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V O T E R R E G I S T R A T I O N

P R O S P E C T U S

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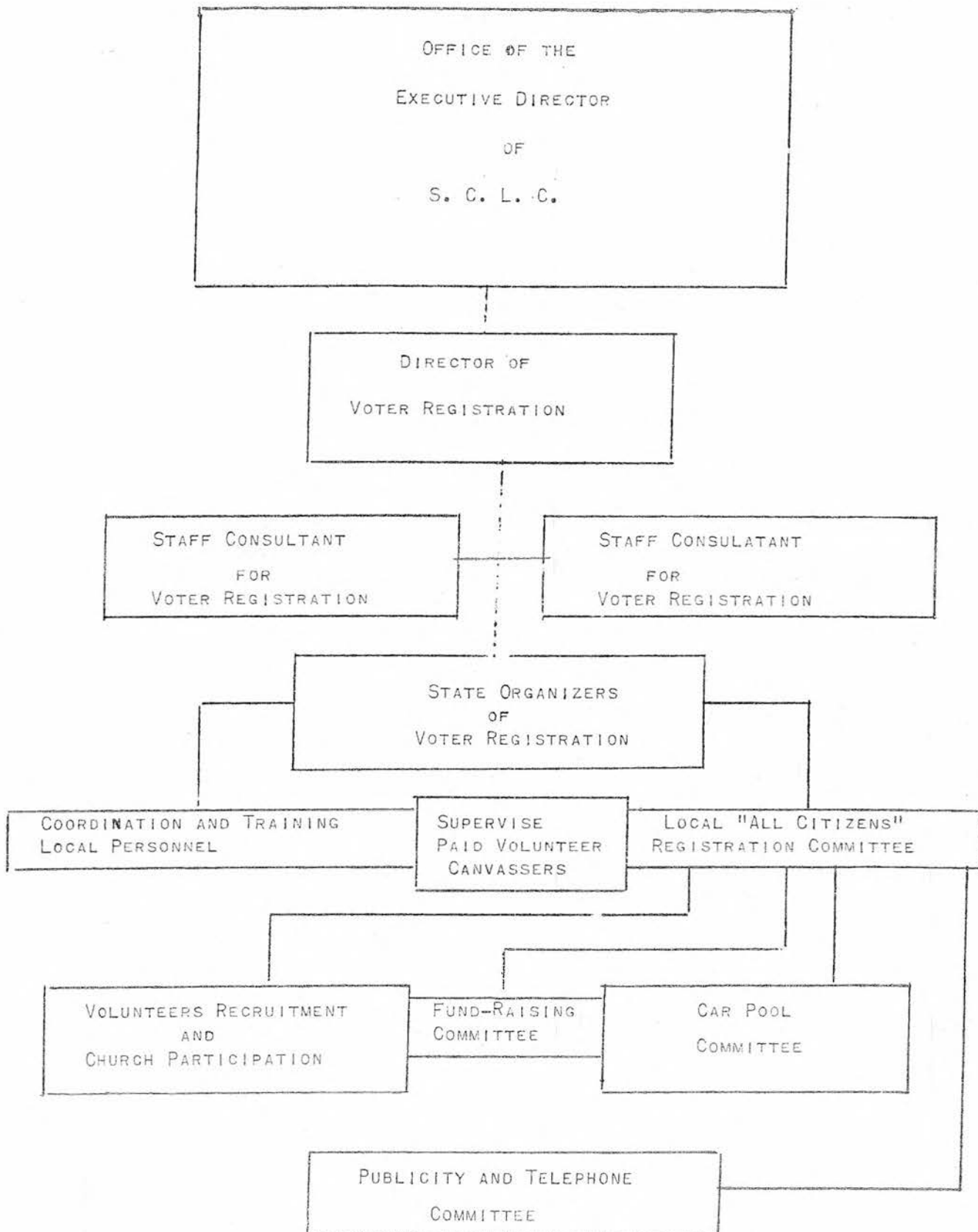
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- 1 -

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NEGRO VOTE
IN THE SOUTHERN POLITICAL COMMUNITY

SINCE THE U. S. SUPREME COURT'S DESEGREGATION DECISION OF 1954-55, TWO INTER-RELATED ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS HAVE SHAPED THE POLITICAL FEATURES OF THE SOUTH. ON THE ONE HAND THE DEVELOPING MATURITY OF THE NEGRO FREEDOM MOVEMENT, WHOSE PARTICIPANTS ARE DEDICATED TO EXTENDING THE FRONTIERS OF CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS INTO OUR SOUTHERN REGION, AND ON THE OTHER HAND THE PRECIPITATION AND CONSOLIDATION OF THE WHITE CITIZEN COUNCIL MOVEMENT, (WITH ITS KKK PERIPHERY), WHOSE ACTIVITIES ARE DESIGNED TO PERPETUATE THE UNJUST AND UNCONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM OF RACIAL SEGREGATION, WITH ITS ACCOMPANYING DENIAL OF CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS TO THE ENTIRE NEGRO PEOPLE AND A LARGE SECTION OF THE WHITE POPULATION.

THE NEGRO SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT HAS COME INTO HEAD-ON CONFLICT WITH THE EFFORTS OF THE ARCH-SEGREGATIONIST FORCES TO CAPTURE CONTROL OF THE MACHINERY OF STATE GOVERNMENT. DESPITE A CLEVERLY CONTRIVED NETWORK OF METHODS DESIGNED TO FRUSTRATE ITS GROWTH, THE NEGRO SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT IN THE SOUTH HAS BEEN BUILDING ITS STRENGTH CONSISTENTLY SINCE THE END OF WORLD WAR II. THE MARTYRDOM OF MANY OF ITS ASSASSINATED LEADERS, ECONOMIC REPRISALS, EXTRA-LEGAL TERRORIST ACTIVITIES, "SLOWDOWNS" AND "RESIGNATIONS" BY REGISTRATION OFFICIALS, PURGES OF REGISTRATION ROLLS, ETC. - ALL THESE DEVICES HAVE NOT STOPPED THE NEGRO PEOPLE IN THEIR VALIANT EFFORT TO UPHOLD CIVILIZATION IN THE SOUTH, THROUGH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE RIGHT OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE FOR ALL SOUTHERNERS. TODAY, THE APPROXIMATELY 1,360,000 NEGRO REGISTERED VOTERS IN THE SOUTH, REPRESENT THE ADVANCE GUARD OF POLITICAL ENLIGHTENMENT AND THE BEST HOPE FOR PROGRESSIVE SOCIAL CHANGE, BOTH IN OUR SOUTHERN REGION AND, INDIRECTLY, IN THE NATION AS A WHOLE. IT IS A MATTER OF RECORD THAT THE 600,000 VOTE MARGIN WHICH THE 10 MILLION VOTERS

IN THE SOUTH GAVE PRESIDENT KENNEDY, OVER HIS RIVAL IN THE LAST PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, WAS DECIDED BY THE NEGRO VOTE IN THE SOUTH. FOR, IT WAS IN THE NEGRO COMMUNITIES ALL OVER THE SOUTH, WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS (E. G., ATLANTA) THAT GAVE PRESIDENT KENNEDY AND THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY 70 TO 80 PERCENT MAJORITY IN THE SOUTH.

ALREADY IN A NUMBER OF SOUTHERN COMMUNITIES THE NEGRO VOTE IS BECOMING THAT KIND OF BALANCING FORCE WHICH HAS PREVENTED THE ARCH-SEGREGATIONISTS FROM CARRYING OUT SOME OF THEIR MOST RECKLESS, UNCONSTITUTIONAL POLICIES, SUCH AS CLOSING DOWN PUBLIC SCHOOLS, (E. G., ARKANSAS, VIRGINIA, GEORGIA). THE GROWING CLEAVAGE BETWEEN LARGE SECTIONS OF THE WHITE POPULATION AND CERTAIN OF THE MAJOR DIXIECRAT POLITICAL MACHINES IN THESE STATES, AROUND SUCH ISSUES, IS DIRECTLY RELATED TO THE CONSISTENCY OF THE NEGRO FREEDOM MOVEMENT IN ITS EFFORTS TO UPHOLD THE CONSTITUTION IN THE SOUTH.

NOTWITHSTANDING ITS OBVIOUS GROWTH AND SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE NATION'S PROGRESS, THE GREAT POTENTIAL OF THIS PROGRESSIVE SOCIAL FORCE IN AMERICAN POLITICAL LIFE IS ONLY IN THE EARLY STAGES OF ITS DEVELOPMENT.* GIVEN THE NATIONAL SUPPORT AND ATTENTION WHICH IT DESERVES, IT CAN BECOME QUALITATIVELY MORE EFFECTIVE AS THE LEVEL OF SOCIAL CHANGE IN THE SOUTH.

THE NATION'S BASIC PROGRESS IN THE AREA OF HUMAN RIGHTS IS STILL HANDICAPPED BY THE PRESENCE OF 100 SOUTHERN CONGRESSMEN AND SENATORS WHOSE "MANIFESTO" IS A DECLARATION OF THEIR INTENTION TO PREVENT CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS FROM BEING ENJOYED BY ALL CITIZENS. IT IS TO BE REMEMBERED

* SEE TABLE I

THAT THE POLITICAL CAREERS OF MANY OF THESE CONGRESSMEN REST UPON THE ALMOST COMPLETE DISFRANCHISEMENT OF NEGRO CITIZENS IN THEIR RESPECTIVE DISTRICTS.** IN OTHER AREAS OF NEEDED SOCIAL LEGISLATION THE RECORD OF MOST OF THEM IS NOT ANY BETTER.

II SCLC AND THE MODERN NEGRO SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT IN THE SOUTH

OVER THE PAST 15 YEARS THE NEGRO SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT IN THE SOUTH HAS BEEN DEVELOPING IN VARIOUS STATES, THROUGH A SERIES OF SHORT-TERM REGISTRATION CAMPAIGNS, (USUALLY 60 TO 90 DAYS), CONDUCTED BY AD-HOC COMMITTEES REPRESENTING A CROSS SECTION OF THE NEGRO COMMUNITY. THE STRENGTH OF SUCH CAMPAIGNS RESTS IN THE FACT THAT THEY BECAME A PROJECT OF WIDE COMMUNITY INTEREST AND PARTICIPATION. FOR EXAMPLE, THE ATLANTA CAMPAIGNS OF 1946-1953 AND 1961. HOWEVER, SUCH CAMPAIGNS ALSO HOLD A WEAKNESS IN THAT THEY SELDOM IF EVER ADOPT LONGER RANGE GOALS CONTRIBUTING GREATER PERMANENCE OF ORGANIZATION, MAKING IT POSSIBLE TO CONDUCT MORE YEAR-ROUND POLITICAL EDUCATION IN THE COMMUNITY. OUR SCLC VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGNS ARE DESIGNED TO BUILD UP THE STRENGTH NOTED ABOVE, BY FOLLOWING THE HISTORIC PATTERN, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME CONTRIBUTING TO OVERCOMING THE WEAKNESS OF CHRONIC IMPERMANENCY.

OUR VOTER REGISTRATION PROGRAM WILL HAVE ONE OTHER SIGNIFICANT QUALITY. WE WILL BE PLOWING NEW GROUND IN DEVELOPING EFFECTIVE METHODS OF COORDINATING A VOTER REGISTRATION CAMPAIGN ON A REGIONAL BASIS COVERING PARTS OF SEVERAL SOUTHERN STATES. THIS IS UNPRECEDENTED.

THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE IS A CONFEDERATION OF GRASS-ROOTS COMMUNITY AND STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS STRETCHING ACROSS THE SOUTH, FROM THE VIRGINIA TIDEWATER TO THE TEXAS PANHANDLE. THE NAMES OF
** SEE TABLE II; ALSO STATEMENT FROM CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION REPORT

SUCH AFFILIATES AS THE MONTGOMERY IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION, THE SOUTH EAST GEORGIA CRUSADE FOR VOTERS, THE VIRGINIA CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE, AND THE NASHVILLE STUDENT CENTRAL COMMITTEE, IS INDICATIVE OF THE "SOUTHERN GRASS-ROOTS" CHARACTER OF OUR MEMBERSHIP. THUS, SCLC'S STRUCTURAL FEATURES ARE FULLY CONSONANT WITH THE MAIN CHARACTERISTIC OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN THE SOUTH, I. E., THE EMERGENCE OF NEW, EXPERIENCED LOCAL LEADERSHIP, DEDICATED TO ENDING SEGREGATION.

MOST SIGNIFICANT, HOWEVER, IS THE FACT THE ROOTS OF SCLC ARE DEEP IN THE NEGRO CHURCH, WHICH ENABLES THIS CENTRAL INSTITUTION IN NEGRO LIFE TO BRING ITS WEIGHTY INFLUENCE INTO THE CURRENT SOCIAL REVOLUTION THAT IS UNFOLDING IN THE DEEP SOUTH.

THE FUNDAMENTAL STRATEGIC OBJECTIVE OF SCLC'S VOTER REGISTRATION PROGRAM IN 1962 IS TO RESTORE TO THE NEGRO SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT THE GROWTH-RATE, CHARACTERISTIC OF THE PERIOD IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING WORLD WAR II, AND THEN TO EXCEED THIS RATE OF DEVELOPMENT.*

*TABLE III, PATTERN OF DEVELOPMENT OF THE MODERN NEGRO SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT

SCLC'S CREATIVE ROLE IN DEVELOPING
CHURCH-ORIENTED VOTER REGISTRATION
PROGRAMS

IT IS OUR STUDIED OPINION THAT ANY SUCCESSFUL VOTER REGISTRATION DRIVE, WHETHER IT BE SHORT-RANGE AND INTENSIVE OR LONG-RANGE AND SUSTAINED, MUST BE CHURCH-ORIENTED. THIS IS TRUE OF ANY PROGRAM THAT DIRECTLY AFFECTS THE NEGRO COMMUNITY IN THE SOUTH. THE NEGRO CHURCH, MORE THAN ANY OTHER INSTITUTION HAS DOMINATED EVERY FACET OF THE LIFE OF THE SOUTHERN NEGRO. ITS ROLE AS IT RELATES TO THE NEGRO COMMUNITY IS PERHAPS A UNIQUE SOCIOLOGICAL PHENOMENON. THE CIVIL RIGHTS STRUGGLE OF THE NEGRO CHURCH. THE NEGRO CHURCH IS HIS ONLY FORUM, OWNED, OPERATED AND CONTROLLED BY HIM; IT AFFORDS HIM THE BROADEST OPPORTUNITY FOR SOCIAL INTERCOURSE; IT IS GENERALLY THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE NEGRO'S STRUGGLE FOR FULL CITIZENSHIP; THE PASTOR IS THE COMMUNITY LEADER AND CHAMPION OF THE NEGRO'S CIVIL LIBERTIES. MOST OF THE PROTEST CENTERS IN THE SOUTH ARE CLERGY-LED.

A CURSORY GLANCE AT WHAT HAS BEEN DONE IN THE AREA OF VOTER REGISTRATION IN THE SOUTH QUICKLY REVEALS THAT THE GREAT RESERVOIR OF MANPOWER, PASTORAL LEADERSHIP, AND "GRASS ROOTS" CONTACT AVAILABLE THROUGH THE NEGRO CHURCH HAS NOT YET BEEN TAPPED. ACCORDINGLY, SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE, FROM ITS CHURCH ORIENTED POSTURE, PROPOSES IN THIS PLAN A BEGINNING DIRECTED ULTIMATELY AT SECURING THE MAXIMUM RESPONSE TO VOTER REGISTRATION VIA THE NEGRO CHURCH COMMUNITIES IN THE SOUTH. THE STRATEGIC ROLE OF THE NEGRO CHURCH IN THE COMMUNITY, ITS LONG IDENTITY WITH THE STRUGGLE OF ITS PEOPLE, THE PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS OF PUBLIC ASSEMBLY AND COMMUNICATION, LEND EMPHASIS TO OUR FEELING OF THE SIGNIFICANCE OF A CHURCH-ORIENTED VOTER REGISTRATION PROGRAM.

OUTLINED BELOW ARE SOME SPECIFICS POINTING UP THE VALUE OF SUCH
A PROGRAM AS MENTIONED ABOVE:

- A. CHURCHES ARE LOCATED IN PRACTICALLY EVERY COMMUNITY.
- B. THE CHURCH MEMBERSHIP MEETS REGULARLY, USUALLY EACH
SUNDAY, AND OFTEN SEVERAL MEMBERS MEET DURING THE WEEK.
- C. CHURCHES ARE COMMITTED TO THE IDEAL OF SERVING OR MEETING
THE BASIC NEEDS OF PEOPLE AND HAVING GENUINE CONCERN FOR
THEIR PROBLEMS.
- D. CHURCH MEMBERSHIP CUTS ACROSS ALL AGE, ECONOMIC, EDUCATIONAL,
CULTURAL, CLASS, AND GEOGRAPHICAL LINES IN A COMMUNITY.
- E. CHURCHES HAVE THE RESOURCES AND TECHNIQUES FOR MORIVATING
PEOPLE TO VOLUNTARY AND ALTRUISTIC SERVICE.
- F. THE TIME AND SCHEDULE OF PASTORS CAN BE ADJUSTED MORE
NATURALLY AND EASILY THAN THAT OF PERSONS IN MOST OTHER
PROFESSIONS.
- G. CHURCHES REMAIN FREE FROM NARROW PARTISAN AND DIVISIVE
HANDICAPS MORE EASILY THAN OTHER TYPES OF ORGANIZATIONS.

A PRACTICAL EXAMPLE OF THE EFFICACY OF THIS APPROACH WAS SEEN IN THE
VOTER REGISTRATION DRIVE RECENTLY CONDUCTED BY SCLC IN COOPERATION WITH
THE MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA COMMUNITY. IN A BRIEF TWO WEEK PERIOD, WE SUCCEEDED
IN PRESENTING MORE THAN 2,000 APPLICANTS FOR REGISTRATION BEFORE THE
BOARD OF REGISTRARS OF MONTGOMERY COUNTY. THIS WAS DESIGNED AS A "CRASH"
PROGRAM AND THE COOPERATION OF THE NEGRO CHURCH GUARANTEED ITS SUCCESS.

TO BE SURE, THE TIGHTENING UP OF SUBTLE FORMS OF RESISTANCE TO NEGRO
REGISTRATION BY LOCAL REGISTRARS IN MANY AREAS OF THE SOUTH TODAY MAY RE-
QUIRE THAT VOTER REGISTRATION ACTIVITIES BE PUBLICIZED MORE QUIETLY THAN
WAS PREVIOUSLY THE CASE.

IN SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES, THE CHURCHES ARE INDISPENSABLE AS A CHANNEL
OF COMMUNICATION.

IV

Techniques and Methods for Concentrated Voter Registration Activity in Selected Areas (1962)

SCLC has selected the following geographical areas for Concentrated Voter Registration Activity during 1962:

VIRGINIA

Headquarters:
Petersburg and Lynchburg

The Fourth Congressional District (18 counties)* located in the tidewater area south of Richmond to the North Carolina border. This district has Appomattox and Prince Edward counties as its Western border. Petersburg, Hopewell, Lynchburg and Portsmouth are our concentration points in this area.

GEORGIA

Headquarters:
Atlanta and Macon

SCLC is developing Voter Registration Activity in the entire state during this year of gubernatorial and congressional elections. Our major emphasis will be on the crescent-shaped area, stretching from Atlanta, south through Macon to Savannah. This includes the 18 counties in the first congressional district surrounding Savannah in which our affiliate the Southeastern Georgia Crusade for Voters is based. Likewise our work in Macon proceeds through the cooperation of the Bibb County Citizens Registration Committee. All in all we will be working in 35 counties of Negro majority population in addition to the major urban centers.

ALABAMA

Headquarters:
Montgomery

SCLC will develop Voter Registration Activity in the entire state during this year of gubernatorial and congressional elections. Our major emphasis is on the area stretching south of Montgomery to Mobile on the Gulf, and Birmingham. In the latter our affiliate is concentrating in all of the subdivisions of this city (including Ensley, Titusville, Southside and Fairfield)

SOUTH CAROLINA

Headquarters:
Charleston, Columbia
and Orangeburg

We will concentrate on the First and Second Congressional Districts of this state. These districts include 17 counties surrounding the pivotal urban centers where we will maintain headquarters. Thirteen of this county have a Negro majority population. Through the cooperation of the Richland County Citizens Committee and the Charleston Community County Citizens Committee, SCLC is developing Voter Registration Activity in Columbia, 9th and 10th Wards (in addition to greater Richland County, Charleston, Wards 9th through 12th and on James Island).

*See Appendix
Statistical Portrait of the Fourth Congressional District

NORTH LOUISIANA

Headquarters:
Shreveport

This area includes the Fourth and Fifth Congressional Districts of Louisiana and covers the geographical area from Shreveport on the Texas border on the west to East Carroll Parish on the Mississippi River in the east. (This is the area where intensified "purges" of Negro Voters from the Registration District took place a few years ago.)

MISSISSIPPI

Headquarters:
Clarksdale

We are working Voter Registration in a concentrated area of eight Delta counties in the 3rd Congressional District; and in addition, Vicksburg. All of these counties contain a heavy Negro majority population. This is "plantation country" - the only towns of significance being Greenwood, Clarksdale, Cleveland and Mound Bayou. Less than 3% of Negroes of Voting Age are now registered.

TENNESSEE

Headquarters:
Nashville

We will concentrate in the Nashville, Chattanooga, Knoxville triangle in Eastern Tennessee.

In such concentration areas, registration work will be developed along the following lines:

- A. Registration activity will be put on a year-round basis, systematically touching all major urban centers of the states and their rural peripheries.
- B. Quotas have been set designed to increase the level of Negro Voter Registration to a minimum of 200,000 in Georgia - 100,000 in Alabama, - 100,000 in South Carolina - 175,000 in Louisiana - 150,000 in Virginia.
- C. Full time registration campaign organizers will be retained for extended periods up to one year.
- D. A complete calendar of impending Congressional, state and local elections will be developed as a guide to effective registration activity.*

An essential part of our Voter Registration work in 1962 will be the further expansion of our Citizenship Education Program, which is directed to the problem of adult illiteracy among our people.

Experience has demonstrated to us the motivational value of these "citizenship" classes and "voters information centers" in developing grass-root community leadership, and broadening the base of support for the Negro Suffrage Movement.

Our approach is to organize all embracing, community-wide, Voter Registration-Education campaigns, centered in gaining participation of the churches, large and small.

*See Appendix

"1962 Election Calendar"

Special Attention to the Involvement
of Youth in Voter Registration Work

Our unprecedented 1962 Voter Registration Program has secured the active participation of hundreds of High School and College youths in a half dozen Southern states, and more is anticipated. This is due in no small part to the fact, ^{that} SCLC makes special efforts to help the youth develop their own leadership and initiative, thereby giving impetus to our total program.

The recruitment and training of youth leaders through Voter Registration Clinics, "Pilot-Projects", etc. is a permanent feature of SCLC's work. Characteristic of the breadth of our work in this field, SCLC's experienced staff has on many occasions provided Voter Registration training for youth of other Civil Rights Organizations, (e.g., SNCC, NAACP, CORE.)

During the first three months of this year students from the following areas were serviced by our student liason department: Virginia State College in Petersburg; Alabama State College (Montgomery), Oakwood College, (Huntsville), and Talladega; in Mississippi: Tougaloo College and Rust College (Holly Springs) and Higgins High School in Clarksdale; in Georgia: Albany State College, The Henry County Training School, Paine College (Augusta), while our work with the Atlanta student community is coordinated through COAHR. In South Carolina: Allen University and Benedict College (Columbia), Burke High School (Charleston), Voorhees Technical College in Denmark. In Tennessee: The Student Central Committee, (an affiliate of the Nashville Christian Leadership Conference) guarantees our work with the large student community in Nashville.

Further, one of the principal objectives of SCLC's "People to People" Program is the recruitment of southern youth for the "Freedom Corps". This work receives the personal attention of our President, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

BUDGET (Summary) \$100,000.00

<u>STATE</u>	<u>BUDGET</u>	<u>PERSONNEL</u>
GEORGIA	\$20,000.00	1 State Organizer (Salary and travel expenses) * 2 Area Coordinators (Salary and travel expenses) Canvassers Expenses; office rent, for Macon only.
ALABAMA	15,000.00	1 State Organizer (Salary and travel expenses) 2 Area Coordinators (Salary and travel expenses) Canvassers Expenses; office rent
VIRGINIA	7,000.00	1 Congressional District Organizer (Salary and travel expenses) Canvassers Expenses; office rent, e
LOUISIANA	6,000.00	1 District Organizer 1 Area Coordinator (Salary and travel expenses) Canvassers Expenses; office rent
SOUTH CAROLINA	8,500.00	2 Congressional District Organizers (Salary and travel expenses) Canvassers Expenses; office rent
TENNESSEE	4,000.00	1 Area Coordinator (Salary and travel expenses) Canvassers Expenses; office rent

*"Travel Expense" allowance is 7¢ per mile unless some form of public transportation is used, in which case the allowance is the fare charged.

Salaries for organizers range 3200 - 3600 per year.

A Canvasser's expenses will average 20 - 35.00 per week depending on local area conditions

MISSISSIPPI	7,000.00	1 Area Organizer (Salary and travel expenses) Canvassers Expenses
YOUTH WORK	7,500.00	"Freedom Corps" Volunteers
DIRECTOR OF VOTER REGISTRATION	7,500.00 (Salary)	
	1,000.00 (Travel expenses)	
STENO-CLERK	4,000.00	
EXPENSES FOR STAFF CONFERENCES	1,500.00	
TELEPHONE EXPENSES	1,500.00	
STAFF CONSULTANTS (2) Travel and lodging expenses:	2,000.00	
PRINTING, EDUCATION MATERIALS AND PUBLICITY	6,500.00	
MISCELLANEOUS	1,000.00	
 TOTAL	 \$100,000.00	

OBJECTIVES: FROM THE 'LONG VIEW' OF HISTORY

IN THE MODERN AGE, HISTORY HAS MADE THE FREE EXERCISE OF UNIVERSAL ADULT SUFFRAGE, AN ELEMENTARY CRITERIA FOR JUDGING THE DEMOCRATIC HEALTH OF A MODERN NATION.

AN ACCOMPANIMENT OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION, (I. E., MAN'S PROGRESS IN THE AREAS OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY AND ITS APPLICATION TO INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT), HAS BEEN CHANGES IN SOCIETY'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE RIGHTS OF ITS CITIZENS. INDEED THOMAS JEFFERSON'S IMMORTAL DECLARATION "GOVERNMENT DERIVES ITS JUST POWERS BY CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED" CARRIES THE IMPLICATION THAT THE RIGHT OF THE EVERY-DAY CITIZEN TO A VOICE IN GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS IS ^{as} ~~an~~ "INALIENABLE" AS IS HIS RIGHT TO "LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS."

THE FRENCH AND AMERICAN REVOLUTIONS, IN THE LATE 18TH CENTURY, USHERED IN A PERIOD OF MODERN HISTORY IN WHICH IN A NUMBER OF COUNTRIES, EVER-LARGER SECTIONS OF THE POPULATION BECAME ENGAGED IN THE EFFORT TO ACHIEVE REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT THROUGH EXTENSION OF THE FRANCHISE. THE EARLY 19TH CENTURY WITNESSED THE FORMATION OF THE NEW REPUBLICS IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE "CHARTIST MOVEMENT" IN ENGLAND, ADDRESSING THEMSELVES TO THE PROBLEM OF UNIVERSAL MANHOOD SUFFRAGE.

AMONG THE STATES OF THE AMERICAN UNION, THE SLAVE STATES OF THE SOUTH WERE THE "LAST FRONTIER" IN THE NATION'S EFFORT TO EXTEND SUFFRAGE RIGHTS TO ALL WHITE MALE CITIZENS, WITHOUT THE FETTERS OF PROPERTY QUALIFICATIONS. IN SOME SOUTHERN STATES THE FRANCHISE WAS ONLY GRANTED AFTER THESE STATES HAD BECOME EMBROILED IN A CIVIL WAR AGAINST THE UNION.

OUT OF THE HUMANIST SOIL OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY MOVEMENT CAME THE MOVEMENT FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE. THIS MOVEMENT TO EXTEND THE FRANCHISE TO THE FEMALE POPULATION OF OUR COUNTRY, ACHIEVED NOTABLE SUCCESS, (AFTER SOME 70 YEARS OF EFFORT), WITH

NEGRO POPULATION *

<u>STATE</u>	<u>POPULATION</u>	<u>NEGRO REGISTERED VOTERS</u>	<u>POTENTIAL NUMBER OF NEGRO REGISTERED VOTERS</u>
<u>ALABAMA</u>	980,271	60,000	620,000
ARKANSAS	388,787	64,000	192,000
FLORIDA	880,186	144,810	560,000
<u>GEORGIA</u>	1,122,596	158,051	720,000
KENTUCKY	215,949		
<u>LOUISIANA ***</u>	1,039,207	151,000	650,000
<u>MISSISSIPPI</u>	915,743	35,000	600,000
<u>NORTH CAROLINA</u>	1,116,021	150,000	670,000
SOUTH CAROLINA	829,291	57,978	525,000
TENNESSEE	586,876	185,000	290,000
<u>TEXAS</u>	1,187,125	130,000	700,000
VIRGINIA	816,258	131,626	520,000
TOTALS	<hr/> 10,000,000	<hr/> 1,300,000	<hr/> 6,000,000

* 1960 Census of the U. S.

** Southern Regional Council, Apr., 1960

State Registration Office, Sept., 1961 ***

VOTING IN NEGRO MAJORITY COUNTIES

<u>STATE</u>	<u>NO. OF COUNTIES OF NEGRO MAJORITY POPULATION</u>	<u>% OF NEGRO OF VOTING AGE REGISTERED</u>	<u>% OF WHITE OF VOTING AGE REGISTERED</u>
ALABAMA	14	13.7	63.6
ARKANSAS	7	37.7	61.3
FLORIDA	2	39.5	69.5
GEORGIA	40	25.8	73
LOUISIANA	13	30.9	77.0
MISSISSIPPI	31	6.1	no figures avail- able
NORTH CAROLINA	11	38.2	92.8
SOUTH CAROLINA	21	10.8	89.2
TENNESSEE	2	48.1	52.3
TEXAS	4	38.8	49.0
VIRGINIA	16	23.0	46.2

* 1961 Report - U. S. Civil Rights Commission

STATEMENT FROM THE CIVIL RIGHTS
COMMISSION REPORT ON VOTING, 1961

"EXCEPT IN HERTFORD COUNTY, N. C., CANDIDATES FOR OFFICE ARE ALWAYS WHITE. MOREOVER, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF HERTFORD, POLITICAL CANDIDATES TOTALLY DISREGARD THE NEGRO EITHER AS A REGISTERED OR A POTENTIAL VOTER. THEY NEITHER ADDRESS NEGRO GROUPS NOR SEEK NEGRO VOTES. CAMPAIGN ISSUES DO NOT ACKNOWLEDGE THE INTERESTS OF THE NONWHITE MAJORITY. WHEN THE NEGRO IS THE SUBJECT OF CAMPAIGN ORATORY, HE IS USUALLY ITS BUTT. SINCE THOSE RUNNING FOR OFFICE IGNORE THEM, THE FEW NEGROES WHO DO VOTE HAVE ONLY A LIMITED BASIS ON WHICH TO DO SO. THEY ARE EXCLUDED FROM THE USUAL POLITICAL TECHNIQUES OF PERSONAL CONTACT AND PERSUASION, A PARTICULARLY RESTRICTIVE CONDITION IN THESE RURAL AREAS WHERE THE HANDSHAKE AND THE CHURCH PICNIC TALK OFTEN PROVIDE THE POLITICAL FORUM FOR CANDIDATES. EXCLUDED FROM EVERY SIGNIFICANT STAGE IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS, THE NEGRO CITIZEN HAS LITTLE OR NO POLITICAL EXISTENCE EXCEPT IN THE ROLE OF THE "GOVERNED." HIS ISOLATION IS PROFOUND."

"IN INSTANCES WHERE NEGROES HOLD RESPONSIBLE POSITIONS - AS POLICEMEN, TEACHERS, AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION AGENTS, AND THE LIKE - THEIR DUTIES ARE CAREFULLY LIMITED AND THEY DEAL ONLY WITH OTHER NEGROES. WITHIN THE STABLE ORDER OF THINGS THERE APPEARS LITTLE NEED TO REMIND THE NEGRO OF HIS PLACE. HE IS ALREADY IN IT."

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(THIS STATEMENT IS IN REFERENCE TO COUNTIES OF
NEGRO MAJORITY POPULATION SELECTED BY THE
COMMISSION FOR INVESTIGATION.)

TABLE III

PATTERN OF DEVELOPMENT OF THE MODERN NEGRO SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT

<u>PERIOD</u>	<u>GROWTH*</u>	<u>NO. OF YEARS</u>	<u>APPROX. YEARLY AVERAGE INCREASE</u>
1947-52	595,000 (1947) TO 1,008,614 (1952)	6	80,000
1953-56	1,008,000 (1952) TO 1,238,000 (1956)	4	58,000
1957-60	1,238,000 (1957) TO 1,303,000 (1960)	4	17,000

*REGISTRATION FIGURES OBTAIN FROM THE STUDY BY MARGARET PRICE

"THE NEGRO AND THE BALLOT IN THE SOUTH"

STATISTICAL PORTRAIT OF THE FOURTH
CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT IN VIRGINIA

	<u>NEGRO REGISTERED VOTERS</u>	<u>POTENTIAL NEGRO REGISTERED VOTERS</u>
<u>AMELIA</u>	638	1,924
APPOMATTOX	165	1,142
<u>BRUNSWICK</u>	765	4,734
BUCKINGHAM	465	2,208
<u>CUMBERLAND</u>	360	1,647
<u>DINWIDDIE</u>	879	8,587
<u>GREENSVILLE</u>	949	3,885
<u>WIGHT</u>	1,063	4,317
LUNENBURG	460	2,534
MECKLENBURG	529	6,624
NANSEMOND	1,737	9,806
NOTTOWAY	515	3,458
POWATAN	505	1,563
PRINCE EDWARD	1,100	2,896
PRINCE GEORGE	478	2,420
<u>SOUTH-HAMPTON</u>	875	7,435
<u>SUSSEX</u>	690	3,706
<u>SURREY</u>	450	1,842
TOTAL	<u>12,983</u>	<u>70,728</u>

SUMMARY

<u>NO. OF COUNTIES</u>	<u>NO. OF COUNTIES OF NEGRO MAJORITY POP.</u>	<u>NO. OF NEGRO VOTERS</u>	<u>NO. OF POTENTIAL NEGRO VOTERS</u>
18	9	12,983	70,728

1962 CALENDAR OF STATE AND CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION IN THE SOUTH

STATE	GOVERNOR	TO BE ELECTED IN 1962		LAST DAY TO PAY POLL TAX	PRIMARY DATE	LAST DAY TO REGISTER FOR PRIMARY	RUNOFF DATE	LAST DAY TO REGISTER FOR NOVEMBER 6 ELECTION
		U. S. SENATOR FOR SEAT NOW HELD BY	STATE LEGISLATOR					
ALABAMA	YES	HILL (D)	YES	FEB. 1	MAY 8	APRIL 20	MAY 29*	OCT. 26
ARKANSAS	YES	FULBRIGHT (D)	YES	PASSED LAST OCT. 1	JULY 31	NO REGISTRATION	AUG. 14	NO REGISTRATION
FLORIDA	NO	SMATHERS (D)	YES		MAY 8	APRIL 7	MAY 29	OCT. 6
GEORGIA	YES	TALMADGE (D)	YES		DATES WILL BE SET LATER			MAY 5
KENTUCKY	NOT UP	MORTON (R)	NOT UP		MAY 29	MARCH 30	MAY 29	SEPT. 7
LOUISIANA	NOT UP	LONG (D)	NOT UP		JULY 28	JUNE 27	JULY 28	OCT. 6
MISSISSIPPI	NOT UP	NOT UP	NO	FEB. 1	JUNE 5	NONE	JUNE 26	JULY 6
N. CAROLINA	NOT UP	ERVIN (D)	YES		MAY 26	MAY 12		OCT. 27
S. CAROLINA	YES	JOHNSTON (D)	YES		JUNE 12	MAY 12	JUNE 26	OCT. 6
TENNESSEE	YES	NOT UP	YES		AUG. 2	JULY 3		OCT. 6
TEXAS	YES	NOT UP	YES	JAN. 31	MAY 5	NO REGISTRATION PAY POLL TAX	JUNE 2	NO REGISTRATION PAY POLL TAX
VIRGINIA	NOT UP	NOT UP	NOT UP	MAY 5	JULY 10	JUNE 9	AUG. 14	OCT. 6

*ALABAMA'S SPECIAL CONGRESSIONAL RUNOFF WILL BE ON MAY 15 IF COURT PERMITS