments in *Louisiana v. Callais* against Section 2 of the VRA "[heavily lean](#)" on the Court's decision in *Fisher v. Texas*. Groups like Leo and Blum's have created a feedback loop: stack the courts with ideologically vetted judges and supply hand-picked cases to deliver desired outcomes.

Delivering results: The results of Leo's legal project are now visible in the shifting architecture of voting rights law. [Shelby County v. Holder](#) (2013) dismantled the preclearance regime – removing the federal power to prevent discriminatory state voting laws. [Brnovich v. DNC](#) (2021) further constrained Section 2 by making it harder to challenge voting laws under the VRA. But Leo's influence doesn't stop

there. Trump-appointed judges in the 8th Circuit recently went further – [ruling](#) that private parties can no longer bring Section 2 claims, leaving enforcement to the U.S. Attorney General. That decision signals a direct [assault](#) on the core of the VRA: if only the federal government can bring suit, many discriminatory practices will go unchallenged, especially in states where the DOJ is unwilling or unable to act.

Escalating influence: With billions now flowing through Leo's Marble Freedom Trust – including a record [\\$1.6 billion donation](#) from Barre Seid – the strategy has entered a new phase: not merely shaping the law, but locking in a conservative legal revolution that outlasts elections, public opinion, and democratic accountability itself.

What began as a conservative legal movement has now been overtaken by the far-right, with the Supreme Court itself delivering victories that empower authoritarian rule. The same Court stacked through Leonard Leo's machine has handed Trump [sweeping immunity](#) from prosecution, cleared the way for him to [fire](#) the heads of independent government agencies at will, and even endorsed his [stop and abduct policy](#) – authorizing masked federal agents to detain people based on race, language, or occupation.

Leo's decades-long project has morphed from building a conservative judiciary meant to check government overreach into a far-right machine functioning as the legal scaffolding for Trump's authoritarian regime.

CONCLUSION: THE PATH FORWARD

The attack on Section 2 is not just about Louisiana – it's the culmination of a decades-long Republican strategy to lock in minority rule. From Hofeller's racial gerrymandering files to Leonard Leo's court-stacking machine, the goal has always been the same: weaken democracy by attacking minority voting power until fair representation becomes impossible. Trump and GOP lawmakers are already pushing mid-decade gerrymanders, and if the Supreme Court strikes down Section 2 in time for maps to be redrawn before 2026, they'll have a green light to cement one-party control of the U.S. House for at least a generation.

That's why the response must be aggressive and immediate:

Redraw aggressively where possible

Democrats should use every available opportunity to redraw maps before 2026 (without weakening minority voting power) in response to the GOP's blatant gerrymandering efforts.

Focus on congressional wins in 2026

If current maps remain in place, there's still a path to retake the U.S. House – and though more difficult, the Senate.

Use Democratic power to protect democracy

If Democrats flip the House or Senate, they must quickly organize and use their power to fight back against the assault on Americans' freedom to vote:

Pass pro-democracy legislation: Advance legislation like the Freedom to Vote Act and the John R. Lewis Voting Rights Advancement Act. Legislation like this would ban partisan gerrymandering, require nonpartisan redistricting, and protect Americans from restrictive laws passed in states after the Supreme Court weakened the VRA.

Investigate unfair maps: Launch hearings and investigations into gerrymandered maps across the country – exposing how minority voters are being silenced and building the case for reform. Democrats can draw on the model of the bipartisan January 6th Committee, which they led to reveal the truth about the far-right plot to overturn the 2020 election. That same determination is needed to expose how Republicans are rigging maps.

Reform and hold the Court accountable: Address the corruption, dark money, and far-right capture that have left the Supreme Court unaccountable. Congress must act to bring transparency, set ethical standards, and consider structural reforms to ensure the Court serves the Constitution rather than entrenched power.

The stakes could not be clearer: fight back now, or surrender the future of multiracial democracy.