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**OA/ID Number:** 5903

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**Folder Title:**  
Voting Rights

**Stack:**

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**2**

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**3**

Voting Rightly

Answering  
Photo OP  
Scheduled

*Ben FLO*

TO: HAROLD ICKES 1121  
DOUG SOSNIK 6527  
ALEXIS HERMAN 2993

FR: MINYON MOORE

DT: 7/5/95

RE: ATTACHED PROPOSAL

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Please review the attached proposal and provide me with your thoughts. Please keep in mind, the proposal is in conceptual stages and several details will need to be worked out.

As you will see, this proposal provides an excellent opportunity to commemorate some very historic voting rights anniversaries taking place in 1995. It will also give us the opportunity to be proactive during a time when most of our major constituents are feeling a negative backlash from the Supreme Court.

I have floated the concept to a few people and I am getting great feedback. Your input and advice could be critical to the success of the project if we were to move on it. In addition, the support of the White House would certainly generate a favorable response from President Mandela.

I will be on travel Thursday and Friday of this week and can be reached by pager if you would like to discuss this further. My pager number is 1 800 sky gram Pin #1202694. Greg Moore on my staff can also walk through the details of the proposal. Greg can be reached at (202) 488-5060.

cc: Greg Moore

**PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON & PRESIDENT NELSON MANDELA  
SALUTE THE RIGHT TO VOTE**

**TO: Chairman Don Fowler**

**FR: Minyon Moore  
Greg Moore  
Alison McLaurin  
Cheryl Kelly  
Vicki Wilcher**

**DT: June 30, 1995**

**RE: August Voting Rights and Registration Kick off Event**

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The following is our proposal for the August events to commemorate the historic Voting Rights Anniversaries taking place in 1995. The date options that we would like to consider for this day of activities are: August 24, 25, or 28th. Members of Congress will still be home in there district and it would give them the opportunity to do town hall meetings around the finale with President Clinton and President Mandela.

- \*\* March 30, 1995 - 125th Anniversary of the 15th amendment to the constitution which granted the right to vote to African Americans for the first time.**
- \*\* August 6, 1995 - 30th Anniversary of the voting rights act of 1965, dismantling Jim Crow voting schemes throughout the south and the nation.**
- \*\* August 26, 1995 - 75th Anniversary of the 19th amendment which granted women the right to vote.**
- \*\* August 28, 1995 - 32nd Anniversary of the March on Washington**
- \*\* The 20th Anniversary of the Bi-lingual provisions of the Voting Rights Act**

This day long series of events will be multi-racial and involve the leadership of our base voter constituency groups (African American, Latino, Women and Asian Pacific). The campaign division will collaborate with the voting rights/civil rights community to commemorate this event.

**A SALUTE TO THE RIGHT TO VOTE**  
(A Day of Commemoration)

**A. Civil Rights/Voting Rights Leadership Luncheon**  
(DNC Political Briefing)  
MayFlower Hotel  
12:00 - 1:30 PM

This will be a briefing by the DNC to the voting rights, civil rights, labor organizations, and community activists. The briefing will cover issues relating to redistricting, updates on motor voter enforcement and voter registration targets for the 1995 and 1996 elections.

Key Featured Speakers: Chairmen Donald Fowler, Chris Dodd

**B. The Voting Rights Act 30 years Later: Where Do We Go From Here?**  
2 Panels 90 Minutes Each  
Time: 1:30 to 4:00 PM

**PANEL # 1**

Leading Voting Rights and Civil Rights Experts analyze the *Miller vs. Johnson* Supreme Court Decision and its impact on the 1996 elections and the future of African American and Latino political power.

**Key Featured Speakers:**

Elaine Jones or Ted Shaw: NAACP LDF  
Joe Sandler, DNC legal counsel  
Frank Parker: Columbia School of Law  
Barbara Arnwine: Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law  
MADFEE: Legal Counsel  
Wade Henderson, NAACP  
Laughlin McDonald: ACLU  
Selwin Carter, Southern Regional Council

**PANEL # 2**

Motor Voter and Voter Registration: Analysis of first two quarters after enactment and strategies for non-complying states.

**Key Featured Speakers:**

Sonia Jarvis, Esq., George Washington University  
James Ferguson, National Coalition on Black Voter Participation  
Richard Cloward, Human Serve  
President, League of Women Voters  
Antonio Hernandez, Southwest Voter  
Eddie Hailes, NAACP  
Ricky Siedman, ROCK THE VOTE

**4:00 P.M. DEPART FOR WHITE HOUSE****4:30 P.M. WHITE HOUSE BRIEFINGS**

Hillary Rodham Clinton (Women's Suffrage movement)

Harold Ickes

Alexis Herman

Chris Edley

Doug Sosnik

George Stephanopoulos

**C. President Clinton/President Nelson Mandela Regional Simulcast****6:30 - 8:30 PM**

A climax to the White House briefing will be an address by the **President of the United States Bill Clinton** which will be simulcast to 5-10 targeted cities. The day's activities will culminate at the White House with a simulcast with President Clinton and President Mandela.

**President Clinton and President Mandela** will address the issue of strong enforcement of voting rights and the importance of exercising your right to vote. The actual simulcast would last approximately 30-45 minutes and would be broadcast to audiences in the designated cities across the nation.

A 10 city satellite/fiber optic hook-up in addition to one international with interaction is our goal, respective of cost. The "Faces of Civil Voting Rights," will join President Clinton via satellite. Cities to include Atlanta's King Center (Rep. John Lewis and Rep. Cynthia McKinney); Newark, NJ (Rep. Donald Payne); Los Angeles (Rep. Maxine Waters); Detroit (Rep. John Conyers); New Orleans; Chicago (Rep. Luis Gutierrez) and Washington, DC, and President Nelson Mandela, South Africa.

**A SALUTE TO THE RIGHT TO VOTE**  
**Commemorating A Year Of Anniversaries**

**Rationale for DNC registration kick-off sites and presidential simulcast.**

**Johannesburg, South Africa:** Site of the most dramatic democratic political reform movement in modern times. It's also the site of the abolishment of apartheid and the election of *ANC Leader Nelson Mandela as President* of the new South Africa. President Mandela will be linked via simulcast to address the gathering of Civil Rights, voting rights and labor organizations and activists. He will be asked to lend his voice in support of our voting rights struggle.

**Atlanta, Georgia:** This site was chosen due to the recent landmark voting rights decision which overturned *Rep. Cynthia McKinney's* district. It is also the southern headquarters of the civil rights movement, the King Center and the Southern Christian leadership Conference. Atlanta is also the site of one of the Southern Urban Empowerment Zones and an important U.S. Senate race in 1996.

**Los Angeles, California** is the site of one of the most important voter registration projects, a joint voter registration program that is a historic partnership between Southwest Voter, the LA County Supervisor and *DNC member Gloria Molina* and the Immigration and Naturalization Service, (INS). The drive is being coordinated in an area of the nation that has one of the largest concentrations of Latino, African American, and Asian Pacific voters. It is also a A Must Win state for the 96 Clinton Gore re-election effort. In addition, *Congresswoman Maxine Waters* has been at the forefront of voter registration drives in South Central Los Angeles.

**Newark, New Jersey,** is the site of crucial state legislative races where the African American and Latino vote will play an important role. It is home district of *Rep. Donald Payne*, Chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus. It is also a targeted Senate Race in 1996.

**New Orleans** is the site of the 1995 DNC meeting, the location of a critical 1995 statewide governor's race, and the location of the DNC fall GOTV Training. Louisiana is also the home state of Rep. Cleo Fields of Baton Rouge. Rep. Fields' district was the recent target of the second Supreme Court redistricting ruling. New Orleans is also the home of *Mayor Marc Morial*, a prominent voting rights attorney who was elected Mayor of New Orleans. Louisiana is also a state with an open senate race in 1996.

**Detroit, Michigan** Is home of champions of the civil rights movement: *Rosa Parks* who sparked the Montgomery Bus Boycott, *Walter Ruether*, former president of the UAW, a civil rights leader, *Viola Louizo*, an Italian American Detroit housewife who was murdered while volunteering in the 1965 March from Selma to Montgomery, and *Representative John Conyers, Jr.* one of the original sponsors of the Voting Right Act of 1965, and the longest serving African American Congressman in U.S. History. Detroit is also the recipient of the Empowerment Zone. Michigan is site of one of the 1996 U.S. Senate Contest.

#### POSSIBLE ADDITIONAL SITES:

**Jackson, Mississippi:** Home of Martyred Voting Rights leader *Medgar Evers*, Field Secretary of the NAACP, who was assassinated in 1963 while organizing a voter registration Drive. It is also the home of the Chairman of the NAACP, *Merlye Evers-Williams*, the widow of Medger Evers. Mississippi is the site of one of the most important Gubernatorial races. Governor Kirk Fordice, a staunch conservative Republican who have vowed to repeal the Voting Rights Act is being challenged by Mississippi Secretary of State *Dick Molpus*, A Democrat who has led the fight to enforcement of the motor voter law. Mississippi is also site for a Senate race in 1996.

**Richmond, Virginia:** site of the other 1995 legislative race taking place in both chambers. It is also the site of major challenge to the Motor Voter act by Republican Governor George Allen. Governor Allen vetoed the act that was passed by a Democratic House and Senate and that passed in a popular referendum. *Representative Bobby Scott*, who will direct the DNC's Voter Registration statewide efforts is one of the districts threatened by the Supreme Court Decision.

**Philadelphia, Pennsylvania** Site of a major Mayoral contest in Philadelphia. It is the site of the latest state to comply with the motor voter bill after resistance of from Republican Governor Tom Ridge. It is also one the highest concentrations of voters who have been purge from the rolls prior to their enactment on June 1, 1995. Philadelphia Elections Commissioner *Alex Talmadge* and *Representative Chaka Fattah* will coordinate a DNC designed model voter registration project program through the "Philadelphia Political Empowerment Zone", (PEZ).

**San Francisco, California** is the site of one of the most closely watched Mayoral contests in the nation. It is also the site of the major grassroots campaign to register public housing residents. This is one of the non-complying states that is refusing to implement the motor voter bill. The failure to enact the motor voter bill will deny over 4 million California voters the right to vote in the November 96 elections. San Francisco is represented by *Rep. Nancy Pelosi*, a leading voice for women in the U.S. Congress.

**New York, New York tbd:**

**The following is the Communications Component:**

The simulcast will be opened by both chairs of the DNC Chairman Fowler and Sen. Christopher Dodd who will introduce the POTUS. President Clinton will be joined by *Rosa Parks* and other people of note from the base vote community (Latino, women, Asian Pacific American and the disabled). From each location there will be a press conference to coincide with the press conference in Washington. At each location, we should have a representative from each base vote group in the simulcast cities.

Press releases will be sent to both specialty media as well as mainstream media asking them to cover the event, tailoring the press releases so they can be used in our simulcast cities. The 5 to 10-city simulcast will be the drawing card in getting press and Democratic local elected officials. Press packets containing historical information pertinent to all three anniversary dates and current voter registration information (number of unregistered voters in targeted states), motor voter, etc. will be put together.

The cost is \$2,500 per site for satellite hook-up. The cost will be higher if we have interaction. There is no estimate on the international cost at this time.



Name	Date
<i>Sally Payton</i>	<i>11/19/98</i>

*Counsel*

*Saving has original**(Aunt)*

Friday, July 14, 1995

9:21 AM

From:

Name: Cythnia McKinney

Company: Cong. McKinney

Phone: 225-1605

Fax: 226-0691

To:

Name: George Stephanopoulos

Company:

Phone:

Fax: 456-2883

JUL 14 1995

Total number of pages, including cover: 1

Message:

George - Here is an updated letter to my earlier request of July 11 for The President to attend a church service with me In Georgia. I believe that August 6 would be a preferable Sunday for him to do this. I look forward to hearing from you soon - *Cyne*

To: Harold  
Pat  
Alexis

Fr. GS

*(FYI)*

CYNTHIA A. MCKINNEY  
11TH DISTRICT, GEORGIA

## WASHINGTON OFFICE:

124 CANNON BUILDING  
WASHINGTON, DC 20515  
(202) 225-1805

COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE  
DEPARTMENT OPERATIONS, NUTRITION,  
AND FOREIGN AGRICULTURE

COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

July 13, 1995



**Congress of the United States**  
**House of Representatives**  
**Washington, DC 20515-1011**

## DISTRICT OFFICES:

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The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton  
President of the United States  
The White House  
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

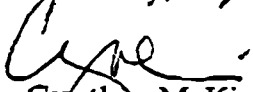
I know of your commitment to the Voting Rights Act as well as your concern about the recent Supreme Court decision on Redistricting. As a follow-up to my original letter dated July 11, I believe that it is critical to the political future of this country that your leadership on protecting the Voting Rights Act is highlighted on August 6, the 30th anniversary of this historic legislation.

We have come a long way, Mr. President, from the South of our childhoods. However, what we do not want is to go backwards, and the Supreme Court's Redistricting decision is a brutal assault on the dreams of Dr. King and an apostasy to the hopes for the future that his efforts promised all Americans.

I believe that this decision is a turning point for America's political landscape and we must not allow it to be a watershed for what most Americans desire -- a colorblind society. Mr. President, Georgia is an important state for you. In the 1992 election you won three of Georgia's eleven districts which were all minority-populated districts. These three districts helped you carry the State! Georgia can serve as a pivotal venue for you to reassure your supporters that your leadership will be a vehicle to protect and respect the Voting Rights Act.

In my earlier letter, I requested that you join me for a church service in Georgia in September. The request still remains, but I now propose that you do this on Sunday, August 6 in order to take advantage of the convergence of the 30th Anniversary of the Voting Rights Act and the Supreme Court's Redistricting decision. There would be no better symbol for your Georgia's supporters than to recommit your support to 30 years of the Voting Rights Act on the steps of the Martin Luther King Jr. Center culminated by attending a church service with no less than 5,000 people to hear your message.

Sincerely,

  
Cynthia McKinney  
Member of Congress

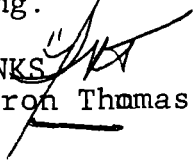
FROM  
**THE WHITE HOUSE**  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

June 29, 1995

JUN 30 1995

Ruby for Alexis Herman

Attached is the research from the  
Law Library in follow-up to Christopher's  
note this morning.

THANKS   
Sharon Thomas for Chris Edley

people of Selma and the other cities of the Nation must still live and work together. And when the attention of the Nation has gone elsewhere they must try to heal the wounds and to build a new community.

This cannot be easily done on a battleground of violence, as the history of the South itself shows. It is in recognition of this that men of both races have shown such an outstandingly impressive responsibility in recent days—last Tuesday, again today.

#### RIGHTS MUST BE OPPORTUNITIES

The bill that I am presenting to you will be known as a civil rights bill. But, in a larger sense, most of the program I am recommending is a civil rights program. Its object is to open the city of hope to all people of all races.

Because all Americans just must have the right to vote. And we are going to give them that right.

All Americans must have the privileges of citizenship regardless of race. And they are going to have those privileges of citizenship regardless of race.

But I would like to caution you and remind you that to exercise these privileges takes much more than just legal right. It requires a trained mind and a healthy body. It requires a decent home, and the chance to find a job, and the opportunity to escape from the clutches of poverty.

Of course, people cannot contribute to the Nation if they are never taught to read or write, if their bodies are stunted from hunger, if their sickness goes untended, if their life is spent in hopeless poverty just drawing a welfare check.

So we want to open the gates to opportunity. But we are also going to give all our people, black and white, the help that they need to walk through those gates.

#### THE PURPOSE OF THIS GOVERNMENT

My first job after college was as a teacher in Cotulla, Tex., in a small Mexican-American school. Few of them could speak English, and I couldn't speak much Spanish. My students were poor and they often came to class without breakfast, hungry. They knew even in their youth the pain of prejudice. They never seemed to know why people disliked them. But they knew it was so, because I saw it in their eyes. I often walked home late in the afternoon, after the classes were finished, wishing there was more that I could do. But all I knew was to teach them the little that I knew, hoping that it might help them against the hardships that lay ahead.

Somehow you never forget what poverty and hatred can do when you see its scars on the hopeful face of a young child.

I never thought then, in 1928, that I would be standing here in 1965. It never even occurred to me in my fondest dreams that I might have the chance to help the sons and daughters of those students and to help people like them all over this country.

But now I do have that chance—and I'll let you in on a secret—I mean to use it. And I hope that you will use it with me.

This is the richest and most powerful country which ever occupied the globe. The might of past empires is little compared to ours. But I do not want to be the President who built empires, or sought grandeur, or extended dominion.

I want to be the President who educated young children to the wonders of their world. I want to be the President who helped to feed the hungry and to prepare them to be taxpayers instead of tax eaters.

I want to be the President who helped the poor to find their own way and who protected the right of every citizen to vote in

every election.

I want to be the President who helped to end hatred among his fellow men and who promoted love among the people of all races and all regions and all parties.

I want to be the President who helped to end war among the brothers of this earth.

And so at the request of your beloved Speaker and the Senator from Montana; the majority leader, the Senator from Illinois; the minority leader, Mr. McCulloch, and other Members of both parties, I came here tonight—not as President Roosevelt came down one time in person to veto a bonus bill, not as President Truman came down one time to urge the passage of a railroad bill—but I came down here to ask you to share this task with me and to share it with the people that we both work for. I want this to be the Congress, Republicans and Democrats alike, which did all these things

for all these people.

Beyond this great chamber, out yonder in 50 States, are the people that we serve. Who can tell what deep and unspoken hopes are in their hearts tonight as they sit there and listen. We all can guess, from our own lives, how difficult they often find their own pursuit of happiness, how many problems each little family has. They look most of all to themselves for their futures. But I think that they also look to each of us.

Above the pyramid on the great seal of the United States it says—in Latin—"God has favored our undertaking."

God will not favor everything that we do. It is rather our duty to divine His will. But I cannot help believing that He truly understands and that He really favors the undertaking that we begin here tonight.

NOTE: The address was broadcast nationally. See also Items 108, 109, 409.

## 108 Special Message to the Congress on the Right To Vote. March 15, 1965

### To the Congress of the United States:

In this same month ninety-five years ago—on March 30, 1870—the Constitution of the United States was amended for the fifteenth time to guarantee that no citizen of our land should be denied the right to vote because of race or color.

The command of the Fifteenth Amendment is unequivocal and its equal force upon State Governments and the Federal Government is unarguable.

Section 1 of this Amendment provides: The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

By the oath I have taken "to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States," duty directs—and strong personal conviction impels—that I advise the Congress that action is necessary, and necessary now, if the Constitution is to be upheld and the rights of all citizens are not to be mocked, abused and denied.

I must regretfully report to the Congress the following facts:

1. That the Fifteenth Amendment of our Constitution is today being systematically and willfully circumvented in certain State and local jurisdictions of our Nation.
2. That representatives of such State and local governments acting "under the color of law," are denying American citizens the

right to vote on the sole basis of race or color.

3. That, as a result of these practices, in some areas of our country today no significant number of American citizens of the Negro race can be registered to vote except upon the intervention and order of a Federal Court.

4. That the remedies available under law to citizens thus denied their Constitutional rights—and the authority presently available to the Federal Government to act in their behalf—are clearly inadequate.

5. That the denial of these rights and the frustration of efforts to obtain meaningful relief from such denial without undue delay is contributing to the creation of conditions which are both inimical to our domestic order and tranquillity and incompatible with the standards of equal justice and individual dignity on which our society stands.

I am, therefore, calling upon the Congress to discharge the duty authorized in Section 2 of the Fifteenth Amendment "to enforce this Article by appropriate legislation."

## I.

It could never be a welcome duty for any President to place before Congress such a report of the willful failure and refusal of public officials to honor, respect and abide by any provision of the Constitution of the United States. It is especially repugnant to report such disregard directed against the Fifteenth Amendment by officials at the State and local levels.

The essence of our American tradition of State and local governments is the belief expressed by Thomas Jefferson that Government is best which is closest to the people. Yet that belief is betrayed by those State and local officials who engage in denying the right of citizens to vote. Their actions serve

only to assure that their State governments and local governments shall be remote from the people, least representative of the people's will and least responsive to the people's wishes.

If there were no other reasons, the strengthening and protection of the vital role of State and local governments would be reasons enough to act against the denial of the right to vote for any of our citizens.

But there are other reasons to act—clear, compelling and present reasons.

1. The challenge now presented is more than a challenge to our Constitution—it is a blatant affront to the conscience of this generation of Americans. Discrimination based on race or color is reprehensible and intolerable to the great American majority. In every national forum, where they have chosen to test popular sentiment, defenders of discrimination have met resounding rejection. Americans now are not willing that the acid of the few shall be allowed to corrode the souls of the many.

The Congress, the Courts, and the Executive, acting together in clear response to the will of the people and the mandate of the Constitution, have achieved more progress toward equality of rights in recent years than in all the years gone before. This tide will not be turned. The purposeful many need not and will not bow to the willful few.

2. In our system, the first right and most vital of all our rights is the right to vote. Jefferson described the elective franchise as "the ark of our safety." It is from the exercise of this right that the guarantee of all our other rights flows.

Unless the right to vote be secure and undenied, all other rights are insecure and subject to denial for all our citizens. The challenge to this right is a challenge to America itself. We must meet this chal-

lenge as decisively as we would meet a challenge mounted against our land from enemies abroad.

3. In the world, America stands for—and works for—the right of all men to govern themselves through free, uninhibited elections. An ink bottle broken against an American Embassy, a fire set in an American library, an insult committed against our American flag, anywhere in the world, does far less injury to our country and our cause than the discriminatory denial of the right of any American citizen at home to vote on the basis of race or color.

The issue presented by the present challenge to our Constitution and our conscience transcends legalism, although it does not transcend the law itself. We are challenged to demonstrate that there are no sanctuaries within our law for those who flaunt it. We are challenged, also, to demonstrate by our prompt, fitting and adequate response now that the hope of our system is not force, not arms, not the might of militia or marshals—but the law itself.

## II.

The problem of discriminatory denial of the right to vote has been with us ever since colonial times.

The test of real property ownership was universal among the colonies and religious qualifications were numerous. Race, color, sex, age, employment and residence were all used as the basis for qualifying voters. Such restrictions continued to flourish among the States even after formation of the Union.

The first literacy tests were legislated in Northern States in an effort to exclude immigrants—especially Irish—from the franchise. When the Fifteenth Amendment was adopted, there were only six States

which had never discriminated against voting by Negroes.

If discrimination has been a prevalent practice in our history of voting rights, the struggle against discrimination has been our consistent purpose generation after generation.

Since the adoption of the Bill of Rights, no other right has been strengthened and fortified so often by Constitutional Amendment as the right to vote. As early as 1804—and as recently as 1964—the Constitution of the United States has been amended on at least six occasions to prohibit discrimination against the right to vote, to enlarge the franchise, and to assure the expression of the people's will as registered by them at the polls.

The challenge facing us today is not a challenge of what the Constitution of the United States shall say—but of what it shall mean.

What the Fifteenth Amendment says is unmistakable. What the Fifteenth Amendment actually means for some Americans in some jurisdictions is diametrically opposite to the clear intent of the language.

By the device of equal laws, unequally applied, Negro Americans are being denied the right and opportunity to vote and discrimination is given sanction under color of law. Varieties of techniques are infinite. Three are most commonplace.

1. *The technique of technical "error."*

Negro applicants for registration are disqualified on grounds of technical "errors" in their registration forms. Instances of record show Negroes disqualified for "errors" such as failure to write out middle names, abbreviating the words "street" and "avenue" in addresses, or failing to compute age exactly to the day. Where this technique is

employed, "errors" are found in substantially all applications filed by Negroes, but few or none in applications filed by whites.

### 2. *The technique of non-cooperation.*

A technique commonly used in conjunction with the "error" technique involves simple non-cooperation by the registrar. Thus, he may be "out" for most of the day during registration periods. Registration may be possible only on certain days each month. Limits may be imposed upon the number of applicants processed each registration day. The variety of circumventions possible by this device is endless.

### 3. *The technique of subjective tests.*

By far the most common technique by which Negro citizens are prevented from exercising their right to register and to vote is the use of subjective tests, unfairly administered literacy tests, tests of "understanding," and tests of "character." The only standard used is the whim of the registrar. Such devices are used as vehicles for the rejection of untold thousands of voters—solely on the basis of race and color.

Whatever the technique, the intended purpose of such devices is effectively served.

—In one State ten years ago, 59.6 percent of voting age White persons were registered to vote. Only 4.3 percent of eligible Negroes were registered to vote. The changes since then are negligible.

—In several States, there are counties with sizeable Negro populations where not a single Negro is registered to vote.

—In scores of other counties where discrimination is not so blatant, it remains far more difficult for Negroes to register than for whites.

Too frequently discrimination is the aim and intent of such devices—and discrimination is the result.

## III.

The Congress and the Executive Branch of the Federal Government have recognized—and sought to meet—these challenges to the authority of the Constitution of the United States. I am proud to have been closely associated with the succession of Federal enactments, beginning in 1957 with the first Civil Rights Law in more than eighty years.

The major steps taken have been these:

1. *The Civil Rights Act of 1957:* The approach of this statute was to challenge through litigation the discriminatory use of vote tests.

2. *The Civil Rights Act of 1960:* This statute, pursuing the same approach, sought to simplify such litigation.

3. *The Civil Rights Act of 1964:* Still following the same approach, sought to expedite litigation.

In some areas litigation has been effective. But eight years of litigation has made it clear that the prompt and fair registration of qualified Negro citizens cannot be achieved under present legislation in the face of consistent defiance of the laws of Congress or the command of the Constitution.

## IV.

The challenge facing us is clear and immediate—it is also profound.

The Constitution is being flouted.

The intent of Congress expressed three times in the last seven years is being frustrated.

The national will is being denied.

The integrity of our Federal system is in contest.

Unless we act anew, with dispatch and

resolution, we shall sanction a sad and sorrowful course for the future. For if the Fifteenth Amendment is successfully flouted today, tomorrow the First Amendment, the Fourth Amendment, the Fifth Amendment—the Sixth, the Eighth, indeed, all the provisions of the Constitution on which our system stands—will be subject to disregard and erosion. Our essential strength as a society governed by the rule of law will be crippled and corrupted and the unity of our system hollowed out and left meaningless.

For these reasons, therefore, I ask the Congress under the power clearly granted by the Fifteenth Amendment to enact legislation which would:

1. Strike down restrictions to voting in all elections—Federal, State, and local—which have been used to deny Negroes the right to vote.

2. Establish in all States and counties where the right to vote has been denied on account of race a simple standard of voter registration which will make it impossible to thwart the Fifteenth Amendment.

3. Prohibit the use of new tests and devices wherever they may be used for discriminatory purposes.

4. Provide adequate power to insure, if necessary, that Federal officials can perform functions essential to the right to vote whenever State officials deny that right.

5. Eliminate the opportunity to delay the right to vote by resort to tedious and unnecessary lawsuits.

6. Provide authority to insure that properly registered individuals will not be pro-

hibited from voting.

Our purpose is not—and shall never be—either the quest for power or the desire to punish. We seek to increase the power of the people over all their governments, not to enhance the power of the Federal Government over any of the people.

For the life of this Republic, our people have zealously guarded their liberty against abuses of power by their governments. The one weapon they have used is the mightiest weapon in the arsenal of democracy—the vote. This has been enough, for as Woodrow Wilson said, "The instrument of all reform in America is the ballot."

Yet today, in areas of America, segments of our populace must live in just that involuntary condition—policed by forces they have no voice in choosing and forced to abide by laws they have no vote in adopting.

A people divided over the right to vote can never build a Nation united.

I am determined that these years shall be devoted to perfecting our unity so that we may pursue more successfully the fulfillment of our high purposes at home and in the world. While I have proposed to you other measures to serve the strengthening of our free society and the happiness of our free people, I regard action on the measures proposed in this Message to be first in priority. We cannot have government for all the people until we first make certain it is government of and by all the people.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

The White House

March 15, 1965

NOTE: See also Items 109, 409.

It is gratifying that employment opportunities grew even faster in the past year. Civilian employment rose by 2.4 million

—the largest year-to-year gain since the American economy was climbing out of the 1958 recession,

—more new jobs created in a single year than the total employment in a country such as Finland, or a great State like Massachusetts.

Teenagers and the long-term unemployed were special beneficiaries of expanding employment opportunities.

—Teenage employment in July was nearly 1 million higher than a year earlier, keeping pace with the large increase in the teenage labor force.

#### 409 Remarks in the Capitol Rotunda at the Signing of the Voting Rights Act. August 6, 1965

*Mr. Vice President, Mr. Speaker, Members of Congress, members of the Cabinet, distinguished guests, my fellow Americans:*

Today is a triumph for freedom as huge as any victory that has ever been won on any battlefield. Yet to seize the meaning of this day, we must recall darker times.

Three and a half centuries ago the first Negroes arrived at Jamestown. They did not arrive in brave ships in search of a home for freedom. They did not mingle fear and joy, in expectation that in this New World anything would be possible to a man strong enough to reach for it.

They came in darkness and they came in chains.

And today we strike away the last major shackle of those fierce and ancient bonds. Today the Negro story and the American story fuse and blend.

And let us remember that it was not always so. The stories of our Nation and

—Long-term unemployment (15 weeks or more) fell below 600,000, the lowest level in 7½ years. Most of the 270,000 decline from a year earlier occurred among persons out of work for 6 months or more.

These encouraging developments give us confidence and determination to seek further reductions in our national unemployment rate. Unemployment is still far too high among teenagers (13.2 percent) and among nonwhites (9.1 percent); this unnecessary waste of our manpower resources must be cut. Business, labor, and Government have worked together to create jobs and to strengthen our prosperity in the past year; we will continue to cooperate to widen employment opportunities in the months ahead.

of the American Negro are like two great rivers. Welling up from that tiny Jamestown spring they flow through the centuries along divided channels.

When pioneers subdued a continent to the need of man, they did not tame it for the Negro. When the Liberty Bell rang out in Philadelphia, it did not toll for the Negro. When Andrew Jackson threw open the doors of democracy, they did not open for the Negro.

It was only at Appomattox, a century ago, that an American victory was also a Negro victory. And the two rivers—one shining with promise, the other dark-stained with oppression—began to move toward one another.

#### THE PROMISE KEPT

Yet, for almost a century the promise of that day was not fulfilled. Today is a

#### THE WAITING IS GONE

The Members of the Congress, and the many private citizens, who worked to shape and pass this bill will share a place of honor in our history for this one act alone.

There were those who said this is an old injustice, and there is no need to hurry. But 95 years have passed since the 15th amendment gave all Negroes the right to vote.

And the time for waiting is gone.

There were those who said smaller and more gradual measures should be tried. But they had been tried. For years and years they had been tried, and tried, and tried, and they had failed, and failed, and failed.

And the time for failure is gone.

There were those who said that this is a many-sided and very complex problem. But however viewed, the denial of the right to vote is still a deadly wrong.

And the time for injustice has gone.

This law covers many pages. But the heart of the act is plain. Wherever, by clear and objective standards, States and counties are using regulations, or laws, or tests to deny the right to vote, then they will be struck down. If it is clear that State officials still intend to discriminate, then Federal examiners will be sent in to register all eligible voters. When the prospect of discrimination is gone, the examiners will be immediately withdrawn.

And, under this act, if any county anywhere in this Nation does not want Federal intervention it need only open its polling places to all of its people.

#### THE GOVERNMENT ACTS

This good Congress, the 89th Congress, acted swiftly in passing this act. I intend to act with equal dispatch in enforcing this act.

towering and certain mark that, in this generation, that promise will be kept. In our time the two currents will finally mingle and rush as one great stream across the uncertain and the marvelous years of the America that is yet to come.

This act flows from a clear and simple wrong. Its only purpose is to right that wrong. Millions of Americans are denied the right to vote because of their color. This law will ensure them the right to vote. The wrong is one which no American, in his heart, can justify. The right is one which no American, true to our principles, can deny.

In 1957, as the leader of the majority in the United States Senate, speaking in support of legislation to guarantee the right of all men to vote, I said, "This right to vote is the basic right without which all others are meaningless. It gives people, people as individuals, control over their own destinies."

Last year I said, "Until every qualified person regardless of . . . the color of his skin has the right, unquestioned and unrestrained, to go in and cast his ballot in every precinct in this great land of ours, I am not going to be satisfied."

Immediately after the election I directed the Attorney General to explore, as rapidly as possible, the ways to ensure the right to vote.

And then last March, with the outrage of Selma still fresh, I came down to this Capitol one evening and asked the Congress and the people for swift and for sweeping action to guarantee to every man and woman the right to vote. In less than 48 hours I sent the Voting Rights Act of 1965 to the Congress. In little more than 4 months the Congress, with overwhelming majorities, enacted one of the most monumental laws in the entire history of American freedom.



And tomorrow at 1 p.m., the Attorney General has been directed to file a lawsuit challenging the constitutionality of the poll tax in the State of Mississippi. This will begin the legal process which, I confidently believe, will very soon prohibit any State from requiring the payment of money in order to exercise the right to vote.

And also by tomorrow the Justice Department, through publication in the Federal Register, will have officially certified the States where discrimination exists.

I have, in addition, requested the Department of Justice to work all through this weekend so that on Monday morning next, they can designate many counties where past experience clearly shows that Federal action is necessary and required. And by Tuesday morning, trained Federal examiners will be at work registering eligible men and women in 10 to 15 counties.

And on that same day, next Tuesday, additional poll tax suits will be filed in the States of Texas, Alabama, and Virginia.

And I pledge you that we will not delay, or we will not hesitate, or we will not turn aside until Americans of every race and color and origin in this country have the same right as all others to share in the process of democracy.

So, through this act, and its enforcement, an important instrument of freedom passes into the hands of millions of our citizens.

But that instrument must be used.

Presidents and Congresses, laws and lawsuits can open the doors to the polling places and open the doors to the wondrous rewards which await the wise use of the ballot.

#### THE VOTE BECOMES JUSTICE

But only the individual Negro, and all others who have been denied the right to

vote, can really walk through those doors, and can use that right, and can transform the vote into an instrument of justice and fulfillment.

So, let me now say to every Negro in this country: You must register. You must vote. You must learn, so your choice advances your interest and the interest of our beloved Nation. Your future, and your children's future, depend upon it, and I don't believe that you are going to let them down.

This act is not only a victory for Negro leadership. This act is a great challenge to that leadership. It is a challenge which cannot be met simply by protests and demonstrations. It means that dedicated leaders must work around the clock to teach people their rights and their responsibilities and to lead them to exercise those rights and to fulfill those responsibilities and those duties to their country.

If you do this, then you will find, as others have found before you, that the vote is the most powerful instrument ever devised by man for breaking down injustice and destroying the terrible walls which imprison men because they are different from other men.

#### THE LAST OF THE BARRIERS TUMBLE

Today what is perhaps the last of the legal barriers is tumbling. There will be many actions and many difficulties before the rights woven into law are also woven into the fabric of our Nation. But the struggle for equality must now move toward a different battlefield.

It is nothing less than granting every American Negro his freedom to enter the mainstream of American life: not the conformity that blurs enriching differences of

culture and tradition, but rather the opportunity that gives each a chance to choose.

For centuries of oppression and hatred have already taken their painful toll. It can be seen throughout our land in men without skills, in children without fathers, in families that are imprisoned in slums and in poverty.

#### RIGHTS ARE NOT ENOUGH

For it is not enough just to give men rights. They must be able to use those rights in their personal pursuit of happiness. The wounds and the weaknesses, the outward walls and the inward scars which diminish achievement are the work of American society. We must all now help to end them—help to end them through expanding programs already devised and through new ones to search out and forever end the special handicaps of those who are black in a Nation that happens to be mostly white.

So, it is for this purpose—to fulfill the rights that we now secure—that I have already called a White House conference to meet here in the Nation's Capital this fall.

So, we will move step by step—often painfully but, I think, with clear vision—along the path toward American freedom.

It is difficult to fight for freedom. But I also know how difficult it can be to bend long years of habit and custom to grant it. There is no room for injustice anywhere in the American mansion. But there is always room for understanding toward those who see the old ways crumbling. And to them today I say simply this: It must come. It is right that it should come. And when it has, you will find that a burden has been

lifted from your shoulders, too.

It is not just a question of guilt, although there is that. It is that men cannot live with a lie and not be stained by it.

#### DIGNITY IS NOT JUST A WORD

The central fact of American civilization—one so hard for others to understand—is that freedom and justice and the dignity of man are not just words to us. We believe in them. Under all the growth and the tumult and abundance, we believe. And so, as long as some among us are oppressed—and we are part of that oppression—it must blunt our faith and sap the strength of our high purpose.

Thus, this is a victory for the freedom of the American Negro. But it is also a victory for the freedom of the American Nation. And every family across this great, entire, searching land will live stronger in liberty, will live more splendid in expectation, and will be prouder to be American because of the act that you have passed that I will sign today.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:05 p.m. in the Rotunda at the Capitol, prior to signing the bill. In his opening words he referred to Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey, President of the Senate, and Representative John W. McCormack of Massachusetts, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

As enacted, the Voting Rights Act of 1965 is Public Law 89-110 (79 Stat. 437).

Reports to the President on the implementation of the act, prepared by the Attorney General and the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission, were made public by the White House on August 5, August 14, and August 21. They are printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 1, pp. 51, 92, 125).

The determinations of the Attorney General are printed in the Federal Register of August 7 and August 10, 1965 (30 F.R. 9897, 9970).

pathy and support have helped to shape great and influential artistic traditions.

This Congress will consider many programs which will leave an enduring mark on American life. But it may well be that passage of this legislation, modest as it is,

will help secure for this Congress a sure and honored place in the story of the advance of our civilization.

NOTE: An act to provide for the establishment of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities was approved by the President on September 29, 1965 (Public Law 89-209, 79 Stat. 845).

## 106 The President's News Conference of March 13, 1965

THE PRESIDENT. Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen.

### EVENTS IN SELMA, ALA.

[1.] This March week has brought a very deep and painful challenge to the unending search for American freedom.

That challenge is not yet over, but before it is ended, every resource of this Government will be directed to insuring justice for all men of all races, in Alabama and everywhere in this land. That is the meaning of the oath that I swore before Almighty God when I took the office of the Presidency. That is what I believe in with all of my heart. That is what the people of this country demand.

Last Sunday a group of Negro Americans in Selma, Alabama, attempted peacefully to protest the denial of the most basic political right of all—the right to vote. They were attacked and some were brutally beaten.

From that moment until this, we have acted effectively to protect the constitutional rights of the citizens of Selma, and to prevent further violence and lawlessness in this country wherever it occurred.

More than 70 United States Government officials, including FBI agents, including Justice Department lawyers, Governor Col-

lins,<sup>1</sup> the Assistant Attorney General, Mr. John Doar, whom I asked to go to Selma, have been continuously present in Selma. They have all been working to keep the peace and to enforce the law.

At all times the full power of the Federal Government has been ready to protect the people of Selma against further lawlessness.

But the final answer to this problem will be found not in armed confrontation, but in the process of law. We have acted to bring this conflict from the streets to the courtroom. Your Government, at my direction, asked the Federal court in Alabama to order the law officials of Alabama not to interfere with American citizens who are peacefully demonstrating for their constitutional rights.

When the court has made its order, it must be obeyed.

### THE VOTING RIGHTS BILL

The events of last Sunday cannot and will not be repeated, but the demonstrations in Selma have a much larger meaning. They are a protest against a deep and very unjust flaw in American democracy itself.

<sup>1</sup>LeRoy Collins, Director, Community Relations Service, Department of Commerce, and former Governor of Florida.

Ninety-five years ago our Constitution was amended to require that no American be denied the right to vote because of race or color. Almost a century later, many Americans are kept from voting simply because they are Negroes.

Therefore, this Monday I will send to the Congress a request for legislation to carry out the amendment of the Constitution.

Wherever there is discrimination, this law will strike down all restrictions used to deny the people the right to vote. It will establish a simple, uniform standard which cannot be used, however ingenious the effort, to flaunt our Constitution. If State officials refuse to cooperate, then citizens will be registered by Federal officials.

This law is not an effort to punish or coerce anyone. Its object is one which no American in his heart can truly reject. It is to give all our people the right to choose their leaders; to deny this right, I think, is to deny democracy itself.

What happened in Selma was an American tragedy. The blows that were received, the blood that was shed, the life of the good man that was lost, must strengthen the determination of each of us to bring full and equal and exact justice to all of our people.

This is not just the policy of your Government or your President. It is in the heart and the purpose and the meaning of America itself.

We all know how complex and how difficult it is to bring about basic social change in a democracy, but this complexity must not obscure the clear and simple moral issues.

It is wrong to do violence to peaceful citizens in the streets of their town. It is wrong to deny Americans the right to vote. It is wrong to deny any person full equality because of the color of his skin.

The promise of America is a simple promise: Every person shall share in the

blessings of this land. And they shall share on the basis of their merits as a person. They shall not be judged by their color or by their beliefs, or by their religion, or by where they were born, or the neighborhood in which they live.

All my life I have seen America move closer toward that goal, and every step of the way has brought enlarged opportunity and more happiness for all of our people.

Those who do injustice are as surely the victims of their own acts as the people that they wrong. They scar their own lives and they scar the communities in which they live. By turning from hatred to understanding they can insure a richer and fuller life for themselves, as well as for their fellows. For if we put aside disorder and violence, if we put aside hatred and lawlessness, we can provide for all our people great opportunity almost beyond our imagination.

We will continue this battle for human dignity. We will apply all the resources of this great and powerful Government to this task. We ask that all of our citizens unite in this hour of trial. We will not be moved by anyone or anything from the path of justice.

In this task we will seek the help of the divine power which surpasses the petty barriers between man and man, and people and people. Under His guidance we can seek the Biblical promise: "I shall light a candle of understanding in thine heart which shall not be put out." And we will follow that light until all of us have bowed to the command: "Let there be no strife between me and thee, for we be brethren."

### MEETING WITH GOVERNOR WALLACE

I met today with Governor Wallace of Alabama to discuss very thoroughly the situation that exists in that State.

The Governor expressed his concern that the demonstrations which have taken place are a threat to the peace and security of the people of Alabama. I expressed my own concern about the need for remedying those grievances which lead to the demonstrations by people who feel their rights have been denied.

I said that those Negro citizens of Alabama who have systematically been denied the right to register and to participate in the choice of those who govern them should be provided the opportunity of directing national attention to their plight. They feel that they are being denied a very precious right. And I understand their concern.

In his telegram last night to me, Governor Wallace expressed his belief that all eligible citizens are entitled to exercise their right to vote. He repeated that belief today, and he stated that he is against any discrimination in that regard.

I am firmly convinced, as I said to the Governor a few moments ago, that when all of the eligible Negroes of Alabama have been registered, the economic and the social injustices they have experienced throughout will be righted, and the demonstrations, I believe, will stop.

I advised the Governor of my intention to press with all the vigor at my command to assure that every citizen of this country is given the right to participate in his Government at every level through the complete voting process.

The Governor's expressed interest in law and order met with a warm response. We are a Nation that is governed by laws, and our procedures for enacting and amending and repealing these laws must prevail.

I told the Governor that we believe in maintaining law and order in every county and in every precinct in this land. If State and local authorities are unable to function,

the Federal Government will completely meet its responsibilities.

I told the Governor that the brutality in Selma last Sunday just must not be repeated. He agreed that he abhorred brutality and regretted any instance in which any American citizen met with violence.

As the Governor had indicated his desire to take actions to remedy the existing situation in Alabama which caused people to demonstrate, I respectfully suggested to him that he consider the following actions which I believed and the Attorney General and others familiar with the matter, and associated with me, believed would be highly constructive at this stage of the game.

First, I urged that the Governor publicly declare his support for universal suffrage in the State of Alabama, and the United States of America.

Second, I urged him to assure that the right of peaceful assembly will be permitted in Alabama so long as law and order is maintained.

Third, I expressed the hope that the Governor would call a biracial meeting when he returns to Alabama, to seek greater cooperation and to ask for greater unity among Americans of both races.

I asked the Governor for his cooperation and I expressed my appreciation for his coming to Washington to discuss this problem.

#### QUESTIONS

##### THE RIGHT TO DEMONSTRATE

Q. Mr. President, against the background of what you said, and aside from the situation in Selma, I wonder if you could tell us your general philosophy, your belief in how demonstrators in other parts of the country should conduct themselves? For example, how do you feel about the demonstrations

that are going on outside the White House right now, or in other parts, in other cities of the United States, and in front of Federal buildings?

THE PRESIDENT. I tried to cover that in my statement, but I believe in the right of peaceful assembly. I believe that people have the right to demonstrate. I think that you must be concerned with the rights of others.

I do not think a person, as has been said, has the right to holler "fire" in a crowded theater. But I think that people should have the right to peacefully assemble, to picket, to demonstrate their views, and to do anything they can to bring those views to the attention of people, provided they do not violate laws themselves, and provided they conduct themselves as they should.

##### GOVERNOR WALLACE

Q. Mr. President, did Governor Wallace indicate, sir, at all, an area of understanding and cooperation and acceptance of some of your suggestions to solve this violence there?

THE PRESIDENT. I will have to let the Governor speak for himself. He is going to appear tomorrow. We spoke very frankly and very forthrightly. We exchanged views—and we are not in agreement on a good many things. I am hopeful that the visit will be helpful and I did my best to make my viewpoint clear.

Q. Mr. President, I was going to ask you how the Governor reacted.

THE PRESIDENT. The Governor had his share of the conversation. He told me of the problems that he had in Alabama, the fears that he entertained, and he expressed the hope that I could do something to help bring the demonstrations to an end.

I told him very frankly that I thought our problem, which I had been working on for several weeks now, was to face up to the

cause of the demonstration and remove the cause of the demonstration, and that I hoped if he would give assurance that people would be protected in their demonstrations in Alabama, he would give assurance that he would try to improve the voting situation in Alabama, if I could submit my message to the Congress and get prompt action on it that would insure the right of the people of Alabama to vote, that I thought that we could improve the demonstration situation.

Q. Mr. President, a two-part question on the same subject:

Can you tell us what your thinking is if Governor Wallace would not accept any or all of your suggestions; and secondly, in announcing from Montgomery that he had asked to see you, he indicated that he was concerned about a threat throughout the country. Do you share that concern?

THE PRESIDENT. I am deeply concerned that our citizens anywhere should be discriminated against and should be denied their constitutional rights.

I have plotted my course. I have stated my views. I have made clear, whether the Governor agrees or not, that law and order will prevail in Alabama, that people will be—their rights to peacefully assemble will be preserved, and that their constitutional rights will be protected.

##### GROWING MODERATION IN THE SOUTH

Q. Mr. President, some of the clergymen who came out yesterday reported that you had detected a resurgence of a moderate spirit among the whites in the South. Can you tell us what evidence you have seen of that, and perhaps anything that is being done to encourage it?

THE PRESIDENT. The presence of a good many people from the South in Selma, the presence of some of the ministers from the

South here, the messages that I have received from the citizens of that area, the support that the businessmen and the clergy and the labor people have given the Civil Rights Act and its enforcement, have all given me strength and comfort and encouragement.

## REMOVAL OF DEPENDENTS FROM VIET-NAM

[2.] Q. Mr. President, I would like to turn to the other problem that has occupied so much of your hours in Viet-Nam. About 5 weeks ago, when you felt it necessary to give an order that our wives and children of our men in Viet-Nam be withdrawn, a high officer said to me, "Give us a year and they will be back." I have two questions:

First, would you like to see the wives and children of our civilian and military officers in Viet-Nam go back; and secondly, do you think that a year is a good prognostication?

THE PRESIDENT. No, I do not think that I can be much of a prophet in either respect. First, I do not think that Saigon is the place for the wives and children of our military people at the moment, or else I wouldn't ask for them to come out. If the situation changes, and conditions are different, I will pass on them in the light of those changes.

I think that anyone that makes a prophecy now as to what the situation will be a year from now would have to be a big guesser.

## THE OTEPKA CASE

[3.] Q. Mr. President, sir, I would like to change the subject to another matter. Mr. Otto Otepka, a top security officer in the State Department, faces dismissal for answering the questions of some Members of Congress who were investigating the security of the United States. I would like to know if you can't stop this dismissal.

THE PRESIDENT. I have had some conversations with Secretary Rusk concerning that case, and I have complete confidence in the manner in which he will handle it.

## U.S. POLICY IN VIET-NAM

[4.] Q. Mr. President, in the last 5 weeks the American participation in the situation in South Viet-Nam has undergone certain changes. Could you give us your view of any benefits that have accrued to us, or your view of the situation over the past 5 weeks in South Viet-Nam?

THE PRESIDENT. I think we have a very difficult situation there as a result of the instability of the governments and the frequent changes of them. I would not say it has improved in the last 5 weeks.

I would say that our policy there is the policy that was established by President Eisenhower, as I have stated, since I have been President, 46 different times, the policy carried on by President Kennedy, and the policy that we are now carrying on. I have stated it as recently as February 17th in some detail and prior to that, in my last press conference, on February 4th.<sup>2</sup> Although the incidents have changed, in some instances the equipment has changed, in some instances the tactics and perhaps the strategy in a decision or two has changed.

Our policy is still the same, and that is to any armed attack, our forces will reply. To any in southeast Asia who ask our help in defending their freedom, we are going to give it, and that means we are going to continue to give it. In that region there is nothing that we covet, there is nothing we seek, there is no territory or no military position or no political ambition. Our one desire and our one determination is that the

<sup>2</sup> Items 76 and 46.

people of southeast Asia be left in peace to work out their own destinies in their own way.

## USE OF TROOPS IN ALABAMA

[5.] Q. Mr. President, there was a report published this morning that some Federal troops had already been alerted, at your direction, for a possible move into Alabama. Can you confirm this report?

THE PRESIDENT. I would say that the FBI officials, the marshals in the general area, the United States forces, including the Armed Forces, were ready to carry out any instructions that the President gave them, and the President was prepared to give them any instructions that were necessary and justified and wise.

## NEGOTIATION ON VIET-NAM

[6.] Q. Mr. President, I wonder if you could tell us your reaction to the pressures that have been mounting around the world for you to negotiate the situation in Viet-Nam. Could you explain to us under what conditions you might be willing to negotiate a settlement there?

THE PRESIDENT. Well, since the Geneva conference of 1962, as has been stated before, the United States has been in rather active and continuous consultation. We have talked to other governments about the great danger that we could foresee in this aggression in southeast Asia. We have discussed it in the United Nations. We have discussed it in NATO. We have discussed it in the SEATO councils. On innumerable occasions we have discussed it directly through diplomatic channels. We have had direct discussions with almost every signa-

tory of the 1954 and the 1962 pacts.

We have not had any indication, and as the Secretary of State said the other day, what is still missing is any indication—any indication—from anyone that Hanoi is prepared or willing or ready to stop doing what it is doing against its neighbors. I think that the absence of this crucial element affects the current discussion of negotiation.

A great friend of mine who had great responsibilities for a long period of military and executive life in our Government said to me the other day, "When I see the suggestions about negotiation, I wonder if folks don't recognize that there must be someone to negotiate with, and there must be someone willing to negotiate."

## THE TIMING OF PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENTS AND NEWS CONFERENCES

[7.] Q. I said, sir, that the events in Selma occurred last Sunday, and I asked why you waited to have a press conference and make a statement until late Saturday afternoon?

THE PRESIDENT. I know of nothing that either required or justified my making a statement prior to the time that I had a recommendation to make on the problem that was facing us, namely, they were demonstrating about voting rights, and I had that message delivered to me only a few hours ago. I have reviewed it and am in general agreement on what I am going to send to the Congress. It happened that I had the time this afternoon to review it and had the information that was available to me.

I think the President should have some leeway when he determines to have press conferences. I have had 46 since I have been President. I plan to have at least one

once a month. But the President will determine when they are held, where they are held, and what subjects he discusses.

#### YOUTH CORPS CAMPS

[8.] Q. Mr. President, I understand that there has been some violence in the youth camps, Youth Corps camps, or Job Corps, and that involves a knifing, and there have been one or more deaths as a result of that. Is that the reason you visited the Catoctin, Maryland, camp last week, to build the morale up in the camp and give them public confidence?

THE PRESIDENT. I visited the camp last week because I had agreed to some time ago and had been forced to cancel one planned visit. I want to visit a good many of their camps.

We all deeply regret any accidents or any violence or any injuries that may occur at any time. That is not the reason, though, or rather, that is not the sole reason why I should be interested in what they are doing. I hope by my visits to better understand their work, perhaps to stimulate some of them, and maybe improve on what is being done.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

#### THE VOTING RIGHTS MESSAGE

THE PRESIDENT. [9.] I should like to ask you to stay here for another 10 or 15 minutes, we will say 15 minutes, for the Attorney General to give you a very brief briefing on the high points of this message, and if you will do that for 15 minutes, he will be here longer and Mr. Moyers will, but at the conclusion of 15 minutes, I hope that Mr. Reedy will tell you, and any of you that need to rush away to meet your deadlines can do so.

[At this point the Attorney General spoke on a "background" basis. The President then resumed speaking on the record.]

I should like to observe that the 15 minutes is about up, but at 9 o'clock, in Mr. Reedy's office on Monday morning, we plan, and hope, and pray that we will have the message ready for you. If you will be ready for it, there will be a briefing there.

Over the past few weeks, I have determined that we would have a voting rights law this year on about November 15th, and so informed certain Members of the Congress and certain Governors of the States. Since that time, I have talked to the majority and minority leaders, the chairmen of various committees, the Speaker of the House, and have reviewed with them the highlights of my viewpoint and have asked the Attorney General to go into some detail in connection with the principles that we would have in this bill.

We are very anxious to have Democratic and Republican support. As you know, President Kennedy in the Kennedy-Johnson administration in 1963, in the civil rights measure that I counseled on and worked on and approved, submitted to the Congress a voting rights section that provided, however, for voting only in Federal elections. That section was deleted in the legislation that finally came to me and, as a result of that deletion, I have felt that we should again approach that subject, but to extend it from Federal elections to both State and local elections.

I have talked to the leaders of the Negro organizations in this country and asked for their suggestions, and asked for their counsel. I have talked to various Southern Senators and Southern leaders including Governors, and generally reviewed with them

what I hope to have encompassed in this legislation. Of course, there will be amendments and changes, and extensions and deletions. But I think that our message will go to the Congress Monday. Perhaps the bill will accompany it. If not, it will go there very shortly.

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## YOUTH CORPS CAMPS

[8.] Q. Mr. President, I understand that there has been some violence in the youth camps, Youth Corps camps, or Job Corps, and that involves a knifing, and there have been one or more deaths as a result of that. Is that the reason you visited the Catoctin, Maryland, camp last week, to build the morale up in the camp and give them public confidence?

THE PRESIDENT. I visited the camp last week because I had agreed to some time ago and had been forced to cancel one planned visit. I want to visit a good many of their camps.

We all deeply regret any accidents or any violence or any injuries that may occur at any time. That is not the reason, though, or rather, that is not the sole reason why I should be interested in what they are doing. I hope by my visits to better understand their work, perhaps to stimulate some of them, and maybe improve on what is being done.

Reporter: Thank you, Mr. President.

## THE VOTING RIGHTS MESSAGE

THE PRESIDENT. [9.] I should like to ask you to stay here for another 10 or 15 minutes, we will say 15 minutes, for the Attorney General to give you a very brief briefing on the high points of this message, and if you will do that for 15 minutes, he will be here longer and Mr. Moyers will, but at the conclusion of 15 minutes, I hope that Mr. Reedy will tell you, and any of you that need to rush away to meet your deadlines can do so.

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We are very anxious to have Democratic and Republican support. As you know, President Kennedy in the Kennedy-Johnson administration in 1963, in the civil rights measure that I counseled on and worked on and approved, submitted to the Congress a voting rights section that provided, however, for voting only in Federal elections. That section was deleted in the legislation that finally came to me and, as a result of that deletion, I have felt that we should again approach that subject, but to extend it from Federal elections to both State and local elections.

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For with a country as with a person, "What is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?"

There is no Negro problem. There is no Southern problem. There is no Northern problem. There is only an American problem. And we are met here tonight as Americans—not as Democrats or Republicans—we are met here as Americans to solve that problem.

This was the first nation in the history of the world to be founded with a purpose. The great phrases of that purpose still sound in every American heart, North and South: "All men are created equal"—"government by consent of the governed"—"give me liberty or give me death." Well, those are not just clever words, or those are not just empty theories. In their name Americans have fought and died for two centuries, and tonight around the world they stand there as guardians of our liberty, risking their lives.

Those words are a promise to every citizen that he shall share in the dignity of man. This dignity cannot be found in a man's possessions; it cannot be found in his power, or in his position. It really rests on his right to be treated as a man equal in opportunity to all others. It says that he shall share in freedom, he shall choose his leaders, educate his children, and provide for his family according to his ability and his merits as a human being.

To apply any other test—to deny a man his hopes because of his color or race, his religion or the place of his birth—is not only to do injustice, it is to deny America and to dishonor the dead who gave their lives for American freedom.

#### THE RIGHT TO VOTE

Our fathers believed that if this noble view of the rights of man was to flourish, it

must be rooted in democracy. The most basic right of all was the right to choose your own leaders. The history of this country, in large measure, is the history of the expansion of that right to all of our people.

Many of the issues of civil rights are very complex and most difficult. But about this there can and should be no argument. Every American citizen must have an equal right to vote. There is no reason which can excuse the denial of that right. There is no duty which weighs more heavily on us than the duty we have to ensure that right.

Yet the harsh fact is that in many places in this country men and women are kept from voting simply because they are Negroes.

Every device of which human ingenuity is capable has been used to deny this right. The Negro citizen may go to register only to be told that the day is wrong, or the hour is late, or the official in charge is absent. And if he persists, and if he manages to present himself to the registrar, he may be disqualified because he did not spell out his middle name or because he abbreviated a word on the application.

And if he manages to fill out an application he is given a test. The registrar is the sole judge of whether he passes this test. He may be asked to recite the entire Constitution, or explain the most complex provisions of State law. And even a college degree cannot be used to prove that he can read and write.

For the fact is that the only way to pass these barriers is to show a white skin.

Experience has clearly shown that the existing process of law cannot overcome systematic and ingenious discrimination. No law that we now have on the books—and I have helped to put three of them there—can ensure the right to vote when local officials are determined to deny it.

In such a case our duty must be clear to all of us. The Constitution says that no person shall be kept from voting because of his race or his color. We have all sworn an oath before God to support and to defend that Constitution. We must now act in obedience to that oath.

#### GUARANTEEING THE RIGHT TO VOTE

Wednesday I will send to Congress a law designed to eliminate illegal barriers to the right to vote.

The broad principles of that bill will be in the hands of the Democratic and Republican leaders tomorrow. After they have reviewed it, it will come here formally as a bill. I am grateful for this opportunity to come here tonight at the invitation of the leadership to reason with my friends, to give them my views, and to visit with my former colleagues.

I have had prepared a more comprehensive analysis of the legislation which I had intended to transmit to the clerk tomorrow but which I will submit to the clerks tonight. But I want to really discuss with you now briefly the main proposals of this legislation.

This bill will strike down restrictions to voting in all elections—Federal, State, and local—which have been used to deny Negroes the right to vote.

This bill will establish a simple, uniform standard which cannot be used, however ingenious the effort, to flout our Constitution.

It will provide for citizens to be registered by officials of the United States Government if the State officials refuse to register them.

It will eliminate tedious, unnecessary lawsuits which delay the right to vote.

Finally, this legislation will ensure that properly registered individuals are not prohibited from voting.

I will welcome the suggestions from all of

the Members of Congress—I have no doubt that I will get some—on ways and means to strengthen this law and to make it effective. But experience has plainly shown that this is the only path to carry out the command of the Constitution.

To those who seek to avoid action by their National Government in their own communities; who want to and who seek to maintain purely local control over elections, the answer is simple:

Open your polling places to all your people.

Allow men and women to register and vote whatever the color of their skin.

Extend the rights of citizenship to every citizen of this land.

#### THE NEED FOR ACTION

There is no constitutional issue here. The command of the Constitution is plain.

There is no moral issue. It is wrong—deadly wrong—to deny any of your fellow Americans the right to vote in this country.

There is no issue of States rights or national rights. There is only the struggle for human rights.

I have not the slightest doubt what will be your answer.

The last time a President sent a civil rights bill to the Congress it contained a provision to protect voting rights in Federal elections. That civil rights bill was passed after 8 long months of debate. And when that bill came to my desk from the Congress for my signature, the heart of the voting provision had been eliminated.

This time, on this issue, there must be no delay, no hesitation and no compromise with our purpose.

We cannot, we must not, refuse to protect the right of every American to vote in every election that he may desire to participate in.



And we ought not and we cannot and we must not wait another 8 months before we get a bill. We have already waited a hundred years and more, and the time for waiting is gone.

So I ask you to join me in working long hours—nights and weekends, if necessary—to pass this bill. And I don't make that request lightly. For from the window where I sit with the problems of our country I recognize that outside this chamber is the outraged conscience of a nation, the grave concern of many nations, and the harsh judgment of history on our acts.

#### WE SHALL OVERCOME

But even if we pass this bill, the battle will not be over. What happened in Selma is part of a far larger movement which reaches into every section and State of America. It is the effort of American Negroes to secure for themselves the full blessings of American life.

Their cause must be our cause too. Because it is not just Negroes, but really it is all of us, who must overcome the crippling legacy of bigotry and injustice.

And we shall overcome.

As a man whose roots go deeply into Southern soil I know how agonizing racial feelings are. I know how difficult it is to reshape the attitudes and the structure of our society.

But a century has passed, more than a hundred years, since the Negro was freed. And he is not fully free tonight.

It was more than a hundred years ago that Abraham Lincoln, a great President of another party, signed the Emancipation Proclamation, but emancipation is a proclamation and not a fact.

A century has passed, more than a hundred years, since equality was promised.

And yet the Negro is not equal.

A century has passed since the day of promise. And the promise is unkept.

The time of justice has now come. I tell you that I believe sincerely that no force can hold it back. It is right in the eyes of man and God that it should come. And when it does, I think that day will brighten the lives of every American.

For Negroes are not the only victims. How many white children have gone uneducated, how many white families have lived in stark poverty, how many white lives have been scarred by fear, because we have wasted our energy and our substance to maintain the barriers of hatred and terror?

So I say to all of you here, and to all in the Nation tonight, that those who appeal to you to hold on to the past do so at the cost of denying you your future.

This great, rich, restless country can offer opportunity and education and hope to all: black and white, North and South, sharecropper and city dweller. These are the enemies: poverty, ignorance, disease. They are the enemies and not our fellow man, not our neighbor. And these enemies too, poverty, disease and ignorance, we shall overcome.

#### AN AMERICAN PROBLEM

Now let none of us in any sections look with prideful righteousness on the troubles in another section, or on the problems of our neighbors. There is really no part of America where the promise of equality has been fully kept. In Buffalo as well as in Birmingham, in Philadelphia as well as in Selma, Americans are struggling for the fruits of freedom.

This is one Nation. What happens in Selma or in Cincinnati is a matter of legitimate concern to every American. But let each of us look within our own hearts and

our own communities, and let each of us put our shoulder to the wheel to root out injustice wherever it exists.

As we meet here in this peaceful, historic chamber tonight, men from the South, some of whom were at Iwo Jima, men from the North who have carried Old Glory to far corners of the world and brought it back without a stain on it, men from the East and from the West, are all fighting together without regard to religion, or color, or region, in Viet-Nam. Men from every region fought for us across the world 20 years ago.

And in these common dangers and these common sacrifices the South made its contribution of honor and gallantry no less than any other region of the great Republic—and in some instances, a great many of them, more.

And I have not the slightest doubt that good men from everywhere in this country, from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, from the Golden Gate to the harbors along the Atlantic, will rally together now in this cause to vindicate the freedom of all Americans. For all of us owe this duty; and I believe that all of us will respond to it.

Your President makes that request of every American.

#### PROGRESS THROUGH THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

The real hero of this struggle is the American Negro. His actions and protests, his courage to risk safety and even to risk his life, have awakened the conscience of this Nation. His demonstrations have been designed to call attention to injustice, designed to provoke change, designed to stir reform.

He has called upon us to make good the promise of America. And who among us can say that we would have made the same progress were it not for his persistent brav-

ery, and his faith in American democracy.

For at the real heart of battle for equality is a deep-seated belief in the democratic process. Equality depends not on the force of arms or tear gas but upon the force of moral right; not on recourse to violence but on respect for law and order.

There have been many pressures upon your President and there will be others as the days come and go. But I pledge you tonight that we intend to fight this battle where it should be fought: in the courts, and in the Congress, and in the hearts of men.

We must preserve the right of free speech and the right of free assembly. But the right of free speech does not carry with it, as has been said, the right to holler fire in a crowded theater. We must preserve the right to free assembly, but free assembly does not carry with it the right to block public thoroughfares to traffic.

We do have a right to protest, and a right to march under conditions that do not infringe the constitutional rights of our neighbors. And I intend to protect all those rights as long as I am permitted to serve in this office.

We will guard against violence, knowing it strikes from our hands the very weapons which we seek—progress, obedience to law, and belief in American values.

In Selma as elsewhere we seek and pray for peace. We seek order. We seek unity. But we will not accept the peace of stifled rights, or the order imposed by fear, or the unity that stifles protest. For peace cannot be purchased at the cost of liberty.

In Selma tonight, as in every—and we had a good day there—as in every city, we are working for just and peaceful settlement. We must all remember that after this speech I am making tonight, after the police and the FBI and the Marshals have all gone, and after you have promptly passed this bill, the

people of Selma and the other cities of the Nation must still live and work together. And when the attention of the Nation has gone elsewhere they must try to heal the wounds and to build a new community.

This cannot be easily done on a battleground of violence, as the history of the South itself shows. It is in recognition of this that men of both races have shown such an outstandingly impressive responsibility in recent days—last Tuesday, again today.

#### RIGHTS MUST BE OPPORTUNITIES

The bill that I am presenting to you will be known as a civil rights bill. But, in a larger sense, most of the program I am recommending is a civil rights program. Its object is to open the city of hope to all people of all races.

Because all Americans just must have the right to vote. And we are going to give them that right.

All Americans must have the privileges of citizenship regardless of race. And they are going to have those privileges of citizenship regardless of race.

But I would like to caution you and remind you that to exercise these privileges takes much more than just legal right. It requires a trained mind and a healthy body. It requires a decent home, and the chance to find a job, and the opportunity to escape from the clutches of poverty.

Of course, people cannot contribute to the Nation if they are never taught to read or write, if their bodies are stunted from hunger, if their sickness goes untended, if their life is spent in hopeless poverty just drawing a welfare check.

So we want to open the gates to opportunity. But we are also going to give all our people, black and white, the help that they need to walk through those gates.

#### THE PURPOSE OF THIS GOVERNMENT

My first job after college was as a teacher in Cotulla, Tex., in a small Mexican-American school. Few of them could speak English, and I couldn't speak much Spanish. My students were poor and they often came to class without breakfast, hungry. They knew even in their youth the pain of prejudice. They never seemed to know why people disliked them. But they knew it was so, because I saw it in their eyes. I often walked home late in the afternoon, after the classes were finished, wishing there was more that I could do. But all I knew was to teach them the little that I knew, hoping that it might help them against the hardships that lay ahead.

Somehow you never forget what poverty and hatred can do when you see its scars on the hopeful face of a young child.

I never thought then, in 1928, that I would be standing here in 1965. It never even occurred to me in my fondest dreams that I might have the chance to help the sons and daughters of those students and to help people like them all over this country.

But now I do have that chance—and I'll let you in on a secret—I mean to use it. And I hope that you will use it with me.

This is the richest and most powerful country which ever occupied the globe. The might of past empires is little compared to ours. But I do not want to be the President who built empires, or sought grandeur, or extended dominion.

I want to be the President who educated young children to the wonders of their world. I want to be the President who helped to feed the hungry and to prepare them to be taxpayers instead of tax eaters.

I want to be the President who helped the poor to find their own way and who protected the right of every citizen to vote in

every election.

I want to be the President who helped to end hatred among his fellow men and who promoted love among the people of all races and all regions and all parties.

I want to be the President who helped to end war among the brothers of this earth.

And so at the request of your beloved Speaker and the Senator from Montana; the majority leader, the Senator from Illinois; the minority leader, Mr. McCulloch, and other Members of both parties, I came here tonight—not as President Roosevelt came down one time in person to veto a bonus bill, not as President Truman came down one time to urge the passage of a railroad bill—but I came down here to ask you to share this task with me and to share it with the people that we both work for. I want this to be the Congress, Republicans and Democrats alike, which did all these things

for all these people.

Beyond this great chamber, out yonder in 50 States, are the people that we serve. Who can tell what deep and unspoken hopes are in their hearts tonight as they sit there and listen. We all can guess, from our own lives, how difficult they often find their own pursuit of happiness, how many problems each little family has. They look most of all to themselves for their futures. But I think that they also look to each of us.

Above the pyramid on the great seal of the United States it says—in Latin—"God has favored our undertaking."

God will not favor everything that we do. It is rather our duty to divine His will. But I cannot help believing that He truly understands and that He really favors the undertaking that we begin here tonight.

NOTE: The address was broadcast nationally. See also Items 108, 109, 409.

## 108 Special Message to the Congress on the Right To Vote. March 15, 1965

### To the Congress of the United States:

In this same month ninety-five years ago—on March 30, 1870—the Constitution of the United States was amended for the fifteenth time to guarantee that no citizen of our land should be denied the right to vote because of race or color.

The command of the Fifteenth Amendment is unequivocal and its equal force upon State Governments and the Federal Government is unarguable.

Section 1 of this Amendment provides: The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

By the oath I have taken "to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States," duty directs—and strong personal conviction impels—that I advise the Congress that action is necessary, and necessary now, if the Constitution is to be upheld and the rights of all citizens are not to be mocked, abused and denied.

I must regretfully report to the Congress the following facts:

1. That the Fifteenth Amendment of our Constitution is today being systematically and willfully circumvented in certain State and local jurisdictions of our Nation.

2. That representatives of such State and local governments acting "under the color of law," are denying American citizens the

E X E C U T I V E   O F F I C E   O F   T H E   P R E S I D E N T

10-Jul-1995 07:25pm

TO:           Janice A. Enright

FROM:         Karen L. Hancox  
              Office of Political Affairs

CC:           Douglas B. Sosnik

CC:           Ruby G. Moy

SUBJECT:      RE: Minyon Moore's proposal for August Voting Rights event

Per DS' suggestion, I asked if this was something POTYUS could do via satellite. Minyon said yes.

She is getting us a proposal for a satellite event.

E X E C U T I V E   O F F I C E   O F   T H E   P R E S I D E N T

10-Jul-1995 04:05pm

TO: Janice A. Enright

FROM: Karen L. Hancox  
Office of Political Affairs

CC: Douglas B. Sosnik  
CC: Ruby G. Moy

SUBJECT: RE: Minyon Moore's proposal for August Voting Rights event

I told Minyon POTUS is on vacation during her event.

She asked if POTUS could do it another time.

I told her there did not seem to be a lot of excitement here for the event, but I would ask DS again.

I have not had a chance to talk to him yet

E X E C U T I V E   O F F I C E   O F   T H E   P R E S I D E N T

10-Jul-1995 02:56pm

TO:            Douglas B. Sosnik  
TO:            Karen L. Hancox  
  
FROM:          Janice A. Enright  
              Office of the Chief of Staff  
  
CC:            Ruby G. Moy  
  
SUBJECT:      Minyon Moore's proposal for August Voting Rights event

Is it safe to assume that Minyon's proposal is being handled by us? Harold has not been brought into the conversation yet (to my knowledge). Is anyone interested in pursuing? Should we have a meeting with Alexis, Doug, Karen, Harold and Minyon?

Please advise.

J.

26 June 1995

JUN 30 1995

MEMORANDUM TO DOUG SOSNIK  
KAREN HANCOX

CC: ALEXIS HERMAN ✓

FROM: Harold Ickes (H)

SUBJECT: Proposed DNC voter registration and participation  
program

Attached is a "draft 2" of a memorandum from Greg Moore of the DNC to Minyon Moore of the DNC dated 23 March 1995 describing the 1995-96 voter registration and participation program to be conducted by the Democratic Party.

Also attached is a 22 May 1995 memorandum from Greg Moore to Don Fowler and Minyon Moore regarding the same subject. I received both of these documents last week (21 June 1995) from Minyon Moore.

Let's discuss and then set up a meeting with the DNC to go over these proposals.

DEMOCRATIC ★ NATIONAL ★ COMMITTEE

Donald L. Fowler  
National Chair

Christopher J. Dodd  
General Chair

To: Harold Stokes      % Karen Hancock  
 At: Mignon Moore  
 Dt: 6/21/95  
 RE: Voter Registration

46 456-6527

I understand from speaking w/ Karen,  
 you haven't seen either of these  
 two voter registration plans & proposals.  
 Unfortunately I am unclear about  
 information flow. I apologize.

- ① 1995-96 Plan
  - ② 1995 Plan
- They are  
 in constant  
 Refinement

Let's discuss at your earliest convenience

213 Pts



03/21/95 12:28 DNC 7 2024361414  
NU. 745 P001  
**DRAFT # 2**

## **MEMORANDUM**

**TO: Minyon Moore, Director  
Campaign Division, Democratic National Committee**

**FR: Gregory T. Moore, Deputy Director  
Campaign Division**

**RE: 1995-96 Voter Registration and Participation Program**

**DATE: March 23, 1995**

### **I. OVERVIEW**

Since 1989 the Democratic National Committee's Office of Voter Registration and Participation (OVRP) has been responsible for coordination of voter registration, education and get out the vote activities among DNC core constituency groups, within state and local party organizations and supportive community based organizations. The office also supported the passage and full implementation of the National Voter Registration Act of 1993, a.k.a. the motor voter bill and the enforcement of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and its amendments.

The OVRP served as a division of the DNC Voter Participation, Training, and Public Liaison working in conjunction with the Political Division and Governmental Affairs, and the DNC legal affairs office. OVRP worked vigorously with state parties and advocacy groups to ensure that states are enacting Motor Voter enabling legislation.

The nation's leading motor voter advocacy organization, Human Services estimates that between 20 to 30 million new voters will be added to the rolls by November, 1996. This would in effect be the most massive increase of registered voters in U.S. history in the shortest period of time. With this new reality, the primary objective of the campaign division is to shift our operational infrastructure from voter registration to voter education and mobilization. The political impact of the Motor Voter Bill will be astounding and will change the face and character of the American electorate.

With the establishment of the Campaign Division, these areas have been collapsed into the cluster that make up the campaign division's core operations. While a separate Office of Voter Registration and Participation may not exist as a separate entity, we are proposing that its core program thrust be modified and continued in the following form.

This transition will require a multi-faceted voter outreach program that: 1) focus on tracking of new voters registered through motor voter, 2) promote targeted registration in state parties and Coordinated Campaigns through surgical voter registration efforts that are carefully targeted to supplement MV efforts, 3) a concentrated effort to motivate our base voters, and 4) developing voter outreach programs that link legislative initiatives of the Clinton Administration.

## **II. 94 ELECTION SUMMARY AND PROJECTIONS**

Despite historic losses of Democrats across the nation, the '94 turnout of African Americans increased by nearly 10% over 1990. This was due in part to our collective **Base Voter Mobilization** operation in conjunction with White House Political, state parties, and coordinated campaigns. Post election surveys revealed that the turnout among African Americans, Hispanic and Asian Pacific in particular produced some record breaking turnout over and above the 1990 performance.

(See 1994 Chart A2 Election Analysis: Voter Shifts in Mid-Term Elections: 1986-94).

Additionally, Members of the Congressional Black Caucus, the Hispanic Caucus and the Asian Pacific Caucus were re-elected by comfortable margins. Most notable were the turnout in Majority-Minority districts that had been under attack by the courts and Republican led plaintiffs. Women voters also voted Democratic in higher proportion than men. Even young voters, 18-24 voted slightly Democratic in a year of some Republican landslides.

The political climate of '95 and '96 will make the impact of NVRA more apparent than the nascent indications of '94. recent polling data suggest that the rhetoric of the Republican revolution of '94, embodied in the *Contract with America*, has begun to dissipate. At the same time Democratic base voters are starting to grasp the real life meaning of the Republican agenda. This environment coupled with the opportunities created by NVRA presents an surprisingly optimistic outlook for Democrats in '95 and '96. The Motor Voter Monitoring and Tracking Project (MVMTP) will enable us to capitalize on the synergy of these factors to affect the outcome of the base voter groups. The factual data provided by (MVMTP) will impact the way base vote strategies are incorporated. The information is a necessary prelude for the strategic targeting and planning amongst the base voters and "new" voters created by NVRA.

(See Chart A2 1994 Election Analysis : Turn Out Trends)

**CHART A2****1994 ELECTION ANALYSIS:  
VOTER SHIFTS IN MID-TERM ELECTIONS OF 1986 - 1994**

	<u>1986</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>1994</u>
<b><u>RACE</u></b>			
<b>WHITE</b>			
Democrats	49	50	42
Republicans	51	50	58
<b>W. WOMEN</b>			
Democrats	50	52	45
Republicans	50	48	55
<b>W. MEN</b>			
Democrats	47	48	38
Republicans	53	52	62
<b>BLACK</b>			
Democrats	86	79	88
Republicans	14	21	12
<b>B. WOMEN</b>			
Democrats	88	80	90
Republicans	12	20	10
<b>B. MEN</b>			
Democrats	84	79	85
Republicans	16	21	15
<b>HISPANIC</b>			
Democrats	75	72	70
Republicans	25	28	30
<b><u>GEOGRAPHY</u></b>			
<b>EAST</b>			
Democrats	52	54	52
Republicans	48	46	48

**WEST**

Democrats	51	54	59
Republicans	49	46	41

**MIDWEST**

Democrats	53	45	44
Republicans	47	49	56* See Radical Right Section

**SOUTH**

Democrats	56	54	45
Republicans	44	46	55* See Radical Right Section

**PARTY LOYALTY****DEMOCRATS**

Democrats	81	79	90
Republicans	19	21	10

**REPUBLICANS**

Democrats	20	23	7
Republicans	80	77	93

**INDEPENDENTS**

Democrats	52	52	44
Republicans	48	48	56

### **III. GOALS AND OBJECTIVES**

#### **1) The Motor Voter Monitoring and Tracking Project**

This program will be established as an outgrowth of the pre-implementation **Motor Voter Support Project**. The MVMTP would continue the monitoring of implementation process of NVRA in non-compliance, with a focus on 1995/96 targeted cities and states.

#### **Rationale**

It is estimated that slightly over one third, or 10 million are registering as Independents, with the remaining being followed by 10 million Democrats and 10 million Republicans added to the rolls that will impact every race from presidential, congressional, and local election. Within four years, the country will go from 55% registration to 90% registration. The changing face of the electorate will now include millions of new voters who have not pledged alliance to any party. These new voters are much more likely to vote based on the candidate's message and the issues they feel most effect their daily lives.

In 1994, just over 50% of young people ages 18-24 are registered, but over 92% have driver's license. In 1992, less than 40% of low income people were registered. By November 96 general this number will increase to an unprecedented 65%. By 1998, over 90% will be empowered for the first time in American History. Lastly, the NVRA ends long standing practices of purging voters for not voting and calls for a uniform system of updating registration. It is clear that this legislation will affect the everyday lives of the American people.

The project would:

1) Create new programs within the Campaign Division to provide data on a monthly basis on pick-up of new registrants in our targeted states for 1995/96 according to party identification, county, city, race, gender and where possible, by precinct. This project can be aided significantly by the research and expertise of **Human Serve**, a New York based voter registration advocacy organizations which has advocated and advanced motor voter and agency based registration for over 12 years. A contractual or vender relationship should be considered that would aid the division's efforts in:

- A. Incorporating a tracking system into state party operations;
- B. Releasing a Monthly Report to DNC Chairmen, affiliates and allies, and
- C. Continue to Track legal and legislative progress of non-complying states

- 2) encourage party activists and community organizations to coordinate voter registration/education programs in states that have not complied with federal statute
- 3) Use National Voter Registration Form in non-complying states;
- 4) Work to halt purges for non-voting in jurisdictions that are failing to comply with new prohibitions.

(See Motor Voter Chart A1 and B1)

A2

Attache

1.00 2.00

11

## DNC Office of Voter Registration and Participation ANALYSIS OF VAPI/VAP CURRENT/ MOTOR VOTER PROJECTIONS FOR 1995/96

State	Total VAP	Tot. Black VAP	Black % of Total	Est. Unreg. Total VAP	Est. Unreg. Blk. VAP	Mayoral Races '95	'96 Senate Races	Motor Voter Status	NVRA est. Reg by 11/96
Alabama	3,007,000	775,000	25.8%	690,000	260,000	Birmingham Montgomery	Heflin, (D)	Enacted	219,000
Arkansas	1,745,000	291,000	16.7%	584,000	110,000	Little Rock	Pryor, (D)	Const. Conflict	131,000
California	22,348,000	1,268,000	5.7%	9,476,000	457,000	San Francisco	N/A	Failed to Enact	4,750,000
Colorado	2,451,000	119,000	4.9%	620,000	44,000	Denver	Brown (R)	Enacted	310,000
Connecticut	2,428,000	222,000	9.1%	564,000	101,000	Bridgeport Hartford	N/A	Enacted	282,000
Delaware	519,000	85,000	16.4%	152,000	36,000	NA	Biden (B)	Enacted	36,000
Florida	10,856,000	1,318,000	13.6%	3,856,000	638,000	Jacksonville	N/A	Enacted	1,750,000
Georgia	5,159,000	1,292,000	31.9%	1,795,000	693,000	N/A	Num (D)	Enacted	810,000
Illinois	8,676,000	1,202,000	13.9%	2,500,000	298,000	Chicago	OPEN	Failed to Enact	1,235,000
Indiana	4,183,000	378,000	9.0%	1,337,000	135,000	Indianapolis	Craig (R)	Failed to Enact	601,000
Louisiana	2,972,000	721,000	24.9%	682,000	127,000	Governors race	OPEN	Enacted	306,900
Maryland	3,605,000	797,000	22.1%	1,021,000	268,000	Baltimore	N/A	Enacted	918,900
Massachusetts	4,501,000	184,000	4.1%	1,239,000	89,000	N/A	Kerry (D)	Enacted	619,500
Michigan	6,811,000	867,000	12.7%	1,733,000	208,000	PHM,	Levin (D)	\$ VETTERED by Gov	779,800

Mississippi	3,714,000	602,000	32.7%	400,000	129,000	Gov. Royce Fordice (R)	Cochran (R)	Failed to Enact	180,000
New Jersey	5,838,000	769,000	13.1%	1,980,000	287,000		Bradley (D)	Failed to Enact	950,000
North Carolina	4,976,000	1,107,000	22.2%	1,559,000	398,000	Municipals statewide	Helms (D)	Enacted	701,500
Pennsylvania	9,170,000	797,000	8.3%	3,263,000	260,000	Philadelphia	N/A	Failed to Enact	1,441,350
South Carolina	2,580,000	693,000	26.9%	850,000	263,000	N/A	Thormond (R)	VETOED by Gov.	382,500
Tennessee	3,714,000	529,000	14.2%	1,301,000	119,000	Memphis, Nashville	Thompson (R)	Enacted	585,450
Texas	12,267,000	1,318,000	11.1%	4,311,000	497,000	Houston, Dallas,	Gramm (R)	Exec. Order by Defeated Dem Gov	1,969,000

\* Source: U.S. Census Bureau, National Committee for an Effective Congress (NCEC)  
States in Bold in Non-Compliance 1/13/95

**DEMOCRATIC ★ NATIONAL ★ COMMITTEE**

David Wilhelm, Chairman

**MEMORANDUM**

**To: HISPAC Board of Directors**

**From: Andy Hernandez, Director  
Latino Outreach**

**Date: August 19, 1994**

**Re: Latino Unregistered Vote Potential**

**Latino Unregistered Vote  
Potential in Key Electoral States  
for the President in 1994 and 1996**

State	Electoral Vote	Latino Citizen Voting Age Population	Registered Latino Voters	Unregistered Latino Voters	% Latino Vote for Clinton 92
California	54	2,815,400	1,563,000	1,252,400	71
New York	33	1,079,400	503,000	576,400	59
Texas	32	2,141,800	1,334,000	807,800	71
Florida	25	744,700	482,000	262,700	31
Pennsylvania	23	125,000	76,000	49,000	n/a
Illinois	22	428,700	269,000	159,700	60
Michigan	18	77,700	58,000	19,700	n/a
New Jersey	15	415,200	272,000	143,200	67
New Mexico	5	318,000	93,000	225,200	60



## **Motor Voter Monitoring and Tracking Project: Targeted States**

- 1) States in non-compliance: **California, Illinois, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and Michigan.**
- 2) States with statewide or municipal elections in 1995 and Republican Governors opposed to legislation: Including, **Mississippi, Louisiana, New York, New Jersey, Texas, Ohio, Montana, Alabama**
- 3) States with January 1, 1996 Deadlines for implementation: **Arkansas, Delaware, Virginia**

## **2) DNC Based Voter Mobilization**

Promote voter registration and outreach efforts among the Democratic party's core constituency groups, African Americans, Latino, Asian Pacific, Women, Jewish, working men and women, the labor community, gay and Lesbian voters, and the disability community; coordination of the White House, DCCC, DSCC, and DGA in **Base Voter Mobilization** in targeted states including; specialty media, GOTV rallies, poster and literature distribution, and monitoring of non-profit mobilization efforts. The scenario and opportunities for the Democratic Party to affect the base vote groups are presented in the following:

### ***African American***

1. **Infrastructure:** Formation of Working Group of DNC African American Senior/Support Staff to Coordinate Base Voter Mobilization Activities
2. **Focus Groups and Polling:** Implementation of proposal submitted by Ron Lester for 10 regional African American Focus Groups on issues, (Affirmative Action, Welfare, Party identification, etc.)
3. **Educating Our Base:** Regular Mail to 1000 appointees, Newsletter, packaged radio satellite feeds on consistent basis through Black Radio Networks, Road Show including Minyon Moore, African American Appointees and Key Democratic leaders
4. **Placement of African American Staff in Campaigns, and Clinton-Gore'96**
5. **Coordination of Ministers Black Church Plan of Action**
6. **DNC Black Caucus Retreat/Conference (Mid May)**
7. **HBCU/College Democrat Voter Registration Plan**
8. **Targeting Marginal Republican Districts with 20%+ AA population**

**See Chart C1: Marginal AA Districts**

### ***Women***

While women make up over 50% of the voting age population in the U.S., a special emphasis will be placed on women of color, single parent mothers, aid recipients as well as middle class women. 1995 is the 75th Anniversary of Women's Suffrage. This is an ideal setting for an offensive campaign to mobilize and galvanize women against the Republican's "anti-women" crusade. This event will involve the participation of many national women's organizations and networks, and an easy media magnet.

***Latino/a***

In reaction to the California anti-immigrant initiative, Proposition 187, the Latino/a community assembled a massive grassroots machine in 1994. Their efforts have prepared and strengthened Latino activists for the battles in '95 and '96 against the continued Republican initiatives that will hurt this community. The force of their efforts is not limited to the state of California. The lessons learned from '94 has intensified the efforts of Latino/a activists on a grassroots and national level across the country.

See chart C 2 (which identifies targets of latino mobilization based on marginal republican districts with significant Latino populations).

***Asian Pacific***

The Asian Pacific American (APA) media has been the key source of information from which to galvanize the political activity of this community. As with the Latino/a community, a significant amount of voter registration can take place in front of court houses after citizenship swearing-in ceremonies. In addition, increased educational efforts in specialty press about registering to vote in accordance with NVRA guidelines, and continued message delivery about the specific harmful effects of Republican initiatives to their communities is critical. According to the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the increasing number of legal permanent residents across the country seeking to become U.S. citizens.

**Base Voter Initial Target states:**

**African American:** California, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Mass., Michigan  
New Jersey, Oklahoma, Virginia, Georgia, Florida, Tennessee,  
Delaware, North Carolina, Maryland,

**Latino:** California, New York, Texas, Florida, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Michigan, New  
Jersey, New Mexico

**Asian Pacific American:** California, New York, Illinois, Maryland, Virginia, Texas,  
Washington

**Voter Registration and Empowerment Coalition**

Our networking in 1994 centered around marshalling all our allies within and outside of the party to coordinate a centralized massive voter registration effort. We are proposing the party once again coordinate a **National Voter Registration and Empowerment Month**. August 1st through August 30th 1995 would be designated with Actual voter registration efforts continuing throughout the fall to voter registration deadlines in each targeted state. (Efforts would continue through October 8, 1994, the cut off dates for most states).

**3. POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT ZONES**, modeled after HUD's Economic Empowerment Zones, and Enterprise Zones, would be kicked off in September, 1995 in 10 urban areas listed below. The zones will be coordinated by working in conjunction with several supportive community based non-profit organizations to support this concept in the targeted urban and rural centers. Central to the Political Empowerment Zones is the development of new innovative voter registration models which include the use of four major Clinton Administration initiatives to conduct voter registration: They are:

**A. Earned Income Tax Credit Voter Registration Project:**

**Implementation Date: February 1, 1996**

A 10 week program to conduct model voter registration programs in community based centers while signing up eligible low income recipients to apply for the EITC to file income tax returns. The project is model after a 1990 pilot program in Greensboro, North Carolina. A national EITC awareness program is currently being coordinated by the Center on Budget Priorities. The project would be established within each of the Empowerment Zones as pilot projects throughout the tax season from February 15th through April 15, 1995.

**B. National Service Corps:** by establishing civic responsibility model projects that promotes voter participation in Public Housing projects and Low income communities. Model projects will provide on site registration and expansion of polling places in more accessible areas. Model Projects will be coordinated in seven cities in conjunction with tenant association and other supportive community based organization.

**C. VR/GOTV for Core Democratic Vote in 95 Mayors Races**

In addition to high visible registration activities, priority would be given toward monitoring the implementation of Motor Voter in our targeted cities and states with Gubernatorial races. A special emphasis would be placed on states in non-compliance. Targeted states include: Mississippi, Louisiana, Kentucky, New Jersey, and Virginia. A voter coordination of GOTV activities in mayoral races in 1995 with a special emphasis on Democratic candidates and the issues important to the core Democratic constituency. A special emphasis will be placed on voter education that identifies hot button issues that will turn out the vote of core democratic constituencies; African Americans, Latinos, low income communities and young voters 18-29.

**4) Fundraising: Commemoration of Voting Rights Anniversaries**

1995 will mark three very unique anniversaries. The 125th Anniversary of the 15th Amendment to the Constitution, which granted the right to vote to African Americans for the first time; the 75th Anniversary of the 19th Amendment granting Women the right to vote and the 30th Anniversary of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 which dismantled Jim Crow voting schemes throughout the south and across the nation.

The DNC Campaign Division could use this as an opportunity to sponsor a major fund raising event in Washington in recognition of these important anniversaries.

The gathering could be comparable to the President's Birthday fundraiser held in August, of 1994 with the goal of mobilizing a major gathering of civil rights and voting rights activists all year. Proceeds would support our ongoing base voter registration efforts.

**Suggested Theme: *DNC Salutes the Right to Vote***

### **Political Empowerment Zone Targets 95/96 Targets**

#### **First Tier**

Baltimore, Md.  
Atlanta, Ga.  
Philadelphia, Pa.  
San Francisco  
Mississippi Delta,

#### **2nd Tier**

Memphis, Tenn.  
New Orleans, La.  
Norfolk, Va.  
Birmingham, Ala.  
Denver, Colorado

#### **3rd Five (First Tier 96)**

Detroit, Michigan  
New York, N.Y.  
Chicago, Illinois  
Cleveland, Ohio  
Los Angeles, Calif.

#### **5) Voter Empowerment Coalitions Building**

There are four components:

- A) Track and monitor voter outreach programs among voter registration, civil rights, labor and church based groups.
- B) Convene meetings with national voter registration, civil rights and labor organizations to increase efficiency and avoid duplication among allied constituency organizations.
- C) The collection and review of all voter registration proposals submitted to the DNC along with recommendations for funding to the Campaign Divisions and Coordinated campaign donors.
- D) Re-establish the National Voter Registration and Empowerment Month for the 1995 and 96 campaign cycle. Support for this project would be drawn from the 20-25 advocacy organizations which co-sponsored the registration drives and helped distributed a national poster and other literature to 20 targeted states. 1994. (See insert)

**Targets: Need based on the assessment of organizations field operations**

## **6) Electoral Training Sessions**

Would consist of assisting the training division in developing and conducting regional training seminars for campaign organizers on new strategies in voter registration organizing. Additionally we would develop specialized voter registration training aids:

- A. Develop and Conduct voter registration training program for states:
- B. Develop new VR training manual ("Making Motor voter work for you")
- C. Develop training Videotape Series
- E. Regular Updates to local party officials about development in
  - 1. Motor voter federal legislation,
  - 2. Pending changes in election law

## **IV. Conclusions**

The Office of Voter Registration and Participation presented a Election Analysis to Report to the Democratic party Chairman outlining three of the many factors that contributed to this loss includes the 1) lack of resources within coordinated campaigns and state parties directed toward year round ongoing voter registration activities; 2) the relatively short time span necessary between approval of CC's budgets and registration deadlines, and 3) the lack of full funding to many of the non-partisan voter participation groups who were unable to mount fully operational registration and GOTV efforts in many of our targeted states.

It is important that the new campaign division learn from the lessons of 1993 and 1994. It is particularly critical in a year when millions of new voters are being added to the rolls who do not have a history of political involvement and are in desperate need of political education and motivation. This proposal is part of a first step in putting in the necessary infrastructure to make complement the other divisions within the Campaign Department.

A1

DNC Office of Voter Registration and Participation ANALYSIS OF VAP/HVAP CURRENT/ MOTOR VOTER PROJECTIONS FOR 1995/96

State	Total VAP	Tot. Black VAP	Black % of Total	Est. Unreg. Total VAP	Est. Unreg. Blk. VAP	Mayoral Races '95	'96 Senate Races	Motor Voter Status	NVRA est. Reg by 11/96
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Massachusetts	4,501,000	184,000	4.1%	1,219,000	89,000	N/A	Kerry (D)	Enacted	619,500
Michigan	6,811,000	867,000	12.7%	1,733,000	208,000	Flint,	Levin (D)	\$ VETOED by Gov	779,800

Mississippi	3,714,000	602,000	32.7%	400,000	129,000	Gov. Race Fordice (R)	Cochran (R)	Failed to Enact	180,000
New Jersey	5,838,000	769,000	13.1%	1,900,000	287,000		Bradley (D)	Failed to Enact	950,000
North Carolina	4,976,000	1,107,000	22.2%	1,559,000	398,000	Municipals statewide	Helms (D)	Enacted	701,500
Pennsylvania	9,170,000	797,000	8.3%	3,203,000	260,000	Philadelphia	N/A	Failed to Enact	1,401,350
South Carolina	2,580,000	693,000	26.9%	850,000	263,000	N/A	Thurmond (R)	VETOED by Gov.	382,500
Tennessee	3,714,000	529,000	14.2%	1,301,000	119,000	Memphis, Nashville	Thompson (R)	Enacted	585,450
Texas	12,267,000	1,318,000	11.1%	4,311,000	497,000	Houston, Dallas,	Gramm (R)	Exec. Order by Defeated Dem Gov	1,969,000

\* Source: U.S. Census Bureau, National Committee for an Effective Congress (NCEC)  
States in Bold in Non-Compliance 1/13/95

A2

## ANALYSIS OF VAP/HVAP CURRENT/ MOTOR VOTER PROJECTIONS FOR 1995/96

State	Total VAP	Total Hisp. VAP	Hisp. % of Total VAP	Est. Unreg. Total VAP	Est. Unreg. Hisp. VAP	Reg. Hisp. VAP	Mayoral Races	'96 Senate Races	Motor Voter Status	NVRA Est. Reg. by 11/96
ARIZONA	2,671,000	442,000	16.5%	789,000	245,000	44.7%	N/A	N/A		
CALIFORNIA	22,340,000	5,443,000	24.4%	9,476,000	4,059,000	25.4%	San Francisco	N/A	NO	4,750,000
COLORADO	2,451,000	218,000	4.9%	620,000	73,000	66.5%	Denver	OPEN Brown	YES	310,000
FLORIDA	10,856,000	1,349,000	12.4%	3,856,000	877,000	35.0%	Jacksonville	N/A	YES	1,750,000
ILLINOIS	8,676,000	646,000	7.4%	2,425,000	423,000	34.6%	Chicago	OPEN Simon	NO	1,235,000
NEW MEXICO	1,079,000	334,000	31.0%	355,000	144,000	56.8%	N/A	Domenici (R)	N/A	
NEW YORK	13,401,000	1,172,000	8.7%	5,087,000	723,000	38.3%	N/A	N/A	N/A	
NEW JERSEY	5,838,000	564,000	9.7%	1,866,000	357,000	36.8%	N/A	Bradley (D)	NO	950,000
PENNSYLVANIA	9,170,000	107,000	1.2%	3,203,000	55,000	48.5%	Philadelphia	N/A	NO	1,441,350
TEXAS	12,267,000	2,806,000	22.9%	4,311,000	1,603,000	42.9%	Houston, Dallas, San Antonio	Gramm (R)	YES	1,969, 00

Source: U.S. Census Bureau  
National Committee for an Effective Congress (NCEC)



C1

**Marginal Republican Districts with Significant African-American Populations\***

		<u>State/District</u>	<u>Percent Black</u>	<u>Total '94 %</u>	<u>Republican Margin</u>
1.	Fred Heineman	NC/4	20	50	1,313
2.	Jay Dickey	AK/4	27	52	6,106
3.	Steve Stockman	TX/9	22	52	9,710
4.	Steve Chabot	OH/1	30	56	20,188
5.	David Fundertuck	NC/2	22	56	17,558
6.	Walter Jones, Jr.	NC/3	22	53	7,244
7.	Richard Burr	NC/5	15	57	21,457
8.	Roger Wicker	MS/1	23	63	33,665
9.	Saxby Chambliss	GA/8	21	63	36,000
10.	Sonny Callahan	AL/1	29	67	52,285

\* In order of priority. The first three members are on the DCCC's "Republican Incumbent Communication's Priority List." They represent the most vulnerable Republican districts with significant African-American populations.

03/22/95

C2

# **Marginal Republican Districts with Significant Latino Populations\***

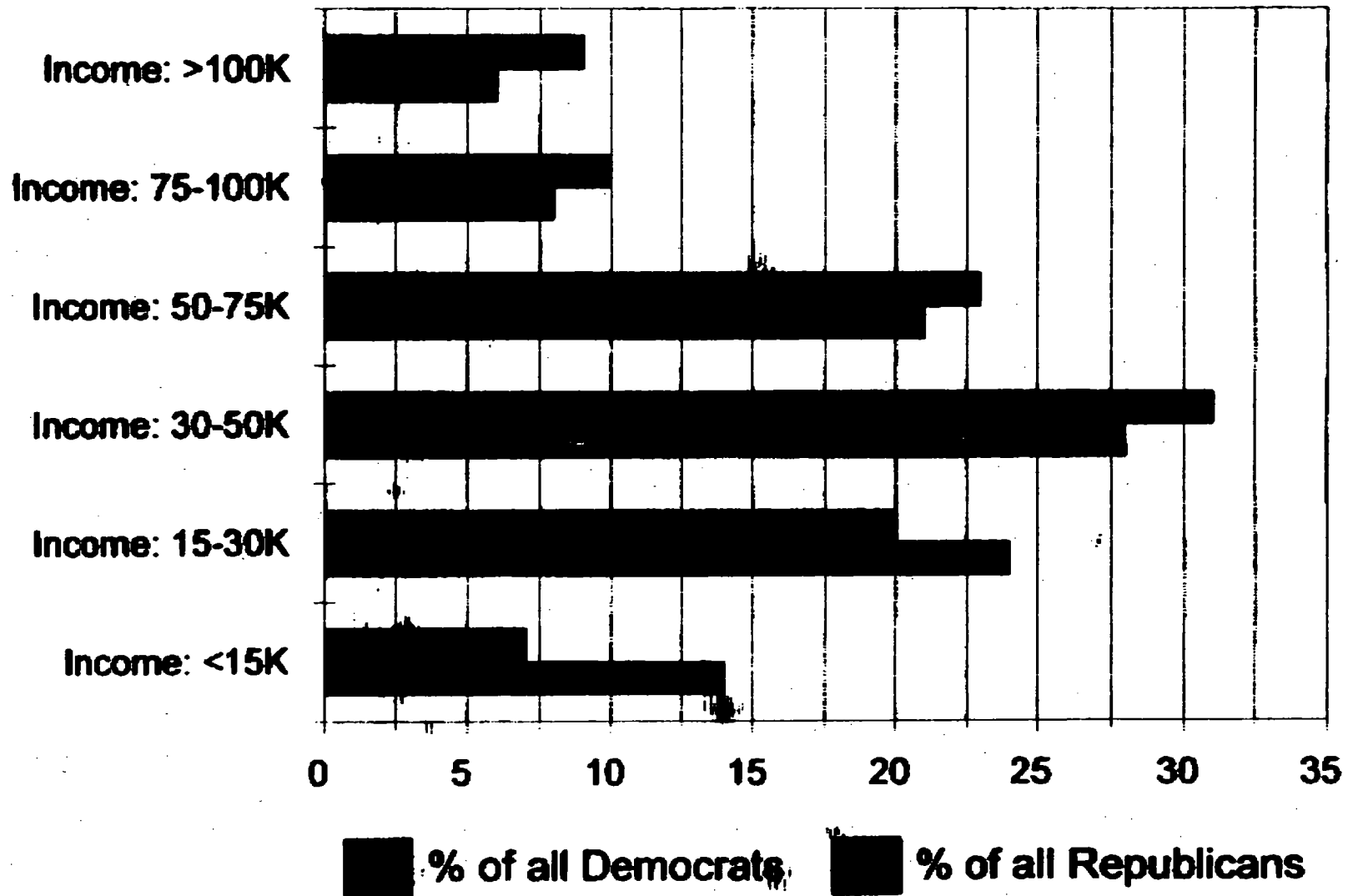
		<u>State/District</u>	<u>Percent Hispanic</u>	<u>Total '94 %</u>	<u>Republican Margin</u>
1.	<i>Andrea Seastrand</i>	CA/22	21	49	1,563
2.	William (Bill) Thornberry	TX/13	19	56	15,779
3.	<i>Ken Calvert</i>	CA/43	25	55	25,158
4.	Carlos Moorhead	CA/27	20	52	13,599
5.	Sonny Bono	CA/44	28	56	29,857
6.	Bill Martini	NJ/8	17	50	2,007
7.	Steve Horn	CA/38	26	59	31,544
8.	Robert (Bob) Dornan	CA/46	50	57	16,484
9.	Henry Bonilla	TX/23	63	62	29,114
10.	<i>Brian Bilbray</i>	CA/49	13	49	4,686
11.	Joe Skeen	NM/2	42	63	37,250
12.	George Radnovich	CA/19	24	57	31,523
13.	<i>Michael Flanagan</i>	IL/5	13	55	12,263
14.	J.D. Hayworth	AZ/6	13	54	25,739
15.	<i>Frank Riggs</i>	CA/1	11	53	13,153

\* In order of priority. They represent the most vulnerable Republican districts with significant Hispanic populations. Italicized members are on the DCCC's "Republican Incumbent Communication's Priority List."

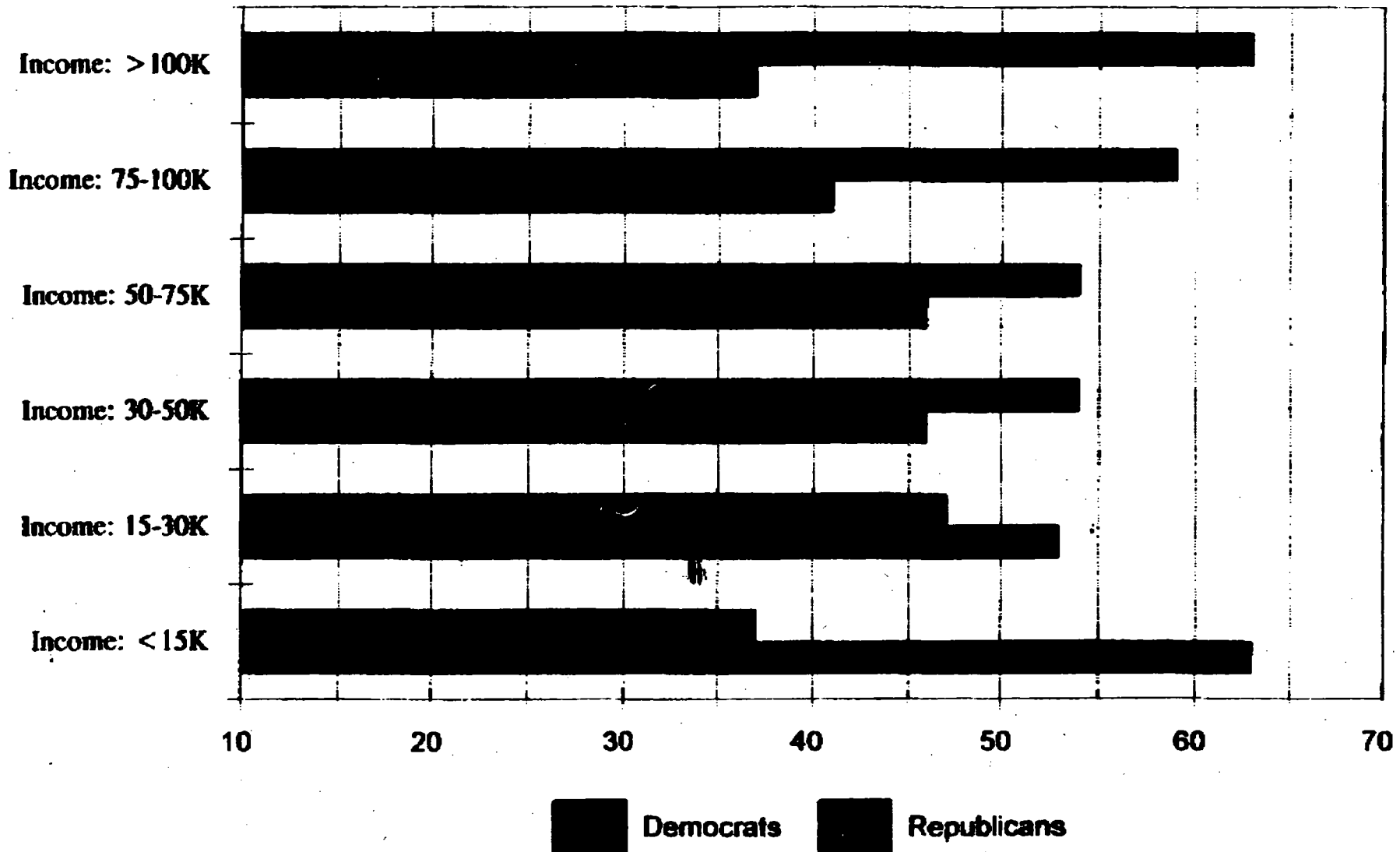
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# Income Vote by Party

## % Contribution



## Party Preferences by Income



2/3 pts

# DEMOCRATIC ★ NATIONAL ★ COMMITTEE

Donald L. Fowler  
National Chair

Christopher J. Dodd  
General Chair

## MEMORANDUM

**TO:** Chairman Don Fowler  
Minyon Moore  
**FROM:** Greg Moore  
**DATE:** May 22, 1995  
**RE:** DNC Voter Registration/Mobilization Plan of Action, 1995

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### Summary

The voter registration plan being submitted represents a new approach to our voter registration and mobilizations efforts. It is centered around the integration of the various components of the Campaign Division clusters with existing Democratic affiliated organizations and state party coordinated campaigns. It also involves the utilization of our allied voter participation community necessary for carrying out an effective voter mobilization drive to help register 5 Million new Voters.

### The four central components to this plan are:

- I. Energizing the DNC Campaign Division's voter outreach efforts by incorporate registration and education into every component of the campaign division. (See Page 2)
- II. Gaining support of Associations of Democratic Elected Officials for registration efforts by state, counties, cities and Congressional Districts. (See Page 3)
- III. Establishment of three statewide VR campaigns in Mississippi, California and Michigan, support for model voter registration programs in New Jersey, Virginia and Kentucky for their statewide voter mobilization efforts.
- IV. Development of an Effective marketing plan that will stimulate and motivate our targeted base voters to register and get out the vote on election day in 1995 and 1996. (See Ofield Dukes memorandum)

### I. Voter Registration Assistance Programs by Division

The following is a list of activities that the various cluster areas of the campaign division will undertake to assist in the campaign division.

## **I. Voter Registration Assistance Programs by Divisions**

**A. Base Voter Outreach:** Identify pockets of unregistered voters in targeted states by congressional district for each constituency group. Build support for DNC initiated Voter Registration and Outreach efforts among DNC constituency organizations.

**B. Inter Governmental Relations:** Secure endorsements and proclamations from Elected officials for registration projects in targeted states.

**C. Coordinated Campaigns:** Incorporate Voter Registration plans into each state plan submitted and approved; monitor and track new registrants.

**D. Training:** Conduct Voter Registration/education training series into Training Curriculum

**E. Speakers Bureau:** Help coordinate surrogates, Celebrity and other public officials into Voter Registration rallies and special events in targeted cities; heavy use of radio and specialty media.

**F. Regional Desks:** Build support for DNC sponsored voter outreach efforts among party chairs and Democratic activists.

**G. Scheduling:** Use of Cabinet Secretaries for special events and rallies, town meetings and community sponsored voter education and issue awareness projects: (i.e. Designation of Political Empowerment Zones)

**H. Research and Technology:** Begin the inputting of up to date voter registration statistics from Motor Voter through state by state tracking with assistance from Human Serve and NCEC.

**I. Media/Communications:** Coordinate Press conferences, distribute news releases, development of PSA's for Radio, TV and print. Develop promotional brochures, bumper stickers, posters, buttons, hats and other materials on voting Democratic and anti-republican:

## **II. National Voter Registration and Empowerment Campaign**

A major White House/DNC Event would kick off an national efforts to bring together an array of an array of elected officials, labor leaders, celebrities and other notables will be joining in this national drive to encourage greater voter registration and participation.

NVREC is just the first step in a long process to empower base supporters that make up the core of the Democratic Party. Effective and highly visible voter participation and empowerment campaigns will be established first in our targeted 95 states, and in electoral battle ground states.

**Pilot Projects:** develop model targeted registration programs: Central components of VR proposal: Coordinate high visibility voter outreach campaigns that will educate the newly registered voters through a series of programs and activities in the targeted states.

These projects will include:

**DNC Registration Goal 5 Million New Democratic Voters by November 1996.****LL Cool J/Youth Mobilization.... 1 Million**

This effort, to be spearheaded by Rap Artist/Actor LL Cool J will work in conjunction with the College Democrats, Young Democrats, Rock the Vote, Black Student Leadership Network, the United States Student Association, Campus Greenvote and other Student and youth issue and voter outreach organizations.

**Labor.....1 Million**

This effort will be coordinated in conjunction with the AFL-CIO Cope, the A. Philip Randolph Institute, the Coalition of Black Trade Unionist, AFSCME, SEIU, and a number of other labor organizations. Targets will include membership registration as well as assistance in DNC targeted registration sites. Lead Labor Leaders: Donahue, Sweeny, McEntee, Sturdivant, Dennis Rivera, Norm Hill,

**VR Groups.....2 Million**

This effort will be spearheaded by Myrle Evers, Betty Shabazz and Coretta Scott King who will be asked to serve as honorary co-chairs of the Voter Registration and Empowerment Coalition. This effort will consist primarily of the non-partisan registration drives civil rights, voter registration and issue focused constituency groups. Campaign Division will closely monitor and identify financial support for the effort. The groups include: The National Coalition on Black Voter Participation, Southwest Voter Registration Project, Midwest Voter, NAACP, Children's Defense Fund, Project Vote/ACORN, The National Rainbow Coalition/Citizenship Education Fund, the NAACP, and other organizational efforts.

**Churches.....1 million**

This effort will be coordinated by a coalition of leading clergy and church based organizations, with a particular focus on the Black church and Interfaith organizations who have formed to take on Radical Christian Coalition vote mobilization efforts. Among the participating organizations: The National Baptist Convention, the National Black Church Network, the Interfaith Alliance, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Jewish Democratic organizations. (Rev. Lyons, President of the NBC, Bishop James, AME's and Joe Lowery SCLC, will asked to head up this effort)



## **THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE'S NATIONAL VOTER REGISTRATION & EMPOWERMENT CAMPAIGN**

*National Voter Registration and Empowerment Campaign (NVREC)* is a nationally coordinated project to conduct a massive voter registration, education and get out the vote campaign in preparation for the November '95 and '96 elections. This drive will be undertaken from the combined efforts of voter registration, civil rights, labor, student and community service organizations working in conjunction with the Democratic National Committee, organized labor, and the affiliated association of Democratic elected and public officials. This includes:

### **Association of Elected Officials**

The National Association of Democratic Secretaries of State  
Democratic Governors Association  
The National Association of Democratic Mayors  
The National Association of Democratic County Officials  
National Association of Democratic Local Elected Officials

### **DNC Affiliated Organizations**

Association of State Democratic Chairs  
Democratic Legislative Campaign Committee  
College Democrats of America  
Young Democrats of America  
DNC Black Caucus  
DNC Hispanic/Latino Caucus  
DNC Women's Caucus  
DNC Asian Pacific Caucus  
Democratic Jewish Caucus

### **Congressional Democratic Caucuses**

Democratic Caucus of the Congressional Black Caucus  
Democratic Caucus of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus  
Democratic Caucus of the Women's Caucus  
Democratic Caucus of the Asian Pacific Caucus  
DNC Disability Advisory Council  
The Democratic Senatorial Campaign Association  
Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee

### **A. National Voter Registration and Empowerment Month:**

**AUGUST 1995 WILL MARK THE MONTH OF THREE VERY UNIQUE ANNIVERSARIES. MARCH 30TH WILL MARK THE 125TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE 15TH AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION WHICH GRANTED THE RIGHT TO VOTE TO AFRICAN AMERICANS FOR THE FIRST TIME. IT WILL ALSO MARK THE 75TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE 19TH AMENDMENT ON AUGUST 26TH WHICH GRANTED WOMEN THE RIGHT TO VOTE AND AUGUST 6TH THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965 WHICH DISMANTLED JIM CROW VOTING SCHEMES THROUGHOUT THE SOUTH AND ACROSS THE NATION.**

A major event will be held (Press Conference and reception) which will Kick off our registration efforts in early August, 1995 to coincide with the 30th Anniversary of the Voting Rights Act. Proposed that POTUS deliver a statement calling all Americans who are unregistered and disenfranchised to register to vote. Party and POTUS reasserts their support for the Motor Voter bill and reminds all federal agencies of his Executive Order to assist in the registration at the public agencies. POTUS calls on Colleges and University federal financial aid offices to register students to vote when applying for colleges. (College Democrats, and HBCU initiative).

POTUS urges civic and community service organizations to accelerate their efforts to register disenfranchised Americans to vote; calls on civil rights, labor, religious, educational and community based organizations to join forces to actively register their communities.

**B. Constituency Based Registration and Outreach:** Throughout the campaign, different constituencies will designate a day, week or weekend to targeted voter registration and outreach efforts. These targeted communities will include: African Americans, Latinos, Asian-Pacific, Students and Youth, Jewish, Women, Native Americans and the Disability community.

Goal is the building of a **Voter Empowerment Coalition** of organizations who will conduct parallel non-partisan registration and education activities within our targeted states. Recruit the assistance from new emerging opinion leaders in our targeted base vote community.

**C. Campaign for Full Compliance with the Motor Voter Law:** On September 12, 1995 President Clinton signed an Executive Order directing federal agencies to cooperate with state authorities in implementing the **National Voter Registration Act**, a.k.a. the Motor Voter bill in every state. Throughout the month, voting rights activists will be accelerating their efforts to pass motor voter enabling legislation in states that have failed to pass this legislation. This new law is estimated to register over 50 million disenfranchised voters over four years, making it the most important voting rights legislation since the **Voting Rights Act of 1965**. States that have yet to pass enabling legislation include **California, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Illinois and South Carolina**.

**D. Political Empowerment Zones:** The Democratic National Committee, as part of its effort to register politically and economically disenfranchised communities will target voter participation efforts within the **Empowerment Zones** in our three targeted states. These zones represent the highest unemployment, crime ridden and economically depressed areas of our nation.

Through PEZ we will establish civic model projects that promotes voter participation in Public Housing projects and Low income communities. Model projects will provide on site registration and expansion of polling places in more accessible areas. Program will be coordinated in conjunction with tenet association and other supportive community based organizations.

The DNC Political Empowerment Zones will focus on 1) concentrated registration among low income and disenfranchised communities, 2) registration at public assistance and social service agencies, 3) Voter education and information on candidates and campaign issues, and 4) registration at candidate rallies, concerts and other major community events. Likely location will include job placement centers, offices of public assistance, public housing units, adult training centers, community colleges and other offices offering public service.

Designating "Political" Empowerment Zones" with areas that mirror "economic" Empowerment Zones will make a direct link between the Administration and Democratic candidates who have supported the president's economic program and core democratic constituencies.

### **III. CONSTITUENCY OUTREACH AND SUPPORT GRANTS**

- \* **Promoting Registration in Coordinated Campaigns** through the development of registration and GOTV strategies with state chairs, party activists and campaigns in targeted states:
- \* **Constituency Based Voter Mobilization** by developing targeted voter registration projects through DNC Constituency Desks: African American, Latino, Asian Pacific, Youth and Students, Jewish, Gay and Lesbian, senior citizens and the disability community.
- \* **Building Effective Coalitions** by convening meetings with national non-partisan voter registration, civil rights and labor organizations to coordinate fall registration efforts.

### **IV. GETTING OUT THE DEMOCRATIC BASE VOTE/EDUCATING AND MOTIVATING VOTERS AROUND DEMOCRATIC INITIATIVES**

After this extensive period of voter registration, efforts should shift to voter education and get out the vote activities in targeted mayoral and statewide races for 1995. Data gathered from our African American Focus Groups would be used to evaluate messages. Three key factors in this effort will be candidate identification (who are our friends and enemies) issue awareness and direct voter contact. Linkage between Democratic candidates and the issues important to the core Democratic constituency will be key to motivating our targeted Democratic base of supporters to vote in large numbers.

Our GOTV strategy will be conducted in conjunction with the coordinated campaigns in each state. A special emphasis will be placed on identifying resources to turn out the vote of core democratic constituencies with a special emphasis on African Americans, Latinos, low income communities and young voters 18-29.

Methods of turnout will include flushing, phone banking, town meetings, neighborhood canvassing, GOTV support grants to neighborhood groups, and public service announcements and a speakers tour of prominent Democrats.

One of the central features of our GOTV strategy is to find avenues to educate our core constituencies about the initiatives in the first 2 years of the administration. the expanded earned income tax credit, student loan reform, crime prevention programs, empowerment zones, and family medical leave just to name a few.

#### **A. Support Grants**

The DNC, through our division will provide small grants to a number of our core constituency voter registration groups to assist in their registration efforts. Potential grantees could be among our allied groups who have previously received our support over the years. These groups include: the NAACP, Southwest Voter Registration Project, Midwest Voter Registration Project, ACORN, the National Rainbow Coalition/Citizenship Education Fund, the National Coalition for the Homeless, and series of Asian Pacific Political Action Organizations. In addition to direct aid, a number of contribution can be solicited from among the DNC big donors to support some of the more comprehensive VR projects. They include: the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation, Project Vote, Rock the Vote, the Children's Defense Fund, and the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

#### **Targets for Voter Registration 95**

Mississippi Delta  
Detroit, Michigan  
Los Angeles, Calif  
San Francisco, Calif.

New Orleans  
Philadelphia  
Baltimore  
San Francisco  
Louisville, Kentucky

Name	Date
Patty Lapton	11/19/98

counsel

2/3

AS