

UNIVERSAL  
LIBRARY

**OU\_156211**

UNIVERSAL  
LIBRARY

HANDBOOK  
*of*  
*Practical Politics*

*By*  
PAUL P. VAN RIPER

New York : HENRY HOLT AND COMPANY



## *What This Book Is About*

THIS BOOK is dedicated to an idea once expressed by the famous author, Henry Thoreau, a man who was himself greatly interested in the political process: "Even voting *for the right* is *doing* nothing for it. It is only expressing to men feebly that it should prevail."

**The aim here is to bring out more into the open some of the problems of organizing for effective citizen political action—partisan or nonpartisan—at the grass roots, local level.**

This is not a book in political theory or a study of politics at the top. Instead, it is planned to attack the problem of civic action at the source—the bottom of the political pyramid. This is a book for the individual citizen, for the student, for the small group, for the political amateur, and perhaps even for those who aspire to professional status in the world of democratic political action.

Some of the difficulties facing the person interested in political action have been the result of the extreme scarcity of materials of, basically, a "how to do it" nature. To be sure, there are great quantities of fugitive pamphlets, broadsides, and other literature put out by the active political organizations for the use of their own members. And there are several books by individuals active in political affairs, which have attempted to distill out for others the meaning of their own experiences.

But most of these materials are almost unobtainable or else they are so uncatalogued as to be almost undiscoverable. And the personal reminiscences and recommendations are seldom of a really systematic nature or else they tell a story which leaves much unsaid about the important *details* which the ordinary civic-minded individual is really looking for.

These pages represent more than two years of effort spent in collecting materials available in the professional political world on the subject of organizing for effective political action at the state and local levels.

As much as possible, this book is designed to let the experts in political action speak for themselves. The author has tried to keep himself in the background, supplying mainly introductory notes and explanatory comments.

A warning!

This is a book on **organization only**.

*What* you vote for and *whom* you vote for are your own business as far as the author is concerned. He has made no attempt to take sides on either candidates or issues.

But, it is everybody's business that all of us understand *how to go about* finding our way around the political world.

You will find within these pages materials from all kinds of organizations and by all kinds of persons. Some will clearly have axes to grind. To keep out of this collection all references to partisan affairs has not been possible, because most of the writers on political organization have also had partisan purposes in mind. But every attempt has been made to keep references to such purposes to a minimum and to separate out ideas on *organization* from other political ideas.

The author would, of course, welcome any suggestions for the improvement of this book and any references to useful material which he may not have discovered for himself.

*Northwestern University*  
*Evanston, Illinois*  
*April 15, 1952*

P. VAN R.

# Table of Contents

<i>Preface: WHAT THIS BOOK IS ABOUT</i>	vii
<i>Chapter 1: WHERE DO YOU FIT IN?</i>	1
1. You and Your Vote	2
2. Is Voting Enough?	6
3. How to Get Started	11
<i>Chapter 2: SOME POLITICAL FACTS OF LIFE</i>	19
1. The System	19
2. American Voting Habits	29
3. Election Law	32
4. Parliamentary Procedure	34
5. The Importance of Primaries	37
6. The Danger of Self-delusion	39
<i>Chapter 3: GETTING ORGANIZED</i>	44
1. Division of Labor	44
2. Recruiting Workers	57
3. Training Schools	64
4. The Headquarters	67
5. Finances	76
6. Tools and Timetables	82
<i>Chapter 4: DEVELOPING THE PRODUCT</i>	88
1. Political Caucuses	88
2. Handling the Candidate	93
3. Ideas Are Weapons Too	97
<i>Chapter 5: POLITICAL SALESMANSHIP</i>	103
1. Canvassing	104
2. Publicity and Political Literature	112
3. The Speakers' Bureau	125
4. Radio, Television, and Visual Aids	127
5. Rallies, Meetings, and Entertainment	134
<i>Chapter 6: ELECTION DAY—AS THE VOTER SEES IT</i>	145
1. Voting Eligibility	146
2. Absentee Ballots	147
3. Registration	148
4. Election Dates	149
5. Candidates and Issues	150

6. How to Mark a Ballot	150
7. If You Get in Trouble	157
<i>Chapter 7: ELECTION DAY—AS THE ORGANIZATION SEES IT</i>	161
1. Organizing for Election Day	161
2. Getting the Voter Ready to Vote	169
3. Getting the Voter to Vote	173
4. Administering the Election	184
5. Policing the Election	187
<i>Chapter 8: THE BIG PICTURE—IN IOWA</i>	197
<i>Chapter 9: SUCCESS STORY—IN PINELLAS COUNTY, FLORIDA</i>	202
<i>Chapter 10: WHERE TO WRITE FOR MORE</i>	207
1. Organizations and Agencies	208
2. General References	211
3. References on Special Topics	212

## Where Do YOU Fit In?

EDWARD J. "ED" FLYNN, well-known Boss of the Bronx for many years, wrote his life story not long ago and chose to call it *You're the Boss*.

An acknowledged master at politics and a former National Chairman of the Democratic party, Flynn has explained his choice of a title for his autobiography in this way: "It came to me then that there are really eighty million political bosses in America. And I determined to try to tell them how, through misguided zeal, misspent energy, and just plain laziness, most of them had been shirking their duty as soldiers of democracy. So this book is respectfully addressed to you, the reader, because you're the boss."

These words are not just the pious declarations of a "do-gooder." They are the words of a former head of a major political party.

The point is: **YOU ARE POLITICALLY IMPORTANT!!**

Yes, you as a **single individual!**

Life and politics in a democracy such as ours are the results of the accumulation of decisions made by millions of "you's" from every corner of the country. And, only in a democracy like the U.S.A. do individual citizens of all creeds and colors have even the **chance** to decide for themselves the really important problems facing them.

Yet, how many of us shy away from that chance?

We're too busy! We forget! Politics is such a bore! Let Jack or Jill do it! Besides, I wouldn't know where to start!

How often do we hear these moth-eaten excuses mouthed by people who, otherwise, would probably consider themselves pillars of their communities?

Yes, we may be busy. But, who isn't?

Organizing for political action may seem a sort of forbidding and mysterious thing. But the processes of democratic politics are not that mysterious or this country would long since have foundered in dictatorial despair.

Indeed, the whole purpose of this book is to open up to view some of the things about political organization which are easily within the grasp of most of us and which we all ought to know more about: Some

of the things which you may have occasionally wondered about but not got around to looking up on your own.



In this particular chapter we will be concerned mainly with these things:

1. **The importance of voting.**

2. **The importance of political action** and serious political thinking on the part of everybody.

3. **How to get started** if you want to make the most of your efforts.

If you are already convinced and perhaps even already started in a small political way, you may want to move on immediately to the next chapter or even to the chapter after that.

For, in the rest of this book we will get down to the fundamentals of such things as the "facts of political life" which everybody ought to understand, the problems and techniques of political action at the local level, the methods of political action, and some basic precautions to be taken. Then we will take a brief look at two success stories of people and organizations which have moved political mountains with the ordinary tools available to most of us. And, finally, there will be a chapter to tell you where to write in case you are looking for more ideas and information.

It may help to keep in mind that most of the suggestions and techniques and procedures presented in this book are taken from the experience of **people already in the business** of political action. Your author has tried to keep himself in the background and to let the voices of experience speak for themselves—**directly to YOU!**



## 1. YOU AND YOUR VOTE

One frequently hears, especially at election time, the old bromide, "What difference does my vote make anyway?"

Here's part of the answer.

In a little folder called *One Vote and Its Importance* the Republican National Committee reports, among others, these facts.

Rutherford B. Hayes was elected president by one vote. His election was contested, and it was referred to an electoral commission. Again he won by a single vote.

The man who cast that deciding vote for President Hayes was a Congressman from Indiana, a lawyer who was elected to Congress by a margin of just one vote. And that one vote was cast by a client of his who, though desperately ill, insisted on being taken to the polls to vote.

In 1948 when Mr. Truman carried the state of Ohio by less than 8,000 votes, only 56.5 per cent of the eligible voters voted. Out of 5,189,000 entitled to vote, there were over 2 million who did not go to the polls . . . and Truman won by exactly 7,107 votes—less than **one** vote in each of the 8,800 election precincts.

---

In the November, 1950, issue of the *Democratic Digest* the Women's Division of the Democratic National Committee has presented some more election facts to bring home the point that "Your vote could win the election!"

---

In 1944

1 more Democratic vote in every other precinct would have elected a Democratic Senator in Missouri.

2 more Democratic votes in every precinct would have elected a Democratic Senator in Ohio.

In 1946

1 more Democratic vote in every precinct in the First Congressional District would have elected another Democratic Congressman in Missouri.

1 more Democratic vote in every precinct in the Ninth Congressional District would have elected another Democratic Congressman in Ohio.

---

And, as the Republican party of Hawaii has noted in its pamphlet on precinct work entitled *The Man with the Big Job*: "One more vote in each of 17 precincts in Oahu could have elected a Republican mayor in Honolulu in 1946!"

Such statistics can, of course, be multiplied endlessly. When the chips are down, margins of political victory are close. In such cases, everybody counts, and every vote counts.

But everybody is important, not only because of the fact that each of us can vote, but also because each of us represents a potential influence among other voters. As the League of Women Voters puts it in its pamphlet entitled *Is Politics Your Job*:

---

The average citizen's one vote does count. But when he also becomes a *political* worker, he can multiply his effectiveness many fold. Not only does he vote himself but he makes himself a committee of one to see that others, who have that hopeless feeling about their votes, snap out of it and go to the polls. He gets his family to vote. After he has cast his ballot, he comes home and takes care of the baby while his wife goes to the polls. He tells the men and women in the shop or office where he works about the state law which gives them time off to vote—often with pay. He goes to work on his Sunday School class, the fellows at the lodge, the other veterans in the post, the members of his union. *He gets them to vote.* If he can, he gets them to vote his way. But what he hammers on is

the importance of their voting, even the other way if that's how they see it.

Even a "bad" politician will stop, look, and listen if it takes a big number of votes to elect him over his opponent. That means that a lot of people will have to be kept pleased or he'll be out of luck next time—and politicians are always thinking of next time.

---

Besides influencing the votes of others, you may, through your vote, help set up another kind of **chain reaction**—political, not atomic, but of much more immediate importance to your daily living. This is particularly true in those areas (and there are a good many of them) where the official ballot shows names not only of candidates for governmental but also for **party offices**. In many places, all the individual voters have a chance to elect their ward or division party committeemen. These are then declared the legal party leaders in these areas. These leaders then, in turn, choose the higher leaders, and so on, in a sort of chain reaction.

Here's how this chain works in, for instance, the city of Philadelphia, as described by the Youth Civic Council of that city in its pamphlet, *Your Vote Is Your Chance*. This organization is associated with the influential Philadelphia civic group known as the Committee of Seventy.

---

#### YOUR VOTE AND PRACTICAL POLITICS

But let's skip the marble palaces of government and go behind the scenes. Let's see what really makes it work. For a moment let's stop trying to find out who is to blame for bad government and see what we can do to correct it.

As you know, we have a representative form of government. Locally, it starts with you and ends with the mayor. Within the city the line of power is direct from voter, through the political party, to elected officeholder. But representative government means more than merely electing representatives to various legislatures or electing mayors, governors, and presidents. Representative government is a chain of power with the original representatives of the people electing further representatives and so on. It was evolved from the realization that, besides mere numerical representation, in a populous country it would be impossible for all the people in a community to know everyone else or even a fraction of the total number of inhabitants. Representative government is somewhat comparable to a bucket brigade in which at each step the various representatives in government pass on their power to the next higher person.

But first suppose we ask a few questions.

1. *Who appoints the department heads who are responsible for the operations of city government?*

ANS: The Mayor

2. *Who makes the laws, levies taxes, passes the budget?*

ANS: City Council

3. *Who nominates the Mayor?*

ANS: The Ward Leaders

4. *Who nominates the members of City Council?*

ANS: The Ward Leaders

5. *Who nominates the other elected public officials such as judges, magistrates, Receiver of Taxes, Recorder of Deeds, District Attorney, Controller, Register of Wills, Treasurer, Coroner, County Commissioner, Sheriff?*

ANS: The Ward Leaders

6. *Who elects the ward leaders and helps to get their nominees elected?*


ANS: The division committeemen

7. *Who elects the division committeemen and is actually responsible for the caliber of men and the quality of government we receive?*

ANS: You elect your party committeemen at the Spring Primary every two years. In short, it is through your division committeemen that candidates are nominated, officials elected, and government operated.

It is a truism that "Just as the twig is bent so the tree is inclined." Since most committeemen become public officials it is also true that if you elect a corrupt, selfish, or unrepresentative committeeman you influence the whole political and governmental structure toward selfishness, inefficiency, and spoils. The converse of this is that if you elect good committeemen you influence the whole governmental structure toward improvement, better public service, and lower taxation.

## NATIONAL VOTING RECORDS

	ELECTION YEAR	PERCENTAGE VOTING
	1880	78.4%
	1884	76.7%
	1888	78.7%
	1892	76.4%
	1896	79.2%
	1900	73.5%
	1904	65.8%
	1908	66.3%
	1912	60.0%
	1916	63.7%
<p><b>Women First Voted</b></p> 	▶▶ 1920	49.3%
	▶▶ 1924	49.1%
	▶▶ 1928	57.4%
	▶▶ 1932	57.8%
	▶▶ 1936	55.6%
	▶▶ 1940	53.4%
	▶▶ 1944	52.7%
	▶▶ 1948	51.6%
	▶▶ 1950	44.0%

The whole point to all this is that a single vote may have no end of unforeseen consequences. Of course, where there are clearly great majorities, a few votes more or less are not going to make any great difference. But, there are many more situations where the voting is close, where nominations go by default because many of us do not vote, and where we wind up with minority instead of majority government.

Take a look, for instance, at the chart on the opposite page. It is taken from a pamphlet sponsoring a "citizens' voting program," issued by the New York State Automobile Dealers Association. These figures represent the best estimates available of the percentage of actual voters compared to potential voters.

Note especially the last figure in this chart.

**It is not even 50 per cent.**

Certainly, the very least we can do is to assure ourselves and everybody else that the government that we have is a **majority government**. This is important not only for our own confidence in that government but it also permits this country to speak with much greater force throughout the world as a bona fide representative of that political democracy which we wish to encourage everywhere.

Compared to us, European voters this side of the Iron Curtain are turning out these days to the tune of 70, 80, and 90 per cent. The least we could do is to equal their records.

## 2. IS VOTING ENOUGH?

Most of us can agree that we should vote and agree that we should encourage others to vote.

But, let us carry the argument one step further.

**Is just voting enough?**

Hugh Scott, Jr., former Republican National Chairman, has made clear his answer to this question in his recent book, *How to Go into Politics*. Under the chapter heading, "Political Quiz," he asks still some more questions. It would pay you to ponder his answers.

Here they are:

---

*Q. What is politics?*

*A.* Mr. Webster's dictionary defines it as "the science and art of government; the science dealing with organization, regulation, and administration of a state . . . the theory or practice of managing or directing the affairs of public policy or of political parties. . . ." Walt Whitman once said of our American system, "Political democracy, as it exists and practically works in America, with all its threatening evils, supplies a training school for making first-class men. It is life's gymnasium, not of good only, but of all." Politics is the people's business, which

is to say, it is your business. To say that you have no interest in politics is to say that you have no interest in government. Are you willing to let it go by default to those all too eager to take the trouble to run things for you? The end of that road turned out not to be to the liking of the peoples of most of Europe. It could happen anywhere. It could happen here.

*Q. What is a politician?*

A. Mr. Webster again: "One versed or experienced in the science of government. . . ." In a republic, the powers of government are derived from the people and administered by persons holding office during the pleasure of the people who elected them, for a fixed period or during good behavior. Do you see where you come in? The extent to which your interest and experience in the science of government lead you to participate in it determines (when multiplied by others of like mind) what sort of people will be elected to office and whether they will continue to retain their power. And note well that the definition for a politician applies also to a statesman. The scornful may say that "a statesman is a dead politician," but it is more truly said that a statesman lives by his principles and a politician is ruled by his interest. Much of the philosophy on which this government was founded was inspired by Jean Jacques Rousseau who observed in *The Social Contract* that "as soon as any man says of the affairs of the State, 'what does it matter to me?' the State may be given up for lost." And at another place: "As soon as public service ceases to be the chief business of the citizens, and they would rather serve with their money than with their persons, the State is not far from its fall." Someone has said that America's chief weakness is that our most intelligent men are trying to operate in spite of the government instead of helping to manage it.

*Q. What's wrong with politics?*

A. You are. That is, if you are willing to sit in the cynic's seat and hurl the scorner's ban, if you prefer to be pharisaical about it and pass by on the other side, while government is being made.

---

Another former national chairman of a major political party, this time J. Howard McGrath of the Democratic party, puts the case even more forcefully in these paragraphs from his book, *The Power of the People*.

---

Some of us have had the doleful privilege of seeing at first hand the early efforts of totalitarian regimes to establish themselves. We have seen how they secured their first foothold by breaking down all democratic institutions. Their initial step was first to ridicule, then rabidly denounce, political parties and labor unions. Politicians were uniformly labeled as stupid, incompetent, or corrupt. The faith of the people in their institutions deteriorated into the final, dismal collapse of their whole democratic structure. It was easy for the dictators to take over from there.

The same process is discernible in America. "Fellow travelers" are hard at

work. Our party system, they tell us, is archaic, like the gills of certain animals that no longer live in the water. Once they have shaken our belief in the democratic method, they will take the next step, which is the substitution of hybrid political parties for those to which our country has given natural birth and support. Having divided, they then will conquer.

The technique has proved highly effective in Russia's satellite countries. Its success has emboldened the servitors of communism to infiltrate into larger, stronger countries where democracy has been firmly rooted. It is a Marxian concept, improved by Lenin and subtly paraphrased by Stalin. Having seen the effects of its application in Europe, we now are witness to its sinister attempts to fasten itself upon the political structure of our own country.

Those who oppose government by the people fully realize that a government without political parties cannot operate democratically. Political parties sustain the life of a democracy. If political parties are to exist and function, there have to be party leaders. That being so, there have to be politicians to engage in politics. The real meaning of politics, despite all the strained efforts to inject intrigue, disrepute, and corruption into it, is simply the science of civil government. And a politician is a person who is engaged in that science—not a blackguard who, but for the blind support of sycophants, should be in jail, or a clown who should be in a circus. From the earliest days of this republic the voters have chosen as their representatives honest men of ability and experience, possessing the aptitude for genuine service to the state.

Jefferson, with his practical good sense, early realized that only by being the politician could he put to the fullest service of his country his philosophy of government, the fruits of which we now enjoy. His self-sacrifice in the cause of the rights and liberties of the people is history. He so impoverished himself in a long lifetime of public service that he was forced to sell his library to meet his debts. His letters reveal the agony he endured at the hands of knavish opponents, but he steadfastly remained in politics, because that was the only way by which he could expose the enemies of democratic government. Jefferson's example as a politician set a standard of inspiration.

Madison, Monroe, Jackson, Lincoln, and the Roosevelts were avowed politicians, and, because they were so, using the implements of politics for their country's advancement, their memories are enshrined in the nation's pantheon. Politicians are needed, even in this Atomic Age, quite as much as are physicists and financiers.

---

Here is what the well-known Political Action Committee of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, more often known as the CIO-PAC, has to say. This brief excerpt is taken from one of the very first publications put out by this relative newcomer to the field of organized political action, a small 14-page booklet called *Political Primer for All Americans*. This little pamphlet, because of its force and its simplicity of presentation, has often been considered a landmark in the development of literature aimed at stimulating the rank and file of the voting public.

---

## I. POLITICS AND POLITICIANS

Politics is the science of how who gets what, when, and why. Politics exists in every civic group, church, labor union, family. The key man is always a politician. He keeps things going, wheels turning. Politicians are good, friendly people. They resolve conflicts, compromise in the best sense. The alternative to our politicians is a dictator, someone who hates life and people.

To the average American, politicians are crooks. "*What's the use of voting?*" asks Mr. Citizen. "*Politicians are all alike.*" The truth is that politicians are no more corrupt than the people who elect them. The people corrupt the politicians. They demand traffic enforcement along with ticket "*fixing.*" They want an efficient, honest police force and civil service so long as their sons and cousins get jobs—and a fine school system with the faculty staffed with relatives. The politician who refuses requests for patronage and spoils is told that he'll not be re-elected.

Let's quit blaming the politicians and face the responsibility of full citizenship. Let's go to work where it counts—in the political party of our choice. Let's be sure our organizations do not waste their vote by splitting it. We are strong *if we vote* and vote together.

## II. THE REST OF US

The U.S.A. is full of people of good will. They want to make this nation a happy place. They seek out the likeminded. An organization is formed. Committees are assigned to study problems. Minutes are kept, resolutions written, petitions circulated. Sometimes letters are written to public officials. If the situation is critical, citizen groups call on the mayor or governor, are received politely, dismissed politely, often ignored politely. And they become discouraged.

Ever more people in our big cities are rootless, unattached to the community. Men with business in the heart of the city commute to the suburbs. Professional workers in crowded schools and offices live in cleaner, more comfortable areas. In May and October, great numbers of people move from one community or neighborhood to another, failing to register and thereby losing their vote.

Leadership is often left to jobholders, corrupt persons on the spot. Independent voters who cannot be controlled do not bother to vote; machine-controlled voters who can be, do. As a result, our futures are decided by those who act under instruction and those who do not act at all.

## III. EDUCATION

Americans are brought up to believe that every profession is honorable save politics and public service. Students inherit from parents and teachers a naïve conviction that statesmen are born, that their high place in life is due to a combination of idealism and noble character. National offices—the presidency, Congress, the Supreme Court—are discussed at length in civics classes; local offices—the mayor, the sheriff, the town council—are skimmed over. It is unfortunate that we grow up so well informed about the terms of offices and salaries of national officials, with whom we have the least influence and contact, and so ignorant of the ingredients of their positions.

Boys and girls should be taught that statesmen are first politicians; should

be encouraged to enter politics, join the youth organizations of the Young Democrats, Young Republicans, or Labor party. Unions should assume the responsibility of training their members in effective political action. Everyone interested in practical steps should learn to ring doorbells, crank mimeographs, keep headquarters in order, study names and faces.

To continue functioning as a democracy, we and our children must learn how democracy works in practice. We must rewrite our textbooks. We must emphasize the individual's responsibility not only to vote but to join a political party, to form and voice his considered opinions, to do his share of legwork. In that way we may earn true citizenship!

---

This next paragraph, from the *Handbook for Farmers Union Locals*, should make the position of this organization clear on the question of citizen participation in political activities.

---

#### HOW TO CARRY ON THE LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM IN THE LOCAL

It has been said many times that we live in a legislated economy. Certainly it is true that, more and more, laws and government, both state and national, are affecting our daily lives. It is extremely important that farmers through their Farmers Union make their voices heard for or against the laws that affect them and the welfare of the country. It is not enough to go to the polls and vote. Officials of government must be told how we think about different issues and what we want them to support or oppose. The Farmers Union Local is the tool which can bring the farmer information on current legislation in the state and nation. The National Union Farmer, which every member receives monthly, is full of up-to-date news on issues that concern us. Resolutions passed by the Local and sent to Legislators, Congressmen, Senators, and other government officials, can be very effective in influencing votes or administration. Letters, written by individuals, can be even more effective.

---

Finally, here's advice for the ladies as provided in the sprightly League of Women Voters pamphlet—*You Can Be the Life of the Party*.

---

#### COMING BACK TO YOU—AS A POLITICIAN

*Unless you are the mythical paragon of virtue you are not entirely selfless. You're not always consistent. You feel the tug of conflicting loyalties. You may be a laborer and a member of a union. But you are also a home owner, a taxpayer, a member of a church, a lodge, a neighborhood, a civic interest group, a party. You are an investor and a consumer too. Your conscience has to pull a lot of things together to be your guide when you go into the polling booth to mark your ballot.*

*Maybe you should have a little more patience with the party. It has to reconcile a lot of different things—sectional differences, little business, big business, labor, agriculture, con-*

*sumers' interests. Consideration for the aged, the handicapped, the children, the veterans, enters into decisions. Forethought for the future is a heavy responsibility too.*

*As one citizen, you are one politician. You can fail as a politician through negligence just as much as through making wrong decisions. Did you like the Congressional action reported in today's paper? What had you done or not done to bring it about? As one citizen-politician you may not produce world-shaking results. But you can go in at the base of operations—the precinct, and make your influence felt.*

You can become

THE LIFE OF THE PARTY.

The point to all this is that **politics is everywhere**. Politics decides the most important problems in your life.

If you do not take your part in the political process—and this does not mean that it has to be a big part—then you only leave fundamental decisions up to somebody else. This “somebody else” may or may not decide things the way you would like to see them settled.

It is sometimes a hard thing to learn, but it is fearfully true in a democracy such as ours that **ETERNAL VIGILANCE IS THE PRICE OF LIBERTY**.

### 3. HOW TO GET STARTED

Suppose you not only want to vote and get others to vote, but suppose you also want to take an active part in the day-by-day operations of the machinery of grass roots political action?

**Where do you start?**

**What do you do?**

George Washington Plunkitt, a stout, plug-hatted, Tammany Schemer at the turn of the century, had only one pithy phrase of advice for the beginner in politics: “Get a followin’, if it’s only one man. . . .”

Unless you are a Franklin Roosevelt, Jr., or a Philip H. Willkie, getting “a followin’” may not be a simple matter. The chances are that you are going to have to start at the bottom with your family, your neighbors, your relatives, your friends, and your fellow club members.

But, can this advice be spelled out any better than this?

Yes—and here are a few suggestions: some in their author’s original words and some in a more condensed version.

Above all, there is the old saying, more recently brought home by Lowell Mellett, adviser to President Franklin D. Roosevelt for six years, in his *Handbook of Politics*: **ELECTIONS ARE WON IN THE PRECINCTS!**

If elections are won in the precincts, then **the precinct** is certainly a place to consider in your initial political planning.

But, you may wonder—if the precinct is so important, is it the place for the beginner?

Yes, it is, and here is why: The precinct is one of the smallest of the election districts, often comprising only a single block in some of the larger cities. This small area is easily within the personal knowledge of the beginner who lives there. **In your precinct you have the great advantage of knowing the voters in a way that no one else can duplicate.**

So, starting in a precinct simply means that you are following an ancient and well-tested formula of success—namely, you are commencing with what you know best.

It is, for instance, on the basis of this principle that the League of Women Voters recommends to its members that they **start in the precincts**. Here is some more advice from the League's pamphlet, *You Can Be the Life of the Party*.

#### HOW YOU CAN BE THE LIFE OF THE PARTY

Any organization—political or otherwise—has to have two things: (1) workers and (2) money. It has to win elections.

This seems very simple, but a great many citizens behave as if they don't understand it. They belong to the parties, but they contribute neither work nor money. Then they are surprised when the party pays little attention to them.

"Elections are won in the precincts" is an old and true political saying. So that is the place to start. Most precincts are made up of 300 to 600 voters. There is a precinct captain or committeeman, with sometimes a committeewoman. There are about 125,000 precincts or election districts in the country. The place to start in party work is in your precinct. If there are other citizens who will join you, go together. Take responsibility. Work. About a million party workers are needed at the precinct level to run our major party organizations.

Former Democratic National Chairman, J. Howard McGrath, puts the importance of the precinct this way in his book, *The Power of the People*.

Laziness and apathy are always the allies of reaction in politics. We do not have to go too far back in history to come upon nations which lost their freedom because of just such alliances.

This is where the precinct workers come in. National issues can be discussed over the radio; the voter can be swamped with booklets and flyers; he can see movies and television broadcasts. But the man who has the job of getting the individual voter registered and off to the polls to vote is the precinct worker. If he falls down on the job, we have a minority election.

Now then, what can you **do** in the precinct?

The first thing, of course, is to decide what kind of **program** you are interested in. You may want to go at it in lone-wolf fashion or you may want to take the advice of Lowell Mellett again and talk it over with some friends.

But, **first of all, figure out what your goal will be.**

Then, **second, look around to see who is already working toward that goal.** Investigate and be sure that you want to be working with any such individual or group. If so, go to someone whom you know personally who is a member of a group whose aims you are interested in and ask what you can do to help. If you don't know anyone, then find out who are the leaders in your area and go to one of them.

Nearly all organizations—partisan or nonpartisan—are always looking for workers, literally hundreds of workers. Here, for instance, is part of a broadside put out by the CIO-PAC during the 1948 presidential campaign to recruit **block workers** to work within their local precinct.

## **BLOCK WORKERS**

*PAC needs block workers.*

*It needs one million volunteers for a great citizen army that will work in the coming elections. It needs one million men and women who will undertake to inform their neighbors on national, state and local issues. It needs one million people who will take an active part in the life of their community.*

*The recruiting drive is on. Upon its success depends the success of PAC. Upon its success depends the tide of the 1947 and 1948 elections.*

### **How are the block workers to be obtained?**

We have to advertise—put out feelers. Some volunteers will come in. Most people will wait to be asked. It's up to us to do the asking.

---

As the CIO-PAC says, "Most people will wait to be asked."

But the volunteer, especially the informed and interested volunteer, will almost always be accepted with open arms—whatever the cause and whatever the organization.

If you are a leader of a small group of your own or in a position to offer the services of others, you will be doubly welcomed.

Your little group may even form the basis of a small organization which may, in turn, be able to influence the final local election result in a significant way. If so, you may find some of the established political organizations even beating a way to your own door and soliciting your aid. Here again, you will only be demonstrating the potency of Plunkitt's advice to get "a followin'."

Perhaps you may even become what is known as a **precinct or district committeeman**. In areas where there has been little organized political activity, this will be relatively easy. In more established areas this may be more difficult but, as in anything else, you can tackle the lesser jobs first and work your way up. The only thing that really counts in this business is **votes**. And, if you can deliver votes and influence voters, you are assured of a future.

In those precincts which are already well organized you can go to the precinct committeeman and offer to help out with the "block work" or the "canvassing," techniques for which will be discussed later.

The very least you can do in many places is to **take part in your local political caucuses**. Caucuses are simply meetings of the members of political organizations, called for the purpose of deciding on policies, for the election of local party officials, or for recommending individuals for nomination to political or party offices. Such caucuses may also select delegates to the more formal party meetings such as county, district, or other kinds of political conventions.

Caucuses at the local level are especially important in those states in which local political officers are not elected at the regular voting time. Even where they are elected (as in Philadelphia, mentioned earlier), caucuses have a great deal to do with party policy and the selection of nominees for other offices.

It is the precinct or local caucus which provides the real grass roots control of much of our political activity in this country. And here you can play an important part even if you decide to take little part in other political activities.

If you are interested in this kind of work here are some preliminary suggestions from a folder entitled *What Can I Do—How?*, put out by the Federation of Women's Republican Clubs of Colorado. This is their answer to the question "How?" when asked in relation to getting a start in local political affairs. For more information about how a caucus works see Chapter 4.

---

#### BY ATTENDING AND TAKING AN ACTIVE PART IN MY PRECINCT CAUCUS

##### *What Is a Precinct Caucus?*

A precinct caucus is a neighborhood election. It is the only place where 1

can take an active part in the choice of my party nominees. It is the only place where I have a chance to pick a capable rather than an inefficient person to form the policies of my party. Here is the beginning of good or bad government right in my own neighborhood. If I am indifferent and do not attend my party caucus, I have no right to complain about the caliber of person my party runs for public office nor of the policies which they form. I can go to my precinct caucus and vote for the **best** committeeman and committeewoman, and the **best** delegates to represent me in the county assembly. They, in turn, select the candidates for county offices to be placed on the Republican primary ballot. They also select delegates to represent the county at the state, judicial, senatorial, legislative, and congressional assemblies.

---

But, taking part in a precinct caucus and local party meetings does not by any means exhaust the possibilities. Here are some more suggestions culled from all kinds of sources:

1. Active participation in your town meeting if you live where these are customary.

2. Local membership in the local young voters' or women voters' club.

3. Seeing to it that your private club members take notice of appropriate political events, or taking an active part on the civic committees of various private organizations.

4. Assisting in a partisan or nonpartisan registration or get-out-the-vote campaign.

5. Assisting on election day by passing out literature, poll-watching, baby-sitting, bringing voters to the polls in your car, acting as an election clerk, helping out on the telephone.

6. Volunteering for the speakers' bureau or for choral or drama activities.

7. Volunteering for the less spectacular but equally important research committee, or, as the Democratic National Committee calls it, the "facts and figures" committee. Students and others who have a good knowledge of where to look up things may often be of great help here.

8. If you have special talents, you may do some of the spadework for political speeches, or you may even help write them.

9. Someone always has to work on posters, ads, and a miscellany of printing and public relations problems.

10. Persons who can do art work and drafting are always at a premium.

11. Offering of your house or your business premises for meeting purposes.

12. Or simply by contributing some money, even if it's only a dollar

or so. Some things need cold cash, and whoever contributes it is going to receive some attention.

These are not all the possibilities, but they should give you some ideas.

Above all, don't be hesitant about trying to **sell yourself**. But also **be prepared to carry through**. Nothing is worse than talking big and then not delivering. Think your plan through, then present it to whoever you feel would be interested in your efforts—just as you would try and sell anything else. Then get to work and produce.

Here is a brief suggestion from a folder prepared by the Republican National Committee, entitled *What Can I Do?* Change the word "Republican" to "Democrat" or anything else and you still have a good idea.

**Your Job.** Start a personal campaign NOW to get every eligible voter REGISTERED and qualified to VOTE. The field is unlimited but the most fertile ground for a volunteer—YOU—is among your friends and neighbors, working men and women, and with business and professional groups, many of whom are otherwise so engaged as to overlook the importance of EVERY vote—even their own

#### MAKE IT YOUR RESPONSIBILITY TO:

1. Remind them of their duty to vote.
2. See that they are registered for voting.
3. Make sure they vote Republican on Election Day.

The following advice, reprinted from the Public Affairs Department of the October, 1951, issue of the *Ladies' Home Journal*, summarizes some more good suggestions for the beginner, man or woman, young or old—especially if you are interested in the more directly political types of work.

#### HOW TO START

1. You must officially join a party in order to vote at the primaries—and it is at the primaries, often, that the most important things happen. There it is decided, for instance, whether your party nominates Mr. Old-Party-Hack, or Mr. Good-Solid-Citizen, for governor of your state.

2. So, think about it. Decide which party you want to join. Call a politically minded friend, or your election board, to find out whom you contact to enter politics at the lowest rung.

3. Don't be a political pawn. When you've joined a party, work in it. Go to meetings. Ask questions. If you feel you're being given a run-around, collect a few friends who think as you do. Then ask more questions. If you're not getting anywhere, you might try putting up a candidate of your own.

4. Professional politicians are in politics because they want something. Sometimes they want an honorable career, with real regard for public welfare. Sometimes they just want themselves, their family and friends on the public payroll, with a little gravy thrown in. Study the situation, decide who is who and which is which. Help out the former, work to replace the latter by honorable women and men (perhaps, eventually, yourself?).

5. Graft and corruption flourish on your indifference and mine. Searching questions, a sincere attempt to shed light in dark corners—if persisted in—will make dishonesty less possible in your community, your state. But remember, you don't house-clean once—it's a weekly, monthly, and yearly job.

#### AT ELECTION TIME

1. Get the records of all candidates (from dog catcher to governor) from the League of Women Voters, party headquarters, the newspapers, Municipal League Bulletin, and study them. Note whether the office seeker's previous record in school, private life, business, or government is good enough to recommend him as a public official. Ask yourself: Do his records and his connections show that he'll work for the general welfare of all rather than for a special segment of the population? Does his way of life indicate he is living within his income? Has he ever taken a stand which showed his willingness to risk his popularity to serve his principles? Or does he try to please everyone but the man-eating shark?

2. When you have decided which candidates you are for, call their campaign headquarters and offer to go to work. Attend as many campaign meetings as you can; get to know as many candidates as you can; ring doorbells, phone, baby-sit for voters, or do chauffeuring. The hand that pulls the voting lever rules the world—the world you live in.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

At the very least, why don't you take a good look at your own present contribution to the world of political action upon which you and your family and your friends depend—and see where you stack up.

Here's a **check list** which will help you take a look at yourself and which, also, may give you some ideas. It is part of a one-page broadside put out by the Department of Governmental Affairs of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States.

#### CITIZENSHIP CHECK LIST

- ✓ Are you a registered voter?
- ✓ Did you vote in the last primary? In the last general election?
- ✓ Do you get out and work for your political organization?
- ✓ Do you maintain close contact with your local public officials?
- ✓ Have you ever offered to serve in public office, or on any public board or commission?
- ✓ Do you know your elected representatives in Congress? Do you write, call,

or talk in person with them, and let them know your views on important national issues?

- ✓ Do you keep yourself thoroughly well informed on current public questions?
  - ✓ Do you make it a point to find out how your elected representatives vote on important legislation?
  - ✓ Do you discuss community and national affairs with the editor of your newspaper, the program director of your radio station, your minister, employees, and school teachers?
  - ✓ Do you oppose making demands on the federal government for things which your community can do for itself?
- 

On the back of this check list it says:

The government belongs to those who take the most interest in it.

You are the public. If you fail to voice your views, the government goes ahead and does what it wants to do—or what some articulate group urges it to do.

“Your Honor, the prosecution rests!”

## *Some Political Facts of Life*

SO YOU'RE CONVINCED! So you want to get into politics—at least a little bit! Where do you go from here?

First of all, there are some things you need to know that are basic to almost everything else. These can be called the **political facts of life**, and somewhere, somehow, you'll run into them with a crash if you don't prepare yourself beforehand.

These essential and bedrock facts concern six things, each of which is discussed briefly in this chapter:

1. **The system**—the typical and historical structure of our political party organization,
2. **The voting habits of the American public**—the way certain groups of Americans generally tend to vote,
3. **The law**—the legal rules governing political action,
4. **The rules of parliamentary procedure**—the basic guide to the conduct of public meetings of all kinds,
5. **The importance of primaries**—where nominations are made, and
6. **The danger of self-delusion**—that psychological blindness which causes us to see only what we want to see and which has completely ruined so many otherwise well-intentioned political efforts.

There are some elementary precautions which anyone can take in order to see that these "facts" become stepping stones instead of stumbling blocks.

### 1. THE SYSTEM

Political organization in the United States has over the last century and a half developed some characteristics peculiarly its own. European political parties have always tended to be tight unities with a platform of "principles" upon which compromise is neither expected nor asked. Parties in the United States are, on the other hand, highly **decentralized** affairs.

Our constitution provides for a federal system of government in which certain important kinds of authority are specifically left to the individual states rather than the national government. In particular,

the states, by a mixture of law and custom with almost the force of law, have the say-so about

- (1) who shall vote,
- (2) the setting up of the election system,
- (3) the nomination process,
- and
- (4) the legal rules which political organizations must follow.

**Almost all the political process in this country is pretty much a state process, controlled by the states.** Our representatives in Congress also represent the individual states and generally can be counted on not to do much of anything to greatly weaken this state control of political affairs.

What does this fact of decentralization mean for the individual who wants to try his hand at political action?

Just this—

It means that under such a system it is much easier for the single individual, the political outsider, the newcomer, to break into the political game. He doesn't have to crack a tightly knit national organization in order to throw his political weight around, as you have to do in England, in Germany, in Italy, and in most other places where there is no real federal system.

The fact that in most states we also have the **primary system** of nominations makes this "breaking-in" process even easier. For in a primary, an individual doesn't have to get the approval of even the local party leaders in order to take a shot at, for instance, the Republican nomination for county sheriff or the Democratic nomination for state senator.

Our politics is a fluid system with its roots in state and local government rather than the national government.

This means that the centers of our political power are in the states. Our national political parties are really little more than confederations of equals. That is why Senator Morse of Oregon and Senator Taft of Ohio can sport the same political tag. That is why Senator Lehman of New York and Senator Byrd of Virginia both can use the Democratic label. That is why the late Mayor La Guardia was able to run under a grand total of nine different party labels—and under as many as four at one time.

Each of these men has been supreme in his own bailiwick, and there has been nothing that anybody could do about it except the voters in that bailiwick. The late President Franklin D. Roosevelt found that this basic political fact applied even to his own efforts at consolidating the Democratic party, when he attempted most unsuccessfully to "purge" that party in 1938.

Now this doesn't mean that you can ignore the party organization completely and get anywhere either. It merely means that, if you play your cards right, you have a good chance of breaking into that organization or of influencing it in the direction you would like to see it take.

It is always simpler, of course, if you can break into the existing organization. This saves you the trouble of building up another and competing organization. It means that you will have other people with you who have experience in all the things this book is about. And, as the party organization which already exists is better organized and more permanently organized than anything it normally competes against, you have to be pretty well organized yourself in order successfully to buck it.

But the important thing to remember is—that it is possible to buck it or, better yet, to capture it.

Let us take a brief look, then, at some of the details of this "system" and see what we must either deal with or make terms with or fight with.



Fortunately, in spite of the fact that our party system is extremely decentralized, our political customs of more than a century and a half have tended to produce certain similarities in party organization throughout the country. So, even though each state or local area may differ from every other area in the details of some of its party and political organization, there are some general characteristics of the American party system which are pretty much uniform wherever you run up against them.

These general characteristics are as briefly and as well described in the following paragraphs as anywhere. Substitute the words "Democratic" or "Progressive" or "Prohibition" in place of "Republican" and you have the basic system. This is taken from a pamphlet called *Forward & Right—a Handbook for Women Leaders of the Republican Party Organization*, published by the Women's Division of the Republican National Committee.

---

### WHAT'S IN A VOTE?

Why does the voter put his "X" in one square instead of another? The **squares** are all alike. The difference is in the names beside them, and the party label above them. The most "X's" usually go under the column of the party whose **organization** has put on the best campaigns for **registration** and **education** to sell the ticket of good **candidates**. No one of these features can carry the ticket alone. Each element that enters into voting depends on the others—but **ORGANIZATION** is the foundation and the starting point.

The Republican party organization begins with the people. The smallest political subdivision is called a "precinct," "ward," or "election district," but for purposes of this handbook the term "precinct" will be used.

The Republican voters start the machinery in the Precinct Caucus. From there is built a system of party conventions, committees, and party primary elections. The conventions (county, state, and national) govern the party. They establish a line of policy and delegate powers to committees to carry out the adopted policies. The members of the party committees and their officers are elected, and their duties are outlined by state law, or in some cases by party rules. The fact that this organization is set up by law, or by party rules written by representatives of all Republicans, gives its members and leaders specific powers and responsibilities to lead all party activities. This organization is called "The Official Organization," the "Regular Organization," or the "Statutory Organization."

The duties and powers of the REPUBLICAN PRECINCT CAUCUS vary in different states. They are open to all voters who legally qualify as Republican party members. In some states a voter must be registered as a Republican. In states which do not have partisan registration, he may be required to declare that he considers himself a Republican and adheres to the broad policies of the Republican party. These bona fide Republican members in the precinct meet and **nominate** a precinct committeeman and committeewoman. These committee members may be elected by the same caucus, or they may be elected in a primary election.

THE PRIMARY ELECTION is an election in which the party selects members for certain party committees, delegates to party conventions, and candidates for public office.

The next step above the Precinct Committee in the party organization is the COUNTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE. (Some communities, especially large ones, have a "City Committee.") There are several methods of choosing its members and the method used in each state is established by state law or party rule. There may be a county convention, composed of delegates selected by the precinct caucuses, or it may be composed of all the precinct committee members; candidates for membership in the county committee may be required formally to file papers and be elected in the primary; or a variation of these methods may be prescribed. The county central committeemen and women elect a chairman who is the **leader of the party in the county**. Most counties also elect a woman vice-chairman, who directs women's activities under the leadership of the chairman.

Many states have CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES, elected usually at Congressional District Conventions. In most instances these are advisory in character. They advise with the congressional candidate, keep track of the progress of the campaign, and make sure that adequate publicity is given the candidate; that the candidate has the chance to meet the leaders in every community in his district; and that the county and local committees are working diligently for the candidate's success.

Next above the County Central is the STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE. Its members are usually chosen by the county conventions or in the primary

election. The State Committee elects a Chairman, although in some states he is appointed by the candidate for governor. Nearly all states have a woman state vice-chairman who, working in close cooperation with the chairman, heads the state's Women's Division and directs women's work in the state.

Nationally, the party organization is headed by the REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. It is composed of one man and one woman member from each state and territory. These members may be nominated by (1) State Convention; (2) State Committee; (3) primary election; (4) by the state's delegates to the National Convention. These nominees are **elect**ed by the Republican National Convention which is held every four years. When a vacancy on the committee occurs, the State Committee **nominate**s a successor, and the Republican National Committee formally **elect**s the nominee at its next meeting.

The Republican National Committee is the governing body of the party at the national level between national conventions. It elects its chairman who is the active head of the party. It calls the National Convention and makes all arrangements for holding it. The assistant chairman of the Republican National Committee must be a woman and she is director of its Women's Division. She may be elected by the committee, although the committee traditionally gives the chairman power of appointment. By rule of the Republican National Convention, all subcommittees of the National Committee must be composed of an equal number of men and women.

THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION is made up of delegates from all states and territories. These delegates may be elected by a state-wide primary, State Convention, or the State Committee. Their principal duties are (1) to nominate the party's candidates for president and vice-president of the United States; (2) to adopt a party platform; and (3) to elect the Republican National Committee, and adopt rules to govern it.

The purpose of this structure of committees and conventions is to provide the means whereby the rank and file of Republicans may, through their chosen representatives or delegates, **NOMINATE THE BEST AND STRONGEST CANDIDATES FOR PUBLIC OFFICE, AND THEN ELECT THEM.**

---

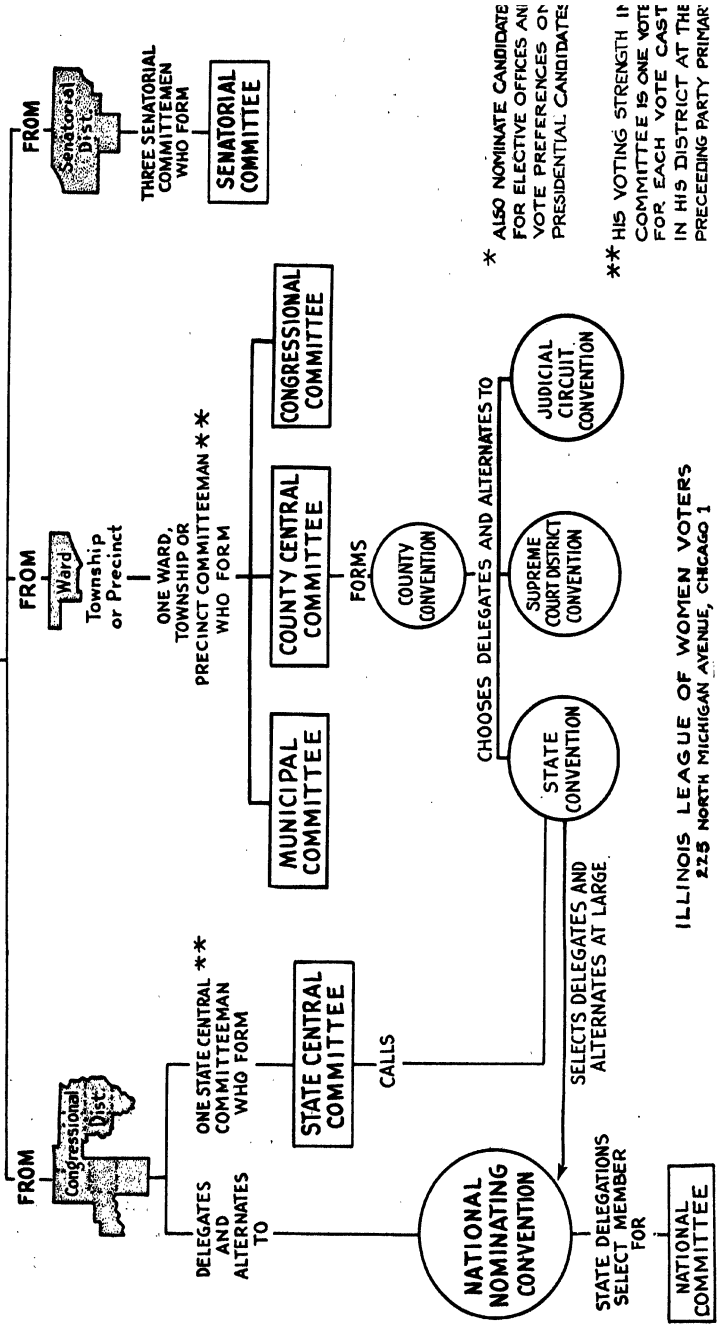
If you want to look into some of the finer points of party organization, turn to the list of books in Chapter 10 and take your pick.

Meanwhile, for those who like this sort of thing, here are two organization charts of the party system in two states which are fairly typical of the rest—Illinois and Kansas. In each case the chart is intended to show the organization of **all major parties** in these states.

The first chart is one prepared by the Illinois League of Women Voters and outlines a party system where, by law, **the voters** have a chance to **elect their local party leaders** at the time of the regular primary elections. There are nominations for party offices on the ballot as well as nominations for the general public offices under this system. This is not possible in all states by any means, but where this is true it

# PARTY ORGANIZATION IN ILLINOIS

MEMBERS OF EACH POLITICAL PARTY AT THE APRIL PRIMARIES  
ELECT \*



\* ALSO NOMINATE CANDIDATE FOR ELECTIVE OFFICES AND VOTE PREFERENCES ON PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

\*\* HIS VOTING STRENGTH IF COMMITTEE IS ONE VOTE FOR EACH VOTE CAST IN HIS DISTRICT AT THE PRECEDING PARTY PRIMA

ILLINOIS LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS  
225 NORTH MICHIGAN AVENUE, CHICAGO 1

means that the average citizen has still a better chance—if he uses it—to break into the party organization.

Unfortunately, a great many citizens in Illinois do not realize that they have this chance and let it go by default to the few who are really aware of what is going on and who take the trouble always to vote in local elections, not only for the regular candidates but for **party candidates** as well.

This next diagram is a little more complicated, and it is a good idea to inspect it rather carefully and to read the explanatory notes on the page following it. This chart is also a little more realistic than the Illinois chart, for it shows some of the complexities of local party organization. Even so, it still does not show some of the appendages of political organization—such as political clubs, citizens' groups, young voters' organizations, and the like—which are often of considerable importance in the political process.

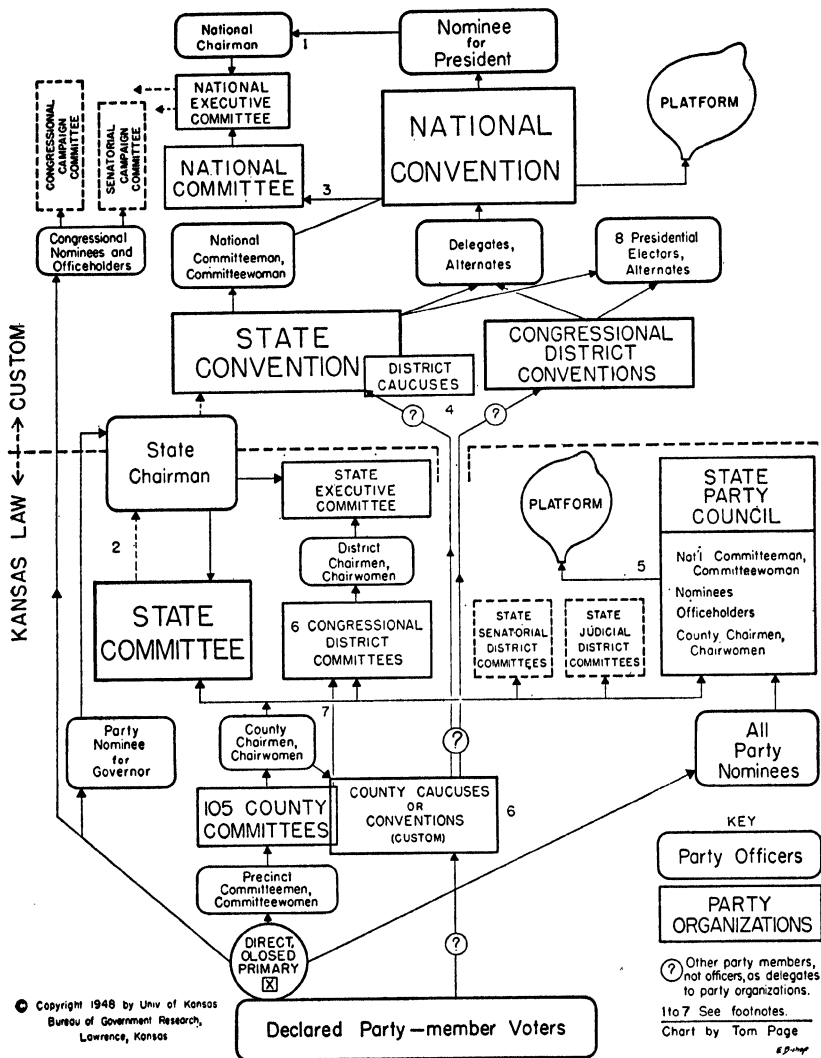
Actually, most state party organizations consist of a fairly complicated system of interrelated committees—where the essence of the organization lies in **cooperation** rather than command. For instance, the Democratic National Committee doesn't **order** much of anybody around except its own immediate employees. Likewise, state committees seldom **direct** the county, precinct, or other local committees to do something. The process is much more subtle and depends more on a party-wide realization of mutual interest than anything else.

This informality, loose cooperation, and lack of the more obvious forms of discipline from the top to the bottom may tend to baffle the beginner. But if he remembers that party organization is similar to the organization of many other nationwide or statewide private fraternal, social, and charitable organizations, he may find the transition much simpler.

Above all, **the party system in this country puts a premium on personal contact, face-to-face ability to influence others, conciliation, compromise, and general cooperation.** And anyone hoping to succeed in politics must never forget this.

Coming back to Kansas, this chart of political party organization in the Sunflower State was prepared by the Bureau of Government Research of the University of Kansas. Unlike the Illinois chart, this one outlines a party system where the choice of local party leaders is more informal than in Illinois. In Kansas most local party leaders are selected and local party organizations formed through the workings of political caucuses—relatively informal meetings of local party members for the purpose of deciding upon officers and upon policies. See Chapter 4 for more information on the workings of these political caucuses.

# POLITICAL PARTY ORGANIZATION—KANSAS



© Copyright 1948 by Univ of Kansas  
Bureau of Government Research,  
Lawrence, Kansas

## EXPLANATORY FOOTNOTES TO THE CHART OF POLITICAL PARTY ORGANIZATION IN KANSAS

The numbered footnotes on the chart are explained here:

1. **National Chairman**—nominally selected by the national committee, the national chairman is, in fact, designated by the party's candidate for President.

2. **State Chairman**—a similar practice has developed in the state. State law provides for election of the state chairman by the state committee, but the wish of the party's nominee for governor is customarily followed in designating the manager of the state campaign. The state chairman becomes *ex officio* chairman of the state executive committee but he is merely temporary or convening chairman of the state convention.

3. **National Committeeman**—the national committeeman and national committeewoman are in fact elected by the state convention, but their choice is subject to formal ratification by the national convention.

4. **District Meetings**—whenever a congressional district convention has not been held before the state convention of that party it is customary for the delegates to the state convention from that district to hold a caucus immediately before the state convention. This caucus recommends delegates and electors from their district to be ratified by the state convention.

5. **Party Council**—when nominating functions were taken away from the state conventions by the introduction of the direct primary in Kansas it became necessary also to transfer the platform-adopting function from the customary or unregulated side of the party activity into the legally regulated party structure. A party council adopts the state platform.

6. **County Caucuses**—the source from which delegates to congressional district and state conventions come is not within the required legal structure of a party. Closely paralleling the county committees are somewhat informal and customary county organizations. These organizations are the root of the process leading through state conventions and national convention to the nomination of a party's candidate for President and the adoption of a national platform.

7. **Extra Delegate Bonus**—a county committee may be represented upon a congressional district committee by more than just its chairman and vice chairman (a man and a woman). The committee may select two additional district committee members, one man and one woman, for each 1000 votes over a 1500 vote minimum cast in that party's last primary in the county.

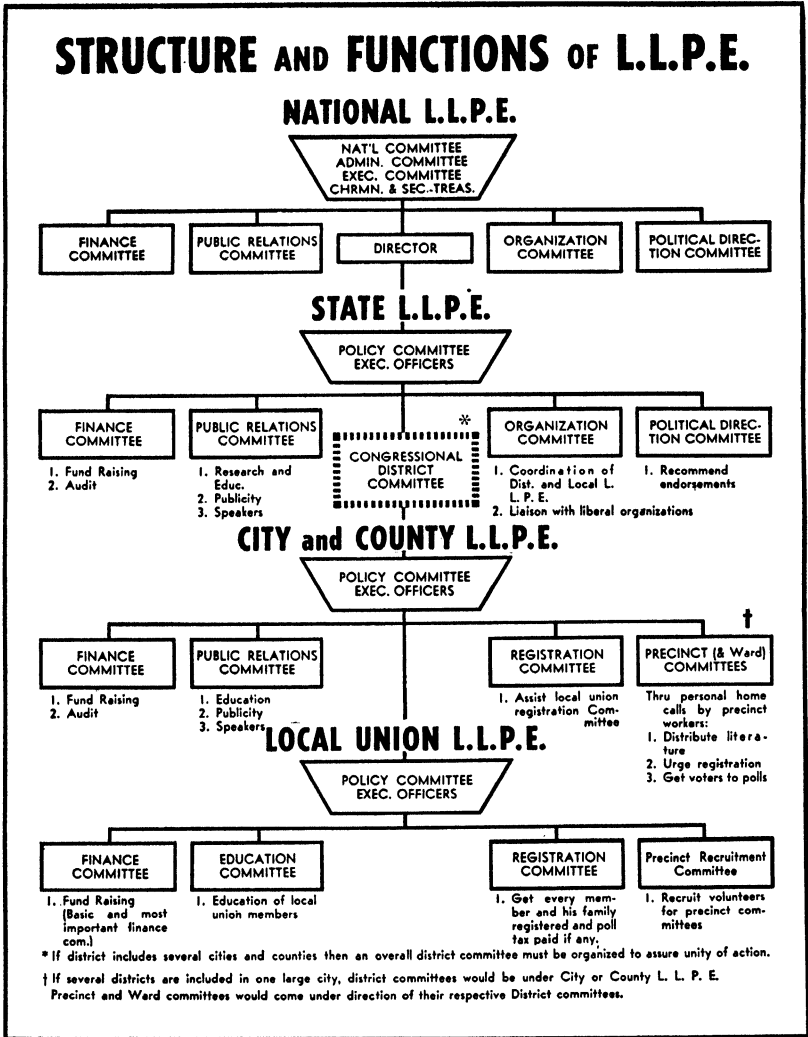
Now for a chart showing the political organization of a major labor union—in this case the A.F. of L.'s political arm, known as Labor's League for Political Education.

This chart—on the following page—was taken from a manual for L.L.P.E. leaders called *Blueprint for Victory*.

As you can see, even in the labor organizations the political "system" is pretty much the same, with the local unions as the base and on top of these a city or county committee especially designed for political action, a state committee, and a national committee. The L.L.P.E. is the A.F. of L. equivalent to the CIO Political Action Committee, which also follows a similar form or organization.

In other words, **the political "system" in the United States is pretty much the same wherever you find it.**

To sum up—our political "system" in the United States is a decentralized one, composed, basically, of several layers of cooperative com-



mittees. It is this fluid nature of our political organization which seems to give it that air of mystery to the uninitiated. And, sometimes, one overhears a plaintive wail to the effect that "it's all so complicated."

But the very facts that it is decentralized, that it does vary somewhat from state to state and locality to locality, and that it never seems to stand still are the guarantees that the individual has a chance when it comes to politics. Many European political party systems are unified,

relatively simple to understand, and almost impossible for the amateur or the outsider to break into. Our party system may be anything but unified but it is extremely difficult for the leaders at the top to avoid paying attention to those at the bottom.

**In this country the individual has a chance in politics, if he wants to take it. And it is our decentralized "system" which makes this possible.**

## 2. AMERICAN VOTING HABITS

Anyone hoping to make a go of politics, even in a small way, must at least be aware of some of the elementary voting habits of the public in this country. It is impossible here to discuss all the voting tendencies now current in this country, even if anybody knew them all. But it is possible to discuss briefly:

- (1) what groups of people always tend to vote a certain way,  
and
- (2) what groups of people tend not to vote at all.

The principal factors involved in whether or not people tend regularly to vote a certain way are apt to be such things as family tradition, race, religion, nationality, occupation, income, and military record. When large numbers of people with similar backgrounds are found in the same voting area, then one may expect a large block of votes regularly to be cast in one direction. It is absolutely essential to recognize this fact and direct one's political efforts accordingly.

A candidate with the name of Schmidt may, conceivably, win the Italian vote, but he's apt to have an extremely difficult time of it. Membership on political committees must carefully take into account the social complexion of the community. Issues must be handled so as to present their maximum appeal to different groups of voters.

This means that the political amateur must first look around his community and see what its voting public is composed of. Under unusual circumstances he may be able to counteract the historical suffrage tendencies of, for instance, the Irish, but he won't accomplish this result by advertising his English ancestry.

In other words, when you commence your political efforts, also commence to investigate the political world in which you hope to prosper. This may take an extensive inquiry and some research, but it is a political "must."

The Republican State Central Committee of South Dakota, for instance, has advised its county workers as follows:

---

**NOTE**—this device of person-to-person campaigning need not be limited to appointing farmers to stand around on Saturday nights to make converts of other farmers. **ANALYZE YOUR COUNTY.** If it has important national

groups, or lodges, or clubs, or churches, or veterans' organizations, or sportsmen's organizations, enlist a few person-to-person workers in each group, have them accept the definite responsibility for mingling with their groups and for advancing Republican arguments and promoting Republican candidates in the personal contacts and casual conversations occurring at these places.

---

The answer to the question about what groups tend to vote a certain way is much easier to discover than the answer to the question about what kinds of people tend not to vote at all—or, to put the problem in the form of another question: **What kinds of people are most politically active and which are least politically active?**

We know this much for sure: that seldom do more than 80 per cent of those eligible to vote actually vote. In states and areas in which one party is habitually the victor, this percentage may decrease until it reaches a low of 10 to 20 per cent in some Southern areas.

Some other tendencies of the voting public have been more or less suspected or understood for some time. But, until recent years there has been very little carefully analyzed data on the kinds of people who stay away from compared to the kinds of people who go to the polls.

But some gaps in our political knowledge have been at least partly filled by the results of a recent investigation undertaken by Elmo Roper, one of our best-known polling experts. Based upon a sample of 8000 people over twenty-one from all types of living conditions, the research of Roper has been able to demonstrate that there is a consistent tendency for certain population groups to vote and to take part in political activity and for certain others to stay away from the polls and to manifest little interest in political affairs.

The following two charts, taken from an article by Roper and Julian L. Woodward in the December, 1950, issue of the *American Political Science Review* and titled "Political Activity of American Citizens," show some of the most important relationships which the authors turned up. It will pay you to study these charts (see the next page) carefully in order to realize their fullest implications.

In essence, these charts (shown as Table IV and Table V) tell us that anyone interested in getting out the vote is going to have to work harder if he wants large numbers of these kinds of voters to turn out at the polls:

- (1) women, particularly housewives,
- (2) young people, especially those under 30,
- (3) persons who never got beyond grade school, and
- (4) those in the lower income brackets.

This means, in turn, that Democratic political workers—who look for many of their votes from among these groups—are probably going to have to work harder to bring out a large percentage of their poten-

TABLE IV  
*Amount of Political Activity Exhibited by Various  
 Sub-Groups in the Population*

	% within each sub-group who are politically			
	Very active	Fairly active	Fairly inactive	Very inactive
<i>Sub-groups</i>				
"A" economic level	36%	33%	23%	8%
Executives	34	29	28	9
Professional people	31	32	25	12
Stockholders	28	30	30	12
College educated	24	28	30	18
"B" economic level	24	26	34	16
Republicans	15	21	39	25
Men	13	19	36	32
People 50 years of age and over	12	17	34	37
People 35-49 years	11	19	39	31
"C" economic level	11	19	38	32
White people	11	17	36	36
Farmers	11	14	35	40
Independents in politics	10	21	37	32
Total adult population	10	17	35	38
People with only high school education	9	17	40	34
Democrats	9	15	37	39
Non-stockholders	8	15	37	40
Women	8	14	33	45
People 21-34 years of age	8	14	32	46
Laboring people	6	14	37	43
Housewives	6	14	34	46
People with only grade school education	5	11	33	51
Negroes	5	10	25	60
"D" economic level	3	9	31	57

TABLE V  
*Political Orientation of People with Different Political Activity Scores*

	Total sample	Political Activity			
		Very active	Fairly active	Fairly inactive	Very inactive
% Republicans	29	43	37	32	19
% Democrats	44	38	40	46	44
% Independent	16	16	20	18	14
% Other, Don't Know and No Answer	11	3	3	4	23

tial vote than will Republican workers. Fortunately for the Democrats, as the second chart shows, there are probably more potential Democratic than Republican voters. So the race may run fairly even, despite the differing tendencies toward political activity of prospective Democrats and prospective Republicans.

But, whatever your party or whatever your cause, you are likely to have to spend more time and effort on the above categories of potential voters than on the rest of the adult population—another reason for carefully analyzing the characteristics of any community in which you intend to participate politically.

In other words, spend your time, money, and charm where they will do the most good. Don't go around convincing people who are already convinced. Instead, use your head early in the game and govern your actions accordingly.

### 3. ELECTION LAW

Despite rumors to the contrary, one may not do just anything he pleases in politics. That political parties and party activity are governed more by custom than by law is true. But, during the last fifty years more and more legal regulations governing political behavior have been put on the statute books.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, most of these laws are state laws, but some are the result of congressional action.

Under the constitution, the national government has the right to control federal elections—that is, elections of congressmen and senators and the president and vice-president. As a result of this right plus the right of the national government to regulate the conduct of its own employees, there are two pieces of legislation which anyone active in the political world must pay considerable attention to—namely, the Federal Corrupt Practices Act of 1925, as amended, and the Hatch Act of 1939, as amended.

Nearly all political organizations interested in federal elections have copies of these acts and the court decisions stemming from them available for their members to study and heed. Both acts appear in their entirety, in, for instance, the *Republican Fact Book*, published periodically by the Republican National Committee in Washington, D.C., and sent out to members of the party all over the country.

The **Federal Corrupt Practices Act** regulates the amount of money which may be spent in campaigning for federal office, prescribes how money received shall be accounted for, and prohibits certain kinds of political contributions—especially from corporations and labor unions.

The **Hatch Act** applies to all but the top federal administrative officials and to most officials of state and local governments who are paid in full or in part from federal funds. These laws forbid these of-

ficials to engage in active partisan political work while holding appointive office. The ordinary citizen need worry about the Hatch Act much less than about the Federal Corrupt Practices Act, but he should be aware of the existence of both. The penalties for the violation of either act are fairly heavy, and anyone participating as an official of a political organization ignores these acts at the risk of running into considerable trouble.

But, despite these federal acts, the great bulk of the legal regulations of political practice are provided for through state laws. Every state has what are known as **election laws**. Normally these laws are codified and available for popular distribution in the form of a small booklet or pamphlet. The secretary of state at the state capital usually will provide a certain number of free copies to interested persons. They must constantly be referred to by anyone involved in political action.

Of particular interest to the ordinary citizen are the registration and voting laws of the state in which he claims residence. More important to the budding politician are such things as the rules governing the conduct of elections, the filing of nomination petitions, the limitations on political contributions, and the like.

The best way to study these laws is to get a copy and look them over, taking any questions you still may have to someone familiar with the actual operation of politics in your state. In most communities there will also be a lawyer who has specialized to some extent in election law. Go to him for the really knotty problems.

Or you can write in to the regular party organizations and ask for such pamphlets and literature as they put out on party organization in your state. The chances are they have some material available. The New York Republican County Committee, for instance, has published a pamphlet by Daniel J. Riesner, called *Practical Politics*, which outlines extremely clearly and thoroughly the laws and customs governing political operations in New York. Many other local party committees have prepared similar popularized discussions of party organization, which serve to help the political novice in understanding the legal framework within which he must function.

Another source of compiled information may be the publications of local Leagues of Women Voters. And a still further source of guidance will be either the city and county Clerk or the local Board of Election Commissioners. In some states the Clerks are in charge of election procedure and in others a set of commissioners. In any case, a letter directed to one of the Clerks will usually reach the right official.

Persons looking for summaries of or quick reference materials concerning the election laws of a number of states should send for a small book in the Legal Almanac Series published by Oceana Publications of New York City. This little book is, however, aimed primarily at a

condensation of registration and voting procedure, rather than a summarizing of other types of political rules and regulations. By Bertram M. Bernard, it is titled *Election Laws of the Forty-eight States—How to Register and Vote.*” The price of this small book is quite reasonable.

The Absentee Voters Bureaus of both the Republican and the Democratic National Committees in Washington, D.C., also publish summaries of state registration and voting laws. These are usually available to interested persons either without charge or for a very small sum.

In order that you and your local political friends are protected against the consequences of violation of some of the election laws (and also so you can check on the opposition), it is wise to have a legal adviser, or, better yet, a **law committee** as part of any local political movement. Members of such a committee normally are also available on call to help out voters in legal distress. This is an especially important problem on election day.

Here is what the New York State Democratic Committee has to say in its *Handbook for Campaign Workers* on the duties of the “law committee chairman.”

---

There must also be a **law committee chairman** who will make sure that the party’s nominating petitions are properly obtained, are filed in time, and also that the opposition has complied with the full measure of the law. The law chairman should be a man who is in a position to use his legal knowledge to stave off primary election competition which does not meet the election law requirements, or independent candidacies which might adversely affect the party ticket, and to meet all challenges of Democratic voters and party supporters at the polls. Many leaders select for the law committee chairmanship local lawyers eager to work for the party and anxious for future prestige and preferment from the party.

---

#### 4. PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURE

Democracy is a form of government in which there is general agreement to settle most problems without the use of force. The alternative to force is persuasion. But if there are no rules for the guidance of public discussion—especially when large numbers of people are involved—then one gets nowhere.

The rules of parliamentary procedure are designed to make discussion not only possible but meaningful. That is, they are designed to provide an orderly way for a large—or small—group of people to discuss their problems peaceably and to arrive at a sensible solution with a minimum of difficulty.

Almost all organizations follow some set of parliamentary rules, and if one hopes to influence public meetings or to take a full part in public

discussion he must be familiar with some of these rules. Nothing is worse than a chairman of a meeting who lets the meeting get out of hand because he or she doesn't know what to do.

Everybody ought to know something about parliamentary law, but for the person who wants to get anywhere in politics, a knowledge of *Robert's Rules of Order*, or some similar set of rules, is a **must**.

In addition to knowing some of the "rules," be sure that you understand such things as (1) the proper order of business, (2) the duties of the secretary and the chairman and committee heads, (3) the proper way to introduce a speaker, and (4) the proper way to close a meeting.

There are a lot of books on discussion and meeting procedure, but one of the simplest sets of general principles has been put out by the Women's Division of the Democratic National Committee. Called *So You're Going to Hold a Meeting*, here is a good part of what it says on the matter of parliamentary procedure. Reading this won't make you an expert by a long shot, but it may get you started on the right path.

---

## SO YOU'RE GOING TO HOLD A MEETING!

### BASIC RULES A "MUST"

But before you hold even one meeting, it would be wise to acquaint yourself with a few basic rules of parliamentary law. You may think that parliamentary law is formidable but you will find that it saves time and avoids disagreements if you follow the recognized rules for running a meeting.

You need not make a prolonged study of parliamentary law in order to preside correctly at a meeting, but you should know some of the fundamental regulations governing correct procedure if you are to conduct a meeting in a democratic manner.

You also should be familiar with the by-laws of your organization and have a copy of them available whenever you preside at a meeting.

Parliamentary rules, as observed today, are the outgrowth of experience of several centuries and are based upon common sense and good manners. They insure the rule of the majority rather than the minority and they prevent autocratic dictatorship.

First of all, you are "the chair" when you speak of yourself in a meeting, you're never "I." When someone on the platform or in the audience addresses you, she calls you Madam or Mrs. Chairman, even if you are a "Miss." She never addresses you by name.

As the presiding officer you have the responsibility of calling the meeting to order at the time specified as the starting hour; you must preserve order; you must entertain motions which are in order and at the proper time put them to vote; you must introduce the speaker or the one who, in turn, introduces the speaker.

You should give interested and respectful attention at all times to whoever is speaking. Don't whisper to neighbors or doodle on a convenient pad of paper

during a speech even if you've heard it before and are beginning to be bored with it. The audience will reflect your attitude, so appear interested.

"The meeting will please come to order" is the accepted phrase with which you open a business meeting. If the organization has a recording secretary, she begins to make a record of the proceedings when you call the meeting to order.

When business is to be transacted make sure that a quorum is present. (A quorum is a majority of the entire membership unless otherwise stated in the by-laws). No motion can be made without a quorum present except to adjourn, to fix the time or place to which to adjourn, or to take a recess.

As the presiding officer you should know that any motion duly offered by a member must be considered, that any member can have the floor to make or to second a motion, that every motion before being considered must be seconded; that members have the right to amend and debate motions; that all motions are decided by majority vote and that a motion to reconsider can be made only by a member who voted with the prevailing side, except when the vote is taken by secret ballot.

Remember that after a motion has been made and seconded and put to the affirmative vote, it also must be voted upon by those opposed to it. Sometimes the chair forgets to call for the negative vote.

#### TROUBLE SPOTS

One of the most common pitfalls into which all but the experienced are prone to fall is that of amending a motion. This procedure can become so confused, if not handled properly by the chair, that tempers become short and ofttimes members do not know upon what they are voting. It will be plain sailing if you remember that the amendment is debated and voted upon first. Then, if the amendment is carried, the motion, as amended, is debated and put to the vote.

There are exceptions to all rules but in this primary pamphlet on how to conduct a meeting we will not confuse you by stating the exceptions. *Robert's Rules of Order for Deliberative Assemblies or Parliamentary Usage* by Emma A. Fox, may be obtained in any library if you want to delve into the details of parliamentary law.

In a business meeting you order the minutes of the last preceding regular meeting read by the recording secretary as the first order of business, but this formality may be dispensed with, and usually is, if a program is to follow.

When it is necessary to have reports of officers or of committees or to transact miscellaneous business at a meeting at which there is a speaker, keep the reports and business transaction as brief as possible.

There is nothing more deadly than to have so much business at a meeting that the principal speaker does not begin to talk until after the audience has started looking at watches and fidgeting.

If it seems wise to dispense with the transaction of business in order to start the program early you may say something of this sort: "It has been suggested that we dispense with the usual reports so the chair would entertain a motion to that effect." You, the chair, cannot dictatorially decide to have no reports unless this procedure has been decided upon at a previous meeting.

Make your acknowledgments to committees or individuals responsible for arranging the meeting brief and the point. Be gracious but avoid long, too-florid

statements of appreciation. When there are printed programs it is better to include acknowledgments in them. At a luncheon-meeting, sandwich in the acknowledgments between courses.

As chairman, you are responsible for the physical arrangements of a meeting, so make sure that everything possible that will contribute to the comfort of the speaker and the audience is planned and carried through in advance.

See that there is a pitcher of cold water and a clean glass on the speaker's table so that someone will not have to rush out into the corridor and hunt a glass of water for a dry-throated politico in the middle of his campaign speech.

Make sure that there are enough chairs on the platform for the speakers and other guests of honor, so there will be no scrambling for more chairs on the platform just before the meeting opens. It's fine for others to have to do this because the audience is overflowing the hall but let there be no playing of musical chairs on the platform. You can't always know in advance the size of an audience but you should know how many persons are to sit with you on the platform.

As the chairman you are responsible for the length of time the speaker talks. If he rambles on and on for an hour or more, it is up to you, and to no one else, to see that he stops.

---

More references to procedural guides can be found in Chapter 10. You don't have to try to become a hair-splitting expert on parliamentary detail, but it is absolutely necessary that you know your way around.

This is true even if you never once run a meeting yourself. For one of the ways that Communists and other individuals who are out to disrupt a political or any other kind of meeting can do the most damage is by getting the parliamentary procedure into an almost irrevocable tangle. Such individuals often deliberately specialize in procedure so they can mix you up, and so they can get you so discouraged with democratic processes that you will give up and go home and turn the meeting (and the organization) over to them.

Be at least smart enough to realize what is being done to you in this kind of deal, and learn enough procedure to support your friends. The best way to battle someone who wants to be difficult about procedure is to know more about it than he does.

## 5. THE IMPORTANCE OF PRIMARIES

It's a well-known fact that the greatest turn-out of voters comes at the time of the fall elections, especially of presidential election years.

There are other elections, however, which usually come in the spring or summer or very early fall and which are known as **primaries**. And it is at these primaries that another crucial political process occurs. For here we make most of our **nominations**.

Many citizens make the mistake of concentrating on the final elec-

tions when, if they really want to make a dent in politics, they should concentrate on the primaries.

For, as the League of Women Voters has for years tried to emphasize: **THE POWER TO NOMINATE IS AS IMPORTANT AS THE POWER TO ELECT.** If you don't take part in the primaries you simply forfeit to somebody else the chance to have a voice about whom you vote for in the fall.

All professional political workers know the importance of these primaries, and here's the **reason why**, as analyzed a good many years ago by Frank Kent, veteran political reporter, in his book, *The Great Game of Politics*. This is a book any person interested in politics ought to read anyway, for, as a study of the down-to-earth workings of our political system, it has probably never been beaten.

Kent figured that the average precinct in this country contains about 600 voters. If the precinct is reasonably well divided in party allegiance, it probably contains 250 Republicans, 250 Democrats, and 100 on the fence.

At the final election, up to 80 per cent of these people may vote. But at the primaries, Kent estimated that, of, for instance, the potential Democrats, probably fewer than 50 per cent would vote to select the Democratic candidate. The same would be true for the Republicans. As the independents often didn't vote or put up anybody in the primaries, they didn't matter much.

The professional precinct worker for either major party could then count on this: If he could somehow control or direct 65 votes to his candidate, he could win a nomination for that candidate. For 65 votes is more than a majority of 125 votes, the normal party turn-out at the primaries.

All this means is that in many precincts, whoever controls 65 votes often may control, in effect, the decision of at least 250 voters—and perhaps up to 600 when the nominee is successful in the final election. After the primaries it's usually too late to try for office, and all the voters of the precinct can do is simply to take a choice from those successful in the primaries.

As Kent says, "**Primaries are really the key to politics.** There is no way for party candidates to get on the general election ballot except through the primaries. Primaries are the exclusive gate through which all party candidates must pass. Control of that gate in any community means control of the political situation in that community. . . . The fact I wish to drive home now is that all over the country 99 per cent of all candidates for all offices are nominated as a result of primaries. The obvious and inescapable deduction is that in 99 per cent of all elections, the choice of the voters in the general election is limited to the choice of the voters in the primary elections. . . . It

ought to be clear that the man who votes in the general election and not in the primaries loses at least 50 per cent of the value and effectiveness of his vote as compared to the man who votes in both."

**If you want to be politically effective, start with the primaries. Don't wait for the final election.**

## 6. THE DANGER OF SELF-DELUSION

Some years ago James A. Farley, then Democratic National Chairman, gained considerable fame as an election predictor by calling the turn of the 1936 presidential election correctly—even to the last single electoral votes of Maine and Vermont.

But most politicians—even the professional ones—are not so fortunate. One man collected the estimates of a goodly number of political leaders as to the probable outcome of the 1928 election. Most of the so-called experts were off nearly as much as the *Literary Digest* was off in 1936. The many predictions of Mr. Dewey's victory in 1948 are a more recent example of this frequent inability of those close into the political fight to see clearly what's in front of them.

This is not a trouble which only politicians face. We are all subject to a little self-delusion. But in politics a little self-delusion can go a long way toward ruining an otherwise good effort.

What can be done about this?

(1) Always discount a little what you hear from your friends.

(2) One way or another, manage to talk to people on the other side of the fence. Or, better yet, perhaps you know one or two people who are known for their ability to size up a situation from a fairly neutral point of view.

(3) You can go at this business of public opinion as the experts do. That is, you can try your own public opinion poll.

This third alternative is not too easy and it takes some careful planning. But, if you have some friends available and a little time, it can be done. And here's an outline which may help you.

The discussion to follow is part of one section of the National Citizens Political Action Committee's *Manual of Practical Political Action*. Though it describes the taking of a poll on "issues," the same techniques can be used to check the likely success of candidates as well. Vary the process to suit your own problems. If properly used, it can take some of the guesswork out of political action. These techniques won't tell you what to do about what you find out, but they will give you a fairly solid basis of "fact" to work from at various stages in a campaign.

### POLLING A DISTRICT WITH VOLUNTEERS

. . . a scientific opinion poll will tell a congressman how all the people in his district feel about the issues and his actions. . . . But the value of the poll

technique extends far beyond that. It is an education alike for the citizens who do the polling and the people whose opinion they poll, and can be one of the most valuable activities of a political organization.

Citizens committees will find it provides an intimate and at the same time extensive means of reaching the community in the quieter periods. Volunteers used in sampling public opinion gain experience for their work as canvassers during election campaigns. The people they interview may often turn out to be fine recruits for active progressive work. And, above all, the data gathered on the economic, political, and racial characteristics of the people in the district which forms the basis for opinion sampling is indispensable to sound analysis of the wards and precincts for election campaign. Through the polling process, both people and data are mobilized to play an active part in politics year after year.

Let's look at the experience of the Independent Voters of Illinois in their scientific poll of the 2d Illinois Congressional District. It's the fourth largest district in the country, with a population of over 600,000 in 1940. It has a cross-section of varied economic, racial, and nationality groups. It includes the University of Chicago community and the South Chicago steel mill area. The results of their poll apply only to this district or others very similar in make-up, but there's a great deal to be learned from the way they went about it.

#### IT'S A SCIENCE

Opinion polls are a science, and require expert supervision. It's the expert's job to plan the whole operation and insure the use of scientific methods. But you don't need to make a big hole in your committee's budget for salaried professionals. The services of one or two technical experts can be obtained on a part-time basis. Nearby universities, (political science or statistics departments) government or social work agencies may be your best sources.

The rest of your personnel can be entirely volunteer. Sixty nonprofessional volunteers did most of the Illinois work, and the professional consultants found their work compared very favorably with that of paid poll-takers. A wide variety of jobs is open to them—clerks, interviewers, analysts, coders, computers. Quite a few teachers and social workers who were not very politically or socially conscious became real community leaders through their experience as volunteers. But you must be careful not to overwork them. If the job is begun early enough in "slack" seasons it can be followed through carefully and without haste.

First stage in setting up your group is the "dogwork"—so called by the Illinois pioneers because it is tedious and unsung clerical work. In its one-night-a-week sessions during the spring of 1945 this group filled out some 2800 4-x-6 index cards, one for each block in its district. Economic, racial, political, and other social information in this file made possible the selection of a limited number of blocks that, in miniature, have the same characteristics as the district as a whole.

It is inside such a sample that the actual interviewing takes place. If, for example, it is discovered that 60 per cent of the people live in blocks where the average rent is \$45 and under, then 60 per cent of the interviews must be taken in such blocks. You can see that the reliability of the polls depends not on the largeness of the sample but the accuracy with which the sample represents the entire district. And it is the dogworkers who make this accuracy possible.

## THE ANALYST'S BIBLE

Where do you get the detailed information necessary for this preliminary study of the field? Best source is the U. S. Census. Write the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C., for the 1940 *Housing Bulletin* giving "block statistics" for your city. These are available for 191 cities of 50,000 population or more; the one for Chicago costs 50c.

Then get a political map of your district, or of its wards, and use it in relating the census material to your specific areas of political interest.

To show how the dogwork analysts use these, let's take the breakdown of your district by economic levels. From the Housing book, the Illinois group discovered that 20 per cent of the people in their district paid under \$28.83 rent. The next division was rent up to \$40, which 40 per cent of the people paid. The next 30 per cent paid up to \$58, and the top 10 per cent up to \$212 per month. This rent index was used to classify the 2d Illinois District in four income groups, as indicated by rentals they paid. This is the most accurate way to gauge income level in doing a poll.

The two other main classifications to be tabulated during the clerical stage are the racial and political characteristics of your district's population. Using the Census volumes, the Illinois group made this racial breakdown; areas that were all white, areas where 40 per cent of the people were white, areas where 40 to 97 per cent were nonwhite, and all-Negro areas. They based their political breakdown upon examination of the returns of the 1944 presidential election in their district and divided them into four sections: regular Democrat, regular Republican, split Democrat, and split Republican.

Remember that the reliability of a poll depends upon the accuracy with which the sample represents the entire district. It is only after exhaustive study and tabulation of your own district that the polling expert will arrive at the correct sampling ingredients. These may vary from district to district, but the basic factors of economic status (determined by rentals), racial characteristics, and political belief will form the main yardsticks. Beyond these three, your expert will no doubt develop several further useful subdivisions. Illinois, which did its pioneering job in perhaps greater detail than is generally needed, used 64 categories: age, sex, occupation, etc., providing the further subdivisions.

After a thorough study of each block card, your polling expert will decide on the number of interviews to be given and what blocks are to make up the sample. Illinois gave 300 interviews, but it will vary elsewhere. He will also at this time be pretesting the questionnaire to make sure the wording is clear and does not weight or prejudice the answers of those interviewed.

## TRAINING QUIZ TEAM

Once the accurate questionnaire is designed, you are ready for the next stage—training the volunteer interviewers. They need not be college graduates or experts in political science. Their main qualification is an ability to put people at their ease and to get them to talk frankly—abilities which can also be trained.

A good method of training is to hold a short school—classes and actual demonstrations in the field. The questionnaire is explained in detail and good and bad ways of conducting an interview demonstrated. Interviewers have to learn to avoid entirely the injection of their own views.

In Illinois, a booklet of instructions for the volunteer interviewers was made up to supplement the class work and provide the answers for all conceivable situations.

If the interviewer interjects his own bias on the polling questions being used, or does not stick to instructions, the entire poll can be rendered inaccurate. If you are polling a district on its opinion of a housing bill, for instance, your volunteers must not go out with the idea of "convincing" the people they interview. After the scientific interview is completed, and the formal questionnaire rigidly adhered to, if the person shows more interest, you should then discuss the pros and cons of the question, allowing free rein to your own opinions. Your visit should become a canvassing session and perhaps recruit more participants in your community action program.

A revealing example of what happens when instructions to interviewers are inadequate or ignored came out of a Chicago Health Department survey to find out how many people had tuberculosis. Not having been told that if people were not at home they should either come back or go to the next seventh unit, the interviewers would go next door to an absentee. They kept finding people at home who were sick, and therefore built up a false picture of an appalling rate of TB. Interviewers must come back a second time and not substitute another dwelling unit without authorization. Otherwise, you may find that the only people you interview are those that are home during the daytime—housewives, the ill, and the unemployed.

#### ADDING IT UP

When the interviews are completed, results are turned over to the third group of volunteers for analyzing and coding. Coding consists of determining the categories into which the answers to each question fall. Each category is assigned a key letter, which is copied onto numbered spaces on 4-x-6 cards. There is one such card for each interview. It then becomes possible, simply by sorting and counting the cards, to determine how many people think this way or that way about any one question. You can sort out the cards by occupation, race, sex, religion, income, political affiliation, etc., and find out how any one group reacted to a question.

In Illinois it was found that a single work group of half a dozen volunteers in one evening can make one main sort, and conduct five or six counts within that sort. It takes a number of evenings to finish the job, but it's a very interesting and revealing kind of project.

What kind of information are you likely to learn from your poll? The results on the 2d Illinois are a clue. That opinion poll was designed to find out what the people thought about full employment. The poll revealed a general lack of information about the bill itself. When asked, "Are you in favor of the Murray Full Employment Bill," people were likely to answer "No—never heard of it." Only 8 per cent had ever heard of it and had an accurate idea of its purpose. Publishing simply that response would have led the general public to believe that majority opinion opposed the bill.

But the Illinois pollsters did not let it go at that. They explained the general principles of an unlabeled bill that would provide for full employment, and asked those being interviewed if they favored that type of legislation. And 83 per

cent of the people declared themselves for it! No more graphic proof of the need for constant education (through opinion polls like this) on public issues could be shown. . . .

Another significant revelation was that only 11 per cent of the people in the 2d Illinois knew the name of their congressman.

All of this points the way toward use of your poll's findings on any issue. First emphasis is on your congressman. If he is for the measure involved, if his opinion coincides with that of the majority as revealed in the poll, he will be heartened to know it. You can ask and expect him to work more vigorously for passage of the bill—to speak for it on the floor, to testify in committee, to follow it through joint conference.

#### THE HEAT'S ON

If the expressed views of your congressman run counter to the survey's results, there's an obvious way to change his mind. Send him clippings of the publicity you will have obtained for your survey in the press. Let him know that the eyes of all civic groups, not merely yours, are on him. If you decide to send him a delegation, present him with a copy of the survey. When you talk to him, emphasize that the poll expresses the opinion of all his constituents and that they are waiting for him to act in their interest.

Your opinion poll will be a golden opportunity to obtain publicity. The local press and radio stations, the publications of trade unions, civic, educational, and foreign language groups, will all be interested in the result of this new political action technique. You can build their enthusiasm by issuing releases on the various stages of the poll: the selection of the issue, the hiring of a polling expert, the names and number of volunteers, the publication of the finished report and your conference with the local congressman. There will probably be plenty of startling statistics unearthed that city editors, columnists, and radio commentators will be glad to get. . . .

---

For more information on some of the technical details and problems involved in this sort of thing, go to someone you know who is familiar with polling techniques. Also check the references in Chapter 10.

Polling is not the only kind of research technique which may help you out, but it is the one technique which will best help you out when you are trying to play around in the tricky business of estimating opinions. For additional suggestions on methods of research see the section of Chapter 4 entitled "Ideas Are Weapons Too."

#### 7. CONCLUSION

It is not necessary that you master all these things discussed in this chapter **before** you start to take an active part in political matters. But you should at least commence to look into them while you are getting involved. For, sooner or later, you will find it absolutely necessary that you know something about these things and where you can find out more if you need it.

## *Getting Organized*

NOW YOU ARE READY for action.

This means organization. There is very little more important in the political world than getting organized. It is not by chance that the working party structure is usually known as **THE ORGANIZATION**.

Yet, so often it is in organizational matters that the beginner in politics, the political amateur, and even the professional worker fall down. Organization takes time and trouble and experience, a combination not always available in the political—or any other—world. Politics is a constant matter of explanation, discussion, education, and salesmanship. All these things demand planning and systematic effort.

In establishing or simply keeping an organization going, here are some of the things which any political worker—whether he considers himself an aspirant for professional status or whether he is a volunteer for personal reasons—must consider. Each of these phases of organizational activity will be taken up in turn and touched on briefly in this chapter:

1. **The division of political labor,**
2. **The recruiting of workers,**
3. **The training of workers,**
4. **The headquarters,**
5. **Finances, and**
6. **Tools and timetables.**

As you can see, this chapter deals with the problem of **building** the organization. The following chapters will help you **do** something with this organization.

### 1. DIVISION OF LABOR

In political action as in anything else no one person can do it all. Work must be divided. The problem is **how** to divide it. Here are some organization charts and other suggestions from those in the business.

Let us consider first the matter of **leadership**. The Democratic State Committee of New York has some excellent advice on this subject in its *Handbook for Campaign Workers*.

---

## THE LEADERSHIP

In counties where the party vote is heavy and division of responsibility is necessary, the district, city, or town chairman is a key figure. In counties where the vote is light, the county chairmen can assume a more direct share of the work, the blame, and the credit. In either case, theirs is the direct responsibility.

The leader is a man familiar with politics, with the time to devote, on a year-round basis, to the everyday problems of his community and of the party. He is chosen by his committeemen in one sense and, in another, he picks them. He must have lieutenants who are loyal to him, who believe he is doing the job that has to be done. He can influence the selection of committee members, and, in the long run, if they are best for the party, they are best for him. His showing on election day will be on the record, and on the basis of it, appointive party positions will probably be allocated, in addition to the public posts he is able to help the party win.

Party patronage is important in maintaining the party organization. It is sound for the leader to spread around the public positions which are open, or the party favors which are to be granted. Giving everything to a small clique may have two adverse effects. It may foster resentment among those left out. And it may cut down the number of people interested who can be called upon to work in the campaign or at the polls.

The ideal leader is the man who makes the final decision on policy himself, yet who has developed a capable set of lieutenants to guide him in forming that policy and who are equipped to help him carry it out.

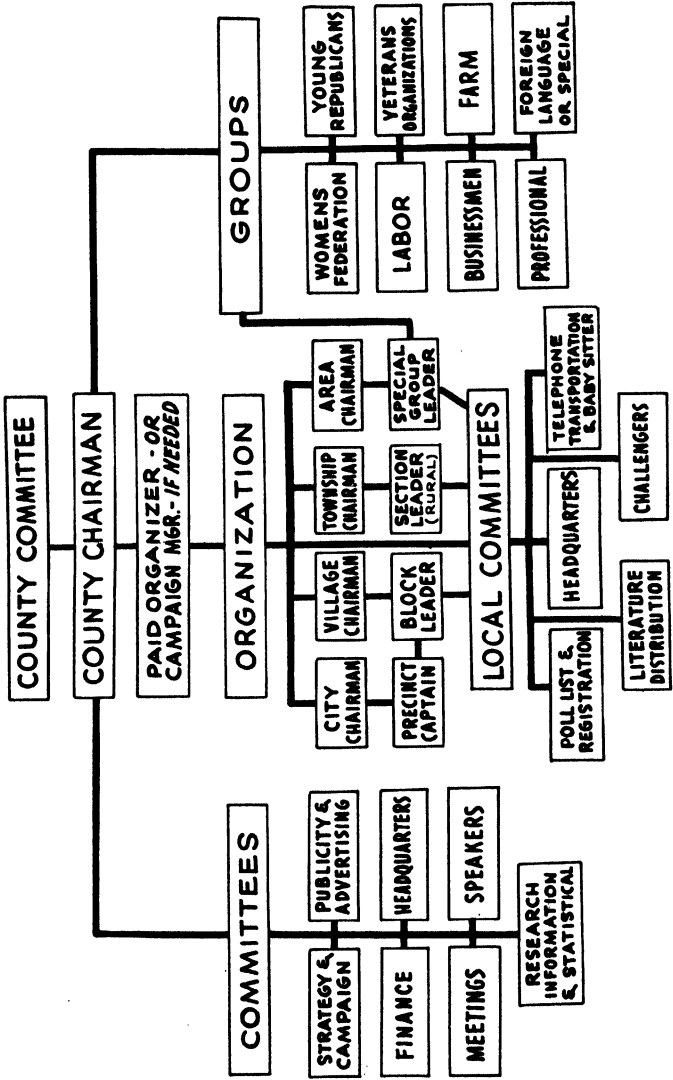
He must have a **secretary**, either his personal one or a secretary of the organization, who can be counted upon to handle the detail of organization work and the favors that the party workers might be reluctant to trouble the leader about. The secretary must be of a caliber to enjoy the full faith of his boss, and of the party workers as well.

There must also be a **law committee chairman** who will make sure that the party's nominating petitions are properly obtained, are filed in time, and also that the opposition has complied with the full measure of the law. The law chairman should be a man who is in a position to use his legal knowledge to stave off primary election competition which does not meet the election law requirements, or independent candidacies which might adversely affect the party ticket, and to meet all challenges of Democratic voters and party supporters at the polls. Many leaders select for the law committee chairmanship local lawyers eager to work for the party and anxious for future prestige and preferment from the party.

The **chairman of the speakers' bureau** occupies another key spot. It is true that more people listen to campaigns on the radio, or see them over television, than ever before, but this does not mean a lessening of work on the part of the speakers' bureau.

In the off-season, between elections, the speakers' bureau chairman will find spots for his speakers at local luncheons, meetings, and dinners, giving them training for the campaign period, and also presenting the party's stand on issues on a year-round basis. During the campaign itself, whether it be at street-corner meetings, indoor rallies, or over the air, the party's case must be pre-

# ORGANIZATION CHART



mented to the electorate, to rally the party's voters, and help convince the undecided. The speakers' bureau chairman must not only find men to do the job, but have men in reserve to fill unexpected requests.

A fourth important post is that of **treasurer**. Campaigns cost money for printing, postage, advertising, billboards, radio time, hiring of halls, payment of election-day workers, and countless incidentals, all necessary to bring the campaign home to the voters. And in the months between elections, a headquarters must be maintained on a full-time basis. It is the job of the treasurer to find the money. **A good county organization sustains itself** and is not dependent on financial aid from the state, national, or congressional campaign committees. The county chairman may pick as treasurer a man of substance in the community who is fully convinced of the desirability of the party's goal and of party victory. This helps because it may be necessary to borrow temporarily for the campaign, before contributions start rolling in, and a man with credit in the community can do it more easily. Also, being possessed of money, he will normally be acquainted with other persons of means, whom he can persuade to contribute.

The treasurer should also be picked for his energy and organizing ability, since small contributions from many persons are even more desirable than larger contributions from a few. The man who makes a party donation, no matter how small, retains a stake in the party's future. An ideal setup, though probably unattainable in New York State, would be one in which three million persons contributed half a dollar apiece.

---

So much for some of the key individuals. What about the more complex system of **committees** so necessary, especially in a political unit of any size such as a district, a county, or a ward?

First, a bird's-eye view of an organization chart, prepared by the Republican State Central Committee of Michigan, which calls this its "County Organization Plan." Essentially, this plan calls for two levels of organization—one at the county level and the other at the city, village, township, precinct, or area level. It also indicates the need for liaison with other political or politically interested groups such as veterans' organizations and labor unions. See chart on facing page.

The Women's Division of the Democratic National Committee recommends this following kind of county or precinct organization in its *Guidebook for Democratic Organization in the County and Precinct*.

---

The usual pattern of county organization is a man for chairman, a woman for vice-chairman, but this will vary from community to community. In small-vote counties, one person may assume the entire burden of county leadership. Whatever the method, county leaders choose fellow Democrats for various posts.

#### SUGGESTED DIVISIONS OF WORK

All of these posts are important. You may add to or subtract from these divisions according to your local needs. Each County Committee Chairman's duties

will be discussed fully farther along in the guidebook.

**Democratic Digest Chairman**  
**Facts-and-Figures Chairman**  
**Registration Chairman**

**Finance Chairman**  
**Publicity Chairman**  
**Speakers' Chairman**

Along with the appointment of County Committee Chairmen, the matter of precinct leaders is under consideration. Good precinct leaders are victory insurance, and their names are set down, precinct by precinct. Precinct Leaders are Democrats with a good working knowledge of their neighborhoods, and they in turn choose those **indispensable Democratic Visitors**.

To sum up, thus far: The county chairman and vice-chairman have named committee heads: precinct workers: and have a list of Democratic Visitors. The name, address, telephone number, and particular job of each man and woman have been recorded. It is time to call

---

#### THE FIRST GENERAL MEETING

---

Next is the system recommended by the Republican State Central Committee of South Dakota. This is one of the most complete outlines of suggested organization available. It is from the third edition of the Committee's *County Workers' Campaign Manual*.

---

#### THE DIVISION OF LABOR

(Lift that barge—Tote that bale)

*Team Work wins!* A number of South Dakota counties which formerly yielded consistent majorities to the Democrats, now regularly return strong Republican majorities and elect their entire ticket of G.O.P. county candidates. WHY? A study of these counties, shows that trends were CHANGED because active, alert, organization-minded, TRAINED county workers have systematized their campaigning and their work on election day. They now have campaign "Combat Teams" that know what to do, where to do it, when and how.

Effective political, community, or business leadership recognizes the importance of a careful division of labor. Assign definite responsibilities to specific responsible people. Set up SPECIAL COMMITTEES to do SPECIFIC JOBS. **Fix Responsibility.** Call for frequent progress reports. Follow through. When you (Mr. Chairman!), find that a job is not being done, have a personal visit with the people responsible for that work. If this fails to get results, assign the task (opportunity for service) to somebody who WILL AGREE to do it. The victory must not be lost through failure to plug A FEW weak spots in the line!

#### THE COUNTY ORGANIZATION ITSELF

How should this division of labor be provided? At the training conference, attention should be given to the appointment of committees and the assignment of responsibilities. Some discussion should take place concerning the NEED for and the DUTIES of the following committees. All appointments and assignments need not be made at the initial training conference but the whole or-

ganizational chart should be discussed and the assignments made as soon as possible. At the initial meeting, blanks should be passed out on which those present should be asked to indicate their **preference** for committee assignments or the type of work they would like to be called upon to undertake.

In most counties, the following ten committees should be put to work—some counties may succeed with less—others may desire more. Most of these ten are **INDISPENSABLE** to a really effective campaign, however.

#### 1—REGISTRATION COMMITTEE

Its job is to register new voters, just turning 21; voters new in the community; and “converts” won over to our party from the opposition. This committee should work the year around both on “election” and “off-election” years but it should perform in **HIGH** gear just prior to each general election. Nine times out of ten, those “registered right” will “vote right” on election day!

#### 2—RALLY COMMITTEE

Its job is to help publicize all general rallies, distribute party literature at the rallies, decorate and secure the meeting place—its goal is to make every rally an **OVERFLOW**, standing-room-only success. Newspaper advertising, hand-bills, radio announcements, direct mailings, personal invitations, and organized telephone calls should all be used in **BUILDING ATTENDANCE** at all Republican rallies.

#### 3—SPEAKERS COMMITTEE

Its job is to arrange meetings and secure speakers (with the aid of the county chairman) for the various school house rallies held in rural sections of the county or the local rallies held in the smaller towns. **THESE ARE IMPORTANT**. Here you meet the voters informally and intimately. Here county candidates can really “make hay”—win friends—influence people! Usually speakers from the home county or from neighboring counties will address these rallies and they should be attended by **ALL** county candidates.

#### 4—LITERATURE COMMITTEE

Its job is to placard the county; to display Republican cards and literature in the windows, under the show cases, on telephone poles, wherever it is appropriate. This committee should make sure that at least one—preferably more—**DIRECT MAILING** is sent to every family in the county containing Republican literature, cards, and publicity. An effective formula is to send out one general mailing on October 1 and the second on October 20. Many will read in their own homes every word of what you send them. Don't lose a voter because you never **INVITED** him to support your cause!

#### 5—THE FINANCE COMMITTEE

Its job is indicated by its title and its work is outlined under the paragraph of this manual discussing the “County Campaign Funds.” Put dependable, energetic, loyal people on this committee. **ORGANIZE IT EARLY!** Its goal is to solicit sufficient contributions from farmers, businessmen and professional men, and others and to collect the candidates' assessments so that you will have enough **FREEDOM DOLLARS** to conduct a winning campaign so that

FREEDOM can survive and flourish in this republic. (Books should be kept showing the amount and the name of the contributor.)

#### 6—HEADQUARTERS COMMITTEE

Its job is to select and secure a county G.O.P. headquarters; to appoint people to keep it open and decorate it. A first floor location is always best where available and WINDOW DISPLAYS and a PROMINENT easy-to-see sign designating its location and existence is IMPERATIVE. A REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS has a psychological effect which can't be measured by the number of its visitors nor the amount of its activity. AND—on election day—this makes an excellent staff headquarters for those hauling voters to the polls. It is a good meeting place for the various campaign committees. It should have a telephone.

#### 7—INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE

Its job is to work with precinct committeemen and women to get them or those assigned by them to make a HOUSE-TO-HOUSE SURVEY of the voting preferences of every family in each precinct. Voters should then be listed as Republican, Democrat, or "Doubtful." Once a precinct has been SURVEYED under the direction of the county intelligence committee and the reports on voting preferences are prepared, this committee directs the campaign of sending Republican workers to visit the "Doubtful" classifications and those listed as "mildly Democratic" in an effort to win them over to the Republican tickets. Each of those voters, COUNTS TWICE—one for YOU and one less for YOUR OPPOSITION! In "close counties" of where you have a candidate or two who needs special assistance to succeed, THIS COMMITTEE many times can turn possible defeat into a gratifying victory.

#### 8—CONVERSION COMMITTEE

Its job is of vital importance—put some of your "blue chip" workers on this committee. It has the responsibility of "winning converts" to the Republican ticket from those registered as Democrats or listed as "Doubtful." This committee works in close cooperation with the intelligence committee—it carries on from where the intelligence committee leaves off and it functions in areas where the work of the intelligence committee is incomplete.

How does it get results? Among its methods of successful action are the following (a) clip from newspapers and magazines, editorials, articles, cartoons, interviews, etc., and mail or hand them to doubtful voters or to Democrats whose support you have a chance to get. This can be done with or without identifying the source of the sender. (b) Provide editorials and news items for your local editors to use or reprint in support of your candidates and your cause, (c) direct a "letters-to-the-editor" campaign of letter writing to the papers reaching your community which publish Readers' Letters. (d) Visit personally with those you would convert—get others to supplement your efforts—analyze the situation and get those whose influence is likely to be the greatest to aid in your efforts to win over the voters you are endeavoring to convince.

#### 9—CHECKERS COMMITTEE

Its job is on the FRONT LINE on election day. It has the responsibility of

selecting checkers for each polling place, making sure they are there throughout the voting hours on election day, and providing them with lists of the **REPUBLICAN VOTERS** in each precinct so they can be checked off as they vote. This committee also lines up cars and drivers to haul people to the polls on election day; it has notary publics available for voting invalids and shut-ins who have been overlooked until election day.

Duplicate Republican poll lists would also be provided (they can be secured and typed from records in the office of the county auditor) so that those in your election day republic and headquarters have them to check against the records of the checkers at the polling places. Thus by two or three o'clock in the afternoon, you know just **WHICH REPUBLICANS** have not yet voted and by well-planned, carefully-organized, adequately-staffed efforts all remaining Republican voters can then be contacted and hauled to the polls. Usually about 50 per cent of all Americans *FAIL TO VOTE*. This committee should see to it that as nearly 100 per cent of all Republicans vote as possible. Advertise in the papers before election day the telephone number which voters can call to get a Republican ride to the polls on election day. All candidates should help haul in the voters!

#### 10—THE "EARLY-BIRD" COMMITTEE

Its job is specific, definite, and extremely important. It should compile a list a month before election of all Republican invalid, shut-in, or absentee voters in the county. Active precinct workers and your intelligence committee together with meetings of the county candidates can be utilized to compile this list. This list should be **STARTED EARLY**, checked frequently, and applications for absentee ballots sent out as early as the law permits—consult your county auditor for latest regulations on absentee voting.

**Important Note.** In South Dakota, invalid and shut-in ballots can be collected and voted the **WEEK BEFORE ELECTION DAY**. This committee should visit such voters, take them their ballots and a notary public, and deliver the ballots to the county auditor the week before election so that only the last-minute shut-in or invalid cases need be voted during the rush of election day. On the Sunday or Monday before election, re-check the list of shut-ins to make sure **ALL HAVE Voted**. Complete that job on Monday and get all last-minute and overlooked voters voted **BEFORE NOON** on election day. A good "Early-Bird" Committee is frequently able to procure enough "Sure-fire" votes in advance to tip the balance in close contests in every county in the state.

#### THE CENTRAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

The chairmen of each of the foregoing committees together with the county G.O.P. chairman, vice-chairman, and secretary-treasurer should comprise the central campaign committee. This campaign combat team or executive board should be called together frequently by the county chairman. At such meetings a line-up can be had of **ALL** of the activities of the campaign and reports received from **EACH** committee chairman. Every phase of the campaign will be represented at these staff meetings, new strategy can be developed, weak spots can be located, corrections made, and success assured. Special campaign activities such as the county caravan of candidates, the county G.O.P. picnic, a central final rally in the county seat, and other "Clincher campaign activities"

can also be arranged and duties assigned at these meetings of the central campaign committee.

---

Actually, no two county or city organizations will be exactly alike. But, as you can see, there are some fairly standard problems to be met and there will need to be committees to meet them. Judge what you will need and organize accordingly.

Next down the line from the county, ward, town, or district committees are the all-important **precinct workers and the precinct organization.**

If there is one thing that all professional political workers are unanimously agreed on, it's one thing—

**ELECTIONS ARE WON IN THE PRECINCTS!!!**

Precincts are usually headed by one person or possibly two—a man and a woman as precinct committeeman and precinct committee-woman respectively. The precinct worker may or may not have committees to help him, though he is apt to have some assistants.

**What does a precinct worker do and where does he fit in?**

Here is one of the best outlines of what you will be letting yourself in for as a precinct worker. It is from the little pamphlet, *How to Be a Precinct Worker*, put out by the Democratic State Central Committee of Michigan.

---

IN A NUTSHELL

If you have only time to read one paragraph on precinct work, this summary should give you the idea:

Successful precinct work is accomplished by making periodic visits to every voter in the voting district, by keeping careful records of each voter's leanings, and by conducting a well-planned and energetic activity on election day to get every Democratic voter to the polls.

In other words, 1. You find out who your supporters are, and 2. You make sure they vote.

This is the sum and substance of the job. The rest of this handbook gives you detailed suggestions on how to carry it out.

WHO SHOULD DO PRECINCT WORK?

Anybody can be a good precinct worker. All it takes is time and determination.

The best precinct workers are men and women who are around their home neighborhood a good deal. They are people who know the neighbors and see them often enough so that they have a pretty good idea of what they are thinking and doing.

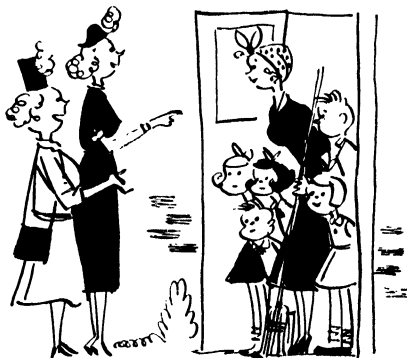
Probably one of the best precinct workers is a housewife.

At first, the idea of ringing somebody's doorbell and going into his living room to talk about an election may scare the average person. For that reason, it's not

a bad idea to start doing the job in pairs, until both members of the team get over their stage fright.

After that, each member of the team can cover some of the voters alone, and twice as much work will be done.

Once you have mastered the job, you will get a great bang out of it. You'll find that it is interesting and challenging.



You'll also find that you will become a leader in your neighborhood. People will turn to you for advice and help. When there are problems to be solved, you will be able to help your neighbors get them straightened out.

The satisfaction you will derive will be great.

#### HOW MANY PEOPLE ARE NEEDED TO COVER A VOTING DISTRICT?

It's a good idea to have a team of one person for each block to cover each voting district. However, don't wait until you have them all. The chances are that if you start working alone in the precinct, your visits will soon uncover other Democrats who want to help, and you'll be able to build your team.

Four Democratic workers can cover a voting district of 400 voters without too much trouble, and can do a good job on election day. Larger precincts and wards will, of course, require more workers.

One member of the team should be the captain. Logically, that person would be the precinct delegate; but if circumstances don't permit the delegate to put in the necessary time and energy, make another worker the captain.

#### WHAT MUST THE PRECINCT WORKER DO?

Here is a brief summary of the precinct worker's duties:

**1. Canvass the precinct**—every voter must be visited, well in advance of the election. A record of the date of the visit and the attitude of the voter should be made, either on a file card or in a record book.

**2. Classify the voters**—every voter must be classified as either Republican, independent, or Democrat.

Forget about the Republicans.

Plan to do more work on those who are independent, in order to make them Democrats.

Be sure, on election day, that every Democratic voter casts his ballot.

**3. Inform the voters**—during the campaign be sure that all Democratic and independent voters receive campaign literature.

Hold house parties or meetings at which your neighbors may meet the candidates.

When Democratic rallies are held in your district, be sure the people in your precinct know about them. Organize car pools to take them to the meetings.

**4. Know the voters' problems**—you are not only the representative of the party and the candidates, you must also be the spokesman for the Democrats in your precinct.

When they have a problem, be sure to talk it over with them, then see if anything can be done about it. Perhaps their problem can become a major campaign issue, or perhaps some Democratic public official whom you can contact will be able to straighten it out. Successful politics is based on doing something for the voters. This doesn't mean that you must try to fix tickets or get governmental agencies to blink at violations. It does mean that when people have legitimate grievances or problems, see what can be done to help them.

**5. Get out the vote**—the climax of all your work is on the day of the election. It is on election day that all the work you have done will show up.

You should know by then how many Democratic votes you have in the precinct. Your aim is to get every one of those votes out to the polling place.

Basically, the job is this: know when each Democratic voter usually casts his ballot. If he doesn't show up then, send someone to get him to the polling place.

**6. Keep in touch after the election**—successful politics is a year-round proposition. People don't like it when you just show up a week or so before the election. They want to feel that you are interested in them all the time.

One way to handle this is to conduct a registration drive between elections. There are always Democrats who have let their registration lapse. And there are new voters every year. A canvass of the precinct to check on whether people are registered will be very useful, and will help increase your vote at the next election. You'll have to make arrangements to take people to the city or township hall to register. Perhaps you can wait until you have a full car lined up, then make a date to take everyone down at once.



After we win the election, be sure that the winning candidate from your area gets into the neighborhood now and then to see people. You might have him at your house for an evening, and invite the neighbors in.

If there is a major political fight, make the rounds of your precinct to explain the issues. Remember, issues help bring out the vote.

Between elections is a good time to be active on community problems. Does the neighborhood need a playground? Is the school overcrowded? Is there a dangerous intersection that should have a traffic light?

If you can do something about things like these, or if you can organize the community to put pressure on your local authorities to do something, you'll be laying the basis for a bigger vote at the next election.

---

And, here are the "do's and don't's" as outlined in another part of the same Michigan Democratic pamphlet!

---

### SOME DO'S AND DON'TS

Always be calm and friendly. Even if the voter is extremely unpleasant and argumentative, don't lose your temper. When a voter turns out to be a Republican, try not to waste any more time on him. Leave as soon as you can.

Don't get into long and involved arguments. Tell the voter that he has a right to his opinion, and that some time when you have more time you'd enjoy discussing the matter with him at greater length. If you want to, you can work on this person between elections, when you may not have so much to do.

Don't be snobbish. Don't give the impression that you know more than the voter, or that you are looking down your nose at him. Above all, don't ridicule him or his ideas.

Keep in mind that your first time around you are interested mainly in finding out who is who. About the only people worth spending any great amount of time with are those who give some signs of wanting to help with the work.

As soon as you have learned what you want to know, leave and go to the next voter's home. You have to learn to do your canvassing pretty quickly, or you'll never cover all the voters.

Don't make any notations on your file cards until you have left the voter's house. Don't let him see you writing things down, for that may frighten him.

---

For some further materials on precinct work see the section on "Canvassing" in Chapter 5, and the sections on "Getting the Voter to Vote" and on "Policing the Election" in Chapter 7.

At the bottom of the organizational pyramid—though, perhaps, because of his importance he should be put at the top—is the **block worker** or, as he is sometimes called, the **visitor**.

The idea of one person assigned to a particular block has become increasingly popular in the last ten years. The political action committees of the labor organizations have been especially active through such workers.

The importance of block workers is not so much in that they do anything much different from, for instance, precinct workers. Rather, it is in the fact that, if there are enough of them, they can do it more thoroughly and with more understanding of the people with whom they

are working. The idea of the "block" can also be used to form the basis of a sort of community *esprit de corps* that is otherwise hard to develop in the usual political area whose boundaries may or may not reflect natural group and community interests.

Very little has been put down in black and white about block work. But here is the CIO-PAC conception of what a really efficient block worker should do, taken from another part of the folder on *Block Work* which was mentioned first in Chapter 1.

#### WHAT DO YOU DO WITH A BLOCK VOLUNTEER AFTER HE'S ENLISTED?

The block volunteers have a meeting called by the local PAC chairman at which they get their instructions. They are given (1) an identification card signed by CIO President Philip Murray and PAC Director Jack Kroll, (2) material showing how the job is to be done, and (3) information about the issues confronting all of us.

When enough block workers have been recruited, a school is established in which the technique of canvassing is taught, in which the experience of block workers already on the job is passed on to others, and in which the answers are given to questions which have come up.

The local union PAC chairman keeps in constant touch with all his block workers and, when there is a sufficient number, he breaks them down into ward and precinct organizations

But the block worker comes first. He is the basic unit of labor's political organization. Recruiting starts now.

#### WHAT DOES A BLOCK WORKER DO?

A block worker does lots of things, all on his own block with the people he knows and the people who know him.

1. He helps everybody on his block to vote, to register.
2. He keeps the people on his block informed of what their congressman is doing in Washington and what their local government representatives are doing at city hall and in the state legislature.
3. At election time he keeps the people on his block informed of the stand of the candidates and their records.
4. He is a good neighbor who helps the people on his block when they need help. If Mrs. Jones gets sick, the block worker helps out taking care of the Jones kids. If Mr. Smith loses his job, the block worker helps him try to find another. If Mr. Brown gets in trouble with his landlord, the block worker has the answers.

#### HOW DOES THE BLOCK WORKER WORK?

The block worker makes it his business to visit every family on his block. Some evening he pays a call on them and tells them he's a CIO-PAC block worker. He wants to know if they're registered and if there's any help he can give them in getting registered.

He doesn't stay too long. He doesn't argue. He doesn't "lay down the law."

He doesn't take notes while visiting. He's just a good neighbor who is a true believer in democracy.

When new families move in, he visits them to find out if he can help and to make sure they've changed their registration address.

He visits each family every two or three weeks. He keeps a notebook and jots down pertinent facts about each family. When election time rolls around he distributes literature and explains the stand of the candidate he is supporting. He makes sure the people vote and he should know how they will vote and why.

#### WHO DOES THE BLOCK WORKER WORK FOR?

The block worker works, first of all, for himself, his family, and his neighbors. He works for real, representative government.

The materials he needs—his identification card and his literature—he gets from his ward leader.

But he doesn't wait for his ward organization to be formed. If there isn't any ward leader he gets his materials from his local PAC chairman or from his shop steward. When the ward organization is formed, he's already in there pitching.

## 2. RECRUITING WORKERS

Some political work will be done by persons who are pretty much on the job the year around. More work will, however, be done by individuals who become temporarily or from time to time interested in some particular phase of political activity. But, whatever the situation, it is seldom possible to get enough really good workers to do the work that ought to be done.

But good organization demands good personnel. Better one good precinct committeeman than three mediocre ones. And, during campaigns, when the long hours and the hard work are "musts," it becomes highly desirable to go about recruiting workers in a systematic fashion.

Here are the recommendations of the Republican National Committee, taken from its *Campaign Manual*.



*The Recruiting Phase*

I. DECENTRALIZATION

BRING IN YOUR FRIENDS

A well-run campaign today, following the basic policy of decentralization, will expand indefinitely out into the ranks of the public, up to the very day of election, recruiting more and more workers. **The ultimate objective of this phase is to turn every voter into a worker for our side.**

In order to do that adequately, every worker should utilize every opportunity to recruit additional workers. A great many people would like to participate in politics, but hesitate to take the initiative because to an outsider politics often appears to be something which is mysterious, obscure, and a closed corporation. From the candidate and campaign manager on down, everyone should try to bring his friends and any others who evidence any real interest, into the campaign. If all workers are constantly reminded of this far-reaching principle, the results may exceed all expectations. To be successful, a campaign organization should use everybody who is willing to work and who has the temperament to play on a team.

There are some people who, by temperament, become troublemakers when placed in political work. Even if they possess considerable ability, experience had demonstrated that it is better not to use them; they ordinarily do more harm than good.

Most people are willing to work for the Republican party on the theory of individual service; and it is dangerous to play with those who are not.

II. A CARD FOR EVERY WORKER

Following is a suggested form of Worker's Card to be printed or mimeographed in two colors, if possible, and to be filled out in duplicate for every

<b>WORKER'S CARD</b>			
Name			
	Last Name	First Name	
Address			
	Ward	Precinct	
Telephones: Home			
	Office		
Hours Available for Work			
Interested in:			
Research	<input type="checkbox"/>	Headquarters	<input type="checkbox"/>
Canvassing	<input type="checkbox"/>	Work	<input type="checkbox"/>
Speaking	<input type="checkbox"/>	Receptionist	<input type="checkbox"/>
Literature	<input type="checkbox"/>	First Voters	<input type="checkbox"/>
Distribution	<input type="checkbox"/>	Poll Watching	<input type="checkbox"/>
		Rallies, Parades, etc.	<input type="checkbox"/>
		Transportation	<input type="checkbox"/>
		Special Services	<input type="checkbox"/>
		Finance	<input type="checkbox"/>
Remarks:			

worker and kept on permanent file. A copy in one color (blue) should go to the division affected, and a master copy in another color (white) should stay in the Headquarters Master File of Workers. The Master File of Workers can be of very great value in succeeding campaigns.

### III. RECRUITING WORKERS AT MEETINGS

As set forth in the chapter on "Handling the Candidate," every candidate goes to a number of meetings, parties, and social gatherings of one sort or another. A certain percentage of the people present always show some interest or enthusiasm for the candidate. But those people have seldom had any previous contact with the regular party or campaign organization. While they are interested in politics or in the candidate, most of them tend to shrink from volunteering for work unless requested to do so.

However, these people can be recruited with surprising ease. The basic formula is for the coordinator of the candidate's personal program and the captain of the buffer team to see that one person, or preferably two or three people where the gathering is large enough, accompany the candidate as part of the buffer team armed with white Worker's Cards. Since most workers do canvassing, that division may want to handle the recruiting. In any event, these recruiters should circulate at the gatherings and take down the name, address, telephone number, etc., of everyone who indicates enthusiasm or willingness to work. Strike while the iron is hot!

The Worker's Cards should be turned in immediately the next day to the headquarters secretary or her delegate, and she should follow up each prospect with a telephone call, endeavoring to put the prospect to work within the campaign organization. And these new recruits should be asked to bring in their friends.

### IV. DON'T RECRUIT UNTIL YOU CAN PUT THEM TO WORK

The recruitment of workers should be deferred until an administrative framework has been set up which is completely capable of absorbing the workers as fast as they come in. **Nothing discourages a volunteer more than indifferent treatment or having to hang around with nothing to do.** Clear arrangements should be made in advance to channel every volunteer **immediately** into one or more divisions, where he can **immediately** be put to work.

Most volunteers will not know what type of work they prefer, and since canvassing ordinarily absorbs the bulk of volunteers, the best procedure is to channel all such volunteers directly into the canvassing division.

---

**Young voters' organizations** provide a source for working personnel which is often overlooked. The Young Republican National Federation has published a special pamphlet on *How YR's Can Be Effectively Utilized*. Here's how the Young Democrats feel on the same subject as outlined in the official handbook of the Young Democratic Clubs of America, which is entitled *It's Your Future!—How You Can Take an Active Part in Your Government*. The section of this publication which is reproduced

here concerns the possible utilization of Young Democrats at election time. Of course, the effective use of young voters is not limited to this occasion.

## Y.D.C. PARTICIPATION IN GENERAL ELECTIONS

### I. THE STATE ORGANIZATION

- (a) The state Y.D.C. campaign committee
  1. Appointed by Y.D.C. president and confirmed by senior Democratic chairman.
  2. During campaigns the director of organization for Y.D.C. should give full time to the job and have as many paid and voluntary workers as the organization requires. It is best to organize at the precinct level with at least a chairman and vice-chairman (preferably a man and woman for every voting precinct in your state).
  3. To share offices with state Democratic committee if possible.
  4. Functions of the Y.D.C. campaign committee:
    - a. Direct Y.D.C. organization and reorganization in each county.
    - b. Develop files of names of officers and members of each Y.D.C. organization in the state. Send them copies of your state Y.D.C. newspaper or news letter, and put them on the mailing list of *The Spotlight*, National Y.D.C. publication.
    - c. Supervise and direct organization of Y.D.C. precinct committees.
    - d. Direct orderly system of reporting on campaign activities by local clubs to state and national Y.D.C.
    - e. Assist in sponsoring campaign rallies in state and in congressional districts if senior Democratic committee approves.
    - f. Organize college clubs and stimulate voting by eligible college students.
    - g. Devise unusual projects which have as their purpose the attainment of greater Democratic majorities.
  5. Establish a state Speakers' Bureau
    - a. To assign speakers to local and county rallies.
    - b. To advise local and county organization of availability of speakers.
    - c. To channel background speech material to participating speakers.
  6. Staff election returns headquarters on election night with qualified persons to tabulate the vote and be generally helpful.
  7. Render such assistance in connection with the campaign as may be requested by the senior Democratic committee chairman.

### II. THE COUNTY OR LOCAL ORGANIZATION

- (a) Preliminary organization
  1. Appoint committee to ascertain names and addresses of unregistered, eligible Democratic voters.
  2. Appoint committee to ascertain names and addresses of young people who are eligible to vote for the first time.

- a. Check your birth records in the city hall or court house for the appropriate years.
  - b. Examine the lists of recent high school graduates.
  - c. From the telephone company, Chamber of Commerce, real estate agent, and such sources you can obtain names of young men and women who have recently moved into the community.
  - d. Drivers' license records.
3. Appoint committee to provide for the systematic registration of unregistered voters and "first-voters."
    - a. Telephone crew to request that they register.
    - b. Transportation crew to furnish transportation to registrants where needed.
    - c. Volunteer committee to care for children while mothers register, if necessary.
  4. Perfect Y.D.C. campaign committee of men and women to serve in each voting unit in your territory.
  5. Appoint committee on absentee voting which will have as its responsibility the registration and voting of all persons who will for some reason be away on voting day.
- (b) The campaign—
1. Schedule rallies and campaign meetings in cooperation with senior Democratic committee.
  2. Prepare and distribute campaign literature for mailing and door-to-door distribution.
  3. Sponsor mock campaigns and elections in high schools and colleges.
  4. Develop a card index of voters in each precinct and in the county as a whole.
- (c) Election day
1. Necessary staff of workers:
    - a. Telephone crew to urge voting by all Democrats.
    - b. Transportation crew to furnish transportation to voters.
    - c. Volunteer committee to care for children while mothers vote.
    - d. Have stand-by committee at county or precinct headquarters for errands, assignments, and emergency duty.
    - e. Assist election officials in counting votes.
    - f. Assist senior Democratic committee at election headquarters in tabulating and compiling voting results.

---

For additional materials on organizing a Young Republican or Young Democrat or other Young Voters Club write to your party's state or national headquarters. There are model constitutions and by-laws available along with suggested programs of action. Any active political organization will want to interest young voters on a continuing basis. Some organizations will want to do this by means of special organizations, while others will want to work the young voters into the regular organizations.

A young voter convinced early can mean a lot of votes in the next 50 years. Most political parties recognize this fact and have planned accordingly.

Perhaps even more important as a source for active political workers than the young voters' clubs are the **women's political organizations and auxiliaries.**

The idea of "50-50" (50 per cent men-50 per cent women) membership on political committees, required by law in many states and customary in many more, is becoming almost universal. When one considers that the potential vote of women is greater than that of men, the need to integrate women more fully into the political program becomes even more compelling. The stepping up of appeals to the women's vote during the last two decades has become increasingly apparent.

Here is a brief discussion of women's political activities from the *Handbook for Campaign Workers* of the New York Democratic State Committee.

---

#### THE WOMEN

Women cast their votes for the first time in New York State in 1918, two years before the 20th Amendment permitted them to vote in national elections. Their vote in that first election, while small, has been generally credited with having played a part in the election of Al Smith as governor when he ran for the first time that year.

Since then the number of women participating in politics has rapidly increased to the point where today they outnumber the males in many political subdivisions, and in a general statewide election cast approximately half of the total vote.

While the women's vote was not always identified as a thing apart in elections, it has become apparent in recent years that women are prone to vote on the "issues" in an election even to a greater extent than their husbands. Political leaders have become increasingly conscious of the "women's vote," and the major parties have expanded the activities of their women's divisions accordingly.

The Women's Division of the Democratic State Committee is constantly on the alert to find out the issues in which women are interested, to report back to the party's leadership on what steps must be taken to insure that the party gets the same large share of the women's vote at the next election that it received in past elections.

In addition to this, women have learned to perform, and perform well, task done in the past by only male workers. They make excellent canvassers, election inspectors, poll watchers, speakers; and they also know how to set up meetings of their own, distribute literature, and help get out the vote on election day. Women initiated the practice of furnishing baby sitters to aid women voters in getting to the polls, and this is now a standard practice of all well-run political organizations.

The Women's Division also developed the "campaign school," a training ground for party workers, the campaign caravan, and it effectively used the "Housewives Trailer" to help elect President Harry S. Truman in the 1948 campaign.

The New York State Democratic organization has been fortunate for many years in the close cooperation which has existed between the formal party organization and the Women's Division.

This is headed by the vice-chairman of the Democratic State Committee, and her contact in each county is the regularly elected county vice-chairman, who is *ex officio* head of the county women's division. In most counties there is also a program director, appointed with the approval of the local county chairman and vice-chairman.

The vice-chairman of the state committee is responsible for the sending out of a continuous stream of educational material, starting with the party's legislative program, and containing suggestions for meeting topics, publicity, and getting out the vote.

Both during campaigns and in the off-season, the women party workers have proven invaluable. Their share in the work and their ability to perform any kind of task have led to increasing recognition in the form of nominations to public office and appointments to public posts.

---

As with young voters, women sometimes prefer to form organizations of their own. The National Federation of Women's Republican Clubs is especially active and has published, among other things, a special handbook on the organization of women's political clubs, entitled *Handbook for Women Who Win*. The Democratic equivalent is published by the Women's Division of the Democratic National Committee and is called *Plan Your Work—Work Your Plan*. Other publications are available from the "women's divisions" of both major parties.

Still further sources of active political workers are the well-known **political clubs**, of which Tammany Hall, for instance, is one of the oldest. In contrast to the young voters' and women's groups, these clubs usually include all kinds of voters—especially those of a particular area such as a ward. Whole families may be involved.

Many years ago these clubs formed the real base for political organization—as Tammany does yet to some extent in New York. This is no longer true, generally speaking, but in many localities clubs still flourish, hold outings, and make a genuine contribution to the social as well as the political life of the community.

In order to promote the organization of local clubs of this sort the Los Angeles Democratic County Central Committee has, for example, prepared and mimeographed a special procedure for organizing a political club. A suggested constitution and charter application forms are also available. The County Committee then awards an official certificate of recognition to each new organization.

These special clubs are today used most frequently to sponsor the candidacies of particular individuals. Such a club will then, during the campaign, work closely with the central party committees in furthering the campaign of the person of their choice. For instance, during the 1948 campaign the Republican National Committee put out a special booklet entitled *Republican Club—Manual* for the guidance of groups of Republican workers who were particularly interested in this campaign and who wished to organize and work for the interests of certain candidates.

After the campaign, it is not unusual for such clubs and temporary organizations to disband or become inactive. But the organization of these clubs furnishes a means of utilizing the energies of great numbers of people who might not want to become regular full-time members of a political organization but who are willing to contribute a good deal of time and effort at particular times and on behalf of particular candidates and issues.

### 3. TRAINING SCHOOLS

The most thriving and effective political organizations are today not only endeavoring to recruit effective workers but are also working to improve their workers' effectiveness through all kinds of **training** activities.

Special literature is put out monthly—sometimes oftener—by the state and national headquarters of the major political organizations. This literature, which can usually be obtained for the asking, is often scheduled so that a different topic is treated each month. Local political groups and clubs, especially women's groups, may then use the material in their monthly or other meetings.

But there has been a clear tendency within the last few years for the state and national political organizations to conduct even more systematic training through special **schools of politics**.

The Republican State Committee of New York has also been holding schools of politics each summer for several years at Hamilton College. In 1951 the state committee decided to broaden out its program. Representatives of the 62 Republican county committees met at Albany in October, 1951, for a one-day Leaders School. At this session the representatives were briefed and trained in setting up and conducting schools of politics in their own counties during 1952 and the following years.

The county schools are to be aimed at interesting and training pre-voters, first voters, party workers, and any other persons who may wish to take part. A full set of outlines, reference material, and other training aids has been prepared for the use of the schools.

The following short handout indicates the projected general plan

for the county schools. The "syllabus" referred to outlines the general subject matter of the course which, essentially, covers the same kinds of things as are covered in this book—together with a discussion of issues from a Republican point of view.

---

### SCHOOL OF POLITICS

The following syllabus is suggested as a guide in presenting the course on Practical Politics. It is not intended to be all-inclusive—and, of course, may be supplemented to fill the needs of the respective county organizations.

The course can be given effectively in approximately eight hours of lecture time exclusive of question periods. These eight hours may be divided into as many classroom sessions as the local instructors deem desirable. As additional material for discussion is supplied by state committee or other sources, the time for the course will be correspondingly lengthened.

Each county should have, at least, one school where the material in this syllabus is presented. It can be used to instruct and freshen up experienced workers—and prevoters, college students and auxiliary workers.

The instructor should have all his material at hand before commencing the course. He can then vary the order of presentation to fit the political happenings in his locality at the time. For instance, if the course is started while registration period is under way, stress all aspects of registration and enrollment; if the primaries are in process or under way, stress those phases of the course. The same procedure should be followed in convention time, election period, etc.

Lessons should be pointed up by bringing to the first class a series of newspaper clips on happenings of the last week or two affecting politics. For instance, a heated controversy between two candidates for county chairman, a threatened primary contest for state senator, reports of campaigning in the general election, etc., etc. Where possible use these clips as the basis for the start of your lesson. Make your work seem real and alive—give examples and illustrations wherever you can—don't hesitate to tell stories pertinent to your lesson—get your students to cut out clips themselves and bring them to class. Don't make your lessons too dull and complicated. Don't insist on your students memorizing difficult aspects of the law. Place more stress on their gaining a general feeling for the subject and in developing an interest for politics.

Above all else, instill in your students the importance of the work of the individual. Never for a moment should any one of them feel that he can be dispensed with. Building up confidence this way will get you greater participation and better results.

As the plans for the State School expand, the Staff of the Director of Education will correlate all important issues, national, state, and local. The information will be reduced to readable form and sent to county chairmen and school instructors for their use. This information should be used in connection with the courses on practical politics. For instance, if the instructor is teaching the lesson on how the district captain or worker goes to his voter—bring in a discussion of one or two of the issues considered important in your locality. If you are on the question of canvassing in a primary fight bring in to the discussion other issues which you consider pertinent. In this manner you can spend con-

siderable time on the issues and do a great deal to build up an intelligent organization. At the same time, the instruction on practical politics will be made more interesting.

The state committee staff requests each and every county chairman, vice-chairman, and instructor to report to it any experiences of interest which they think could be used to advantage in other counties. We look for the fullest cooperation in this respect so that we may develop the schools to peak efficiency.

---

At the same time the New York State Democratic Committee has been sponsoring Democratic Political Institutes. Their Institutes have come to be annual affairs, the 1951 meeting, held at Syracuse University, being the fifth. The 1950 school was held at Colgate University, Hamilton, New York. This state committee has even gone so far as to establish 7 internships in politics, the interns coming from various colleges in the state. Their work, for which they are given college credit, has been supervised by a member of the state committee's staff.

Nor has this special type of "school" training been limited to that supervised by the political parties. During the spring of 1950 the University of Washington (Seattle) sponsored, along with the YMCA and YWCA, a "Work Shop on Practical Politics" with Professor Hugh A. Bone of the Department of Political Science as adviser and participant. Among other participants in the four sessions of the workshop, which met on four consecutive Wednesdays in April and May, 1950, were the county chairmen of both political parties.

The pioneer in the development of work in practical political action at the college level has been Professor O. Garfield Jones at the University of Toledo. For nearly two decades the course in "Effective Citizenship," conducted under the direction of Professor Jones, has given students practical training in civic affairs. In more recent years Professor Arthur Naftalin of the University of Minnesota has conducted a political science course entitled "Field Work in Government and Politics," involving interviews, observations, research, and reports.

The University of Kansas has been developing an Institute of Citizenship. Boston University is experimenting with a new course in "Modern Democratic Citizenship." The extension division of the University of Wisconsin has prepared—not only for students but for anyone who wishes to purchase them—a whole series of outlines for what it calls "Citizens Seminars." These are packets of materials which can serve as the basis of discussion and workshop groups.

Ohio Wesleyan University has recently, under the guidance of its newly formed Institute of Practical Politics directed by Professor Ben A. Arneson, sponsored a course in "Citizenship Field Training" for which college credit is received. Interested students go back to their home communities during the summer and take part in some type of political

or civic work. The credit is received upon the completion of a report upon this work. In addition, the Ohio Wesleyan Institute has been sponsoring annually a Democratic Recruitment Day and a Republican Recruitment Day. Each day has its special program and special speakers, aimed at interesting college students in active political participation in their own local communities or in any other sphere in which they think they might wish to take part.

Several years ago the American Political Science Association appointed a special committee on citizenship and participation in politics to see what more could be done by political scientists to prepare college students for their political responsibilities in later years. This committee has made at least two reports to the Association's Executive Council and there is undoubtedly a growing interest in the more practical manipulative side of political affairs within our colleges and universities.

For further information on the increasing interest being displayed by colleges and universities in the more practical side of political action, see the publication by the Citizenship Clearing House of New York University, entitled *Evaluation of Citizenship Training and Incentive in American Colleges and Universities*.

The development of these political "schools" and of college courses in "practical politics" is a type of activity which is of great general educational value in a democracy such as ours. Many other political, educational, and civic organizations not now engaged in any such work could easily sponsor similar institutes and "courses" at relatively little expense. Materials and suggestions can usually be obtained from any of the persons or organizations listed above. In addition, the Leagues of Women Voters have, in their own meetings, conducted a similar type of training for many years. And their publications, developed from experience over the years, are of great value and have the advantage of being readily obtainable.

Certainly the matter of civic and political training—at all age levels—cannot be overemphasized these days.

#### 4. THE HEADQUARTERS

One must have a place to work from, a place where workers can come or phone or send other people.

This is the **headquarters**.

First, on the choice of a spot and some other matters the New York Democratic State Committee, in its *Handbook for Campaign Workers* has some suggestions to make.

---

The headquarters staff is important. A good receptionist can save time for everybody by making sure visitors are sent to the right division. If an intelligent,

willing volunteer is not available for this job, a paid employee should be used. In any event, the receptionist should have the tact to turn away the visitor of the "crackpot" type without hurting feelings, and should be able to recognize party workers either by sight or by name.

The campaign chairman, or the division chairman, will not have the time to see every visitor, to confer on every minor detail. For this purpose he should have an assistant, with a high-sounding title, such as "administrative assistant," who can speak for him, or give the impression of so doing.

The appearance of activity around a campaign headquarters is a morale builder for visitors and workers, and for this reason the headquarters should not be overmanned to the point where there is not enough work for all to do. Work outside the headquarters can be found for all who are willing.

Picking a spot for a headquarters is important. In a small city or a village a vacant store front on the main street is ideal. It permits continuous advertising by means of a banner across the front, or possibly even across the main street. In larger cities, hotel suites, which can be expanded or contracted as the need arises, have been found to work well.

The headquarters layout should, if possible, be broken up into enough rooms to permit privacy for the campaign manager and his principal aids. Much of the clerical work can be done in more open space. There also should be a press room, equipped with several desks and typewriters. Press releases can be kept in a row of marked boxes, one for each newspaper covering the campaign, so that each reporter can be aware of the material intended for him.

Newspaper reporters and radio commentators, with edition or broadcast times set, rarely have time to wait. This problem can be met by setting, after consultation with the press, a definite press conference period either daily or several times a week. If urgent action is needed by them between times, most callers will understand a brief departure from the appointment schedule to handle the matter.

Coordination of the campaign as run from headquarters with the activities of the normal party organization is so necessary that it cannot be stressed too much. For example, before a commitment is made to speak at a rally, a check must be made with the party's leader in the particular locality. Any conflict in dates, plans, or ideas should be ironed out in consultation with him, and the leader should be given a prominent place on the platform, possibly as the man to introduce the main speaker, or to open the rally. Nothing should be allowed to occur which might be interpreted by anyone as a snub.

On election day itself, the headquarters is chiefly concerned with seeing that the vote is gotten out. Poll workers will make periodic checks by phone with headquarters, cars are held in reserve for use in the car pool, lawyers are standing by for calls for legal help.

After the polls have closed, the candidate and the campaign manager can relax and prepare for the best or the worst. Party workers, however, will want to be in at the close, and arrangements should be made for receiving and posting the returns, on a blackboard, from the district workers for local candidates, and from the press associations for state and national contests.

A modest amount of refreshments will be in order, win or lose, for the workers, their friends, and visitors. The candidate and the manager will be around and

available, to thank those who worked in the party's behalf, and accept congratulations if they are in order. There will always be another election coming up and the party workers who performed faithfully, whether in a winning or losing cause, will be needed again.

---

More important, however, than the location is what goes on in the headquarters. The following discussion of **administration**, taken from the *Republican Campaign Manual* of the Republican National Committee, is one of the best.

---

## I. THE NEED FOR A CLEAR CAMPAIGN STRUCTURE

### DELEGATION OF AUTHORITY

Many campaigns are run with the loosest and most haphazard campaign structure imaginable, without either clear lines of authority or clear understandings of responsibility. But such haphazard organization and structure bring only haphazard results.

The first job of every campaign manager is to set up a campaign organization with a clear structure. This simply means, as a practical matter, that every function should be delegated clearly and specifically to someone, preferably in writing, with a clear line of authority and a perfectly clear understanding of responsibility on the part of the person who is to carry out the particular program. Nothing causes so much trouble as a misunderstanding, and because of the fluid and dynamic character of a political campaign, especial care must be taken to prevent misunderstandings in this fast-moving field. And, the need for clarity increases with the scope of the campaign.

This campaign manual is intended to provide much of the written material to serve as a basis for delegation, and may, of course, be supplemented by written memoranda.

Where possible, the campaign manager should reserve no administrative or operational responsibilities for himself, but should delegate them all. When a new and workable idea appears on the horizon, he should put somebody in charge of it as a new program immediately, reserving for himself the basic role of coordinating, trouble-shooting, and developing new ideas. He will be busy enough with those duties.

In addition, he should try to delegate as much of his administrative and clerical responsibilities, or he will find himself bogged down in detail, behind in his work, and with no opportunity to do the thinking at top level which is the basic job of the campaign manager.

Accordingly, it is best to prepare a Campaign Organization Chart as soon in the campaign as its plan of operation has been ascertained with reasonable clarity.

## II. THE BASIC POLICY OF DECENTRALIZATION

The foundation of administering the activities of a campaign organization must necessarily be the basic policy of **decentralization**. Its prime objective

is to bring in new people continually, to reach constantly further and further into the ranks of the public for more and more workers, decentralizing responsibility to an increasing degree with every new area and project, yet always maintaining centralized control. Usually, one of the main problems in a political campaign is manpower; more manpower is always needed than can be found, if the campaign is properly organized at the outset and all the potentialities are sounded out.

Decentralization of responsibility can be accomplished in the canvassing division through the appointment of regional captains, precinct captains, and block captains; in the speakers' bureau through the team system and the team captains; similarly in the literature distribution division through the team system and the team captains; and so on. It is important also to remember that people like badges and titles.

### III. MAINTAINING CENTRALIZED CONTROL

Centralized control, in the hands of the campaign manager, who in turn is accountable to the candidate for administration of the campaign, must always be maintained. There are several ways of accomplishing this:

#### A. Hold Staff Meetings

The early stages of every campaign are fluid, subject to constant change and revision, with new people constantly being brought in and new ideas constantly appearing. Thus, in the early stages of a campaign, the campaign manager should hold staff meetings of the chairmen of divisions and other key figures in the organization. These meetings should be conducted on as businesslike a basis as possible. They stimulate ideas, build morale, and provide clear understandings all around.

While the candidate may act as chairman of these meetings, as a matter of good administration it is better for the campaign manager to do so. That leaves the candidate free at such meetings to discuss policy and basic strategy, without requiring him to spend time or effort on the mechanics and details of administration, or on following through afterward.

However, staff meetings do not serve a useful purpose once the various divisions have their programs under way, and should then be discontinued.

The chairman of each division may find it useful to call meetings of workers in his division, in order to work out his plans, develop ideas, and recruit new workers.

#### B. Use the Telephone

For political campaigns, the telephone may truly be said to be a wonderful instrument. Volunteers are busy, and they are separated geographically. In a campaign covering a wide area, the factor of distance provides an additional problem. But the telephone is an instrument which can solve both the part-time and the geographical problems. Hence, the campaign manager should keep in touch by telephone, where personal conference is not possible, with all the chairmen of his divisions and the key figures of the campaign. The chairman of the divisions should be encouraged to acquire the habit of reporting to him, by telephone at least, on the activities of the various divisions, so that the campaign manager may be kept abreast at all times of what is going on.

In a large-scale campaign, the telephone calls centering around the campaign manager will be so numerous that it will be a great help for him to have the headquarters secretary, one or more personal secretaries, or assistant managers take and relay messages and make minor decisions. He may find it valuable to arrange for others to convey certain messages for him. For instance, one single new idea may suddenly have to be conveyed to ten different people. If the actual mechanics of communication can be carried out by an assistant without injury to the pride of division chairmen, the campaign manager will be so much freer to think and act at the top level where his duties are required.

### C. Hold Meetings of Workers

It is well to have periodical meetings of workers as the campaign runs along, where all of them may mingle and meet with some degree of relaxation. The candidate should be present, and refreshments should be served. If there are to be any speeches, they should be short and to the point. Emphasis should be on relaxation. This enables workers who may not know each other except by telephone, or who otherwise see little of each other, to meet and talk. In the general conversation which will go around the room, everyone will become better apprised of the reasoning and operations of all the divisions in the campaign.



Also, good workers' meetings will build up that wonderful feeling of exhilaration which goes with political work in which people believe, and which they have a chance to do effectively.

## IV. LIAISON WITH THE REGULAR ORGANIZATION

Where the campaign is being put on by an individual club or group, one or more liaison representatives should be officially and clearly designated, whose job it is to keep in touch with the various regular party leaders, to apprise them of developments in the campaign, and to handle any complaints or problems which may arise. Their job is to "keep the regular party leaders happy."

## V. RUNNING THE CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS

### A. In General: The Headquarters Secretary

Every political campaign should have a headquarters, however crude or simple, and the headquarters should be run by a headquarters secretary, who is a very important cog in the campaign, similar to an assistant campaign manager. This post is especially suitable for a woman who has the time, who has had experience in business, or who possesses a marked talent for paperwork,

administration, and dealing with people. It is her job to run the headquarters, under the supervision of the campaign manager, and to obtain an adequate number of assistants to discharge the responsibilities involved.

### B. Dealing with the Public: The Receptionist Program

One of the most important duties of the headquarters secretary is that of dealing with the public. In an active campaign many members of the public telephone, come into headquarters personally, or write in, with every conceivable kind of idea or request. It should be the headquarters secretary's responsibility to deal with the public, insofar as the public approaches the campaign headquarters.



#### 1. General Principles:

Here there are several cardinal principles:

- a. **Unfailing courtesy.**
- b. Take down **on paper** every request for assistance or information which requires further action, in order that a record may be made and the proper people subsequently informed.
- c. Try to **recruit** every enthusiast into a worker.
- d. Give adequate and accurate **information** regarding registration and election law requirements. In this connection a small looseleaf notebook, in duplicate or triplicate, should be prepared, containing basic information, such as requirements for registration; addresses of polling places with ward and precinct numbers, and areas covered; the hours for registration and voting, etc. In a large city many people call up asking where they should vote, and this information can be easily furnished with the aid of a map and such a notebook. If the campaign headquarters cannot furnish such information, the public will not like it. This notebook provides the principal training manual for the receptionists, and they should keep up with its changes.

#### 2. Organizing the Receptionists:

##### a. *Handle Incoming Calls and Callers:*

In a large-scale campaign, the campaign headquarters will be an active place, particularly in the last two weeks preceding an election. Miscellaneous members of the public will call in person with all kinds of ideas and requests, and similar calls from the public will come in over the telephone. But even in a large-scale campaign, two, or at the most, three telephones, reserved exclusively

for incoming calls from the public, are all needed for that purpose. These telephones should be put on two receptionists' desks in the reception foyer, and there should be chairs for the public and callers between the receptionists' desks and the door. All incoming telephone calls and callers should be handled initially by the receptionists, if possible. Members of the campaign organization should be trained to make calls to headquarters by using other telephone numbers, not those for use of the public.

Calls which have to be referred to other people in the campaign organization can be referred by using the interoffice button on the telephone.

Women are especially suitable for this work, and the exhilaration of meeting and talking with the public in an active political campaign is usually enjoyable work. The headquarters secretary may wish to delegate the responsibility for the receptionist program to someone under her supervision. In any event, a definite plan should be made to recruit a group of receptionists who are pleasant and cheerful, and who get along well with people and enjoy dealing with them.

b. *Receptionist Assignments:*

A calendar or schedule should then be prepared, with a separate sheet for each day. Each member of the receptionist program should be given definite assignments, and should take over one of the receptionists' desks (Desk A and Desk B), during her work. Two receptionists should suffice in any campaign. Some people can devote more time than others, and every receptionist should be instructed to look through the receptionist notebook every day for new material and to refresh her recollection.

It adds greatly to the efficiency of the campaign headquarters if the receptionists who are to work in the evening come in in the late afternoon and have their suppers sent in at the expense of the campaign organization. This enables the campaign organization to stay in operation through what would otherwise be a transition, and sometimes a very important, period.

The person in charge of the receptionist program should check by telephone, early each day, to make sure that the volunteers scheduled to take over the receptionist desks during the day have not changed their plans and can be relied upon to be present.

c. *Value of Receptionists:*

The great advantage of a receptionist program is that specific people become trained in the issues of the particular campaign, the election law requirements, and the personnel of the campaign organization. They can intelligently screen incoming calls and callers, and make courteous treatment of the public an intelligent and pleasant business. They become especially valuable in the final week before election.

d. *Installing the Telephone:*

In a campaign of any scope, the incoming and outgoing telephones should be separated. On the stationery of the campaign organization the incoming telephone numbers should be printed for use of the public. But the telephones bearing those numbers should never, except in cases of emergency, be used for outgoing calls, for when that is done, the wires become clogged, preventing the public from reaching the campaign organization.

Entirely separate lines should be used for outgoing calls. This will mean.

in a large-scale campaign, that key figures like the campaign manager and headquarters secretary, will need the use of two telephones, one to receive the incoming calls, after screening by the receptionists and one for making outgoing calls.

It will also be necessary to plan ahead, in order to prevent a shortage of telephones from developing in the last week or two in the campaign. By that time, new projects and division operations will have suddenly mushroomed up, with the resulting influx of additional people into the campaign headquarters, each making increasing telephone calls on their various programs. The additional telephones require no additional cost except for installation, inasmuch as the deposit sometimes required by the telephone company is always returned at the end of the campaign. But if there are not enough telephones, people will not be reached, programs and divisional operations will bog down, misunderstandings will occur, and the public will be sore.

### C. Office Routine

#### 1. *Procurement:*

The purchasing or renting of furniture, typewriters, etc.; the purchase of office supplies; and the maintaining of inventories.

#### 2. *Personnel:*

The maintenance of master files of Workers' Cards, and the sending of duplicate Workers' Cards to the appropriate divisions involved; aiding the recruiting by following up all the prospects for workers turned in by the buffer team and others. This is something that can be done by telephone, be sub-delegated, and highly productive.

#### 3. *Servicing the Divisions:*

There will be many requests, calls, etc., pertaining to the work of various divisions. The headquarters secretary should see, for instance, that every request for a speaker is referred to the speakers' bureau, and that requests for literature, research material, nibbles for rallies, personal appearances by the candidate, etc., are all referred immediately to the appropriate person. It is always best to make written memoranda of such calls and requests.

#### 4. *Maintaining Files:*

A sample organization of the files for a campaign headquarters is as follows:

##### a. *Candidate's Correspondence:*

This will include all correspondence which must be answered personally by or in the name of the candidate.

##### b. *Campaign Manager's Correspondence:*

All correspondence signed by or in the name of the campaign manager should go in this file.

##### c. *General Correspondence:*

This will include all correspondence which can be signed by the headquarters secretary for the campaign organization. The folder of such correspondence should be kept on the campaign manager's desk so that he may keep abreast of what has happened by a few minutes' reading.

Send a piece of campaign literature with every letter, if possible.

##### d. *Master Files:*

(1) *Basic Memoranda:*

This should include all the basic memoranda written by the campaign manager concerning the functions of various divisions and special projects.

(2) *Election Law Material:*

All material pertaining to the election laws, requirements for voting, addresses of polling places, etc., should be filed here.

(3) *Candidate's Speeches:*

A chronological file should be maintained of one copy of each speech given by the candidate, which should never be removed from headquarters.

(4) *Research:*

Every research memorandum should be numbered and filed in chronological order, one copy to be placed in the master files, not to be removed from campaign headquarters.

(5) *Political Literature:*

One copy of each piece of political literature put out by the campaign organization should be filed here.

(6) *Opposition Political Literature:*

One copy of all opposition political literature should be filed here.

(7) *Clippings:*

All the newspapers should be clipped regularly, and pasted into books. Two books are useful, one for material on the candidate, and the campaign generally, and one containing clippings and material concerning the opposition.

The research committee will, of course, clip its material independently, in most cases.

e. *Duplicate Files* of each of the above categories should be kept separately

## D. The Bulletin Board

A bulletin board, fastened to the wall inside the entrance to the campaign headquarters and near the receptionists, is of great value. It provides continuity and a clearinghouse of information. Messages, notices, a copy of the candidate's daily calendar, location of sound trucks, etc., can be posted there each day.

## VI. THE CAMPAIGN MANAGER

The candidate is the campaign's front man; and the campaign manager is in effect his business manager. He has the over-all responsibility of administering his ideas and affairs, and of taking the mechanics of campaign organization and operation off the hands of the candidate. This leaves the candidate free for speeches and top-level thinking on policy and strategy problems. The two must maintain the closest relationship and keep their thinking allied together at all times. In case there should be any disagreement which cannot be worked out through consultation, final decision should be made by the candidate.

The campaign manager's role is not to do the work himself, but to get other people to do it, to make sure that they do it, and to make sure that they do it efficiently. The more he can be assisted with mechanical details, the more effective his role will be. In a large-scale campaign, he should have a full-time, paid

secretary, and several assistant campaign managers. He may also wish some additional assistants, preferably women, who can make telephone calls, etc., and speak for him on routine matters. And he will need to rely immeasurably on the headquarters secretary.

With the change on the political scene, the decline of the big-city machines, and the increasing use of volunteers, it is pertinent to point out that in these times campaigns bog down when the little things are not done. They run like clockwork when there are plenty of people to do the little things, for the little things then rapidly mount up into big things. Every precaution should be taken against bogging down with details, errands, and telephone calls.



In fact, in a large-scale campaign, one or two paid competent secretaries in the campaign headquarters are absolutely essential to handle correspondence and filing. Volunteers are seldom suitable for those jobs, and work of volunteers is made immeasurably lighter if there are paid stenographers to do that work, and to do it well. More and more, such little things as good stenographers and clerical workers are becoming the key to efficient campaign operation run by volunteers.

The campaign manager, as well as the candidate, should try to avoid staying up late at night, and going through exhausting experiences. The reason for this is that the responsibility for thinking and planning at top level, and for the basic campaign drive, rests on these two people, and those responsibilities cannot be adequately discharged if either one becomes fatigued.

## 5. FINANCES

There should be no need to emphasize the need for money in a political campaign.

Democratic politics, which involve the convincing of millions of people, is expensive.

Unfortunately, there's no simple solution to fund raising. It's hard work, and frustrating work at best. But it must be done. Let's look at some suggestions of how to do it.

Most organizations have, from necessity, been forced to broaden

the base of their political contributions. The days of the large contributor of cash on the barrelhead are gone, partly because of income-tax laws and partly because of federal and state corrupt practices acts.

There are, however, other ways of raising funds and the general problem is well covered in these excerpts from the *Manual of Practical Political Action* of the National Citizens Political Action Committee.

## FINANCE

### INTRODUCTION

. . . While there must be a sense of reality in conceiving a program, nothing less than an effective program should be accepted as the minimum for which funds are sought. It costs less money to set sights high. A feasible program requiring considerable expenditures will attract money. A skimpy program, obviously insufficient to accomplish the announced objectives, will seldom attract enough funds for its execution. . . .

### You're Asking For It

Similar to the assumption of disinterest or hostility on the part of all people with considerable means is the belief that people with very limited incomes can't contribute. It is quite true that such people make real sacrifices when contributing, but they make them with the knowledge that these are small investments in a better future. These contributors are potentially active participants in your program. . . .

Money to operate a political organization is the result of activity in behalf of a program. Specific plans, thoroughness, and evidence of "know-how" in working for a program must have appeal to those who regularly give money for political action, and should appeal to those numerous others who can give support to organizations and candidates.

Abraham Zeitz, financial secretary of the National Citizens Political Action Committee, sums up the relationship of money to political action:

"You can't be effective politically if you don't get money. And you can't get money if you don't have a strong, specific program to attract support."

Michael M. Nisselson, one of the greatest fund raisers for political and charitable organizations, puts it even more tersely:

"You can't raise money in a vacuum."

The fund-raising activities of an organization will be simplified by strict adherence to the following rules:

1. Fund raising must not be separated from the work of the organization.
2. The program of the organization must have genuine appeal, must strike home, and it must give some real promise of success.
3. Fund-raising activities must promote the actual program of the organization.
4. Evidence of good management—good budgeting and bookkeeping procedures—should be shown to gain the confidence of those who give and will give financial support.

Fund raising can't be separated from the work of the organization and be successful. Appeals for funds must be related to activities. Every effort should be made to turn each organizational function into a profit-making venture or self-sustaining operation, with the precaution that essential activities requiring expenditures and offering no opportunity for immediate return should not be neglected.

### Money with Meaning

Activities designed primarily for revenue must promote the actual program of the organization. Just as people don't organize for the sake of organizing, they don't give money for the sake of giving. Every fund-raising activity should have its political significance, exclusive of the fund-raising aspect. For example: A dinner isn't held to raise funds. It is held to push a particular issue or issues and the funds are raised to carry the fight still further.

And it is particularly important that political organizations employ good managerial and bookkeeping methods, not only to comply with legal requirements, but to establish the feeling of confidence on the part of members and contributors.

Fund-raising activities require an able staff person or volunteer administrator with a sense of programming. In many communities excellent volunteer or professional personnel can be recruited from the leading charitable organizations. Professional fund raisers know how to organize and carry through campaigns, and they are experienced in breaking down the inhibitions of volunteers who don't like to ask for money.

If plans are made to use professional fund raisers, references should be closely checked and only persons completely sympathetic to the organization's objectives should be considered. Fund raisers should not be hired on a percentage basis. They should be part and parcel of the organization, either as volunteers or paid workers.

### Sources of Funds

Almost all of the countless methods of raising funds for organizations can be classified under the following major headings:

1. Dues—annual or monthly payments by members
2. Personal solicitation—individual contacts
3. Group solicitation—meetings, rallies, etc.
4. Direct mail—appeal letters
5. Sales—stamps, buttons, etc. for profit

### Dues

It is rare that a political organization can meet all the costs of an effective program through a system of membership dues. The great majority of members can pay only minimum dues and the mere servicing of the members themselves with literature, meeting announcements, etc., generally eats up all dues monies without providing the other funds needed to carry programs forward.

Dues are important, however, in order to build organization loyalty and provide the great sense of participation that comes from helping to pay the way.

A common, and not generally satisfactory, practice of some organizations is

to use systems of graduated memberships: regular, sustaining, contributing, sponsoring, etc., with each at a different rate. While the memberships do not carry different privileges, the system appears undemocratic. In only a few cases does it have merit; in most it serves as a restriction on contributions. One-hundred-dollar sponsorship categories, for example, raise psychological limits for people able to give many times that amount.

Dues should be established at a figure that will cover all the basic organizational needs; in other words, the basic budget should be prorated among the entire membership. This is obviously not feasible with new, small organizations, where the immediate needs are greater than the membership can possibly cover. But in well-established organizations dues should bear some relationship to the basic budget.

If the organization is large and well-established with a working ward and precinct organization, it is possible to arrange systems of monthly dues with a minimum of bookkeeping difficulties and a greater yield than from annual dues. As a general rule, however, it is probably best to arrange for minimal annual dues and use the organization machinery for special assessments, when the membership recognizes the need and approves the collection.

#### Personal Solicitation

There are distinct advantages to the personal solicitation system of collecting funds, if it is properly carried out. Personal contact by a capable volunteer solicitor, well versed in the facts, knowing the needs of the organization, its accomplishments and its projected program, will produce more dollars per person than any other method.

Yet personal solicitation often fails from lack of organization and bad assignment of solicitors. A personal solicitation drive should be well organized, and as with all fund raising the backbone of the operation is the compilation of the prospect lists.

Once compiled, the lists should be broken down by characteristics of its component parts, i.e., businessmen, club women, doctors, etc. The corps of carefully trained solicitors should then be asked to scrutinize the lists with an eye to selecting those they know or feel they can contact with greatest ease. Individual solicitation cards with the pertinent information about the person to be contacted should be given the solicitor when he volunteers to accept a particular assignment. The soliciting group should discuss the remaining names to determine who in their number should take each name or where the proper solicitor for the particular prospect can be found. Social, business, and professional factors should be considered in discussing each major prospect in relation to the available solicitors.

The foregoing comments have particular validity in the pursuit of sizable contributions. Smaller gifts and door-to-door personal solicitations require an equal amount of careful planning, but with less emphasis on the personalities of solicitor and prospect and greater emphasis on solid coverage of the area.

#### Group Solicitation

The principal advantage of group solicitation is a highly important psychological factor: the desire of the individual to participate and have his participation known. While there are many people who prefer anonymity, there

is an even larger group who prefers to give open and public testimony to their beliefs. They like to stand up, announce a gift, and be counted among the active participants in the movement.

Group solicitations also serve to increase the gifts of some liberals whose convictions require frequent bolstering. There are people who contribute less on a personal request in their own living rooms, than in a public meeting. They need the enthusiasm of a public function to reassure them that the organization or candidate in which they are interested has support other than their own; that their contributions aren't isolated and virtually useless.

Group solicitations take a number of different forms, from huge mass meetings to small gatherings of a dozen or so people in a private residence or hotel meeting room.

#### Direct Mail

Successful direct-mail fund appeals require expert preparation to produce results justifying the expenditures and the time-and-energy-consuming operations involved.

Direct-mail appeals require (1) good lists, (2) proper signatures for the appeal letter, (3) adequate presentation of all essential information, and (4) material which will win immediate attention and action on first reading.

The use of mail appeals should be well timed to coincide with widespread publicity of the organization's activities. The name of the organization and the signer of its appeal must inspire confidence. In a personal, face-to-face solicitation, the personality of the solicitor and the information he presents can inspire such confidence. It is more difficult to put personality on paper and anticipate the mood of the recipient at the time the mailing piece arrives.

#### Show Them Results

"Single-time givers" are more often the product of poor organization management than the result of the contributor losing interest in the issue or organization or candidate which first inspired him to give. Contributors expect to see results for their money, and it is important to keep them informed of the uses to which their contributions are put.

Even prior to the issuance of reports, the well-managed organization will make certain that each contribution is promptly and warmly acknowledged and that all services (literature, etc.), which have been promised the contributor reach him promptly.

The successful organization will have few single-time givers; it will show a record of ever-increasing contributions from the same people.

---

Women's groups have other sources for the raising of funds which most men's organizations would find out of the question—such as silver teas, subscription bridges, fashion shows, bazaars, cake sales, and the like. If you are interested in even more ideas for such activities, the Women's Division of the Democratic National Committee has prepared a special mimeographed publication on *Fun and Fund Raising*.

Then there are always the legal problems. The Federal Corrupt

Practices Act has already been mentioned in Chapter 2. There may be other laws which a finance chairman or committee treasurer should be familiar with. It is always a good idea for anyone in such a position to check with a lawyer about the legality of contributions, income and gift tax problems, legally required forms and accounts, and the like.

Meanwhile, here are some tips from the *Fund-raising Manual* of the Republican National Finance Committee.

## LEGAL RESTRICTIONS ON FUND RAISING

### FEDERAL RESTRICTIONS

It is **not lawful** for one federal official or employee to solicit or receive campaign funds from another federal employee or official. Political solicitation by anyone in any federal building is unlawful.

It is **not lawful** for anyone to solicit or receive campaign funds from a federal employee who receives his salary from an appropriation provided for in the Emergency Relief Act.

It is **lawful** for any official or employee to make a voluntary contribution to any political party that he may prefer. An employee cannot be forced to make a contribution, and must not be discriminated against for not doing so.

It is **unlawful** for any national bank, or any corporation, or any labor organization, to make a contribution or expenditure in connection with any election to any political office, or in connection with any primary election or political convention or caucus held to select candidates for such office.

The Hatch Act prohibits any person from making contributions in an amount in excess of \$5000 during any calendar year, or in connection with any campaign for nomination or election, to or on behalf of any candidate for election to federal office, or to or on behalf of any committee or other organization engaged in furthering, advancing, or advocating the nomination or election of any candidate for any such office or for the success of any national political party. **This section, however, does not apply to contributions made to or by a state or local committee, or other state or local organizations.** The Act also provides that no political committee shall accept contributions aggregating more than \$3,000,000, or make expenditures aggregating more than \$3,000,000 during any calendar year.

Contributions of over \$3000 to any one committee are subject to gift tax.

It is unlawful to purchase or buy any goods, commodities, advertising, or articles of any kind or description, the proceeds of which, or any portion thereof, directly or indirectly inures to the benefit of or for any candidate for an elective federal office, or any political committee or other political organization engaged in furthering such nomination or election.

### REQUIRED FEDERAL FILINGS

(a) The treasurer of a political committee shall file with the Clerk of the House between the 1st and 10th days of March, June, and September, in each year, and also between the 10th and 15th days, and on the 5th day, next preceding the date on which a general election is to be held, at which candidates

are to be elected in two or more states, and also on the 1st day of January, a statement containing, complete as of the day next preceding the date of filing:

- (1) The name and address of each person who has made a contribution to or for such committee in one or more items of the aggregate amount or value, within the calendar year, of \$100 or more, together with the amount and date of such contribution;
- (2) The total sum of the contributions made to or for such committee during the calendar year and not stated under paragraph (1);
- (3) The total sum of all contributions made to or for such committee during the calendar year;
- (4) The name and address of each person to whom an expenditure in one or more items of the aggregate amount or value, within the calendar year, of \$10 or more has been made by or on behalf of such committee, and the amount, date, and purpose of such expenditure;
- (5) The total sum of all expenditures made by or on behalf of such committees during the calendar year and not stated under paragraph (4);
- (6) The total sum of expenditures made by or on behalf of such committee during the calendar year.

(b) The statements required to be filed by subdivision (a) shall be cumulative during the calendar year to which they relate, but where there has been no change in an item reported in a previous statement only the amount need be carried forward. (c) The statement filed on the 1st day of January shall cover the preceding calendar year.

**County finance committees which are subdivisions of a state finance committee are not required to file as above.**

#### STATE RESTRICTIONS

Every finance committee chairman and treasurer, whether he be local, county, or state, should be thoroughly familiar with the provisions of the Corrupt Practices Act of his own state, and should fulfill all of its requirements and observe its restrictions.

## 6. TOOLS AND TIMETABLES

By "tools" is meant here—all the miscellaneous odds and ends which one would find useful but so easily forgets.

On the next page is a list of several things, some of them little and seemingly of no consequence, but all of which are important to some phase of the political plan. This check list is taken from *Forward & Right*, a publication of the Women's Division, Republican National Committee.

## EQUIPMENT

The following data should be available in every county headquarters. Check this list to see that **your** headquarters is complete:

1. Digest of laws regarding:
  - a. Registration..... ( )
  - b. Absentee Voting..... ( )
  - c. Election Day procedure..... ( )
  - d. Rights of challengers..... ( )
  - e. Filing and qualifying requirements for office..... ( )
  - f. Corrupt Practices Act (state and national)..... ( )
2. Calendar of important dates:
  - a. Deadline for REGISTRATION for PRIMARY participation.. ( )
  - b. Primary or Convention dates..... ( )
  - c. Times of REGISTRATION for GENERAL ELECTION..... ( )
  - d. Date of MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS, etc..... ( )
3. Outline of Party Government showing how the various Party Committees are elected..... ( )

**Basic and elemental are the lists which every county headquarters should have. The following should be complete and up to date at all times:**

1. Map of county marked by precincts and townships..... ( )
2. Lists of names, addresses, and telephone numbers of all party workers in county—precinct and county committees; state committee members; officers of state and national committees; national committee-man and woman..... ( )
3. List of candidates..... ( )
4. List of officeholders..... ( )
  - Local, county, and state..... ( )
5. Voter analysis by precincts. (Survey of population shifts or other changing conditions which might have an effect on elections.)..... ( )
6. Contributors and potential contributors..... ( )
7. List of speakers..... ( )
8. All Republican clubs in the county with names and addresses of officers..... ( )
9. All nonpartisan organizations in the county..... ( )
10. Special lists (teachers, ministers, doctors, etc.)..... ( )
11. All newspapers in the county, classified according to political sympathies; their editors, owners, and political correspondents..... ( )
12. List of radio stations in county; owners, managers, and commentators..... ( )

---

The single most exhaustive list of "tools" is far too complete and complex in its presentation to duplicate in these pages. But you should know about it.

It is a publication called *Practical Illustrations of Election Committee Rooms*, by Alan J. Herbert, published by the British Labour Party in July, 1951.

Most of us assume that we in the United States have the acme of political organization. Actually, the British political parties far outstrip most of our political organizations in the care and thoroughness with which they approach the problem of political organization. The pamphlet referred to above is a concrete illustration of this fact. There is nothing like it published in this country.

What it does is to list (and also illustrate with photographs) all the possible tools a local campaign office should have on hand—**clear down to paper clips**. It is really an extraordinary compilation.

For suggestions as to other British party publication which might be of use in the United States, see Chapter 10.

Finally, there is the important question of **timetables**. So much of the organizational scheme of things depends on specific dates which it is highly desirable to build up to.

“Political skill,” says Ed Flynn, “is mostly built on proper timing.”

There is, however, no mathematical formula by which timing can be controlled. There are too many things to take into account. But any political campaign of any kind must proceed according to some plan—all of which builds up the campaign to the final climax, the election.

This plan will, first of all, depend upon the official election timetable. This is based on the legal requirements concerning such things as the last day for absent voters' applications, the last day for submitting nomination petitions, the last day for naming persons to election duties, and the like.

This is the official **election calendar** mentioned earlier. Usually it is published as a small pamphlet under the auspices of the secretary of state of your state.

These election calendars and guides are especially important for persons who may wish to get on the ballot and to obtain nominations for public office.

As ballots and election materials must be printed before the election, certain time limits have been set for individuals and organizations who wish to get themselves or their issues or proposals put on the ballot. These time limits must be observed or you will not even get started.

In addition, there are certain rules and procedures to be followed in **nominations, petitions for initiatives, constitutional amendments**, and the like. As these rules differ in every state, it has not been possible to deal with them very much here.

But, if you want to get on the ballot, take a good look at the state election laws and election calendar before you leap. Follow the rules—

with the advice of a lawyer if possible—and then carry through in accord with your state's time schedule. If you do these things, you should not have too much trouble.

Then you can draw up your own schedule of coming political events.

However, if you are not experienced at these things, you may leave something out. To remedy such oversights the Republican National Committee has outlined a suggested **timetable** for a November election. This is taken from the committee's *Campaign Manual*, and it is one of the most complete examples of its kind.

### CAMPAIGN TIMETABLE

For a November Election

*May–September 15; Planning the Campaign:*

1. Select the **campaign manager, publicity chairman, and treasurer.**
2. Circulate petitions and obtain the necessary signatures for nomination of the candidate.
3. Start the **research committee** and put it into high gear immediately. Work out your basic thinking on the expected campaign issues and basic campaign strategy; plan your campaign literature. If possible, write basic speeches.
4. Select the campaign headquarters and open it as soon as possible. Procure furniture, equipment, typewriters, office supplies, etc.
5. Recruit the **headquarters secretary**; start to recruit division chairmen and key figures, and begin the recruiting phase generally. Print or mimeograph **Worker's Cards** in two colors, if possible.
6. Obtain a good map and make necessary photostatic copies.

*September 15; Starting Operations:*

1. Step up **research**; candidate should complete his education on all aspects of the campaign and get his speech-writing well under way.
2. Start the **publicity program**; put it in high gear and keep it there; obtain personnel; plan speeches, releases, press conferences, etc.; coordinate activities of research and publicity.
3. Start **canvassing program**; obtain voters' lists; print or mimeograph **voter's cards**; recruit regional and precinct captains; divide precincts up into regions; emphasize building up precinct units; consider separate **apartment house program**; start **telephone canvass.**
4. Start the **speaking program**; start to recruit would-be speakers; plan, obtain, or start writing canned speeches; start grouping would-be speakers into teams; make up inside meetings calendar and start inside speaking program.
5. Print or mimeograph **literature drop cards**; draft affirmative literature and posters. Start **literature drop file.**
6. Start the **candidate's personal program**; make up the **candidate's**

**calendar**; start personal appearances; stimulate contacts with groups, organizations, etc.

7. Start the **receptionist program**.
8. Consider plans for **rallies, caravans, and parades**.
9. Start the **poll-watching program**, begin preparation of the **poll-watchers' manual**.
10. Start **fund raising**.
11. Establish any necessary liaison with the regular party organization,

*October 1; The Excitement Increases:*

1. Start mimeographing **research memoranda**, discussing the candidates, issues, opponent's voting record, etc., in detail. Make them available to all workers. You will be surprised how far they will go on their own if they are good. People want **facts**. Issue more as the campaign progresses and opportunity affords. Save the stencils for reprinting.
2. Print one good piece of affirmative **literature**, setting forth the candidate's qualifications; use good paper; make it a masterpiece; instruct the printer to hold type for possible reprinting; distribute to all campaign workers for further distribution and watch how it goes. Print and distribute posters.
3. Reappraise and intensify **publicity program** and step it up if possible.
4. Step up **canvassing**; concentrate on organizing the canvassing operation and recruiting its workers; start canvassing of voters on an experimental basis.
5. Step up the **speakers' program**; distribute canned speeches; construct soapboxes; print placards; form more teams; start practice sessions; step up recruiting; plan sound-truck program.
6. Crystallize plans for **rallies, caravans, parades**. Step up **fund raising**.
7. Select chairman, **special services division**.
8. Step up work on draft of **poll-watchers' manual**; make plans for printing or mimeographing it; start planning details of poll-watching on election day; establish liaison with state attorney general's office.

*October 10; Just Before the Fireworks:*

1. Start general **canvassing** of voters; step up recruiting of block captains, additional canvassers, etc. Build up precinct units.
2. Complete preparation for **speakers' operation**. Send out enthusiastic speakers for first street-corner engagements. Complete training and practice sessions of others. Select locations for outside meetings; complete sound-truck arrangements.
3. Recruit **literature distribution teams** to go with speakers' teams; work up **literature drop file**; start addressing envelopes for mailing; consider issuing additional literature.
4. Gear special services to canvassing.
5. Step up the **receptionist program**.
6. Reappraise and step up the **candidate's personal program**; add to the buffer team if necessary.
7. Complete plans for **rallies, meetings, caravans, parades**.

8. Complete the **poll-watchers' manual**; make plans for poll-watchers' instruction meetings.

*Two Weeks Before Election; The Guns Go Off:*

1. The **canvassing program** moves into high gear; all canvassers go out; step up recruiting; step up **telephone canvass** plans for election day.
2. The **speakers' program** moves into high gear; all outside teams go to locations; send out sound trucks.
3. **Literature distributors' program** moves into high gear; LTD's go with speakers' teams to busy street corners; send literature out by mail.
4. **Receptionist program** moves into high gear.
5. Complete plans for the **poll-watching program**; send the poll-watchers' manual to all prospective poll-watchers, with letter asking that it be studied, and scheduling poll-watchers' instruction meetings.
6. Step up general **recruiting**.
7. Get the **candidate** to bed early.

*Last Week Before Election; Up and At 'Em:*

1. Keep up **recruiting** generally.
2. Step up all operations, **canvassing, telephone canvass, speakers, literature distribution**. Send out sample ballots and consider issuing additional literature. Send out additional sound trucks.
3. Put on **major rally**.
4. As election day nears, put on **parades, caravans**; step up **meetings** and the general agitation.
5. **Campaign manager** must watch expenses. Gear disbursements to income.
6. Complete **poll-watching program** and election day assignments.
7. Reappraise **candidate's personal program**; enable the candidate to avoid fatigue and be at his best. Don't bother him with any more details than absolutely necessary.

*On Election Day; Watch the Polls:*

1. Distribute sample ballots and literature to voters approaching the polls.
2. Don't let them steal the vote.
3. Victory;
4. Victory party at headquarters for workers and friends.

## 7. CONCLUSION

The preparation of a timetable such as the above only illustrates again the fact that an organization must shift and change with the tempo of events. If it is to be effective, it can never be a completely static thing.

## *Developing the Product*

THE ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS which were covered in Chapter 3 are pretty much those of an everyday, continuous, year-around kind.

But when the organization is moving into a campaign, some new considerations force themselves into the picture. It then becomes crucial to make some satisfactory decisions about personalities and policies. Or, to put this another way—about (1) candidates and (2) issues. That is, there must be a product for the organization to sell.

The principal agency for deciding most questions about candidates and issues is the local political caucus or political meeting—sometimes dignified by the name of “convention.” Once this party assembly has placed its seal of approval upon certain individuals and upon certain policies, the whole mechanism can then get under way to sell these political products to the voting public.

However, until this seal is forthcoming, things are inevitably in a kind of suspended animation.

So, we will consider in this chapter some of the problems which stem from—

1. **The local political caucus.**
2. **The care and feeding of candidates, and**
3. **The development of ideas and issues.**

### 1. POLITICAL CAUCUSES

The local political caucus provides the basic meeting grounds for party members. It is here that party policy may be decided and local party nominees and local party committee members agreed upon.

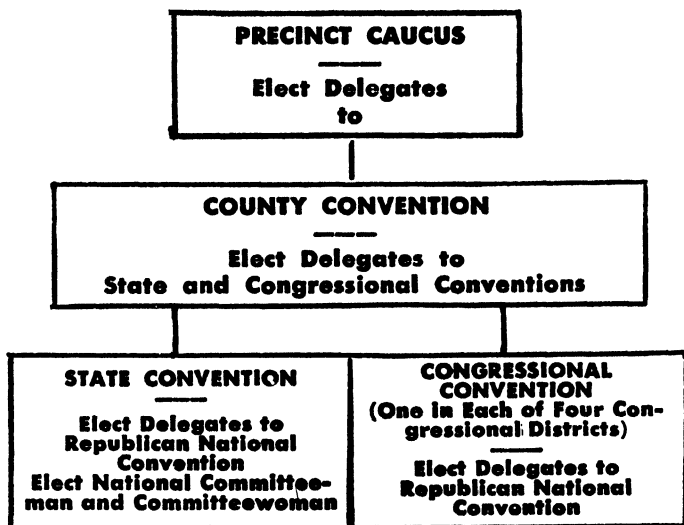
Great fanfare may accompany the national, state, district, and county conventions. But these larger gatherings of the faithful find their roots in the smaller, less publicized, and considerably less romantic precinct or ward caucuses.

These meetings are the real sources of party strength, for they represent the hard core of party workers, those who are regularly willing to give of their time and energy.

In turn, these workers, by controlling these local meetings, control the party.

The caucus is especially important, even though one normally hears very little about it. It is the rock-bottom political meeting—the one at which the lowest level of party officials are often chosen. However, these party officials are the ones who get together and greatly influence the selection of the higher officials and so on up the line. This kind of “chain reaction” is graphically shown in this little chart, taken from a small folder, entitled *What Can I Do?*, put out by the Federation of Women’s Clubs of Colorado—a state where the caucus is extremely important. Where state laws (as in Illinois) provide for the election of precinct and ward committeemen at primaries, the caucus is less important. But it is still the greatest influence at the local level.

**THIS HAPPENS EVERY 4 YEARS  
IN PRESIDENTIAL YEARS  
IN APRIL**



Unfortunately, though the caucus is perhaps the most important political institution in America, it is also probably the most neglected.

Ask yourself, for instance, if you have ever heard of a caucus, ever attended a caucus, ever known any of your friends to attend or take part in a caucus proceedings?



The precinct (township) caucus will be held on May 2, 1950, between 8 and 9 P.M. (The county-wide publication of this notice is taken care of by the county chairman.)

#### Assembling for the Caucus

At 8 P.M. on May 2 everyone desiring to take part in the precinct (township) caucus should assemble either at the precinct (township) polling place, or at some other designated place within the district provided that the **Notice of Adjournment** is posted promptly at 8 P.M. in the precinct (township) polling place giving the location of the meeting.

#### Conduct of the Meeting

At 8 P.M. the acting precinct (township) chairman should call the meeting to order. The assembled group should then elect by voice vote a new precinct chairman to preside. The next order of business is to elect by voice vote two judges and a clerk who will act as a canvassing board. The specific job of the judges and clerk is to conduct the election of the delegates to the county convention.

#### Number of County Convention Delegates

The number of delegate votes given to each precinct (township) caucus is determined on the basis of one vote for every one hundred votes or major fraction thereof cast for Truman in the 1948 election from that precinct (township). The State DFL Office has determined this figure for your precinct (township) and the information has been filled in on the outside of the brown envelope in which the caucus material has been sent to you. Under the provisions of the Convention Call, each delegate vote may be split so that there may be twice as many delegates as there are votes to the county convention, in which case each delegate will have half a vote.

#### Voting on Delegates

Voting for the delegates to the county convention must be by written ballot. Each person voting is entitled to write down the same number of names on his ballot as there are delegate positions to be filled. The delegates receiving the highest number of votes are elected. The voting for delegates must be kept open for a full hour so that anyone coming to the meeting by 9 o'clock is permitted to vote. As each person votes, he should sign all three copies of the **Registration Declaration** on the back side of the **Precinct Caucus Record and Report**.

#### Who May Vote

The constitution of the Democratic-Farmer-Labor party of Minnesota states that anyone is qualified to vote who is:

(a) an eligible voter in the district or area involved (six months' Minnesota residence and thirty days' precinct [township] residence).

(b) a supporter of the purposes of the party as stated in Article I, Section 2, of this constitution (this reference is to the section requiring a sincere interest in constitutional government and in advancing the interests of the DFL party and the national Democratic party), and

(c) not a member of any other political party.

If a person's right to vote is challenged he may only vote if he satisfies the judges and clerk by oath that he "did not vote at the last general election, or (that he) voted and affiliated with the . . . (DFL party) at the last general election and intends to so vote and affiliate at the ensuing election."

In view of the difficulty experienced with the Progressive party in 1948, the state central committee has asked that particular attention be given to the qualifications of those who have been Progressive party supporters in the past and have not clarified their current position.

#### Report Forms

As indicated above, each person should sign on the back side of all three copies of the **Precinct Caucus Record and Report**. The other side of this sheet (including all 3 copies) should be filled in with the names of the chairman, judges, and clerk and the names of the delegates elected to the county convention. **Copies of this report should be mailed as follows:** 1 copy to the State DFL Office, in the accompanying envelope; 1 copy to the county chairman in the accompanying envelope; one copy for your own records.

It is very important that these report forms be carefully and accurately filled in, and that two of the copies be mailed as indicated above.

#### Delegate Credentials Cards

The elected delegate should be given the **Delegate's Credentials Card** with his name filled in and signed by the precinct caucus chairman.

#### Variation of Procedure

The practice in some areas is to adjourn the precinct (township) caucus to a central meeting place within a ward or other political subdivision. This permits closer supervision of the caucus procedures. The group then usually adjourns and reconvenes immediately as a ward or other group and proceeds to elect officers on that level. This procedure is optional with each county.

There are tricks to the trade too, especially in states and localities where the rules are not so precise and where not so many legal precautions are required. The following "tips" were published not long ago by the Democratic party in Colorado.

#### TRICKS TO LOOK FOR FROM THE OPPOSITION

1. Holding the caucus at a different place from the one announced as the place of the caucus. If you arrive at the designated place of the caucus and are told the caucus is not being held there or if nobody at all is there, simply hold a caucus on the porch or lawn. Attach an explanatory statement to your caucus returns.
2. Setting the clock forward and holding the caucus before the stated time. If you arrive at the caucus and are told it has already been held, insist upon calling time service, MAin 7111. At the appointed time, according

to time service, simply hold another caucus (outside if not permitted to do so inside). Follow the procedure outlined, have your minutes certified by the caucus chairman, signed by all present, and take the minutes to the county chairman's office immediately.

3. The chairman may attempt to appoint the delegates to the county assembly. Delegates must be elected, so don't let him get by with that trick; If he refuses to allow you to select them, hold another caucus.
  4. Holding the caucus in a back room while you sit waiting in front. Keep your eyes open and don't let this happen to you! See that a caucus is held at the appointed time.
- 

In many states the next most important party meeting is the county convention. In procedure, it is much like the caucus. These conventions follow shortly after the precinct caucuses, the procedure for which has already been described above.

There are, of course, other levels of party meetings, moving usually from the county convention to the district convention and on to the state and national conventions. In addition, there may be, in some states, special conventions such as judicial district, school district, ward, or some other type of special district caucus or convention.

The procedure of these higher caucuses and conventions is basically similar to that of the lesser meetings, with the exception that the parliamentary law and other rules governing them are more rigid and are followed with more formality. If you are interested in such matters, write your party state committee for a copy of, for instance, the state convention rules. They should send them to you or tell you where you can find them. The national party headquarters can provide you with rules for the national conventions.

Taken altogether, these caucuses and conventions are the governing bodies of the great political organizations which control our whole democratic political system. And the individuals who control these party meetings inevitably control the ultimate destiny of you and your country.

Remote and insignificant as they may seem, precinct caucuses are the foundation stones of our political edifice. Yet most citizens fail to attend these meetings and thus fail to grasp the power easily within their reach. Their loss is someone else's gain.

## 2. HANDLING THE CANDIDATE

The principal function of most party meetings is to decide upon the party candidates for office or, where these candidates are eventually chosen through primaries, to organize the parties for the support of particular candidates and particular issues.

In fact, except for elections involving such things as constitutional

amendments or the approving of legislation by initiative or referendum proceedings, nearly all elections center around specific individuals who are running for office.

The basic goals of all political organizations are to control the mechanism of the government by installing their party members in positions of political power.

Therefore, the **candidate** has inevitably a special place in the organization and, in a way, the organization revolves around him (or her). This fact, in turn, involves the organization in some special procedures.

There is not only the problem of selecting the candidate, but the equally important one of handling his campaign. This becomes an especially complex problem when several candidates are running together as a "ticket."

Here is the advice of the Republican National Committee on the matter of "handling the candidate." It is taken from the *Republican Campaign Manual*.

---

## *Handling the Candidate*

### I. A CANDIDATE IS LIKE A RACE HORSE

Once a man consents to run for public office, he becomes more than a mere individual. He becomes a public character, an advocate and a symbol of certain ideas of public concern. His essential job is to sell those ideas to the public; and that means that he must perform before the public in personal appearances of all kinds.

Thus a candidate is like a race horse. He, too, must run his race in front of the public. And he, too, needs a considerable amount of preparation, assistance, and "handling," in order to run a good race.

So every campaign manager should regard his candidate with what might be described as a cool, professional eye, in order to give him all the assistance necessary to perform well before the public. To that end it is ordinarily essential for the campaign manager to organize a candidate's personal program in order to make the most out of his personal appearances.

### II. THE PROBLEMS OF PERSONAL APPEARANCES

Every candidate is confronted, and sometimes deluged, with requests for speaking engagements, appearances at meetings, parties, dinners, receptions, etc. Each request must be handled politely and diplomatically. And if the candidate attends, additional problems arise. There is a substantial transportation problem, for speeches sometimes have to be given in remote or outlandish places.

If he should lose his copy of a written speech, he may be in serious trouble. He may want to make a telephone call while at the meeting, or there may be a telephone call for him. Messengers may appear, or the candidate may want

to send a message. All these facts make it essential that he be afforded personal assistance in every aspect of appearing before the public.

### III. A CANDIDATE'S PERSONAL PROGRAM

#### A. Put Someone in Charge of Coordinating It:

Definite responsibility should be placed upon some individual for coordinating the candidate's personal program. Since much of this is daytime work, a woman is often a suitable choice for the position of coordinator, and the individual should preferably be given a desk and telephone at the campaign headquarters.

#### B. Make Up a Calendar:

A candidate's calendar should be made up at the outset of the campaign, containing a full, separate page for every day of the campaign through election day. Morning engagements should be written in at the top, luncheon engagements near the middle, afternoon and evening engagements toward the bottom, and the type of transportation should be stated, with other details. As engagements are made, the candidate will, of course, be consulted, and the secretary in his business office should maintain a duplicate of the candidate's calendar. The candidate's calendar will tell the candidate at a glance of his commitments and the details, and will prevent broken engagements, misunderstandings, and the resultant catastrophes.

#### C. Making Engagements:

##### 1. *Requests:*

All requests which come in should be referred initially to the coordinator of the candidate's personal program. He or she should obtain all the pertinent information, and then consult the candidate or his business secretary. That will save the candidate time and embarrassment, enable the coordinator to screen the requests, and see that each gets adequate consideration.

##### 2. *Stimulating Engagements:*

A good coordinator can also stimulate requests for engagements. The candidate or the campaign organization usually has affiliations with various organizations, rotary and business clubs, ethnic and minority groups, social groups, etc. The coordinator should ascertain these; and he or she will then find that a friendly telephone call to the key person in the club or group will often result in a request for the candidate to appear by that organization or club, either to speak, or simply to make a personal appearance and meet the members. These contacts are of very great value.

##### 3. *Use of the Literature Drop File:*

The coordinator should keep abreast of the literature drop file at headquarters and use the contacts listed as a basis for stimulating requests, where possible. Many of these individuals and organizations would like to see the candidate, but are hesitant to suggest it.

#### D. Keeping Engagements: The Buffer Team:

##### 1. *Take Mechanical Problems Off the Candidate's Hands:*

As pointed out above, keeping engagements involves many mechanical

problems for every candidate, e.g., transportation, telephone calls, messages, finding the place, getting there on time, etc. A group of two or three persons, or at least one person, should always accompany the candidate on every engagement to handle these mechanical problems for him, as a buffer team. One person should act as its captain on every occasion.

#### 2. *Transportation:*

Transportation facilities can be provided by people willing to lend the use of their automobiles for transportation of the candidate on a definite schedule fitting the candidate's calendar. One or two persons should go along in the car with the candidate, besides the driver. People are often glad to volunteer for that type of work, as it is highly entertaining and carries the prestige of accompanying the candidate. They should be carefully chosen, for people tend to judge the candidate by the type of people who are with him.

The job of the buffer team captain in connection with transportation is to see that the candidate has transportation for every engagement that he wants to attend, and does not have to worry about obtaining it, parking, etc. He should also see that the candidate arrives at every engagement on time, that he leaves on time, and that he arrives at the next place on time.

#### 3. *At Meetings, and Parties, etc.:*

The job of the buffer team at all meetings, parties, dinners, etc., is to handle telephone calls, messages, and errands for the candidate; to see that everyone



who wants to meet the candidate has a chance to do so, and that he is not monopolized by an ardent conversationalist. They should bring people at the meeting up to the candidate, so as to give them a chance to shake hands with and talk to the candidate. The candidate can seldom take this initiative on himself, and most people at the meeting will be reluctant to advance upon him. Members of the buffer team should always act as intermediaries and break the ice. It will add greatly to the friendly spirit of the meeting.

When the candidate travels to distant places, it is helpful to obtain one or more local people to serve on the buffer team, so that they can advise on local problems and people.

#### 4. *Fatigue:*

The public always expects leadership, if not inspiration, from a political candidate. That means that everything he says and does before the public should make sense and exude leadership. To do that, the candidate must not allow himself to become fatigued. He cannot inspire or lead anybody's thinking if he is tired. Hence, one purpose of the buffer team is to enable the candidate to avoid fatigue.

They should make sure that he gets to bed at reasonable hours. People usually urge a candidate to stay at a meeting or party, and may be offended if he personally insists on breaking away. But a member of the buffer team can insist that the candidate go, in order not to disappoint people at a subsequent engagement, and thus remove from the candidate any embarrassment on breaking away.

#### E. Recruitment of Workers:

Enthusiastic supporters for the candidate will materialize at almost every meeting, party, dinner, etc. These enthusiasts should be recruited as workers **on the spot** by the buffer team; for after the meeting it may be impossible to get the names and addresses.

---

There are other problems involving the candidate, but all that can be said here is that the candidate must be kept in mind in almost every type of organizational activity. Canvassers, speakers, committee members, and other party workers must be familiar with each candidate's record and adjust their efforts accordingly—cooperating to the best of their ability with whatever special managers or clubs or committees may be devoting their time entirely to that candidate.

### 3. IDEAS ARE WEAPONS TOO

Equally as important as the candidate and his personality are the things he stands for.

But in this complicated world of today the matter of issues, ideas, and platforms is not a simple thing. To evolve a satisfactory plank in a political platform may take a great deal of **research** as well as a facile intellect.

Political programs demand political publicity, political speeches, and political arguments. These, in turn, demand a great mass of data of all kinds. And a first-rate analysis of a great quantity of statistics and reports may turn up a first-class political issue.

The point to all this is—good campaigns are dependent on good **ideas**. And good ideas don't come out of the blue.

Therefore, there has been a growing tendency to recognize the importance of political research, of the careful preparation of reference handbooks, and of the compilation of speakers' manuals.

The 1948 *Reference Handbook* of the Republican State Committee of Pennsylvania is, for example, the size of a college textbook and contains all kinds of factual materials which may be of use to candidates, speech writers, publicity chairmen, and the like.

The 1950 *Speakers' Book of Facts* prepared by the CIO Political Action Committee is a volume of 184 pages containing "facts" on such topics as "civil rights," "displaced persons," "education," "election

laws," "farmers," "health," "housing," "minimum wages and hour laws," "prices," "taxes," and many other political topics upon which their speakers may expect to have to touch.

No one person, busy in a campaign, can take time out to prepare himself adequately on all these topics. Therefore political research is becoming more and more important, especially as voters become more and more astute and technical and legal problems become more complex.

One of the special committees appointed in connection with any campaign should be a **research committee**. The Democratic National Committee has even gone to the trouble to put out a special folder entitled *What Every Democratic Facts and Figures Chairman Should Know and Do!*

Some of the kinds of research necessary to conduct an intelligent campaign have been referred to briefly in Chapter 2, under the headings of *Voting Habits* and *The Danger of Self-Delusion*. But there are a few more things to suggest.

In its discussion of "Research," the National Citizens Political Action Committee says, "As a minimum, no committee should consider itself seriously engaged in political activity unless it can provide the answers to the following questions."

The committee's questions, somewhat paraphrased because a few of them are, in their original form, out of date, are these:

- (1) What is the total number of adult citizens in your district?
- (2) Do you have the population figure broken down by ward and precinct?
- (3) What was the total Republican and Democratic vote in previous elections?
- (4) What estimates can be made of the independent vote in previous elections?
- (5) What is the total foreign-born population of your district? What is its nationality breakdown?
- (6) What is the potential Negro vote in your district? How have the Negroes in your district voted in the past?
- (7) What CIO union locals have headquarters in your district? AFL unions? Independent unions? How many members in each by ward and precinct?
- (8) What other organizations are important in the life of the voters of your district? Where are their members located and what are their voting tendencies in previous elections?
- (9) How many residents of your district have come of voting age since the last election?

(10) Who are the key civic, religious, educational, labor, foreign-language, professional, Negro figures in your district?

(11) Who are the Democratic and Republican party county, ward, and precinct committeemen? What is their background?

(12) What is the average income in your district? Lowest? Median? How is it distributed geographically?

(13) Do you have a complete block-by-block analysis of your district, showing rent, income, nationality, etc.?

(14) What have been crucial issues in previous campaigns and how did your district react toward them? Which are of paramount interest?

As the NCPAC concludes, "If you don't have the answers to these questions, you haven't begun to know your community."

Now, then, how do you go about getting such information?

Here is the same committee's answer to this question. The following discussion goes into the details involved in analyzing a congressional district in order to find out what makes it tick. However, the same methods of analysis can be used in any other kind of political district with equal effect.

All this is simply the application of modern research and polling techniques to everyday political work. The use of these techniques will not only give you a far more scientific basis for action but will also save you from some of the more grievous errors of self-delusion.

---

## HOW TO ANALYZE A CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

### SOURCES OF DISTRICT DATA

Analyzing a congressional district requires certain tools. Sources for the researchers and analysts are many and inexpensive. Every major department of the federal government as well as the major administrative departments of the states and most large cities have available the source material essential for an effective congressional district analysis.

The U. S. Census Bureau of the Department of Commerce and the Department of Labor are especially equipped with the needed information. Besides these government sources, there are a large number of organizations ranging from local Chambers of Commerce to social service and even church agencies which gather valuable information on industrial and social conditions.

Detailed election statistics by ward and precinct are sometimes available from state agencies, sometimes only from local boards of elections. The U. S. Census is the best source for the data needed to learn the potential vote in the various voting units of a district. The Department of Commerce and the Census Bureau issue frequent releases on population changes and special studies on wartime and postwar migrations.

Many states seek to keep information of this type up to date on a state level. The U. S. Employment Service, federally and in the states, issues frequent re-

ports on the labor market and labor conditions throughout the country for selected industrial areas.

Special studies of areas are often published by newspapers, public utilities (such as gas and electric) or credit companies to indicate marketing possibilities. They are often issued in great detail and cover at least some of the information in the census. If these are not directly available from the companies, check whether they may be used at the public library. The Committee for Economic Development also publishes many community studies.

An analysis of your congressional district will be divided into two general sections. The first is research on district voting statistics, and the second, on the human and physical, the economic and social make-up of the district itself.

For convenience, here are the numbered steps for getting the voting statistics in your district:

1. Check the Congressional Directory to find what territory is covered in your congressional district.

2. Write to your secretary of state at your state capital for as detailed a breakdown of the election statistics in the state as he will make available for the public. If these figures are not detailed enough (the amount of detail varies from state to state), you can get the county, city, or town data from the clerks of those units either by writing for them, if they are not allowed to be sent to the public, by asking permission to copy them in the clerk's office. These statistics should be broken down according to precincts or wards in cities and towns. For the 1946 campaign, it is necessary to learn what happened in the 1944 election, and the 1942 election as well, so that you will know what may occur if a large vote is not turned out in 1946. Check the 1944 campaign for the presidency, and check the voting figures for senator in the states which had a senatorial race, and for representative.

3. Registration figures by party can be obtained from the same sources. Sometimes this information can only be secured from separate boards of registration (state, city, or county—it varies locally).

4. A comparison of steps 2 and 3 will show how large a vote should be recorded as a bare minimum objective.

5. The 1940 Census on Characteristics of the Population, Table No. 21, will tell you the number of male and female citizens and naturalized citizens over twenty-one—that is, the number of potential voters in each county. There are other tables in the same census volume that give you the breakdown, often by ward, of the larger cities. These figures can be totaled to make up the congressional district.

If this breakdown is not fine enough, the regional offices of the census have breakdowns by census tract which are available for use in the offices. This goes for all census material. The Department of Commerce has field offices in Atlanta, Boston, Buffalo, Charlestown, Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Dallas, Denver, Detroit, Houston, Jacksonville, Kansas City (Mo.), Los Angeles, Memphis, Minneapolis, New Orleans, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Portland (Ore.), Richmond, St. Louis, San Francisco, Savannah, and Seattle.

6. A comparison of steps 2 and 5 will show you how many people could have voted and should vote in the future, but have not yet voted. A fine-comb job of getting them out to register and then to vote will have to be done.

Discovering exactly what kind of congressional district you are working in is the other half of your scientific analysis. Obviously, you must study the various kinds of organizations in your district—political, civic, fraternal, trade union, church, business, and farm. List their leaders, what the leaders and the organizations do, who their membership is, their connections, their policies.

For the broader statistical picture of the entire district, you will find the U. S. Census' various volumes on Housing, Population, Agriculture, and Manufacturing very valuable. They will tell you a great deal about what people do, what kind of homes they live in, what the big industries and crops are, the number of white-collar workers, the age level, the racial composition, numbers of foreign-born people, the most populous towns, the level of education—an almost infinite number of facts.

For an example of what the census volumes contain, glance at the contents for the Housing book: urban and rural areas, rural nonfarm dwelling units, rural-farm dwelling units, metropolitan districts, population per occupied unit, occupancy and tenure, **color of occupants, value, and monthly rent**, residential structure, type of structure, exterior material, year built, conversion, state of repair, water supply, **toilet facilities**, bathtub or shower, number of rooms, lighting equipment, size of household, persons per room, radio, refrigeration equipment, cooking fuel, heating equipment and fuel, mortgage status, inclusion of furniture in rent, medians.

Careful study of this type of material will give you an over-all picture of your district and the interests and needs of the people living in it.

By intelligent, organized, and coordinated use of all this information the citizen can be activated to play his full role in civic affairs.

---

A number of political organizations—partisan and nonpartisan—have even gone to the extent of hiring professional polling agencies to investigate the opinions of certain constituencies. For example, Representative Jacob K. Javits of the 21st Congressional District in New York has, more than once, hired Elmo Roper to look into how the voters in his district felt about things.

This kind of operation is expensive, costing Congressman Javits \$2000 in 1946 alone, but can pay off in the long run. A well-informed set of volunteers can, however, do the same sort of thing, as indicated in Chapter 2.

The National Federation of Women's Republican Clubs has prepared a printed manual entitled *Know Your Precinct*. This manual is designed to serve as a guide for the analysis of a precinct and lists nearly 80 matters which one should look into if he wants really to know his precinct. This booklet can be obtained from the federation and will give even the veriest beginner some ideas of how to go about investigating and analyzing his own home grounds. It can also easily be adapted for the use of students and help get the study of politics out of the classroom.

Nearly all party organizations in closely contested areas are doing a good deal of this sort of basic research these days. Research won't supply all the answers, but it is rapidly being realized that it can do a tremendous amount to take some of the uncertainty out of what is at best a precarious business.

As they sometimes say about other things: "Everybody's doing it." Why not try it yourself.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

Once the policies and personalities are decided upon, it is possible to begin to move into high organizational gear. Then comes the "selling" phase which we will take up in the next chapter.

## *Political Salesmanship*

ORGANIZATION is necessary for political action.  
True.

But the final test of any political organization must be: **ARE THE ISSUES GETTING TO THE VOTERS?** An organization is as good as the elections it wins!

An election campaign, like any attempt to influence public opinion, is a complex sort of thing. Simultaneously, the candidates, a mass of committees, clubs of all kinds, campaign managers, and untold quantities of paid and unpaid, partisan and nonpartisan, workers are all mixed together in competitive struggle. Words, actions, printed matter, and personalities flash by in kaleidoscopic succession.

Everything goes on all at once.

Such is the picture which this chapter must try to "catch."

Obviously, it is impossible to describe in a book, where one can only put one word *after* the other, all the complexities of a campaign in the same order in which they actually happen. There is never any one person who knows all that goes on anyway.

So the best that can be done here is to single out some of the most important phases of campaigning and talk about them one after the other. If you want to see how some of the ingredients can be mixed and combined, turn to Chapters 8 and 9.

Meanwhile, in this chapter we will be concerned with a number of problems which are really problems in **political salesmanship**. They will be discussed here under these headings:

1. **Canvassing and personal contacts,**
2. **Publicity and political literature,**
3. **The speakers' bureau,**
4. **Radio, television, and visual aids, and**
5. **Rallies, meetings, and miscellaneous entertainment.**

As this book is especially concerned with political action problems at the local level, much more emphasis has been placed in this chapter on those techniques which are most apt to be within the financial and technical means of local organizations. More expensive and complicated

techniques will also be referred to occasionally but will not be discussed in any full or extensive way. For instance, if you are looking for information on how to throw a \$100-a-plate dinner, don't bother looking here.

But, nevertheless, out of this potpourri of suggestions you perhaps can find something which will help you with your own special and local problems.

### 1. CANVASSING

Many voters think of politics in terms of the more spectacular kinds of activities, such as the national conventions. These are important, but anybody in the business knows that other quite unspectacular things count for even more when the chips are down.

Research, discussed in the previous chapter, is one such activity.

**Canvassing** is another.

As one political organization has put it: "The effectiveness of a political organization is measured by the extent of its 'in-person' front-door delivery of facts and ideas." In other words, issues and candidates must somehow be got over to the individual voter.

This is best done in most places by contacting that voter through someone in his own home area. This kind of work is usually known as "canvassing" or "block work" or "interviewing" or "polling" or "doorbell ringing" or "taking a census" or by some other term indicating a person-to-person approach to politics.

Because of the importance of this kind of political work at the grass roots level, more emphasis has been placed upon it in this book than upon other forms of "selling" techniques. Canvassing is really the basic technique of local political action work.

More and more political organizations are also realizing that canvassing is something that calls for **training**. Too often somebody volunteers for political work, is handed some leaflets, and is told, with a wave of the hand, to go out and distribute them and talk to the voters.

A good many check-ups indicate that this approach is often hardly worth while. Too much time is wasted, the volunteer doesn't know quite what to do and loses interest himself, and may even make more enemies than friends by the wrong approach. After all, selling takes practice for most people, especially if they are to overcome the usual feelings of shyness about what they first may think of as "arguing" with other voters.

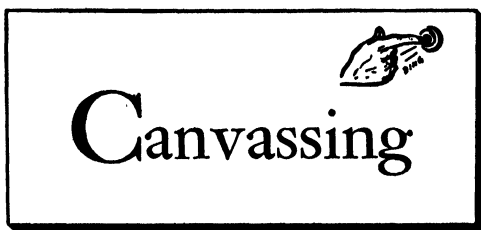
But, moving on—how do you go about canvassing to get the best results?

For some preliminary suggestions refer to Chapter 3 and the discussions of "precinct" and "block" work. Individuals engaged in political activity at these levels are the ones who do most of the can-

vassing. Then take another look at the "polling" discussion in Chapter 2 under the heading of "The Danger of Self-Delusion." Canvassing is in many ways another kind of poll-taking—another form of "research."

The thing that is different about canvassing, however, is the fact that it is also concerned with **selling**.

One of the better general discussions of the canvassing process is contained in the United Electrical Workers *Guide to Political Action*. Here is part of this manual's chapter on "Canvassing." This discussion also illustrates the importance which labor organizations are now placing on this type of local political work.



**When the Fuller Brush man rings a doorbell to sell brushes, he is canvassing. He goes from home to home, persuading people to buy brushes.**

Many big companies have found that there is no substitute for door-to-door salesmen.

These companies may spend millions of dollars for expensive advertising. But they find that they still need salesmen to meet the people in their homes and sell them a product.

It's the same thing in politics.

### NEIGHBORHOOD WORK

One secret of political success today lies in doorbell ringing.

Transportation problems are many. It takes a long time to travel to and from the job. Once home, it is sometimes difficult to get people to go out again. It is necessary to visit people in their homes.

That is why so much attention is being paid today to the organization of district, ward, and precinct political organizations.

### CANVASSING

Veteran political organizations have learned that nothing can replace a personal visit by a representative of the party organization to the home of the voter. There is no substitute for plain, door-to-door visiting, known as canvassing.

Labor has already learned certain facts about canvassing.

**1—Area.** People who do door-to-door visiting (canvassing) should not be given too large an area to cover. Canvassers become discouraged if they are assigned many blocks of homes which they cannot visit within a short time.

It is much better to give each canvasser a small area and let the job be done thoroughly.

**2—Location.** Whenever possible, the canvasser should be given an area to canvass which lies within his or her home neighborhood. The closer it is to the canvasser's home, the better. There are several reasons for this. A canvasser is more likely to have friends or relatives within his home neighborhood. The better a person knows the people he canvasses, the more confidence they are likely to have in him and the more they will cooperate with him. Most canvassers are working people. They should not be expected to walk or ride long distances to the area where they are to canvass.



**3—Meeting People.** Learning to canvass comes with experience. A good method of showing proper methods of canvassing is to send an experienced person with each new canvasser. People who canvass for the first time may meet with discouragements. They may find themselves tramping up steep flights of stairs only to have a door slammed in their faces by someone who has been overpestered by high-pressure salesmen. They may skin their knuckles knocking on doors when nobody is at home; and search in dark hallways for someone who has moved away months before.

But a canvasser quickly finds that such experiences are the exceptions rather than the rule. The average person visited is hungry for information and a guide to political action today. The canvasser soon learns to state the reason for the visit quickly and clearly. He finds most people he visits friendly and eager to cooperate. As a matter of fact, a canvasser must constantly guard against staying too long in any one home, despite the temptation to do so.

After a period of canvassing, the average person will look forward to meeting with people. He or she will gain confidence. This confidence will come from the realization that there is nothing more important than carrying the message of political action to friends and neighbors.

**4—Information.** In order to avoid seeming nosy, canvassers should make it clear to each person visited why questions are asked. As soon as the average person understands why his or her visitor is asking the questions, all information asked will be willingly given. **Arguments should be avoided.** Even when the reception is not at first cordial, canvassers should be polite and well-mannered. It may require a few visits to win the confidence of some well-meaning people. But a polite manner of treating all people is the best means of obtaining information and cooperation. Thank the person for answering the questions. Promise to call again. Then be sure you do call again, if you have said you will.



**5—Registration.** Canvassing campaigns may be organized for many purposes. Perhaps signatures are being collected on a petition. Perhaps people are being asked to attend a mass meeting. Whatever the main purpose, the interview should always include the subject of registration. It is always possible to spend an extra minute inquiring whether all eligible people in the household are registered to vote. If there are unregistered voters, a record of this should be carefully made, just as the canvasser will make a record of registered voters in order to get the vote out on election day.

**6—Leaflets.** It is useful for canvassers to carry with them several copies of important leaflets issued locally or by the International Office. If there are unregistered people visited, a leaflet should be left explaining why registration is important and how, where, and when to register. The same applies to other campaign issues. Some precinct captains even prefer to distribute leaflets generally in a neighborhood that is to be canvassed. This helps familiarize the people with the subject and saves the canvasser time when personal calls are made.

**7—Records.** Each canvasser should keep a notebook or record of each family visited. The record should include names, correct addresses, registered and unregistered members of families, party affiliations if any, trade union, phone number if any, whether people in the family are interested in helping with political action work, and any other notes helpful in future relations with the family. On many occasions the canvasser learns of a problem facing a family which political action can help solve. Note of this should be entered on the record. The best time of day or night to visit a person is also a useful piece of information to be entered on the record.

**8—Identification.** Canvassing should be as systematic as possible. The best results are obtained when the canvasser is regularly assigned the same homes to visit. It is even more helpful if visits can be made at regular intervals. Identification cards, pins, or letters should be supplied all canvassers.

### ORGANIZING A CANVASS

Canvassing needs central direction. If canvassing is carried on without central planning, there is certain to be duplication and confusion. One of the best ways of organizing a canvass is to pool the efforts of all the local unions and cooperating organizations.

One central headquarters should be established. In this headquarters plans can be made to divide the city into congressional districts, wards, precincts, or neighborhood blocks. Areas of concentration can be agreed upon. The number of canvassers available can be roughly approximated. And the issues which form the basis for each canvass can be decided.

Material, such as report sheets, maps, lists of unregistered voters, etc., can be prepared. Finally, assignments can be made. These assignments can be made to the people doing the canvassing directly or they can be suggested to precinct captains, when possible. The actual organization of the canvass, checking up on canvassers, and other details, can best be done by precinct leaders themselves.

**. . . The best way—without exception—to learn the needs, thoughts, and reactions of the people is to canvass your neighborhood. Canvassing is a MUST duty on the list of every person active in political work.**

Calling cards are a useful device to help the voter remember the canvasser and who he represents. They serve also as a handy and simple means of introduction. Here is an example of such a card along with a few comments about it, as shown in the Republican National Committee's *Workers' Manual*.

#### CALLING CARDS

The county committee will find that an investment in calling cards for the precinct workers will pay dividends in votes. The cards should be in colors;

#### **GREETINGS, FELLOW AMERICANS:—**

**I am your neighbor—You and I live in a free country and it is our responsibility to keep it so. It can remain free only so long as the citizens take an interest in their government and vote their convictions.**

**My job is to answer any question from people in our neighborhood about voting and elections.**

**Put this card where you can find it and call me anytime I can be of help.**

**Your Republican Precinct Committee member,**

**Name** -----

**Address** -----

**Telephone No.** -----

should bear the information that the caller is the **Republican** precinct committeeman or woman; that voting information or other assistance will be cheerfully given. The name, address, and telephone number of the **worker** should be printed on the card. A **card** should be left at each house whenever a call is made.

---

Also of use will be a small set of 3-x-5 cards, on which you have typed or written out some of the pertinent information that you want to remember to use while you are canvassing.

On one card you will want the record of the candidate ready for quick reference. On other cards you may want to have a few useful facts typed out concerning one or more issues in which your neighborhood is especially interested. Perhaps, for instance, a housing bill is pending in the city council or in Congress. You will want to be able to talk some sense about housing. Pertinent facts and figures can be on your "housing card."

On a few more cards you may want to put down arguments which are useful in replying to some of the points of view which you find expressed in your conversations with voters who may be doubtful about your party's or organization's candidates or issues. These cards are sometimes called "rebuttal cards."

Special problems are always met in the canvassing of apartment houses in the larger cities. Here are some suggestions on this matter from the *Campaign Manual* of the Republican National Committee.

---

## A SEPARATE APARTMENT HOUSE CANVASSING PROGRAM—SPECIAL CONTACTS

### A. Obtaining the Contacts:

A number of apartment houses of any size in the campaign area presents both a special problem and a special opportunity. The solution is essentially one of obtaining "Special Contacts" in each building.

One method of doing this is for the chairman of the canvassing division, at the outset of the campaign, to call a meeting of all his precinct captains and other campaign workers, and describe, with the aid of the campaign map, the apartment houses in the campaign area which must be approached. Each person present can then state the name, address, telephone number, etc., of personal friends whom he or she has in each building. All the contacts should be followed up, for in a large apartment house, five or ten special contacts may be necessary. These special contacts should be written down carefully on white Worker's Cards, and a definite effort be made to follow these up.

The best method of follow-up is to turn all the names and addresses over to a woman in the canvassing division with a good telephone voice and a cheerful disposition, so that she may telephone each one and try to recruit the special

contact's aid and cooperation. Sometimes the headquarters secretary can do this. The person telephoning should fill out a Worker's Card for each special contact.

### **B. Utilizing the Special Contacts:**

Each special contact may be utilized in several ways:

1. He or she may be willing to do the canvassing in all or part of the building, and become a regular worker of the campaign operation.
2. Such a special contact may be able to recruit other workers in the building, following the basic policy of decentralization.
3. Special contacts in a single apartment house may, as the campaign progresses, stage meetings, parties, receptions, etc., in the building, at which the candidate and other campaign figures may appear personally and meet the voters and at which enthusiasm may be further developed.
4. Special contacts may be put on the literature distribution drop file, so that an appropriate quantity of each piece of literature may be sent to each special contact for distribution in the building.
5. Special contacts may also arrange for putting campaign posters in the foyer and elevators of the building, and for the posting of notices for registration, voting, rallies, meetings, etc.
6. At the very least, special contacts in an apartment house can always enable a regular canvasser to get in the building and do the canvassing himself.

### **C. A Separate Division of the Campaign Organization:**

In a big city the apartment house operation may have such infinite possibilities that it may be desirable to set up a special department of the canvassing division, an "Apartment House Section." The sole function of such a section is to canvass all apartment houses in the campaign area or part of it. This in turn will leave the regular canvassers in the various precincts freer to concentrate on the houses and buildings other than apartment houses.

Next—and most important—is the question: **What do you do with the information you get?**

Under many canvassing systems this requires two sets of cards and forms. One set is used and filled out by the canvasser at the end of an interview. This form then is turned in at the headquarters and the most important items of information are transferred to another set of cards which make up part of the permanent files of the precinct, ward, or county organization.

If possible, one type of form should be used which can be made out in duplicate to serve both purposes. Opposite is an example of such a card as shown in the pamphlet called *Forward & Right*, published by the Women's Division of the Republican National Committee.

In some areas, the use of "polling books" by canvassers is required for one reason or another. The information is first collected in these books, and then summaries of certain of the information may be made

## 1949 VOTER RECORD

Ward \_\_\_\_\_ Precinct \_\_\_\_\_ Town \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_ Telephone \_\_\_\_\_

Republican--Democrat (Conserv.)--Democrat (New Deal)--Independent

Registered? \_\_\_\_\_ Eligible to register \_\_\_\_\_

Necessary to transport or accompany to: Registration Office \_\_\_ Polls \_\_\_

Interests information:

(a) Business or profession \_\_\_\_\_

(b) Other interests \_\_\_\_\_

Names and relationship of members of household who may cast Absentee Ballot: \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_ Signed \_\_\_\_\_

for other purposes. The use of such books means that considerable transposing of information may be necessary in order for the canvasser and for the headquarters both to have the necessary files and information.

But, whatever the form of the canvassing or polling record, it should have places on it for whatever information the organization taking the poll feels it may need. This may include the following: (1) names and addresses, (2) party affiliation as near as can be discovered, (3) whether the person is registered, (4) whether he is in the habit of voting, (5) whether he or anybody in his family will need an absentee voter's ballot, (6) information on members of the family coming of age, (7) whether family is transient or permanent, (8) whether anyone in the family could be naturalized, (9) whether transportation or baby-sitting will be necessary on election day, (10) whether or not anyone in the household might be interested in doing any active political work, and (11) whether or not the person interviewed would care to contribute to the campaign.

Finally, a **warning**—from the Independent Voters of Illinois' *Manual for Precinct Work*.

---

**REMEMBER THIS:** Although every precinct is different, and although your PARTICULAR precinct may run heavily Democratic or heavily Republican, and although you may have a small precinct or a big precinct—**ON THE AVERAGE, ONE THIRD OF THE PEOPLE WILL NOT GIVE YOU ANY IDEA OF HOW THEY FEEL ABOUT YOUR CANDIDATES.**

SOME WILL SLAM THE DOOR IN YOUR FACE. SOME WILL BE POLITE AND SAY NOTHING. SOME WILL SCOLD YOU.

Don't let it worry you—except for this: People who don't talk will usually vote against you. If people tend to agree with you, they'll usually say so. Some will tell you they disagree with you. A very few may agree with you, but not reveal it. **BUT GENERALLY, WHEN YOUR PRECINCT LIST IS ALL MARKED WITH PLUSSES, MINUSES, ZEROS—YOU'LL FIND A THIRD ARE ZEROS, UNKNOWNNS. MOST LIKELY THESE VOTES WILL TURN OUT TO BE AGAINST YOU. BEWARE THE TEMPTATION TO CREDIT YOURSELF WITH A HALF OR A THIRD OF THE UNKNOWNNS. PLAY SAFE AND CREDIT THESE TO THE OPPOSITION.**

---

The canvassing or polling record is the basic tool of the political organization. One canvass will go a long way toward indicating how much effort must be put out in any given campaign. But campaigning is not a static affair and voters' minds change. Therefore, the canvassing and polling must be kept as up to date as possible. This is a continuous process and one which cannot be overemphasized. This process also provides one of the very best means of utilizing the efforts of large numbers of volunteer workers, especially women.

For some more information refer also to those parts of Chapter 7, which discuss "registration" and "get-out-the-vote" campaigns. Many of the canvassing techniques are also used in connection with these other kinds of voting "drives" and vice versa. See, especially, the discussion of "telephone canvassing."

## 2. PUBLICITY AND POLITICAL LITERATURE

These topics are obviously ones on which volumes could be written, let alone a part of a single chapter. Moreover, public relations is something no two people completely agree about anyway.

But, there are a few things of general interest, which many—if not all—people agree are apt to be good practice. Further than these we will not try to go in this book. If you really want to get into the fine points of these affairs, then you had better engage a public relations counsel or an advertising agency.

First of all, there is the old adage: "I don't care what you say about me, as long as you say it."

Don't take this literally, but there is a grain of truth in it. That is, a political campaign cannot get along without publicity. If you never know a candidate's name, you aren't likely to vote for him—at least not deliberately. So, in a sense, any publicity is good publicity.

But publicity can be damaging too. Popping up at the wrong time, it has ruined many a promising career. Ineptly used, publicity, like other things, is subject to the law of diminishing returns.

The problem is one of handling publicity so that the end result is the same as what one starts out to obtain. This takes skillful treatment and the selection of someone for such a job is one of the principal tasks of a committee chairman or a campaign manager.

Certainly, the **publicity director** must be someone of at least a little experience and a lot of common sense. Beyond that, it is hard to say, except to recommend that at least some of this experience ought to have been in something in which he or she has gained some knowledge of what goes on in a political campaign. Many people also feel that, for this job, publicity experience is more important than newspaper experience.

This brings us to the question: What are the **avenues of publicity**? As the word "publicity" is normally used, here are the principal methods of approach: (1) through the standard "news" and "information" channels of newspapers, periodicals, and radio stations, (2) through paid advertising of all kinds, including outdoor billboards, sky-writing, and the like, and (3) through the distribution of specially prepared literature such as posters and leaflets.

It is the special function of the publicity director to coordinate all these uses of publicity, even those which he may not directly control or use. At least he should be consulted and his ideas be utilized to the maximum by all the other individuals involved in the campaign—from the county or precinct committeemen to the campaign managers, to the supporting political groups and clubs, and to the candidates themselves.

But, if the publicity director ought to be consulted about everything, this does not mean that he directs everything. The most typical kind of work which is almost entirely controlled by the publicity chairman and his assistants is the preparation of materials of a "news" character for press reports, editorial writers, radio stations, wire services, columnists, magazine writers, and the like. To a lesser extent, generally speaking, he may also be directly involved in the preparation of advertising copy, leaflet and literature writing and design, and the supervision of direct mail or other types of relatively personal approaches involving such things as form letters and special appeals for votes or money or both.

Here are some suggestions about handling **news**, from the *Handbook for Campaign Workers* of the New York Democratic State Committee.

---

#### PUBLICITY

During a campaign, the employment by a political committee or a publicity man or staff is essential. The publicity man's job is to take matters the organization wants the public to know about and get them to the newspapers, press services, and radio stations on time and in the most usable form.

Very few newspapers or radio news editors take "handouts" just as they are given to them, but if they do not have to inconvenience themselves to obtain the news, they are likely to be that much more sympathetic. Nearly all political organizations that can afford it maintain a publicity staff on a year-round basis.

The publicity director is on the alert to make sure that matters of special interest to any group in the community are brought directly to its attention. This means sending out news items to the foreign language and labor press of the area, it means keeping all kinds of organizations abreast of the political committee's activities in their fields. Union educational directors, legislative directors of civic and women's organizations, publicity directors of veterans', businessmen's, and fraternal groups, should all be on the mailing list of the publicity director. All those people are in a position to pass on news of interest to their members, either at meetings, or through the publications they edit.

An important thing to remember in dealing with the daily papers or the radio is that a series of short notices scattered over a period of time is more helpful than one long story, and much more likely to be printed. Suppose, for example, the "Hudson" County Democratic organization of New York State is going to give a testimonial dinner to its chairman—the state chairman and United States Senator are going to attend, as well as a long list of local notables, entertainment is to be furnished by the American Legion Band and the Fire Department Glee Club. Some publicity chairmen make the error of sending all this out in one notice, hoping for a "big story" in the local press.

They rarely get it, and even if they do, they are in a poor position to ask for additional space as the time for the event draws near. A better way is to break the story up into a series of short notices. First might be the announcement of the dinner, and the fact that the state chairman and senator have been invited. Second might be their acceptances, with their statements praising the local chairman and expressing their pleasure at being invited to do him honor. The third is an announcement of the entertainment, with a plug for the legion and fire department officials who are cooperating.

The fourth might be a complete roundup story, announcing that the dinner is a sellout, and reviewing all plans, plus a few minor additions. All of these items are legitimate news; most of them would be printed by newspapers with circulation in the county, and, in addition, the atmosphere of continuing activity on the part of the Democratic organization would have been created.

Newspapers are not obligated to print political party propaganda, though some of them may do so. They take pride, on the other hand, in printing news in which their readers are interested. Many papers take strong party positions in their editorial columns, and some will feature news of the party they favor more than that of the opposition party. But very few will deliberately suppress a properly presented item of news even if it concerns the political opposition. In cases where stories may seem to have been suppressed, a protest to the editor, by means of a personal inquiry, will often be effective in getting a better break the next time.

A few simple rules in connection with political publicity, intended primarily for those organizations unable to employ professional help, follow:

Items should have a news "peg"; that is, they should be tied in with some

definite occurrence which the newspapers or radio stations can report as having happened, or as about to happen.

Newspapers prefer to print announcements of coming events, or future party plans, rather than to report them in the past tense. Plans for a women's Democratic tea at the local hotel are more likely to be printed than what was said at that tea.

Newspapers simply will not bother with improperly presented announcements. News items should always be typewritten, and on one side of the paper only, double-spaced. The name and telephone number of the sender must be given. All names must be spelled correctly, with first names and middle initials as well; and the titles, if any, of the people named must be exact and currently correct.

News must be new, not three days old. It must reach the newspaper office in ample time for publication, or the radio station before the day's broadcast is written. No last-minute changes of unimportant detail must be allowed to interfere with this. Make the changes in pencil if they have to be made. For if the copy is late, nothing will get in at all.

Political information must also be reliable. Exaggerated emphasis, or the reporting of something that did not actually occur, may get into the papers once, as the result of a publicity ruse, but the papers will be wary thereafter and never again give the organization the benefit of the doubt.

Publicity chairmen, while maintaining close relations with the local editors and reporters, must be careful not to wear out their welcome. They should try for legitimate reporting of the party's activities, but cannot expect everything to get printed.

Occasionally situations unfavorable to the party, on which no publicity is desired, will develop. If the newspapers find out anyhow, there is no point lying to them about it, or threatening pressure to keep the story out of the papers. Cooperate with them to a reasonable extent in the coverage of the story, and the organization will get a better break in the long run.

Make sure you know when each particular newspaper or radio station has to have its copy for publication or broadcasting. This is not a complicated process. A telephone call to the political reporter or city editor will do the trick. Once relations are established with the local paper, it is often profitable to inquire in advance about space prospects, on an informal basis, and time your own release to fit.

The news release is not the only method of getting the party's views into the newspapers. The "letters to the editor" column is open to everyone, and provides an excellent forum for your candidates' views on the issues. It is up to the publicity man to see that such letters are interesting and attention-catching. He should also see that letters from "average voters," siding with his party, and lambasting the opposition, find their way into the "letters" editor at regular intervals.

Rules applying to getting news releases into the newspaper apply just as well to getting them announced on a radio newscast. Local radio stations and commentators are particularly interested in local happenings and personages, and the audience they reach is every bit as important as that of the daily and weekly press in the area.

The next major problem of the public relations director is the handling of **advertising**. It is not possible here to discuss all the different kinds of advertising, but there are some general recommendations which ought to be kept in mind. For the detail matters of, for instance, size of type, layout, and cost—someone with experience in the advertising business should be consulted. But here is a brief outline of some things the beginner, especially, needs to know. This is taken from the *Manual of Practical Political Action* of the National Citizens Political Action Committee.

---

## ADVERTISING

### Introduction

Political advertising has one important resemblance to commercial advertising. Unless you remember that resemblance, you will lose the effectiveness of your political effort.

In political advertising, as in commercial advertising, you are selling a product. That product has an entity, it has an appeal, and there must be a market either consciously or unconsciously desiring it.

In the case of commercial products, your market consists of potential buyers. In the case of political advertising, your market consists of potential voters, or—in the case of issues—supporters.

### What's Your Product?

In political advertising, your product can be any one of three things. It can be an organization for which you are trying to arouse sympathy and/or membership. For instance, you might be trying to establish a new local political action committee. Your product might be an issue for which you are trying to gain interest and support. For example, the Bretton Woods plan, . . . And finally, your product may be a candidate.

When the product is an organization, advertising usually resembles what is known in the commercial world as institutional advertising. This kind of advertising requires long and thorough copy. You seldom can persuade an individual to join a new group by using a catch phrase. Generally, you need painstaking and fully developed argument. For that reason such advertising is usually limited to newspapers, to local magazines, and to direct mail.

When your product is an issue your copy may be brief and argumentative if the issue is already familiar to the public. It is not necessary to develop a long argument to persuade people to engage in a buyer's strike against inflation. All you need do is remind people that prices are going up and urge them to combat this price trend by staying out of the market place. Sometimes the opposition develops the arguments on its side so thoroughly that the public is well aware of the issue. With a few brief words you may be able to reply and here again, small space and brief radio time is usable. If, however, the issue is

little understood, if neither your side nor the opposition is developing the arguments, then your issue must be sold in full-length terms, and media offering large space are essential.

### Introducing Mr. Candidate

When your product is a candidate, the analogy to commercial advertising is very useful. It can be said of any commercial product that it passes through three advertising stages. The first is the introductory, in which the new product is introduced to the market. The second is the competitive, in which you ask support of your product in preference to that of the other fellow's. The third is the reminder stage in which your product has become thoroughly established and your only problem is to keep reiterating its name.

The application of these three stages to a candidate is obvious. . . .

### Free Agency Service

If you know a good advertising agency, make use of it, because you pay very little more for its professional ability. Advertising agencies receive a commission from the newspapers and radio stations.

One of the questions frequently arising in political advertising is—should we use the friendly press or the opposition press? There is no simple answer. Generally, you use the friendly press when you are institutionalizing an organization in its formative stage or when you are trying to get support for a little-known issue or when you are launching an individual candidate. And generally, you use the opposition in addition to the friendly press when you are trying to gain converts to an already well-established organization or when you are selling an issue which has the active support of your side. When you think converts can be gained from the other side or when your candidate is in a highly competitive stage, the opposition press is useful.

You can frequently get back some of the cost on your advertising, at least your newspaper and direct mail advertising, by making a coupon part of your advertisement and suggesting that funds be contributed. However, you will never get important money, unless you make the appeal for funds the chief feature of the advertisement. But you cannot afford to make a fund appeal your chief feature when you are trying to sell an issue or candidate. So don't weaken the effectiveness of your appeal for support of the issue or the candidate by stressing the coupon.

---

The next problem is the preparation of **campaign literature** and miscellaneous printed materials for distribution to the voters or to various kinds of agencies for display purposes.

The problem of literature is one of the most complex there is, for the possibilities are almost endless. However, two kinds of literature—the leaflet and the poster—are especially suitable for local use. Here are some suggestions on preparing these kinds of materials—again taken from the NCPAC's *Manual of Practical Political Action*.

---

## LEAFLETS FOR ACTION

The leaflet is the shortest and cheapest form of literature for getting mass distribution of ideas or information. It's quickly read and costs comparatively little to produce in large quantities. Its form is flexible and its small size enables you to distribute it inexpensively through many channels.

You can use leaflets for innumerable purposes. They can serve to bring an issue to the public eye, to interest people in a problem, to swing them into acting upon a conviction, to get them to register and vote, to send a wire, to write a letter, to go to a meeting, to contribute money, to listen to a radio broadcast, to join a picket line, . . .

The pamphlet is the sort of big brother to the leaflet that you reserve for weightier argument, fuller detail, and more elaborate production. The leaflet is used to get a single, simple, sharply defined message across to a mass audience. To get mass attention, it has to be brief, unified, and readable.

**One Point—That's All**

Since the leaflet can't convince through the weight of accumulated evidence, it must contain the most dramatic and impressive facts made as visually attractive as possible. ONE salient, significant, undeniable argument, or ONE point of information—that's all a leaflet can and should hold. But if it's readable, that single message will register with a lot of people.

To this end, the leaflet must be written provocatively. The headline should be short, calculated to arouse curiosity. A gag line, a startling fact, or a terse, intriguing phrase will make a good beginning. The whole layout is designed to focus on this attention-getter. For this job there are four main tools: large, bold type, color, pictures, and space.

The main elements of the leaflet are the headline (which may be emphasized by a picture or cartoon); the argument, which explains the headline's meaning and states whatever action you're asking (to vote, give money, come to a meeting); the reminder—a reiteration of the point of the headline; and the signature of the organization.

Whether your leaflet is the single-page "throwaway" kind, or the folder with four or six pages, its main elements remain the same.

**Lots of Leeway**

The throwaway is like a small poster but it may contain more information since it will be read from up closer. It must be as attention-demanding and as unified as a poster. It can be any size, shape, or color that is pleasing to the eye. It has much in common with the fairly large-sized advertisement. And it can be mimeographed, multilithed, or printed on one or both sides. Plain black type jobs can be made attractive. If you have more money, you can use pictures and colors.

An inexpensive multilithed throwaway may be made by reproducing a newspaper clipping (picture and/or type) with blown-up typewritten or hand-lettered heading and a typed or hand-lettered explanation and organizational imprint. . . .

A request for volunteers, in printed throwaway form, makes use of a clever cartoon which is self-explanatory. The name, address, and telephone number of the organization completes it.

A folder leaflet should have the headline on the cover. For example, the cover of an OPA leaflet used the line "\$27.61 LOST OR STOLEN" to summarize dramatically the Bureau of Labor Statistics basic commodity cost figures for the month of July, 1946. This cover line arouses curiosity, but it does not tell the whole story. It's a teaser to make the reader open the folder to solve the mystery.

It is best, too, to have a lead-in which can attract people who don't agree with you. A convinced person will probably throw away unread a piece of literature when he knows in advance it opposes his point of view. Leave your argument for the middle spread, whenever possible.

### **The First Shot**

To get attention, the cover must have striking power. Put your catch phrase in bold display type, use color and pictures. Blank space around the slogan will draw attention to it. . . .

A folder cover can be even simpler and more unified than a poster since there are three or five other pages for data: name of organization, secondary argument, documentation, cartoons, diagram, etc.

The second page of the folder reiterates and explains the idea on the cover. . . . The explanation in large, bold type is provocative enough to induce readers to go on to the footnote which explains the figures. Visual interest is kept up by a cartoon, lots of white space, large type, and touches of bright red.

The same figures are introduced with a new idea on page three. . . .

No new ideas should be found on the back page, which summarizes your argument and identifies your organization. On a fund-raising leaflet "Give to \_\_\_\_\_," plus your organization's name and address, will probably be enough. The back page of a campaign folder will be amply filled by "Vote for \_\_\_\_\_" and your organizational imprint.

### **Front to Back**

If you have a great deal that has to be said in the leaflet to get a certain message across, it's better to make it a two-fold six-page affair than to crowd it. More space is available inside for information, but the cover should remain simple and arresting, the back page a summary of your appeal with your name.

## **POSTERS**

Anything that's hung on a wall and aims to stir people to action is a poster. It can vary in form from the simplest homemade announcement to a slick professional job. If you have artists in your organization, they will be able to make all your posters. But even untrained members can do the easier and simpler ones. Reserve the more elaborate projects for skilled help. In general, the single poster can be made by amateurs, but posters to be used in quantity should be designed by professionals.

Posters can be as varied as your imagination and resources will allow. The

only hard and fast rule in poster-making is: GET ATTENTION. If people look at the poster and remember the point, it's effective and therefore good.

A poster that's to be used in only one or two copies may be typed or hand-lettered. Since an amateur trying to do a professional hand-lettering job will turn out awkward, unconvincing work, it's better for him to do free-hand lettering. The casual, dashing look isn't hard to achieve and doesn't pretend to be finely wrought. For a more finished-looking product a stencil may be used, newspaper headlines traced, or paper cutout letters bought and pasted up.

### **Try the King-Size**

The larger the lettering, the more attention the poster will attract. Have the hand-lettered or typed copy blown up several times its original size by a photostat service. It'll cost only a few dollars. Then use color to separate your announcement from the other matter on the board and from the board itself. Mount the enlarged notice on colored stock.

No matter what your basic message is, you should formulate it in very few words; three to six words are good limits to work in. Some people will catch the main message while walking by the poster. Others, their curiosity aroused by the bold headline, will come closer to read the more detailed secondary message.

Pull the main message or slogan out of the rest of the copy. This emphasis can be most easily achieved by bigness and color. Besides having the slogan blown up larger than the rest of the lettering, you can achieve distinction by doing the lettering in bright poster color, or painting the background of the slogan. Another means of emphasis is the use of bold, heavy type for the slogan and lots of "air" (space around it).

Pictures are the best attention-getters. Use them whenever possible. They assure a wider audience and make a deeper impression. There are many sources of illustration. Cartoons and pictures from newspapers and magazines are good, but remember to get permission to use any copyrighted photographs, paintings, or drawings.

### **Functional Photo**

Select the picture to heighten the effect of your slogan, to underline its point. Never throw in a picture just for decoration. For example, in a register-vote poster you can use a picture of a ballot box with a hand inserting a ballot. That's a kind of simple illustrative use.

Another approach, less direct but more powerful, is the use of some photo of a dramatic action that agitates and disturbs the readers. It awakens their desire to perform the action—register and vote. . . .

If you are making a single poster of this type the picture can be clipped from the newspaper or a glossy print obtained from the paper's files. Mount the picture with rubber cement on a sheet of paper on which the message has been typed or printed. Have a photostater blow it up to the desired size. Use color to emphasize the words or pictures, or mount the whole on colored stock. . . .

When posters in small quantity are desired, use the silk-screen reproduction process, or printing costs will be too high.

### Pointers from Printer

A printer will be able to advise you how best to use his facilities for your poster, depending upon your budget. He will have large wooden type for head-line-size lettering, can offer colored ink or colored paper, or print in several colors. In designing a poster, it will save you money if you find out what is the economical size for the printing presses. Most posters are 17 inches by 22 inches because that size can be cut from sheets of paper without waste.

Campaign posters can effectively repeat the themes of leaflets distributed by your committee. The familiar picture, slogan and color will become identified with your candidate or issue. One example is a campaign poster and leaflet used by a successful candidate in the Democratic primaries in Kansas City, Missouri. It featured a picture of three Negro children concentrated in play, silhouetted on a yellow background. The bright color attracts the eye; children appeal to almost everyone. The secondary message ("to give them a break") connects the picture to the main slogan ("VOTE AXTELL"). Picture and slogan on the poster are easily caught by the eye of the passer-by and are emotional, unusual, and attractive enough to be remembered by anyone who has seen the leaflet. The repetition of a theme is effective enough to be sought after.

To be visually attractive, there must be no elements in a poster which would divert attention from the focal point. Type, pictures, color should all help to bring the eye to the primary message and keep it there. About two-thirds up center on a poster is where the eye most naturally hits. That's usually the place you'll get most impact from and your design should be worked out accordingly.

---

There is one legal matter which you must not forget in the preparation of your campaign literature.

This is the fact that in many states **it is a crime to issue, political literature without indicating the name of the sponsor.** You must label where your printed matter comes from. Otherwise you may get yourself into a lot of trouble.

But, this is a minor problem—nothing compared to another major difficulty with political literature.

This is the problem of **literature distribution.**

Leaflets, broadsides, folders, and the like are of no use if they do not reach the people they are intended to reach. Here are some tips from from the *Campaign Manual* of the Republican National Committee on how to get your literature into the right hands with a minimum of waste.

---

## METHODS OF LITERATURE DISTRIBUTION

### A. By the Canvassers:

The chairman of the canvassing division should be immediately notified whenever campaign literature, of any description whatsoever, becomes avail-

able. Indeed, canvassers often want canned speeches and research material also, for both themselves and their voters. In turn, the chairman of the division should make immediate arrangements for the distribution to his regional captains, precinct captains, block captains, and workers. They are of special help to the canvassing operation, as previously pointed out. From time to time the chairman of the canvassing division will undoubtedly ask for more literature and may even ask specifically for certain types of literature.

Sight should never be lost of the fact that political literature is the best single mechanical factor for activating a canvassing program.

### **B. Through Activities of the Speakers' Bureau: LDT's**

Every speaking engagement, inside or outside, provides an excellent market for political literature. An effective way of meeting the demand is for the chairman of the literature distribution division to set up literature distribution teams (LDT's), each with its own captain. These LDT's are similar to the speakers' teams in their administrative structure, in that the captain of the team is its administrative officer responsible for arrangements with the members of his team and its operation. They usually consist of from 2 to 10 members, depending upon circumstances. The work is very enjoyable, and women make very effective literature distributors. Often a passer-by will accept a piece of literature from a pretty girl when he would not do so from a man. Utilize your party pulchritude!



As with the speakers' teams, an efficient method of organization is to have a group of friends band together to form a team and elect their own captain. In turn, members of the original team will usually bring in their friends and each team will tend to subdivide into two or more teams. Also, there is a tendency for literature distributors to turn into speakers, as they become familiar with the team system operation.

At an outside meeting the members of a literature distribution team should try to cover all approaches and exits to the crowd, and try to see that everybody in the crowd is handed a piece of each type of literature available. Also, those who do not stop should be handed literature as they go by. In this way large

quantities can be distributed. Care should be taken not to waste the literature unnecessarily, although a good deal of waste must be expected.

The best mechanical way of arranging for the transportation of literature is through the use of paper shopping bags with string handles, which usually cost 5c or 10c apiece. In the afternoon before the speaking engagement involved, the chairman of the literature distribution division should arrange for paper shopping bags to be filled with appropriate literature for each particular team. More literature should always be put in the bag than is expected to be used, for it is an unhappy situation when literature runs out in the face of demands by an eager crowd. A paper slip with the name of the captain of the LDT, the location of the engagement, and the quantity of literature supplied, should then be pinned to the shopping bag and the chairman of the division should arrange for transportation of the bag to the scene of the speaking engagement. Often the captain or a member of the LDT will pick it up himself.

Literature which is not distributed should be left in the paper bag and returned to headquarters. It will then be up to the chairman of the division to decide whether the literature is usable again on another occasion.

### C. Literature Drops:

The distribution of literature is essentially a single function which should be handled on an over-all basis. Distribution through canvassers and speakers' teams is more or less automatic as provided above, but it exhausts only part of the possibilities.

In addition, there are a large number of friendly organizations and individuals who will distribute political literature to their members and friends. A reliable person in an apartment house or housing development, who will distribute literature to the others in the building or area, is especially valuable.

There is only one practical way of utilizing these people, and that is to give

### Literature Drop Card

.....  
Name of organization or individual

.....  
Address

.....  
Telephone No.

.....  
Ward

.....  
Precinct

.....  
Person to Contact

.....  
Approximate number of pieces of literature distributable:.....

.....  
Type of Organization

.....  
Date of Meetings

.....  
Remarks: .....

.....

.....

.....

someone the responsibility of making a business of dealing with them. Each such organization or person who will distribute literature should be made the subject of a separate card in a card file. Then when a new piece of literature comes out, paper shopping bags can be made up as described above containing the requisite number of pieces, for transportation to the address of the person or organization. Moreover, a card file of these persons or organizations is also of great value in the organizing of rallies and meetings, caravans, etc.

#### D. At Public Places:

Literature distribution teams can also cover railroad and subway exits, shopping centers, and busy street corners during rush hours. One effective team can give out large quantities of literature on such occasions.

#### E. By Mail:

One specifically effective method of distribution is by mail to all registered voters in a certain area. The problem of addressing envelopes is one which should be split up among the largest number of people possible and the addressing should preferably not be done in a small campaign headquarters. The printed-matter postal rate can be used.

In stable communities where registration is permanent and the turnover small, it is of great value to make addressograph plates for all registered voters. Envelopes to all the voters may then be addressed by simply running the plates through the machine, eliminating the work of addressing by hand.

Mailing political literature to voters in rural areas has special possibilities, because of the factor of distance.

#### F. Posters:

These are a "must" in every campaign. They should feature either a good, large picture of the candidate's face, or his name in large letters, or both. They should be distributed as widely as possible, and may both be tacked to walls, poles, trees, etc., and used as window display cards.

Literature distribution is even more complicated and subject to great waste when one headquarters prepares materials for the use of other headquarters. These are the suggestions of the Democratic National Committee, as contained in its *Guidebook for Democratic Organization in the County and Precinct*, for those who write to higher state and national headquarters for campaign literature.

### *Campaign Material*

#### WHEN YOU WRITE FOR IT

*please heed these DO's and DON'T's written by an expert*

**DON'T . . .**

write in for "anything helpful" to be distributed at "a meeting." To make

the best use of our material, we need to know two things: (a) the kind of program you are planning, and (b) the kind of people who will attend the meeting. Then, we can send appropriate material which will be an asset and will emphasize the purposes of your program.

**DO . . .**

make a guess—in round numbers—as to how many copies you will need, each time you send in a request. We are anxious not to underestimate your needs, but we can't afford to overestimate if our material is to stretch over forty-eight states.

**DON'T . . .**

wait until the last minute to send in your request. When the only way we can get material to you in time is to send it by air express, we spend money that could pay for printing more copies of the next flier or pamphlet. Advance notice permits the more **frugal** parcel post.

**DO . . .**

consult with the other members of your Facts and Figures Committee so you'll be sure that only one member has written in for material. Duplicate requests for the same meeting, or for distribution in the same place, result in wasting our supplies and in confusion for the distributors.

**DON'T . . .**

forget that in many instances we can send you a mat of a flier, if we can't send you the large quantity you request. Your local printer can run off as many copies as you like from this mat, for very little money.

**DO . . .**

realize that material from headquarters can be relied upon to clear up any distortions or "slanted" presentations of issues in an unfriendly press.

---

### 3. THE SPEAKERS' BUREAU

The traditional stereotype of a "politician" is a portly gentleman waiving his arms in some sort of verbal endeavor. Speech-making is the typical trade-mark of the political scene.

However, it seems pretty clear that the earlier type of sonorous campaign oratory, the "sands of sunny California to the rocky coasts of Maine" sort of stuff, is going out of style. Edward Everett may have spoken for three hours or so at Gettysburg. But no one today would consider listening to a speech that long.

The rush and hurly-burly of modern living, the habits promoted by the radio and television, the growing sophistication of the voting public, and the general competition for the eyes and ears of the nation are forcing dramatic changes in campaign speech-making and related techniques.

Speeches—and other methods of visual presentation—are becoming shorter, more factual and to the point, and more “humanized.” That is, most people are realizing that the most effective presentation is obtained by talking **with** people rather than “at” them or “down to” them. Informality and warmth, closeness rather than distance, are becoming the criteria for judging an effective presentation. If a little drama can be woven into the scene, all the better.

But all this doesn’t just happen.

It takes organization, just like other activities take organization. Hence, the proverbial **speakers’ bureau**. For details on the organization of such a bureau write the Women’s Division of the National Democratic Committee for its pamphlet entitled *What Every Speakers Bureau Chairman Should Know and Do!*

Now then, what about the technique of public speaking in political campaigns?

As with publicity, there are no two people who completely agree on what ought to be done with political speech-making. Anyway, no two situations are exactly the same.

If you want more information on the techniques of public speaking or the effective use of English, then go to a high school or college or other professional teacher or to someone with a good deal of experience. Tell such a person what you have to do and ask for some help with your own special problems.

However, here is a set of “tips” for political speakers, which are taken from the CIO-PAC *Speakers Manual*.

---

**Remember These:**

1. **Keep to the point—stay on the track.**
  2. **Convince them with facts.**
  3. **Don’t ever become personal with your audience.**
  4. **A pint of tact is worth more than a case of scotch.**
  5. **Make your speeches shorter, not longer.**
  6. **Your job is to sell ideas not prejudices.**
  7. **Sum up your arguments and present your conclusions.**
  8. **Talk in terms of your listener’s experience.**
  9. **Be convinced yourself before you try to convince others.**
  10. **Do not present too many ideas at one time.**
  11. **Shouting never makes an argument clearer.**
  12. **Come prepared to talk—come prepared to answer questions.**
  13. **Don’t attempt to bluff your audience—it won’t work.**
  14. **Know what you are going to say—say it right.**
  15. **Start as a speaker—end as a friend.**
-

#### 4. RADIO, TELEVISION, AND VISUAL AIDS

Now then, let us move into some of the more specialized techniques involved in or connected with speech-making, such as the following:

- (1) Radio broadcasting,
- (2) Television broadcasting, and
- (3) Visual and audio-visual aids to speech-making.

There are some other techniques which might be included here—such as music and drama—but these will be discussed in the next section of this chapter, which deals with various kinds of political meetings and related matters.

Whether all these special speech-making techniques are directed by the publicity chairman or the speakers' bureau chairman or by someone else is a question to which there is no one answer. Radio and television, for example, may be important enough in the cities to warrant special treatment.

The essential thing is—somehow to have them coordinated so that everything is directed toward the goal in mind, whether it is the election of a candidate, the support of a constitutional amendment, or the recall of a city official.

In many campaigns only a few of these techniques may be used. In some areas, for instance, there is no television reception, but it may be of crucial importance in a big city campaign. In more sparsely populated areas the principal technique is likely to involve stump-speaking.

But, everybody in the political business ought to understand what can be done with these techniques so that he can judge for himself whether or not to use them and, if the answer is "yes," when and how to use them. This book is not intended to cover all the possible problems involved in, for example, radio broadcasting. But it should at least give you an idea of where to start if you think you might want to make a political radio speech.

Since we're on the topic of **radio broadcasting**, let us consider some of the problems involved in this sort of activity.

First of all, there is the question of how and when to get "time" over the "air." On this matter, you would do well to get a copy of the Democratic National Committee's pamphlet on *How to Use Radio and Television*. Otherwise consult somebody in the radio or advertising business. You need sound technical advice on this question, so don't wander around guessing.

Now for some suggestions from this same pamphlet on how to handle your radio speech for the most effective result. A good deal of this applies to television speaking also.

## RADIO DO'S AND DON'T'S

**DO** bear down hard—and hammer over and over again—on the basic campaign issues as they affect your district and your voters.

**DO** see that all talks are specific . . . down to earth . . . applying each point to the daily life and welfare of each individual, or small family group, listening-in. Talk to the voter in **his** language.

**DON'T** go in for the long-winded, highly generalized harangues. **DON'T** take the oratorical, mass-meeting approach! On the air it will lose listeners, votes and waste campaign money.

**DO** remember that your listeners are listening as **individuals** . . . alone . . . or with the family or a few friends.

**DON'T** let your programs run along on a tedious, dead level . . . or you'll be tuned out, fast.

**DO** start each speech, or program, with a brisk, strong "attention getter."

**DO** end each with a powerful 30 to 60 seconds, leading up to the **highest level of interest!**

**DON'T** overlook or forget the great interest-value of what are called "gimmicks": dialogue between two speakers . . . music . . . appropriate sound effects to high-light or "illustrate" a point . . . quotes from top-level officials . . . guests who can illustrate or strengthen a point.

**DO** bring in voters, wherever possible, for informal discussion with the candidate on various issues or points.

**DO** have your speaker at the studio well ahead of time to read his script so the production director can **accurately time it . . . and**

**DO** come provided with a solid, punchy closing of 30 to 60 seconds—**separate from the main speech! If your speaker is not going to finish on time, he switches (on a cue from the director) to this closing, thus making sure the talk ends on a high note—and on time.**

**DO** make every point clearly, briefly, logically, **and firmly** . . . but in **friendly vein.**

**DON'T** have speeches addressed to your candidates' **friends:** they will **always** listen.

**DO** go after the independents . . . the fence-sitters . . . the opposition voters.

These suggestions don't cover everything by any means, and if you want more technical advice you had better go to someone with radio coaching experience.

The Radio Division of the Republican National Committee puts out the following warning in its little pamphlet, *The Microphone and You*. Incidentally, this pamphlet is about as good as there is on the general subject of the techniques of political broadcasting.

It is an open secret among radio executives that many political broadcasts do more harm than good to their causes. . . .

**How Do Political Broadcasters Harm Their Causes?** By driving listeners

to other programs. They hear one boring broadcast and it dissuades them from listening to ALL political broadcasts. The public has become radio "wise." Many political broadcasters have not.

**Why Does The Public Tune Out?** Because so many political broadcasters are so completely amateurish and boring. Why should one listen to a pseudo Claghorn when an impersonator provides the original, hilarious Senator in person?

**Why Do Political Broadcasters Stay In This Rut?** Because they usually broadcast before and to a friendly audience. (No one else is listening.) These listeners slap the speaker on the back and, with tongue in cheek, tell him that he is terrific. Ego does the rest. What about those independent and opposition voters whom the speaker seeks to win via radio? Unless there is a heavy mail response, promising votes from new converts, the speaker has been anything but terrific.

---

Now for the matter of **television**.

If you have mastered some of the techniques of both platform and radio speaking, you ought not have too much trouble with television. It is a sort of combination of both.

However, there are always the technical problems. In radio you may get by without too much technical advice, equipment, or special preparations. In television this is impossible. For this reason the Publicity Division of the Democratic National Committee has estimated that television today costs four times more per thousand people reached than does radio.

But at the same time it may stir up five to six times more active response than radio!

That is—television is effective but expensive.

Therefore, it is almost a "must" that you obtain qualified and expert help for a television performance. This is best done through an **advertising agency** or some professional adviser. As the Democratic National Committee puts it in its radio and television manual (quoted before):

---

It **costs you nothing** to have the skilled, professional help of a good advertising agency staff. Their pay comes to them as commissions paid by radio and television stations, newspapers, etc., receiving your paid campaign advertising—at **no extra cost to you**.

Pick an agency which you know is loyal to your organization, and knows your district.

Pick an agency that knows both radio and television . . . those with experience principally in **printed** advertising will not be able to help you sufficiently.

The right agency can expertly buy the best broadcasting and television **time** for you . . . prepare scripts, animations, "spots," programs, motion picture films . . . give you excellent ideas . . . help you get publicity and promotion

backing . . . pick the best voices and "talent" for both radio and television . . . help you reach special groups (farmers, labor, housewives, etc.) . . . prepare and place effective printed advertising . . . afford you wise counsel . . . and take the whole load of production off your shoulders.

---

But, even if you have expert counsel, it may be helpful to you to understand some of the things that are possible over television—for political purposes, that is.

There is as yet no generally accepted formula for television success, especially in political affairs. This communications medium is still too new for all its potentialities to have been exploited.

However, there has been one outstanding use of television in a political campaign—one in which most people agree that the use of television was exceedingly effective in terms of votes produced. This was the 18-hour television marathon of Governor Thomas E. Dewey during his 1950 campaign for re-election to his political post in New York State. The televising of the Kefauver investigations was perhaps even more spectacular, but, as this was not conducted during a campaign, it is not relevant for our purposes here.

As radio and TV columnist John Crosby wrote in the November 9, 1950, issue of *The New York Herald Tribune*, Governor Dewey's campaign was the first campaign in which television was properly used.

An excellent description of Governor Dewey's television campaign is contained in the pamphlet called *To Victory*, put out by the New York Republican State Committee. Here are the concluding paragraphs, which summarize what the committee feels it has learned about the use of television from its experiences in this campaign.

---

## WHAT WE LEARNED

### 15-Minute Telecasts

In the New York State campaign, it was found that 15-minute telecasts were most effective.

Telecasts of that length are about the maximum a speaker can hold the interest of the viewers. Even then, material must be well planned, concise, and well presented.

A few half-hour periods were used in connection with political rallies so that several speakers could be presented and some of the color of the rally could be given.

Use of longer periods invariably runs into awkward delays, repetition, and confusion which the viewers are quick to notice. The result is boredom, loss of the audience, and lingering bad impressions.

Even in the 18-hour marathon, the 15-minute limitation policy was followed. Except for the closing 45 minutes, the governor was on television only 15 min-

utes hourly throughout the day. With other programs in between, the public nevertheless received the sustained impression of uninterrupted broadcasting.

### **Informality**

For effective use of television in political campaigning there must be informality. The stiff, stilted stance of political orators in the past does not go. Likewise, use of a lectern with a battery of microphones hiding the speaker is not advised.

To make the best impression, the speaker should assume an informal pose as he would in conversing with the individual viewers were he sitting with them in their living rooms. Also, the speaker should animate his delivery by moving about and indulging in normal actions. Such actions, however, should be incidental rather than something that would focus the viewers' attention away from the trend of the discussion.

### **Visual Aids**

Television offers tremendous opportunities to use visual aids which make talks more interesting and authoritative. In the New York campaign, extensive use was made of specially prepared charts, maps, and photographs.

In the 18-hour marathon in particular, campaign workers assembled several hundred photographs, the 9"-by-10" size, on state construction projects and numerous subjects. These were mounted on heavy cardboard so that they would televise without disturbing highlights. During the course of the marathon, as questions were phoned in by voters, appropriate illustrations would be drawn from the file to provide a visual presentation in connection with the reply. Wherever it is possible, glossy photographs should be avoided. Highlights make it difficult for the TV cameras to get a good shot of glossy prints.

Likewise, motion picture subjects prepared in advance were used separately on in conjunction with political talks. The films showed new projects under construction and the like.

### **Projection of Personality**

Television offers the political candidate an unusual opportunity to be known as an individual human being rather than as a distant, shielded, and impersonal figure. The eyes of the television camera seem to search out the underlying character of an individual and lay bare for the viewer his qualities of sincerity, warmth, and humaneness. The effect is much the same as a personal discussion in the living room between the candidate and the televiewer.

Television, accordingly, is a forward step in the voters judging the entire man. Heretofore, at political rallies they could judge him only from a distance and on the basis of carefully perfected oratory. Radio, too, made it possible for the voter only to judge through the sense of hearing.

With the advantages of television there is also the liability facing a candidate who is not up to its searching eye. It is quickly perceived when the speaker is not sure of his facts, uncertain of himself and fearful of the consequences.

### **Kinescopes**

The street corner question-and-answer-type program proved to have many

advantages, among which was that it lent itself to reproduction by kinescope. In New York State as well as in the other sections, television networks are still in the formative stage. Accordingly, it was impossible to arrange statewide telecasts in many instances. The results, however, were achieved by the use of kinescopes to present the program on other stations at a later time or later date.

The interview-type program was not dated as would a rally be, therefore proved acceptable to television audiences even though it was not an original telecast.

Another factor of the kinescope is that it is cheaper, not requiring network facilities, and can be presented on local stations at a time when their rates are more reasonable.

For the benefit of the uninitiated, the "kinescopes" referred to above are simply motion picture films taken off live TV programs for presentations on other stations at later periods.

Finally, one more bit of advice and warning on the legal questions involved in use of radio and television—taken again from the Democratic National Committee's pamphlet on *How to Use Radio and Television*.

#### KNOW YOUR RIGHTS AND THE LAW

Political discrimination by a radio or television station is against the law. Stations must provide "equal opportunities" to all candidates for the same office. If one candidate has purchased a certain period of time, his opponent has the right to buy comparable time. That does not mean that he can merely buy the same amount of time, but the station must provide time which is **equally effective**. All stations know this and there are few violations, but occasionally partisanship is shown. You or your candidate must watch for such violations.

Furthermore, stations must charge the same rates to all candidates for the same office. Some stations charge more than regular rates for political broadcasts. This is **not** against the law, but is frowned upon in most broadcasting circles. Regular rates should prevail.

It's the law that stations keep records of all requests made by or for political candidates for broadcast time, the action taken, the amount charged. This is a public record, so the information is available to you if you wish it.

Know your rights. See that they are protected. Copies of the law pertaining to political broadcasts can be obtained from national committee headquarters.

As noted earlier in connection with television, visual aids are extremely important. Speaking is still essential, of course, but the modern tendency—and everybody agrees it is effective—is to combine the spoken word with appeals to the other senses.

More and more motion pictures—especially documentary films—film strips, slides, charts, blown-up photographs, demonstrations, and the like are all being utilized in politics as well as in other forms of public persuasion and appeal.

As many of these visual aids take some sort of technical skill, the best sources of information are likely to be people who have had some experience in these things—especially teachers whose business it is to prepare you for such work. But such advice is often expensive, and also you may not have time to take a course of instruction.

The next best bet for the average beginner in most of these things is a set of manuals put out by the United States Army. They are the following:

- (1) Field Manual 21-5, *Military Training*.
- (2) Field Manual 21-8, *Military Training Aids*.
- (3) Technical Manual 21-250, *Army Instruction*.

These manuals are all available at very reasonable prices from the Superintendent of Documents in Washington, D.C. Write and ask for the price list for *Field Manuals and Technical Manuals* and you can then send in your order.

While these manuals were specially prepared for military purposes, they are extremely useful to anybody interested in getting over to others a set of ideas. They are illustrated profusely and written simply. You will also find in them a lot of directions about how to make your own visual aids and how to use those which are obtainable from manufacturers and other outlets for such materials.

As far as the author has been able to discover, there are only two small pamphlets available anywhere that discuss visual aids solely from the political point of view. These are both put out under the auspices of the Republican Congressional Committee. One is entitled *Something Brand New in Politics—Visual Aid Presentation* and the other is called *Campaign Services and New Techniques*.

However, neither is anything like as complete as the army manuals and they both especially emphasize those aids which use various projection techniques—such as movies, slides, film strips, and the like. Nevertheless, they indicate the trend and, for what they cover, they are excellent.

Among the visual aids discussed in these pamphlets (and actually being used or prepared by the committee and its staff) are (1) various types of projectors, (2) film strips, (3) scripts and charts for use on television, (4) specially prepared “spots” for radio use, (5) prepared advertising mats and ad layouts, (6) looseleaf campaign booklets containing speeches and data on 20-odd important issues, (7) the technique of tape recording, and (8) the use of specially prepared portfolios of useful photographs illustrating various issues and problems.

The important thing to remember is that visual aids are becoming generally so popular and so available that almost anyone can obtain the necessary machinery and materials at a fairly reasonable cost. Nor are they very difficult to operate and use. Nearly all of you have friends who can run projectors, help put up easels for photographs and charts, tell you where to get slides designed and made, and all the rest.

Ingenuity is involved and also some money. But the end product is one which far surpasses the typical old-time turgid and boring oratory.

## 5. RALLIES, MEETINGS, AND ENTERTAINMENT

The general tendency today seems to be to discount the importance of the **mass political rally** as a very effective means of political conversion—that is, when taken by itself.

Such meetings are, however, still considered as desirable, but more for what may be called their “side” effects than for their momentary influences. That is, mass meetings if properly handled may also result in large quantities of favorable publicity (free—and this is important) in the press. They will stimulate talk about the candidate, bolster the morale of workers, and maybe frighten the opposition.

Party conventions, for instance, not only serve to nominate candidates and to provide a party policy, but they also are public relations devices. In their latter role, they should be thought of as simply a special kind of mass meeting, subject to the same problems and same techniques.

But the mass meeting and mass rally need expert guidance. If you want to plan something of this kind, you had better consult someone who has had a good deal of experience. However, an excellent bird’s-eye view of the hazards as well as the opportunities involved can be obtained by a quick reading of the “Come One Come All” section of Harold’s Gauer’s penetrating little book, *How to Win in Politics*.

The other principal kind of political meeting is best typified by the relatively impromptu **street corner meeting** involving what is known in large sections of the country as “stump-speaking.” This technique may be used without some of the complicated organization and planning which is demanded by the large rally, and, with a little variation, it can be used in the cities as well as in the more rural areas.

Stump-speaking involves the small informal gathering which listens to a more or less impromptu talk by someone traveling through the town or area. The speaker is apt to use a public address system, the equipment for which he carries around with him in his auto. This technique is a “must” in large sections of the Middle West, West, and South. In a modified form, it is frequently used in the cities also.

Here is a vivid description of the problems of a stump-speaker as

described in an article specially written for this book by one of the author's former students, Joe Bodovitz, who has had a good deal of experience in this sort of work. Let's hear his story in his own words.

---

## HOWDY!

### A STUDY OF THE STUMP-SPEAKER IN A POLITICAL CAMPAIGN

This concerns stump-speaking, the political campaigning in which speakers travel from town to town speaking whenever a crowd can be obtained, a life of terrible hotels and unpredictable meals. The scene happens to be Oklahoma, though it could be almost anywhere else.

Suppose you are the campaign manager of a candidate for statewide office in Oklahoma. You are faced with many problems and decisions, but your most important one is this: what type of campaign will yield the best results, and what is the most effective way to spend campaign funds? This is not an easy question, but on the answer may depend the success or failure of your candidate.

After considering the many factors involved, you may finally decide to use primarily stump-speakers; you will put your candidate on the road as soon as possible, but you will also equip other speakers and send them out to campaign.

These stump-speakers will be college students, or perhaps aspiring young politicians just out of college. They will be sent out to meet people, to shake hands, to talk to crowds wherever they can find them, and to use every means possible to build up good will and support for your candidate. They will be, in short, traveling representatives who combine advertising, personal contact, and public speaking in their attempts to win votes.

If you make this decision, you must make two assumptions first. One of these is that personal contact changes more minds than does influence from far-off or impersonal advertising, although these may be helpful. And you must also have enough money to support stump-speakers, for it can become an expensive process. For you must provide your speakers (usually in teams of two) with a car, a public address system, and plenty of money for gas and oil, living expenses, and salary.

Oklahoma is basically a one-party state. The Democratic primary is the important election; this primary is during the first week in July, with a run-off election three weeks later, if necessary. Thus the campaigning described here takes place principally during June and July of even-numbered years.

Before proceeding any further, another note of explanation is necessary. These stump-speakers supplement, but do not supplant, the speaking of the candidate. Oklahoma is a big place, with 77 counties, and if the candidate speaks once in each county seat he will have made quite a campaign tour. In addition, the candidate himself makes many speeches to Rotary clubs and all other types of special events, whenever possible.

Having decided to use stump-speakers, what the the bases you will use in selecting them? First, you will want people who are good speakers—not necessarily Daniel Websters, but people who can make a good speech. The important thing is not a flowery speech, but a sincere one—for the political speaker is trying to influence voters, and if there is no sincerity in his manner, nothing else

can make any difference at all. You will want speakers who have pleasant personalities, who can talk (and listen) to any type of person, and who are above all friendly to everyone. Then, since most of them are college students, you will tell them to forget most of their college learning about politics, and you will instruct them in the methods you wish used. You will tell your speakers to forget all their political theories, and never to mention such things as "laissez-faire" in a speech to farmers, but to talk instead about "liberty" and "democracy."

And in their speaking, you will tell them to use the word "ain't" if they feel like it; it is important that the speaker be as much like his audience as possible in every way; small-town people and farmers will resent somebody who seems superior.

You will tell your speakers to take off their white shirts. A man with overalls in Evanston, Illinois, is no more out of place than a man with a white shirt and tie in Pushmataha County, Oklahoma. Proper dress usually includes a colored shirt, preferably khaki, or some very ordinary color, and jeans or khaki slacks. Even candidates themselves, who will dress well before Kiwanis clubs in larger towns, leave off their coats and put on suspenders in farming country.

Now that you have selected your speakers, what kind of equipment do they need? First of all, a car. It is probably best to rent Fords or Chevrolets from a rent-a-car agency, for this seems to be the most inexpensive way; a club coupé or two-door sedan is the best model. Then a public address system is necessary. This will include a pair of amplifiers placed on top of the car; these may be turned in any direction, so that any size or type of crowd may be addressed. The public address system also will have a microphone with a stand of some sort, and a sound panel with a turntable; this is usually installed in the back seat of the car, along with several phonograph records. The records must include at least two loud marches, at least one record of "Oklahoma" and as many cowboy and hillbilly records as possible. In one campaign I wore out one record of "Oklahoma" every week; the cowboy records last longer.

It is best to have the speakers travel in teams of two. The life of campaigning is a strenuous life, and for one person by himself it is an ordeal. Also, it is difficult for one person to do all the speaking and operate the sound controls himself.

It is necessary to give your speakers a full understanding of the issues in the campaign, and your candidate's stand on them. Every chairman of every speakers' bureau gets gray hairs during the course of a campaign when one of his speakers says the wrong thing and leaves the candidate in an embarrassing position. In the most efficiently operated campaign in which I have worked, the speakers spent half a week in discussions with the candidate and his campaign manager concerning issues and methods to be followed, before doing any speaking themselves. This resulted in a minimum of misunderstanding and confusion. In addition, all the speakers spent six days on the road, but all returned to Oklahoma City (in the approximate center of the state) after the last speech on Saturday night, and Sunday afternoon we spent in conferences on new developments and new positions.

How will you distribute your speakers so that they will do the most good? Usually, there will be six or less teams of speakers on the road. Additional groups

of speakers will campaign in Oklahoma and Tulsa counties, the state's two largest, and the stump-speakers ordinarily work entirely outside these two counties. The candidate himself plans his campaign tour to include every county-seat town, and every other large town at least once during the campaign, and the stump-speakers speak in others; usually these are smaller towns, although they often speak a few days before or after the candidate in larger ones. One team of advance men is used; this team stays approximately forty-eight hours ahead of the candidate, in following his speaking schedule, which usually includes two or three speeches a day in various towns. These advance men "ballyhoo" the town—drive through the streets, broadcasting through their loudspeaker the time and place of the candidate's speech, and trying to obtain a large crowd. They also check to make sure the place is available, and that some advertising of the speech has been done.

The teams of stump-speakers usually cover one, two, or three counties, depending on their size, per week. If the campaign is very extensive, there is usually a manager in every county; if not, there is usually always some friend of the candidate who is actively working for him, and whom the speakers can contact. This person is always contacted first, for he knows the county—where and when the largest crowds will be, and any additional or special information (such as local issues and problems) the speakers should have before beginning their speaking tour.

Then a rough itinerary of the week is mapped out, and it is decided when would be the best times to visit individual places. Such matters as when the mail train arrives, when the weekly stock sale is, etc., will determine the times of the biggest crowds, and it is important to know these things to obtain the largest possible audiences.

Saturday is the big day in political speaking, for the nearby farmers bring their families to the closest town to shop and discuss crops and politics with their neighbors. Sometimes the merchants of a town will donate prizes for a "drawing," and this usually produces a good crowd. It is not unusual to make five or six speeches on Saturday, and I have made ten or more on several occasions.

In some towns there will not be enough people on the streets to make a speech possible. Sometimes it is best to come to such a town later, in the hopes of finding a larger crowd; other times it is best to play some music, pass out leaflets, and shake hands with the people who are on the street.

Stump-speaking, or rather being the representative of a candidate, is a twenty-four-hour-a-day job; all the little things that would otherwise be ignored may add up to votes and good will, and no detail is too small to be ignored. Since the car is usually covered with signs advertising the candidate, even waving to people along the road may show a friendliness that they will like; and helping people fix flats, helping them get cars started, etc., are all part of the game.

Often crowds gather without any effort on the speaker's part. There are pic suppers and ice-cream socials, at which various candidates are invited to bid on the pies, and then are allowed a few minutes to speak to the crowd while the pies are being eaten. Or it is sometimes possible to speak before "drawings" on Saturday afternoons; many times I have been allowed to speak to the crowd

before a drawing by offering the use of my public address system for the actual "drawing" later.

Another time, I auctioned a county jail; a new one had been built, and the old one was to be sold at auction; however, the sheriff had no amplifiers, and was very glad to allow a few minutes of political oratory before the auction; he was also glad to have an auctioneer provided. There are gatherings of all kinds to which a speaker may go—social gatherings of farmers, meetings of the patrons of a country school, stock shows, rodeos, etc.

After consulting the county chairman, or somebody who knows the county, special events can be determined. But during the rest of the day the speaker must visit towns and assemble crowds of his own. In very small towns this may be impossible, but in others crowds of some size are possible; however, they will be smaller in number than the hundreds or thousands that are attainable on Saturdays.

During election season there is a procession of speakers for many candidates through most towns, and there is usually a set place where they all speak. This place may be the courthouse lawn, or the main corner of the town, or the sidewalk outside the biggest store, or under the bank's clock. If the town is fairly large, the speaker is likely to "ballyhoo" the town, announcing that there will be a "speakin'" in behalf of John Jones, on Main Street in two hours. Or he may decide to collect as much of a crowd as he can in a few minutes, speak, and move on to the next town.

The speaking procedure is this: first, the car is parked in a conspicuous place where the speech is to be made; the amplifiers are turned so that as much area as possible will be covered. The microphone is set up on the sidewalk and plugged in; then a few cowboy records are played loudly. They must be fast, rhythmic songs, usually three or four of them; one of the team announces between each record that the "speakin'" will begin in just a few more minutes. When a fairly large crowd has assembled, he will introduce his partner, who then gives the speech. The introduction is not always necessary; often the same speaker does all the talking.

Judging the crowd is important; a speaker look foolish standing on a sidewalk talking when there is nobody listening. Unless there are fifteen or twenty people close enough to be obviously interested in the speech, it is usually best to merely shake hands, and not try a speech. This number excludes small children, of whom there are usually fifteen or twenty assembled the minute the car is parked.

If the amplifiers are good, people for some distance around will be able to hear the speech, but it is important not to make anybody mad by being too loud.

In some places it is against city ordinances to use a loudspeaker within city limits; this is always a problem but can usually be solved. Often it is several minutes before the constable arrives to inform the speaker of the law, and by this time he has often said all he intended to. Or the constable may be a supporter of the candidate, and either purposely wait a few minutes or allow the speaker to finish a short speech. In most cases, therefore, it is possible to appear very law-abiding and still say as much as you wanted to say.

There are exceptions to this, however. A number of places have more efficient

police, some of whom are bound to be opposed to your candidate. I remember one time when the town marshal insisted on arresting me, and a night in jail appeared certain. Most of the audience favored my candidate, though, and I had a microphone which the marshal didn't. With a few remarks about freedom of speech, and a good deal of support from the crowd, I tried to make the marshal appear foolish, and managed to get out of town ahead of him; other speakers always visited that town afterward: I never had much desire to return.

After the speech has been made, the speaker plays a loud march, or preferably "Oklahoma," and a few more cowboy records while the crowd is breaking up. He immediately starts shaking hands, and listening to all who wish to talk to him; this group usually includes all the old-age pensioners in the town, who sit on the sidewalk all day and are overjoyed to find somebody who virtually has to listen to them. When there is no particular hurry, it may be profitable to stay and talk, but on Saturdays, or whenever there are more speeches to be made, it is necessary to leave for the next town.

In a week this usually means driving between 1000 and 1500 miles. On Oklahoma roads this is hard on the car and the expense account, but is the only way to cover a county thoroughly.

So much for the mechanics; what does a stump-speaker say? This of course depends on the particular campaign. Some political campaigns are clean, and some are dirty; the speeches vary accordingly. In the campaign two years ago, we had clear instructions to talk only about our candidate, and never to refer to any others. We discussed his constructive program, which contained principally increased soil and water conservation; this is a vital need in agricultural areas, but is hardly an issue, since nobody can oppose it.

Some campaigns are dirty. In one, I often devoted two thirds of a speech to the unbelievable defects and vices of other candidates, so that mine was almost an angel when I finally got around to praising him.

The campaign speech contains as many jokes and stories as possible; issues are simplified, and the audience is always urged to vote. This is the basic structure of the speech; it is broadened or cut down depending on the amount of time available. Some speeches can be only five or ten minutes long; other times, speeches of a half an hour or an hour are required.

The first words of a campaign speech are exceedingly important, for they may well determine whether or not the audience will remain for the rest of the speech. Most speeches usually open with a joke or story, and finding the right one for a rural area is not easy. I have tried many, and the only successful one I have discovered is this: "Just a few minutes ago I was talkin' to a farmer up the road a piece, and he told me that he had been farmin' around here for a long time; he allowed as how he had seen all kinds of ticks—brown ticks, gray ticks, spotted ticks, and a lot more, but that poli-ticks were the darnedest ticks he'd ever seen. And that's what I want to talk to you about this afternoon—poli-ticks." After a joke like this, I have never figured out why the people stay, but they do, and a more intelligent story is completely useless.

Is stump-speaking successful? Emphatically, yes. For the stump-speaker, no place is too small to visit, no favor too small to do. He speaks at small towns that no candidates at all will visit, and where no speakers for other candidates will appear. He provides a friendly approach often lacking in politics outside the

big-city machines. In 1948 I once drove for an hour and a half to a tiny community miles from any decent road. It was a hard trip, and it was obvious that no other campaigner would make it. When I finally arrived, I had an audience of 50 or 75 voters. They apparently appreciated the fact that at least one candidate was interested enough in them to personally appeal for their support; my candidate received 85 per cent of the votes from that neighborhood.

---

Another useful version of the stump-speaking or street-meeting technique is known as the **shop-gate rally**. Here is how this works, as described in the United Electrical Workers' *Guide to Political Action*. However, the use of this technique need not be limited to labor unions by any means.

---

### THE SHOP-GATE RALLY

The shop-gate rally is one of the most effective campaign meetings. Such rallies usually take place during the noon lunch period, just outside the gates of large factories. They may be held when shifts are changing and large numbers of workers are either waiting outside the shop gates or are leaving the plant.

It is poor judgment to hold shop-gate rallies exclusively for the outgoing shift because most workers are eager to get home and may not stop to listen. The well-timed shop-gate rally is listened to attentively by most workers. The rally can be started by playing music, broadcast over a public address system by means of phonograph records.

The local union should arrange for a shop worker, possibly the Local president, to introduce the main speaker. Introductions should be brief. The main speaker should stand, if possible, in plain view of the workers. Frequently this will be the only chance that hundreds of workers will have of actually seeing the candidate for whom they plan to vote.

With an auto or sound truck, a speaker can sometimes cover a large number of shops during the course of a day. To help do this, schedules of the various lunch hours of important shops should be drawn up ahead of time.

After an enthusiastic shop-gate rally by a candidate, it is usually possible to give large quantities of leaflets and other campaign material to the listening workers who will want to distribute it to other workers in the shop.

---

Moving on, we come to **caravans and parades**.

The old-style torchlight parade is rapidly becoming a thing of the past, but it is still not unusual to have a kind of parade just before a large meeting. This helps to gather crowds and to lead them on into the meeting. Like the meeting itself, they provide a dramatic background for obtaining a great quantity of free publicity. However, they also need to be carefully managed, for a parade easily becomes a very sloppy affair.

The caravan, however, is still a kind of technique which is widely used—especially in the more rural areas, though to some extent in more heavily populated centers. This is how the South Dakota Republican State Central Committee describes the function of the **county caravan** in its *County Workers' Campaign Manual*.

---

## THE COUNTY CARAVAN

### Make It Peppy!

Many counties have had great success in securing additional votes for ALL of their Republican candidates by conducting at least one county-wide political caravan scheduled to visit every town and city in the county. All county candidates should participate in this caravan with each driving a separate car if possible and with each helping to hand out personal campaign cards, party literature, circulars, etc. Caravans should be **RUN ON SCHEDULE**; they should be publicized in all county papers in advance showing just when the caravan will visit each community; if possible a small band or a loud speaker system carrying records and having a microphone for use in street corner speeches should be taken with the caravan. Make the stops short, snappy, and full of pep. Have the candidates mingle in the crowds, visit the people in the stores and shops, placard the community with literature. Usually caravans are held on the day of a big G.O.P. evening rally at some central point. Advertise that rally; invite all to attend it—make each caravan stop cheerful, snappy, and friendly. Give a couple of short, peppy speeches over your amplifying system and **KEEP MOVING ACCORDING TO SCHEDULE**.

---

It should not be forgotten that the caravan is a money-saving device as well as an effective political mechanism.

There are, however, a number of other kinds of political meetings of a miscellaneous sort. It is impossible to describe them all, but two more quotes from the South Dakota *County Workers' Campaign Manual* will illustrate some of the things that can be done.

---

## THE COUNTY REPUBLICAN PICNIC

### Brass Band; Ice Cream; Bunting; Short Talks!

Many counties either hold separate county Republican picnics or join with neighboring counties to hold bi-county or tri-county G.O.P. picnics. Invite some prominent, effective, peppy outside speaker—introduce all county candidates present—give free coffee, ice cream, and lemonade and urge families to come and bring their picnic dinners. If possible, invite in a band. Put up some red, white, and blue bunting; tack up plenty of signs and placards. Arrange to move indoors at some nearby point if it rains. These picnics are ideal places at which candidates can get on a first-name basis with many of the voters. Keep

them informal and lively—don't let the programs get too long. Day County always holds a four-county "kick-off picnic" to start the campaign; Lake, Moody, Brookings, and Kingsbury Counties usually hold a four-county picnic at Lake Madison, Lake Herman, or Lake Campbell. Invite everybody to attend!

## THE PRECINCT PARTY

### Coffee Cake Discussion

Frequently small, informal precinct coffee parties, or women's teas held in the home of some good Republican family or in a rural school house or church basement, are among the MOST EFFECTIVE political rallies of a campaign. Remember VOTERS are usually won over one at a time—many times it is easier to win them over at a small, friendly, intimate informal meeting than at a major rally. Literature can be distributed at these small meetings; questions can be asked and answered; county candidates should be invited to attend and should be introduced around. Sometimes one of the local ladies or gentlemen—perhaps the hostess—perhaps one of the county candidates—makes a short, informal speech on the campaign issues with emphasis on the character of the Republican program and personalities. Some of our more active and successful counties arrange for at least ONE PRECINCT PARTY in every precinct of the county during the campaign—especially in ALL RURAL PRECINCTS. This is a specific job for precinct committeemen and women to undertake. Almost every precinct has some large and friendly home whose owners will be glad to have the party in it and several friendly neighbors can "chip in" to provide the coffee, cake, and sandwiches.

---

Last of all, we should mention, at least briefly, the desirability of making the most of some of the things which will go farthest to liven up a meeting.

These are such things as **plays, skits, fashion shows, stunts, and other kinds of miscellaneous entertainment.**

The use of music and records has already been mentioned as a "must" in stump-speaking. This principle applies equally well to all kinds of meetings. There is no one place to go for information on music for political purposes, but there always are a lot of people in any community who know something about popular music and who enjoy taking part in musical activities.

Here are some of the possibilities: (1) parodies on old songs, (2) current favorites in songs and records, (3) folk songs, (4) street singing and mass singing at rallies, (5) marching songs and music for parades, (6) solos, quartets, and other combinations of local or professional talent, (7) encouragement of clapping and stomping with your music, (8) instrumental music varying from the common banjo to full bands, (9) music over loudspeakers, (10) specially composed music or lyrics or both, and the like.

The possibilities are almost endless and few political organizations exploit them to their fullest. As one organization has put it, "there isn't any speech or discussion that can't be enlivened and pointed up by music."

Nor should the use of skits, short dramas, and plays be forgotten. As with music, there is usually someone in the local community who enjoys directing these kinds of activities. He or she, in turn, can make use of the innumerable amateurs who enjoy—or who would like to try their hand at—theatrical work.

One of the most useful—and simplest—stage techniques is that of the "radio performance." It is described briefly here below by the National Citizens Political Action Committee:

---

One way to do a skit without a stage, costume, or sets, is to show a "radio performance." (This permits reading from scripts and therefore also cuts preparation time.) A prop mike and some sound-effect devices give the illusion of a broadcast. An announcer begins and ends the performance. Perhaps there is a commercial for your organization or candidate. The actors line up at the mike as they enact their parts. Some gesturing and the sound effects take care of the action.

In other skits, a few chairs or tables may represent a bus, a living room, etc. There are innumerable ways to do a sketch well with limited staging.

---

And here's another technique, also as described by the NCPAC:

---

### **The Living Newspaper**

The "Living Newspaper" is a good form for dramatizing campaign issues. Used originally by the Federal Theatre in "One Third of a Nation," "Power," "Triple-A Plowed Under," a living newspaper is a play dealing with current events, in which the script is changed constantly in order to include important news developments. A loose and extremely adaptable structure was evolved which fuses skits, announcements, news bulletins, movies, and audience participation, unifying them by a single theme and purpose.

Written in terms of your community's problems, a living newspaper is not hard to produce. If it constitutes an entire evening's entertainment, it requires preparation: scripts, rehearsals, a director, a hall, tickets, publicity. But very much condensed versions of the form can be used for lesser occasions or where you don't have the personnel to handle bigger productions.

Use the best writers and actors available and keep everything simple, informal, and within your means. Don't try for startling effects which involve complicated scenery and lighting unless you're sure they'll come off. And keep the show fairly short.

---

If your theatrical talent is unusually good, it may be possible to dramatize an issue by a radio performance. However, for a really professional performance you will need expert advice from persons in the business.

Nevertheless, with imagination, there is a great deal that can be done with these more "personal" techniques. In a sense, they are simply a special kind of visual aid—using people rather than charts.

## 6. CONCLUSION

The main point that needs to be emphasized here is that **there is no deep, dark secret to political salesmanship**. Most of what has been suggested here—by those in the business—can be accomplished by almost anyone with a will to learn and to do.

But it should also be remembered that mastery of technique alone is not the answer to politics. The secret is in the proper mixture of personality, issues, organization, and technique. If you have nothing to sell, saying it well is probably not going to help you much. But if you do have something worth while in mind, a working knowledge of the things discussed in this chapter should help you put it over wherever you may be.

## *Election Day—As the Voter Sees It*

ALL POLITICAL EFFORTS are aimed primarily at **THE day!**  
Election day!!!

Usually we think of election day in terms of voting someone into office—from that of the presidency of the United States to that of a hide and animal inspector. But elections can mean the approval of many things besides individuals. Constitutions are amended at this time, initiatives and referenda are passed upon, bond issues are approved or disapproved, school district mergers are voted in or out, and many other kinds of decisions are considered by almost all of us at one time or another.

Nor do elections come around only in the fall of years divisible by four. In the state of Wisconsin during 1950 alone there were (1) the judicial election, (2) the fall primary for state, local, and congressional offices, and (3) the general election. In Illinois during 1951 alone there were elections somewhere in the state on February 13, February 27, April 3, April 10, April 14, April 17, June 4, July 17, and September 4.

In a democracy elections are constantly recurring affairs at the federal, state, and local levels. Nor would we want it to be otherwise.

All this means that "election day" is really many days. This is true for all of us as individual voters as well as for those of us who are involved more deeply in political action.

We can only generalize this far: Elections are usually held in the spring and in the fall. There are many exceptions, but political activity usually reaches a minor peak in the spring and a major peak in the fall—depending upon the laws of the individual states. And, during the even-numbered years we are apt to see more concentrated efforts than during the odd-numbered ones, as congressional and presidential elections bring out our more deep-rooted antagonisms—and therefore our more laggard citizens—during these years.

Thus there is a kind of steady ebb and flow of political activity with

little eddies and whirlpools of political movement here and there where special events call forth unusual numbers of us to the polls.

But, whether "the day" comes in the spring or in the fall, in even-numbered or odd-numbered years, there are certain recurring and typical problems involved in voting on any election day. Some of these affect the individual voter and some are of primary importance to the political parties.

It is the individual voter's needs that we will consider in this chapter—under the following headings which, for convenience, have been put in the form of questions:

1. **Are you eligible to vote?**
2. **Will you need an absentee ballot?**
3. **Are you registered?**
4. **Do you know the date of election day?**
5. **Do you know the candidates and issues?**
6. **Do you know how to vote correctly?** and
7. **What can you do if you get into trouble?**

Let us take up each of these problems briefly, even though it is clearly impossible for us to go into all the ramifications of voting procedure in all governmental areas in such a book as this. But there are some general points to bring out. And it is possible to say something about where you can find out what you need to know in order to get a chance to vote.

Before you go any farther, it would be a good idea to go back and take a look again at the discussion in Chapter 2, under the heading, "Election Law." Here you will find, if you have not already seen it, a general discussion of some of the problems of election law and some suggestions of where to go for specific information.

The suggestions in Chapter 2 are applicable here also. But there are some more things to say, just about voting.

### 1. ARE YOU ELIGIBLE TO VOTE?

The simplest ways to find the answer are to either (1) call a local party headquarters or (2) call the city or county clerk's office and ask whoever answers to tell you who can give you this information. More often than not the clerk's office is the proper place to go anyway. Most of the political parties are also anxious to help you out, whatever your politics is. A telephone call at either place should do. And, while you're at it, ask them such of the other questions listed above as you think apply to you immediately. Go back to them for more information as you find you need it.

Other agencies which frequently help out with information that can be counted on are the Leagues of Women Voters, the Chamber of

Commerce, labor unions, civic associations, and other groups interested in partisan or nonpartisan civic affairs. A phone call to their city, county, or local offices should do. If they don't know, they can usually tell you where to go.

## 2. WILL YOU NEED AN ABSENTEE BALLOT?

If you can't vote where you now live or are going to be out of town on election day, can you vote what is called an "absentee ballot"?

For information, write the same people mentioned in the two paragraphs above. Just address a note to, for instance, the City Clerk, Lebanon, Indiana (or wherever your home town or county may be), and ask your questions. It is always a good idea to enclose a self-addressed stamped envelope for the reply. Ask the city clerk (or county clerk, etc.) to refer you to the proper official in case somebody else handles these things. Sometimes there are boards of election commissioners which take care of voting problems and in other places the county judge's office may have jurisdiction.

If you are in the District of Columbia, you can go to the absentee voters' bureaus of either of the major political parties for detailed information. You will still have to write back, however, for the necessary forms and the way to fill them out, etc.

If you are in the armed forces, you should have an officer in your unit whose business it is to give you this information. Again, however, you will have to write for the forms. But if you can't do any good in your unit, write back to the clerk again on your own.

Many states also have special provisions for voters who are disabled or invalids and who can't get to the polls. The procedure is similar to that for people who are out of the state or out of town. Again, see the clerk or someone at the political party headquarters for the proper advice.

In order to give you an idea of the procedure that you must go through in one state—in this case, Arizona—in order to vote an absentee ballot, here is a fairly typical set of requirements as summarized by the Absentee Voters Bureau of the Democratic National Committee:

---

**OBTAINING ABSENTEE BALLOT:** A registered elector who is absent from the county of residence, or who expects to be absent from such county at the time of holding any primary or general election or who furnishes the county recorder a doctor's certificate of physical inability to go to the polls, may vote an absentee or disabled voter's ballot. Application for absentee or disabled voter's ballot should be made to the county recorder of the county of residence within the 30 days next preceding the primary or general election. Allow ample time for

the ballot to be mailed and returned to the county recorder before 6 P.M. on election day.

**MARKING OF BALLOT:** Ballot may be marked or stamped with an "X" in either pen or pencil.

**RETURN OF BALLOT:** Ballot must be voted in secret, the affidavit on the envelope attested to before a notary public, and the ballot returned to the county recorder before 6 P.M. of election day.

---

### 3. ARE YOU REGISTERED?

Even if you are eligible to vote, you cannot do so unless you are on the official list of eligible voters. In order to do this you go through a procedure known as **registration**. In most cases you have to go to the appropriate place and register in person, but in 20 or so states you can do this by mail.

Again, write, telephone, or call personally at the clerk's office. Or contact your local party headquarters. Or go to some other agency or person in whom you have confidence for the information you need. The main requirement that you will have to meet is a residence requirement which will vary from a few weeks up to a year or so. In a few other cases you may have to meet some further requirements of a varied nature.

You need also to know **how often** you must register. In some states you will not have to register again once you have completed the necessary forms—this is under a so-called "permanent" registration system. In other states, such as New York, where they have a "periodic" registration system you may have to go through all this procedure as often as once a year. However, once you have done it, the repeat procedure is usually pretty much the same.

Once in a while you can expect someone to check up on you to see if you still are a legitimate voter from the address which is on the registration list. This is quite a normal thing. If this checking is done by postcard, simply fill out the reply card and send it back. If in doubt, call the registration office and be sure that everything is all right. If you need help, go first to one of the party headquarters and you can probably get some assistance no matter what your politics may really be. If worst comes to worst, go see a lawyer, but this is seldom necessary.

Here is a very brief summary of the registration procedures as required by the laws of the state of Nebraska. Nebraska rules are unusual in that they provide for a mixture of permanent and periodic registration systems. This summary was prepared by the Absentee Voters Bureau of the Democratic National Committee.

---

## NEBRASKA

**REGISTRATION:** Registration may be made in person or by mail. In cities of 7000 to 40,000 population re-registration is required in 1950 and every 6 years thereafter. Registration is made with the City Clerk of the city of residence at any time except the 10 days before an election.

In counties of a population over 60,000 registration is made with the Election Commissioner of the county of residence at any time except the 10 days prior to an election. Registration is permanent unless the voter changes his or her name or changes residence. Residents of these counties may register by mail during the regular registration period or may be registered by filling in the required information on the identification envelope and subscribing to same under oath with the absent voter's ballot, and said registration affidavit returned with the voted ballot. Minors who will be 21 by election day may register.

If all this seems unduly complicated, it is only because of the need to allow for all kinds of situations. A phone call is usually enough quickly to let you find out where you stand.

If you keep in mind the following things, you will probably have very little difficulty: (1) whether your registration system is permanent or periodic and, if the latter, how often you have to re-register, (2) that at registration you may have to answer all kinds of questions about your address, occupation, and the like (including, sometimes, your party preference), (3) that you may be given a small card to carry which indicates you are registered, a card which you may be asked to produce at the polls, (4) that you may be asked from time to time whether you still live at the same address you originally gave to the registration office, (5) that you may forfeit your registration and voting privilege if you do not vote regularly, (6) that in case you move within your local area, you should notify your registration officer of your change of address, and (7) that if you move outside your county you normally have to re-register all over again.

But remember most of all: In almost all cases **you MUST REGISTER first** if you want to vote.

If you are safely registered, then you are ready for an election.

#### 4. DO YOU KNOW THE DATE OF ELECTION DAY?

Almost all states require that elections be officially announced either by notices in newspapers or by posted notices. Polling places are usually listed also. In some states, each voter may even receive a small pamphlet outlining any special matters to be voted on, such as a constitutional amendment. But the usual way of finding out about these things is simply keeping up with the newspapers. Knowing when elections occur is the simplest of your problems, though you might be surprised at how large a percentage of potential registered voters have

said, when asked by scientific investigators, that they did not know anything about there being an election.

Don't forget either, that in many states you are legally allowed time off from your work in order to vote. In such cases, as in Illinois, for instance, your employer is required to allow you time to vote. And he can be penalized if he does not do so.

#### 5. DO YOU KNOW THE CANDIDATES AND ISSUES?

If you have additional questions about the issues or the people being voted upon, the newspapers are still your one best source of information. In smaller communities you can get your background information from your friends, from civic organizations, or from other partisan and nonpartisan headquarters, most of which will have studied the problems involved and at least have information to help you make a sensible decision. In large cities the problem is, at best, not simple, though the newspaper coverage is generally pretty good.

#### 6. DO YOU KNOW HOW TO VOTE CORRECTLY?

By this is meant: How do you cast a ballot so it will not be spoiled and thrown out?

The difficulty here is usually not so much ignorance as over-confidence. We often think we know how to mark a ballot when we really don't.

One of the commonest errors is failing to use the pencil or rubber stamp or other marker provided in the voting booth when we are marking our ballots. Where no marker is provided, it is a good idea to ask an election official what is legal. You can also often find out by reading the posted set of "voters instructions" while you are waiting in line to vote. In Nevada, however, you must use a rubber stamp which is supplied.

The next difficulty voters seem to run into is **making a proper mark** on the ballot. In almost every state a simple "X" is acceptable. Other marks are likely not to be acceptable in many states and, if you want to put any other kind of mark, you had better check the posted "voters instructions" again.

Here, for instance, are the Illinois regulations on the counting of ballots which have been marked in various ways. Illinois law is, however, a little more lenient than the laws of some other states. This is taken from an official Illinois publication, issued by the secretary of state and entitled *Counting and Tallying of Ballots*.

---

The following are examples of unlawfully marked ballots which cannot be counted:



The following are examples of lawfully marked ballots which must be counted:



EXPLANATION OF MARKINGS

*First:* Number 1 is bad because the lines of the cross intersect outside the circle. Numbers 2, 3, and 4 are bad because crosses are not used. Numbers 5, 6, and 7 are bad because the lines of the cross do not intersect within the square.

*Second:* A, B, C, D, E, F, G, and H are good, because in each case a cross is used and in each case the intersection of the lines of the cross is within the circle, the square, or upon a line of the square.

*Third:* The same rule in regard to marking ballots applies where the cross is made in the party or group circle, or in the square.

The foregoing rules and examples regarding marked ballots are based upon the law and decisions of the courts.

In a few places where systems of proportional representation are used, such as in Cincinnati and in several towns in Massachusetts and, until recently, in New York City, numbers are used in place of marks.

The best thing to remember in such cases is to read the special instructions which are normally found at the top of such ballots. The "Directions to Voters" example on the next page is the top one third of a proportional representation ballot as used recently in a Medford, Massachusetts, school board election.

Whatever kind of ballot you have, try to avoid erasures. If you want to erase a mark you have made, it is a good idea to ask an official if this would void your ballot and, if so, will he give you another ballot. Erasures make distinguishing marks on ballots. These are frequently illegal and cause your vote to be thrown out.

Another difficulty can lie in making too many marks on your ballot. Where you can vote a "straight ticket"—as in Indiana, for instance—don't then put another mark in front of the names of the candidates for the separate offices. At the bottom of page 152 is a sample of the

**DIRECTIONS TO VOTERS**

**DO NOT USE X MARKS.**

Mark your choices with **NUMBERS** only.

Put the figure 1 opposite your first choice, the figure 2 opposite your second choice, the figure 3 opposite your third choice, and so on. You may mark as many choices as you please.

Do not put the same figure opposite more than one name. If you spoil this ballot, return it for cancellation to the election officer in charge of the ballots and get another from him.

**SCHOOL COMMITTEE For Term of Two Years**

MARGARET G. NICHOLSON, 119 Emerald St.

JAMES W. NORTON, 30 Royall St.

THEODORE R. PEASLEE, 30 Logan Ave.

THEODORE R. ROSE, 97 Monument St.

ROBERT EMMETT SKERBY, 56 Evans St.

**BOONE COUNTY OFFICIAL BALLOT**



**DEMOCRATIC TICKET**

- DEN. For Representative from the Sixth Congressional District  
JACK H. MANKIN
- DEN. For State Senator  
WENDELL B. IDINGS
- DEN. For State Representative  
HARVEY M. GREENE
- DEN. For Judge of the 20th Judicial Circuit  
RICHARD W. ADNEY
- For Prosecuting Attorney



**REPUBLICAN TICKET**

- REP. For Representative from the Sixth Congressional District  
CECIL M. HARDEN
- REP. For State Senator  
ROSCOE HOLLINGSWORTH
- REP. For State Representative  
ORA A. KINCAID
- REP. For Judge of the 20th Judicial Circuit  
CHARLES F. THOMPSON
- For Prosecuting Attorney



**PROHIBITION TICKET**

- PROH. For Representative from the Sixth Congressional District  
ERNIE BECK
- PROH. For State Senator
- PROH. For State Representative
- PROH. For Judge of the 20th Judicial Circuit
- For Prosecuting Attorney

upper third of an Indiana ballot, which is typical of the form of ballots in a large proportion of the states.

On this ballot you put an "X" in the big circle if you want to vote a "straight ticket." Make no other marks. If you want to vote a "split ticket" or "scratch" your ballot, then you only put "X's" in the little boxes—and **not** in the big circle.

This Boone County ballot is known as the "party-column" type of ballot and is quite common. The other major type of ballot is known as the "office-block" type of ballot. As you can see from the example below, there is no way to vote a "straight ticket" on this kind of ballot. You have to put an "X" in front of the name of each individual candidate whom you favor. This small portion (about one twelfth) of a ballot is from Massachusetts (town of Lynn), the state in which this form of ballot originated.

To vote for a Person, mark a Cross X in the Square at the right of the Party Name or Political Designation. <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		To vote for right of
<b>GOVERNOR</b> <span style="float: right;">Vote for ONE</span>		<b>CONGRI</b>
ROBERT F. BRADFORD - of Cambridge	Republican	Seve
PAUL A. DEVER - of Cambridge	Democratic	<b>THOMAS</b>
HORACE I. HILLIS - of Saugus	Socialist Labor	<b>A. PRESCO</b>
MARK R. SHAW - of Melrose	Prohibition	
<b>LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR</b> <span style="float: right;">Vote for ONE</span>		<b>COUNCI</b>
ARTHUR W. COOLIDGE - of Reading	Republican	Fift
CHARLES F. JEFF SULLIVAN - of Worcester	Democratic	<b>ALFRED C</b>
LAWRENCE GILFEDDER - of Boston	Socialist Labor	<b>CORNELIU</b>
GUY S. WILLIAMS - of Worcester	Prohibition	
<b>SECRETARY</b> <span style="float: right;">Vote for ONE</span>		<b>SENATO</b>
FREDERIC W. COOK - of Somerville	Republican	First
EDWARD J. CRONIN - of Chelsea	Democratic	<b>CHARLES</b>
GOTE E. PALMQUIST - of Boston	Socialist Labor	<b>PHILIP L.</b>
<b>TREASURER</b> <span style="float: right;">Vote for ONE</span>		<b>REPRESI</b>
LAURENCE CURTIS - of Boston	Republican	Twel
THOM F. HIRREY - of Boston	Demcratic	<b>WALTER /</b>
		<b>JOSEPH F.</b>
		<b>IRVING M.</b>

On some ballots, usually called "nonpartisan ballots," you may find no reference to parties at all. This is frequently done in city elections and on a few other occasions, especially judicial elections. A nonpartisan ballot is often of the "office-block" type, there being no reason to have "party columns."

Whatever the form of your paper ballot, the main thing is to read the directions carefully, both those on the ballot and those contained in the "voters instructions" (an example of a set of these can be found a few pages on from here) which are normally posted in the polling place.

Some further troubles are occasionally encountered by people who can't resist putting some angry, exultant, or profane comment on their ballots—such as, "John Doe is a nitwit." In many states this will violate the secrecy of the ballot by putting a distinguishing mark on your ballot and your vote will be thrown out. Keep your comments for somebody outside the polling place.

Last of all, there are those people who have troubles with **voting machines.**

There are all kinds of arrangements of voting machines, just as there are all kinds of paper ballots. But the following illustrations and explanatory remarks will tell you the principal things you need to know in order to cope successfully with most voting machines. If you need more advice, ask for it, as there is usually a small model somewhere in the polling place on which you can experiment until you are fairly sure what to do.

First, you normally close the curtains of the voting machine either by moving a fairly large lever in front of you from left to right or by pushing a button or turning a switch—all of which will be plainly marked. Closing the curtains automatically unlocks the machine and frees the little levers so you can move them.

If you are using a voting machine in a primary, it will be so fixed that you can readily find the column for your own party. You then simply pull down or turn sideways the little levers above or beside the name of the person you wish nominated for each office. And that is all there is to it, except for opening the curtains, an action which automatically records your vote and sets the machine up for the next person to use it.

If you are using a machine at the time of a regular election you usually (depending upon the laws of your state) have a chance either to vote a "straight ticket" or to do what is known as "splitting the ticket" or "scratching"—that is, voting for people from more than just one party.

Voting a straight ticket is done by pulling one of the large levers. In the picture below this lever is at the left where the hand is. Simply

pull it, turn down the keys over the “yes” or “no” on the special “issues” at the top, move the lever that opens the curtains, and that is all there is to it. You have then automatically cast a ballot for all the candidates of the party of your choice.



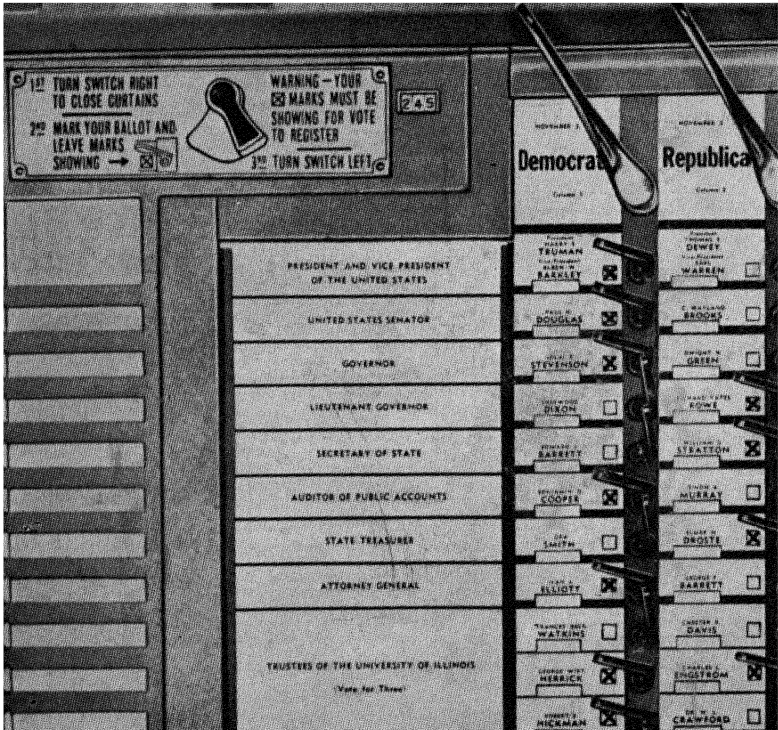
Courtesy of Automatic Voting Machine Corp.

In the next picture you can see that the big “party” levers are at the top. To vote a straight ticket, simply move this lever, check to see if there are any special “issues” to be voted on, and, if not, open the curtains and you are done.

If you want to “scratch” your ballot or “split the ticket,” then leave the big levers alone. Don’t touch them. Simply move the little levers over or at the side of the names of the persons you wish to vote for.

Open the curtains and your votes for all these people are automatically recorded.

The picture below shows a ballot which has been scratched on a Shoup voting machine. The picture on the next page shows a voter splitting his ticket on an Automatic Voting Machine. The basic technique is the same on any machine.

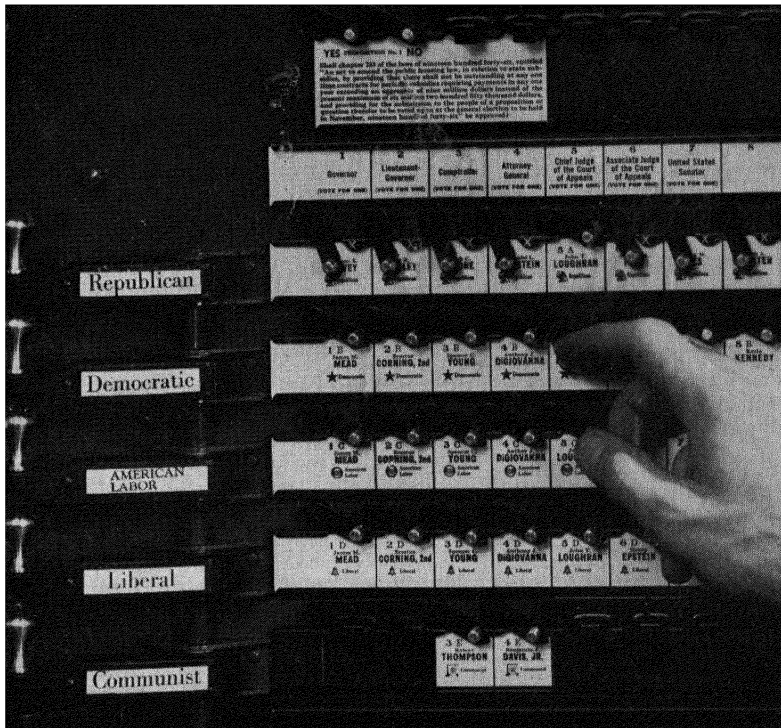


Courtesy of the Shoup Voting Machine Corp.

If you change your mind, simply push the correct lever and that automatically voids your previous action. But, **once you have opened the curtains you have recorded your vote and you can't start over.** So it is important with voting machines to know what you are doing before you go into the booth and close the curtains.

What is known as a **write-in** is more complicated, either on a paper ballot or a voting machine. This is true because the laws on writing-in the name of somebody you want to vote for—but whose name is not on the ballot—are exceedingly technical. If you want to be sure a

write-in does not void your ballot, you had better consult with somebody who can tell you exactly how to do it. Don't leave a write-in to guesswork. For the chances are about fifty-fifty that you will spoil your ballot because you won't know the proper way to do it.



Courtesy of Automatic Voting Machine Corp.

## 7. WHAT DO YOU DO IF YOU GET INTO TROUBLE?

Perhaps your vote is challenged. Maybe somebody tries to "assist" you. Perhaps you see something going on which looks suspicious or illegal.

Of course, first, you have to know something about what is illegal in order to know when you are being pushed around or when you are letting yourself in for trouble.

Here are some of the things to keep in mind.

When you first walk in the polling place and get up to the tables where the ballots and records are kept, you will probably be asked to state your name and address. If you are voting at a primary, you will

probably also be asked your party. This information you are required to give, so don't argue. In addition, you will probably be asked to sign your name. This is to compare your registration signature with this new signature, so as to prevent fraud.

It is at this time that you are most likely to be challenged about your right to vote. It is the business of election officials, party workers, and other interested citizens to keep the voting rolls free of people who shouldn't be on them.

If you are challenged, you may find it necessary to go to the trouble to prove that you live where you say and that your name is what you say it is. Produce your registration card, if you have one, and this may be enough. In most places you can vote, if you are willing to make out a formal affidavit before the election officials. In others, you may have to go to some other place and appear before a special board of some kind.

This is a good time to get in touch with the local "law committee" of one of the political parties. And, with legal help, it will be a most unusual case if you can't get to vote—provided you are entitled to.

Next, you will be given a ballot or several ballots. You may even be confronted, as were Omaha voters in 1946, with a ballot 13 feet long. This is unusual, but quite often you will be handed several ballots of different sizes and colors. Frequently there will be a little numbered stub on the upper part of the ballot. A record of this number is kept and, after you have filled out the ballot and returned it to be put in the ballot box, this stub will be torn off and compared with the record. This is to prevent your exchanging ballots and helps to account for all ballots—so that no one can stuff the ballot box. This does not violate secrecy of the ballot, for the stub is torn off before your ballot goes in the box and there is nothing then on your ballot to identify how you voted. So don't argue about this either.

While you are waiting to vote (on your way into the polls) it is a good idea to read the set of **instructions for voters** which is normally posted in the polling place somewhere. These instructions will tell you the kinds of marks to use, whether to use pen or pencil, how to ask for assistance in case you can't read or write, and give you other useful information.

Opposite is one of the simpler examples of a posted set of voting instructions, applying to a New Hampshire primary election.

**Follow any such instructions as carefully as you can.** Otherwise your ballot may not be counted or you may find yourself in the middle of a lot of trouble that you didn't know you were asking for. For instance, in most states you are permitted to take "notes and papers" which might help you out in deciding whom to vote for into the voting

booth with you. But Florida, for example, is “difficult” about such things.

If you need help, or spoil a ballot, speak to no one but one of the election officials. You can get a new ballot to replace a spoiled one, if you ask for it. But don’t ask anybody else for help or you’re asking for trouble.



## STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE



Before Voting, Read These

# INSTRUCTIONS TO VOTERS

Announce your name, address and party designation to the ballot clerk who will give you a ballot.

Go alone to a voting booth and mark your ballot. If you are unable to do this, ask the moderator for assistance.

To vote for a candidate whose name is printed, make a cross in the square in the column opposite the name of the candidate for whom you wish to vote.

If you wish to vote for candidates whose names do not appear at all on the ballot, write them in on the blank lines provided following each office designated.

If you spoil a ballot, return it to the ballot clerk and receive another.

After marking your ballot fold it as it was folded, announce your name and hand your ballot to the moderator.

## Secretary of State

You have a stated length of time—usually 3 to 5 minutes—to fill out your ballot. If the voting line is not crowded, you can usually have as much time as you need. But you have to get out of the booth when your time is up, so don’t argue about it. Turn in your ballot, in whatever shape it’s in. If you are well prepared when you go into the voting booth, a couple of minutes should be plenty.

When you are through, fold your ballot properly (as mentioned earlier), and turn it in. Then leave without trying to talk to anybody about the election. Most people there have business to be done and, anyway, you are sometimes legally forbidden to give away how you voted while in the polling place or forbidden to discuss election affairs until you are a certain number of feet away from the polling place.

Meet your friends outside—a block away is usually safe—and then talk and argue all you please.

The main exception to this ban on miscellaneous conversation is in case you think you see anything going on that looks illegal. If you do, report it to the election judge or one of the inspectors. For some more suggestions concerning what to do in case of fraud, see the last section of the next chapter.

## 8. CONCLUSION

If you check up on **the law**, stick to business, read the voter's "instructions," and ask only the election officials to help you out, you will usually have no trouble in casting a valid ballot. Otherwise, you may be asking for it.

## *Election Day—As the Organization Sees It*

INDIVIDUAL VOTERS are not the only ones concerned with election day.

The other major forces—all competing for your attention and your vote—are the political parties and organizations, partisan and non-partisan. They too must prepare for “**THE** day.”

In this chapter we will consider the most important problems involved in these preparations and discuss them under these headings:

1. **Organizing for election day,**
2. **Getting the voter ready to vote,**
3. **Getting to voter to vote,**
4. **Administering the election, and**
5. **Guarding against fraud.**

These are all recurring and typical problems confronting anyone interested in political management and we will take them up in turn.

### 1. ORGANIZING FOR ELECTION DAY

Political organization for election day is something which, if it is to be at all effective, must be started at least several weeks before the final day. For a refresher on the scheduling problem turn back to the Republican National Committee's suggested timetable at the end of Chapter 3.

Most political workers recommend the creation of several temporary committees to handle certain special election day affairs. These groups must be selected and trained in time to do effective work. In its *Workers' Manual* the Republican National Committee suggests the following committees to take care of these special matters. This list contains most of the recommendations to be found in other manuals.

# COMMITTEES TO BE ORGANIZED FOR THE ELECTION



1. **Checkers**
2. **Transportation**
3. **Sitters**
4. **Headquarters**
5. **Telephone**

**EVERY VOTE COUNTS.  
DON'T MISS ONE!**

## 1. Checkers Committee

This committee functions on election day (both primary and general). Its duty is to make **sure** that every **eligible** voter in the precinct casts his vote. The chairman of the checkers committee must be supplied with a **list** of all persons who will vote the Republican ticket. Telephone numbers are **absolutely necessary**. The committee will be divided into teams—the number to be determined by the size of the precinct. **Each team** must be given a duplicate list on which to check the voters as their ballots are cast. The teams will take turns at the polling place. As the teams change shifts the one being relieved will report back to headquarters and check the “**Master List**.” Then the telephone committee will go into **action** and start a **check** with all voters who have not been to the polling place, **reminding** them of the time the polls close. If it is found that transportation or sitters are required **separate lists** must be made up and given to the chairmen of the transportation and sitters committees. These two committees will then proceed to service the **needs**. The big “**roundup**” by the checkers committee should occur in midafternoon, thereby allowing **sufficient time** to reach every voter on the Republican precinct list.

## 2. Transportation Committee

This committee functions on election day. Drivers should be on hand at the headquarters at **all times**. The chairman of the transportation committee must have a crew of **well-organized, careful drivers**. The precinct should be **divided into sections** small enough to give **prompt** service to the voters who require it. As in the case of the sitters committee, **advance assignments** can be made for **transportation** from information gathered from the precinct poll.

### 3. Sitters Committee

**Sitters** are just what the word **implies** and are a very **important** part of the precinct organization. The committee will serve on election day (both primary and general) as sitters in homes where such service is **required**. The chairman of the sitters committee will select the membership with careful consideration. **Young people** can be **used** on this committee. The **canvass** of the precinct before the election may reveal specific advance assignments for which arrangements can be made ahead of time. The election day assignments are "**emergency**." The committee, therefore, should be large enough to handle them **efficiently**.

### 4. Headquarters Committee

This committee **serves** in the precinct headquarters during the campaign and on election day. They **assist** the precinct committeeman and woman in all of the details and in the coordination of all activities of all committees. They do the clerical work and typing; receive the callers; act as an information bureau; they are the "**jacks of all trades**."

### 5. Telephone Committee

The business of this committee is **telephoning**. The most important **function** is getting voters to the polls on election day. At intervals during the day **lists** of those who have **not voted** are given to the telephone committee. The chairman will then assign **specific areas** to the members of the committee. It is each person's **task** to find out why the elector has not voted. If **transportation** is needed, the transportation committee is notified. If a **sitter** is required, that committee is **notified** and goes into **action**. A committee of substantial numbers will make for **efficiency**.

During the campaign the telephone committee helps the meetings and radio committees in building audiences. It may assume the responsibility of **manning** the telephones in the headquarters.

Of special importance are the activities of the "checkers." The Republican State Central Committee of Iowa has outlined this work unusually carefully in its *Republican Workers' Manual*.

## ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITIES ON ELECTION DAY

If the work herein before suggested has been thoroughly done, the party is now in a position to deliver the "knock-out" to the opposition on election day. The preliminary organization work will be wasted unless it is followed through until the polls close.

In order to carry through it is necessary to know from time to time on election day just which Republicans have voted and which have not voted. This requires that some workers be on hand at the polling place at all times from the opening of the polls until they close.

In this connection the election laws of Iowa (Chap. 49, Iowa Code) permit each party to have up to three checkers (as a challenging committee) at each polling place. The use of these checkers is an essential part of good organization.

Different systems are used for checking voters' lists at the polls and for keeping precinct workers informed about Republican voters who have not cast their ballots and who need urging. The following method is recommended because it is thorough and works with the speed required in good election day organization.

### MECHANICS OF THE PLAN

1. In each precinct, especially the larger precincts, arrangements should be made in advance for an election day precinct headquarters. This should be in some nearby home or office or other convenient place with telephone service.

2. Two checkers should be provided for each precinct with necessary substitute or relief checkers so that two will be on hand at all times from the start of voting until the finish.

3. Usually the checkers should be workers other than the precinct committeeman or committeewoman. They will be busy in seeing that the block workers are on the job and to help on the telephone and in other ways getting out the Republican vote.

4. Before election morning the checkers in each precinct should be furnished with two lists of all Republican voters in the precinct.

(a). List No. 1 should be an alphabetical list of all the Republican voters in the precinct. Opposite each name the block number will be shown.

(b). List No. 2 will show the Republican voters within each block or district with a separate page for each.

5. As Republican voters cast their ballots their names will be checked off on list No. 1, which is alphabetical, so their names can be found easily when there is a rush of voting.

6. During lulls in voting the checkers will bring list No. 2 up to date.

7. Promptly at 2 P.M. on election day the lists (both No. 1 and No. 2) checked up to that hour, will be taken to precinct headquarters. The partially checked copy of list No. 1 will become the master list for headquarters' use. The partially checked copy of list No. 2, showing Republicans in each block or district who have not voted up to that time, will be divided between workers assigned to getting out the Republican vote in each block or district. These workers should be at the precinct headquarters promptly at 2 P.M. to get their lists and go to work. In calling voters at that time they should be urged to vote if possible before 5 P.M. as a rush for voting usually starts about then.

8. At 2 P.M. when the lists (No. 1 and 2) are delivered to precinct headquarters new lists of both No's. 1 and 2 should be given to the checkers at the polls for checking the voting from 2 P.M. until 4:30 P.M.

9. At 4:30 P.M. on election day the same process as was had at 2 P.M. will be repeated. The checkers are given new lists for checking off voters who vote between that time and 6:30 P.M. At 6:30 P.M. the lists used for checking voting between 4:30 P.M. and 6:30 P.M. will be given to the precinct headquarters for the use of the block and other volunteer workers in their drive to get out those who have not voted up to that time. If necessary, the worker should use an

automobile and go after these late voters. Each worker should stay on the job until every Republican on this block list has voted. After a worker has seen to it that all voters on his block list have voted, he or she should help other workers who have not finished their work.

---

Finally, here is a general summary of recommendations on organizing for election day and the period immediately preceding it. This is from the Democratic National Committee's *Guidebook for Democratic Organization in the County and Precinct*.

---

### **When election day draws near . . .**

Before going into detailed discussion of election day itself, let us look back over organization plans and progress.

The county chairman and vice-chairman started the campaign going with appointment of county committee chairmen, and precinct leaders. Democratic visitors canvassed their lists house by house and person by person. Voters were subjected to a high pressure registration drive.

Candidates spoke. Public meetings were held. Literature was distributed. All six divisions of labor . . . registration, finance, facts and figures, *Democratic Digest*, speakers', and publicity chairmen and their committees . . . united to promote the cause of the Democratic party more thoroughly than ever before.

All through the ranks one word describes the chief ingredient of success. It can't be repeated too often . . . it must govern the conduct of each individual in every activity. The word is COOPERATION.

Now the long preliminary struggle nears its climax. Vacations are over. Children are back in school. County fair fixtures are about finished. It's time to close ranks. It's time to revamp the organization and tighten it up against the crisis of election day.

### **REALIGNMENT OF EFFORT**

Through the spring and summer months county leaders have made some observations. Some workers have proved inept. Some are tired. Some have had family problems cut into their time. Some have moved away. Some who started in minor posts should be moved into more responsible ones. Four to six weeks ahead of election day is time to begin the streamlining process.

### **Work Out a General Scheme for Perfect Election Day**

#### **Coverage Plenty of Time Before Election Day**

It will be well at this time to call another general meeting for party workers, along the lines of the one used to start the campaign ball rolling. You'll have the experiences of the summer and early fall to discuss. Some of the early enthusiasm may be dissipated. But now the goal is in view. Get the whole team together for the final big push.

### **A Big Vote Means a Democratic Victory**

**. . . complete the streamlining process**

Concentrated organization for election day centers on the precincts. There'll be a tendency to look toward county headquarters then, but until polls close, the work of getting voters to the polls sticks where it began, in the precincts. This fact should be firmly impressed on every worker.

Each precinct leader should arrange for official election day precinct headquarters. They may be set up in the precinct leader's home, in a garage, an empty store room, or a lodge room. Whatever address is chosen should be centrally located, on the ground floor, and with ample parking space nearby.

Signs or banners to designate it should be made and displayed. Several extra telephone lines should be installed.

### **DON'T WAIT FOR ELECTION DAY**

All these arrangements should be completed well in advance of election day. By the Friday preceding the first Tuesday in November the precinct leader and her crews should have everything under control.

Supplies of paper, pencils, sample ballots, candidates' cards, and campaign literature should be laid in. Plenty of paper cups for drinking water, some way of making coffee in the event the day is cold and rainy, a self-dispensing soft drink container, are comforts to have on hand, and are time and energy savers.

Be lavish in your preparations, for on election day anything can happen and the more you're ready for it, the less time you'll lose out of those twelve . . . a little more or less . . . hours you'll have in which to get a 100 per cent Democratic vote placed in the ballot boxes.

### **County Headquarters**

Arrangements at county headquarters duplicate in many respects those provided in the precincts. A central headquarters with ample telephone facilities, with an address known to everyone through good advertising, and a staff ready to work shoulder to shoulder are election day's nerve center for Democratic victory.

County committee chairmen will wind up their work by the Monday before election and provide a trained and seasoned corps of assistants for the county chairman and vice-chairman.

### **precinct headquarters are astir . . .**

By the dawn of election day each precinct has the following crews in readiness:

<b>Telephone</b>	<b>Automobile</b>	<b>Baby Sitters</b>
<b>Checkers</b>	<b>Emergency</b>	

The telephone crew can well begin its work on the Monday before election. A check of registered voters will furnish information about the number needing transportation and where they live; the number who will want sitters; the times these services will be most convenient.

The more this information can be coded in advance, the less confusion will arise on Big Tuesday. Charts showing house-to-house demands are invaluable in large-vote precincts, a help in even the smallest case.

Work of the telephone crew will carry right over on to election day with a sense of finality to the calls as the hours pass. In talking with voters always assume that they plan to vote.

After noon has passed on election day it may be sufficient to ask only, "Have you voted?" then continue the questions only if the answer is "no." Give plenty of time and plenty of personnel to the telephone job. There will be wrong numbers, busy signals, necessary call-backs. But good communications help win elections and such crews are indispensable.

### **Automobile Crews**

Equip each car with both a driver and a runner. This will save endless time. Tardy voters, told the driver is waiting in the car outside, will shorten the hat-straightening routine, and refrain from pressing the runner to come in to sit awhile. Cars should be assigned to well-planned routes and workloads arranged that can be met without tension or crowding. Provide cars that work in rural areas with marked road maps. Try to have one or two cars unassigned to take care of emergency trips. Check supplies of gasoline and oil. Do everything possible to assure a smooth-running transportation service from sunup to sundown.

As each load of voters completes its ballot casting, the runner reports to precinct checkers, then gets instructions for the next trip.

### **and the ballots keep rolling along**

*. . . voters move smoothly to the polls*

### **Baby Sitters' Operations**

If a central nursery can be set up for election day, you can reduce the number of baby sitters you will need. Mothers will appreciate the chance thus given them, not only to cast their votes but also to get a bit of marketing done before they collect the children.

Announce this service as widely as possible. Some children will be brought to you, others must be called for. A supply of toys, picture books, a first-aid kit, milk, crackers, and fruit are all desirable items for your election day nursery project.

You will also need sitters to go to homes, not only for young children but in many cases to remain with some member of the family who is ill. These workers can go and come in the cars which call for the voting family members, and be whisked on to their next assignments when the return trip is completed.

Advance lists of these needs simplify the effort and will help prevent the loss of a vote because the citizen couldn't get out to the polls.

### **The Checking Crew**

In each precinct the shoebox game, or some variation of it, has been set up with one person responsible for the totals which will be telephoned at intervals to county headquarters.

The two shoeboxes on this occasion are labeled "Has Voted" and "Hasn't Voted." The cards, of course, contain the names of registered voters only. The latter box is the full one as election day dawns. By late afternoon the cards which remain in that box call for veoman effort by the precinct leader to make

Voters' lists, printed or typed, are widely used in place of index cards. Whatever method offers the **quickest**, most **easily checked** tabulation of those who have and those who have not voted on election day, should be devised and prepared **well in advance**. One person should be responsible for totals phoned to county headquarters.

### **The Emergency Crew**

For these workers the only advice is, "Be ready for anything." It may be a flat tire, a sick child, a collapsed party worker, relief at the telephones or any one of a dozen other unexpecteds that will call for your services.

**at county headquarters . . .**

### **The Polls Open**

First on the list of election day excitements comes the casting of votes by every Democratic worker. This early voting of all workers in all precincts not only sets a good example, but frees minds for the day's activities. A friendly call from county headquarters to each precinct to check on this starts the day well.

It is an excellent plan to have a Democratic lawyer on duty at the county headquarters. Expert counsel will then be at hand if votes are challenged or other difficulties of this nature occur.

### **Vote Checkers**

Many voters will go to the polls without the assistance or knowledge of precinct workers. Vote checkers, stationed as near voting booths as local custom permits, should check vote casters throughout the day, by party affiliation when possible, and report names to precinct headquarters at frequent intervals. This is essential to assure that every possible vote is cast.

### **The County Command**

The county chairman and vice-chairman are election day's generals. To them precinct leaders look for advice and help. Decisions must be made promptly. Just as total registration was the goal at the campaign's beginning, so total voting is the goal at campaign's end.

### **The Polls Close**

With the closing of the polls county headquarters becomes the focus of activity. Vote counts begin to come in from polling places. Tallies are kept. Totals may be announced to crowds in the street from a headquarters loud speaker.

Excitement and good will, hopes and fears, will mark these early evening hours.

Whatever the final figures, each Democratic worker will have won a victory of sorts by disciplined action within the framework of the county organization, by the sacrifice of time and energy, by his or her channeled devotion to democracy and the Democratic party.

**GOOD HUNTING, ALL**

---

## 2. GETTING THE VOTER READY TO VOTE

Most organizations concerned with civic and political affairs move into a kind of stepped-up production line for the spring primaries and into really high gear for those fall elections which take place in the even-numbered years.

Much of this extra activity is aimed simply at getting the voter in a position so he can vote. That is, it is aimed at **registration**. A registration campaign is especially important in the states in which registration is periodic instead of permanent. In New York, for instance, everybody must register every year. This means that almost as much effort must be put out on registration campaigns as on the general election itself—if the political parties want to get their supporters into a position so they can even think about voting.

You may be sold on some candidate or some program, but you aren't of much help to yourself or anybody else if you can't vote because of a failure to register.

Basically, there are two kinds of registration campaigns—(1) the more personal and individual type, and (2) the all-out publicity drive aimed at the entire community of potential voters.

Let us consider the **individualized** procedure first.

Normally the political parties conduct some registration work in connection with their ordinary canvassing operations, described in Chapter 5. Basically, the same techniques are used—and one of the standard canvassing questions concerns whether or not the individual citizens has registered. The Independent Voters of Illinois, for instance, suggests—in its *Manual for Precinct Work*—that canvassers and precinct workers follow the schedule below in the weeks preceding an election.

## CHECK LIST FOR I. V. I. PRECINCT LEADERS

## REGISTRATION -- 30 to 40 DAYS BEFORE ELECTION



1. Canvass house to house. Learn who the new voters are. Learn who has moved away.
2. Urge new voters to register. Tell them when, where, how. Turn in removals to your ward or neighborhood leader.
3. The night before registration, and on registration day, remind voters to register. You CAN'T remind them too often.



Actually, most political organizations use this sort of combined procedure. Under this plan—which has many practical advantages—the same workers are concerned not only with getting the voter ready to vote but also with getting him to the polls and with persuading him to vote a certain way.

But, sometimes, special individualized registration campaigns may be conducted. In these cases registration itself is the major goal. Some of the most systematic and extensive such efforts have been made by the CIO-PAC. Here is how they go about this work, as described in their *Registration Manual*.

Because of its format, it is not possible to reproduce this manual exactly in its original form, but what is given here is nearly all directly quoted from this manual and is in as near the original form as possible.

---

### **Step 1**

#### *Place all names of CIO members on cards*

Use a card which contains a place for the name, the home address, the name of the adult members of the family, a place for a code designation of the union membership, ward, and precinct, and a place to mark whether or not registered.

You can get them printed or mimeographed locally.

The point is to put all the **names and addresses** you have on cards. You will put the other information on later.

### **Step 2**

#### *All lists of all CIO members in the area are turned into a central office*

Any campaign has to have a headquarters to eliminate duplication and to coordinate efforts. The same is true of a registration campaign.

The headquarters may be the office of the largest or best-equipped local union in the area. It may be the council office or it may be a separate office rented for the occasion. If, for some reason, it is not feasible for the council to run the campaign, local unions can run the campaign among their own members.

But it is the headquarters, and the names and home addresses of all CIO members are turned into it. If the names are on 3-x-5 cards, so much the better. If they are on a mailing tape or a mimeographed list they will have to be copied.

The main idea is to get the names and addresses of all CIO members in the area to be covered by the campaign into a central office where they can be processed.

### **Step 3**

#### *Mark the cards with ward and precinct numbers*

This is a tough job but it has to be done because it's the only way you can

later check the official registration list which is by ward and precinct. Furthermore, wards and precincts are the way in which political units are divided and you will want to know the strengths and weaknesses ward by ward.

Check the city directory. It may list ward and precinct after the names of residents. If not, the easiest way to get the ward and precinct designation on the cards is to arrange them first by street and number starting with 0000 Main Street to 9999 Main Street.

Then either (1) go to city hall and hire someone who knows the ward and precinct layout of the city to mark the cards or (2) get a map of the city with the wards and precincts marked on it—you may have to do the marking yourself—and locate each street address within the proper ward and precinct. Note whether the dividing line is down the middle of the street or street by street.

Mark this ward and precinct on the proper place on the cards.

#### Step 4

*Then arrange the cards alphabetically by ward and precinct*

You're going to find that the registration list is in this order and it will make it easier to check your cards against this list if you have them in the same order.

You may also want to use this list later for your canvassing and you want to be able to locate people easily.

In some places a duplicate set of cards is made up with all names in alphabetical order regardless of ward and precinct. If you've got the time and the help you may find such a duplicate list useful but it's not necessary.

#### Step 5

*Now check the cards against the official list of registered voters*

This is the heart of the campaign. It's your only sure way of knowing who is registered and who isn't.

Lots of times people aren't sure or they don't remember. They may have moved and have to register again. They may not have voted in previous elections and lost their registration status. **Don't trust memories.**

The only sure way of knowing is by checking the official list.

The official list is kept by the election officials. Sometimes it is printed and can be purchased or obtained free. Sometimes it has to be copied or used in the office only. Sometimes it is worth while to hire a clerk in the registration office to check the list in his spare time.

Obtaining the list of registered voters may take ingenuity but you're entitled to it as a citizen. Stick up for your rights.

As you check your cards against the registration list, mark them "yes" or "no" in the space designated.

#### Step 6

*Prepare double cards for unregistered members*

Now you've got your cards with names, addresses, ward, and precinct designation, and registration data on them.

Put the cards of the **registered** members in a separate file. You don't have

to worry about them for the moment. What you have left is a file of **unregistered** members, and you have to worry plenty about them.

For each one of them you will fill out another card—really a double card—which is perforated so it can be torn in two.

These double cards go to the union to which the member belongs for a breakdown by shops and for transmission to the shop steward or PAC committee in the plant in which the member works. You keep a record of them.

### Step 7

*The shop steward or PAC committee keeps the top half of the card and gives the bottom half to the unregistered member, urging him to register*

In most big cities registration is open the year around. Usually it is at the city hall. Just before election time registration is opened in the wards and precincts.

When the shop steward gives the card to the unregistered member he tells him where to go to register and he asks him to have the card countersigned by the registrar and returned.

When the countersigned card is returned the shop steward forwards it to his local union headquarters which forwards it to the campaign headquarters.

Campaign headquarters takes the member's card from the **unregistered** file and places it in the file of **registered** voters.

### Step 8

*Union members remaining unregistered are sent follow-up cards or letters*

The simple reminder will do the job in most cases. The file of the unregistered will get smaller while the file of the registered will get larger.

At some point you will want to follow up on those remaining unregistered. A card or letter from a top local official can be sent. Personal calls may be made. Steps will be taken to overcome the peculiar difficulties that may arise.

Even people who disagree with you should have no objection to registering. They can vote for whomever they want. Our concern is merely making sure that they vote.

### P.S.

#### *One Word More . . .*

While this process is going on you may be running a publicity campaign at the same time.

That's well, but remember publicity won't do the job. It'll only help.

Public service radio spots will help. Assists from local union papers will help. Leaflets giving the time and place of registration will help. Registration caravans will help. Handbilling plants will help.

Best of all, enlisting the cooperation of the local registrar to make registration easy by deputizing local registrars will pay off.

But the real payoff comes from the step by step procedure that has been outlined.

Almost any organization—partisan or nonpartisan—could do the same sort of thing. Many well-organized precincts and wards actually do operate some such system. Regardless of who does it, the system is basically the same. Modify it to suit your own purposes.

As for the full-scale publicity type of registration campaign, it is usually combined with a get-out-the-vote drive. Or else the drive will be phased—with the initial emphasis on registration and a later stress on going to the polls on election day.

Because of the “combined” nature of this sort of large-scale effort, we will consider it in the next section.

### 3. GETTING THE VOTER TO VOTE

If you are interested in the all-out job, here are some suggestions from the National Citizens Political Action Committee's *Manual of Practical Political Action*. This outline may be used by either partisan or nonpartisan groups, in both large cities and less populated areas. Pick and choose what you think will serve your local purposes.

#### REGISTRATION AND GET-OUT-THE-VOTE CAMPAIGNS

The first job is to win the battle of registration. Win it and you have half won the battle of the ballot. That is the lesson of election history.

##### Registration Comes First

The easiest and most effective get-out-the-vote campaign is nonpartisan. No one can quarrel with a nonpartisan campaign. It is the civic responsibility of every element in the community to encourage people to register and vote. You will find most people and most institutions prepared to cooperate with and give special assistance to a genuinely nonpartisan get-out-the-vote campaign.

Such a campaign should be as broadbased as possible. It should be conducted by a nonpartisan get-out-the-vote committee, made up of official representatives from as many of the following groups as can be reached:

1. Republican and Democratic parties.
2. AFL, CIO, Railroad Brotherhoods, and independent unions.
3. League of Women Voters, women's clubs, consumer groups.
4. American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Disabled American Veterans, Jewish War Veterans, American Veterans Committee, and other veterans organizations.
5. ICCASP, NCPAC, and local citizens' committees.
6. Church and civic groups.
7. Fraternal organizations—Elks, Kiwanis, Lions, etc.
8. Student organizations.
9. Negro and foreign-born groups.

Plus—newspaper publishers or editors, radio station managers or program directors, and other prominent individuals in the community.

The chairman of the get-out-the-vote committee should be a prominent citizen who is NOT identified as a politician. He should be a civic leader, a church official, university official, a prominent artist—someone with a non-partisan interest in seeing a heavy registration and vote.

Such a committee can:

1. Lend prestige to the campaign.
2. Help increase participation in the campaign.
3. Enlist support from every segment of the community.
4. Make the work of the campaign more amenable to promotion and publicity media.
5. Channelize all campaign work, providing a central supervision for personnel and the disbursement of any funds made available through the various participating organizations.

### **The Campaign Itself:**

The following are simply suggestions, all of them tested and workable. They by no means exhaust the possibilities inherent in a get-out-the-vote campaign. If at all possible, get your mayor and governor *now* to proclaim Registration Month or Week (the last month or week of registration). This request should be made in writing or in person by the chairman of the get-out-the-vote committee. Then try the following:

A. RADIO—Apply **now** for radio time on all stations during that period for:

1. All-star get-out-the-vote transcribed 30-minute program, produced by Hollywood ICCASP and starring . . .
2. Special “live” programs—featuring talks by civic, nonpartisan leaders, representatives of groups represented on committees, etc., and—if possible—skits.
3. Recorded and “live” 30-second, 60-second and 90-second “spots” as often as possible all day, every day. Write NCPAC for list.
4. Ask all news commentators to stress registration as often as possible during that period. (Talk first with station managers, public relations directors, news editors—furnish them sample copy for plugs.)
5. Ask all women’s programs to stress registration.
6. Ask all regularly scheduled programs—musical, variety, educational, etc.—to include mention of registration during that period on all their programs.
7. Arrange for as many special speakers as possible to speak on registration—either on specially arranged programs, or on regularly scheduled programs.

B. PRESS: Get the cooperation of your local newspapers, including race and nationality publications—urge them to sponsor the campaign. Ask for the following kinds of help:

1. A daily box in a prominent position urging registration and supplying data.
2. “Register-and-Vote” slugs between paragraphs in news stories, special columns, editorials, etc.
3. Register-and-vote editorials.
4. Register-and-vote editorial cartoons.

## 5. Arrange for special interviews:

On women's page—with prominent women, stressing importance of women voting—25 years after suffrage victory, OPA, etc. Veteran—Why he recognizes importance of registering and voting. What he saw in Europe, doesn't want another world war, etc.

Naturalized citizen—voting for first time—privilege of American citizenship—have to fight for free elections in Europe, etc.

21-year-olds—excitement of first vote—recognition of responsibility—last generation didn't do so well, etc.

Octogenarian—what he's seen happen—extension of vote in his lifetime to women, etc.—future of his grandchildren.

6. Contact all special editors and columnists for inclusion of register-and-vote plugs. And don't neglect neighborhood newspapers or the community shopping news.

7. Try to get inclusion of registration plugs in cartoon and comic strips.

8. Talk to the publisher and city editor and ask for cooperation in advance publicity and coverage of all campaign events.

## C. BUSINESSMEN AND ADVERTISING AGENCIES—ask them to:

1. Include registration and vote slogans in all newspaper ads or contribute whole ads.

2. Include registration and vote slogans in radio commercials or contribute whole programs.

3. Turn over outdoor advertising space for register-and-vote ad.

## D. SPECIAL WINDOW DISPLAYS on registration and voting:

Contact the following institutions; ask them for window displays during campaign (offer to supply displays, designs, or work with their display men).

Department stores.

Book shops.

Utilities—gas and electric companies, etc. (They can also include register-and-vote notices in their monthly bills.)

All retail shops, especially in main shopping center.

Street railway and bus systems.

E. POSTERS—should be distributed to the following; each outlet should be checked to make sure that the poster is given good display:

Neighborhood and Main Street stores—windows and back of counters.

Theaters—lobbies.

Apartment houses and office buildings—lobbies and elevators.

Drugstores—behind soda fountains and cashiers' booths.

Restaurants—at cashier's desk—ask them to imprint slogan on menus.

On bulletin boards in libraries, recreation centers, churches, clubs, unions, factories, colleges, meeting halls, etc.

As car cards in subways, streetcars, busses.

F. MOTION PICTURE THEATERS—Ask managers to run "Register" and "Vote" slides through campaign period.

G. CLERGY—ask local clergy to mention in their sermons.

## H. ANNOUNCE, ANNOUNCE, AND ANNOUNCE.

1. Get every organization which holds meetings during that period—Elks, civic, religious, fraternal, educational, student, social, etc.—to feature

registration announcements. Ask to have a representative of the committee speak at such meetings.

2. Get every organization to carry register-and-vote boxes and editorials in their bulletins and special mailings.

I. FLYERS—Print a simple attractive flyer with registration and voting information in as large as possible a quantity for distribution:

1. Door to door.
2. Organizational mailings.
3. Store counters.
4. As bill inserts.
5. Street corner, factory, office, and schools.

Register-and-vote stamps—committee should imprint a “Register-and-vote” slogan on all envelopes, and urge that a similar imprint be used by:

1. Organizations.
2. Business firms.
3. Wherever else large quantities of local mail are put out.

J. SPECIAL EVENTS—Get as much advance publicity as possible. Get radio and press coverage:

1. Opening of registration campaign:

Try to arrange a ceremony at the city hall or capitol with the mayor and/or the governor, heads of get-out-the-vote committee, other prominent citizens.

2. Registration parades:

Parades to registration places with banners, sound trucks, etc. If possible, parade should include:

Veterans from AVC, Legion, VFW posts with their bands;

Detachments from different schools;

Detachments of different professions and occupations—teachers, doctors, clergy, lawyers, businessmen, etc.;

Union locals;

Detachments from Elks, Kiwanis, Chamber of Commerce, women’s clubs, etc.

3. Registration “Days”:

Have a Student Registration Day, a Veterans’ Registration Day, a Women’s Registration Day, an Elk’s Registration Day, etc. Try to get these groups themselves to take responsibility for promoting and publicizing their days. Make a contest of it—having the papers and radio carry the registration figures each day and feature on Sundays.

4. “I Have Registered” buttons:

If possible, get money for buttons carrying some such legend as “I Have Registered; I Will Vote.”

Have them distributed at the registration places.

Give the first one to the first registrant—if possible, arrange for it to be the governor, the mayor, or some well-known civic personality.

In all demonstrations, meetings, and pictures, be sure that registrants are wearing their buttons.

5. Campus campaigns:

Get endorsement of campaign by student council and other student groups.

Help them to work out a special campaign of their own for their campus. Enlist them in general campaign. Arrange mock high school elections just preceding the actual elections.

6. Mass rally:

Plan at least one mass rally—cosponsored by as many groups as possible. Hold it toward the end of the registration period—have at last two or three days.

7. Plane scattering leaflets over the city: “These might have been bombs; Protect your democracy! Register and Vote!”

### Don't Just Ask—Give

Be prepared to back up your requests to newspapers, radio stations, writers, commentators, etc., with offers of help and material.

The following are basic materials which you should prepare as soon as possible:

1. A mimeographed or printed sheet listing all pertinent information on registration and voting including:
  - dates of registration
  - places of registration
  - times of registration
  - requirements for registration and voting.
2. A mimeographed or printed sheet of short register and vote slogans and plugs suitable for use as between paragraph slugs, advertising inserts, etc.
3. Sample “registration boxes” for newspapers and organization bulletins.
4. Sample spot announcements for radio stations, advertising agencies, radio programs.
5. Ideas for window displays.
6. Angles which can be stressed for different groups.

### General Facts to Keep in Mind

75 per cent of persons over forty years of age register. Only about 50 per cent of those under forty register. Seek out special issues or techniques which will attract the younger voters.

Most communities now have substantial numbers of new residents—returning veterans, incoming factory workers and the like—who for a variety of reasons do not bother to register. It is also true that low-income groups usually stay away from the polls in greater numbers than high-income groups. They are harder to reach through publicity than people of wealth because they own fewer radios, read fewer newspapers, have fewer cars, etc. They are best approached through house canvassing.

Just as many women stay away from the polls because they fear they may be required to reveal their ages, so some people stay away because they fear contact with officials. This is a product of ignorance and inexperience. The get-out-the-vote campaign should give a simple but accurate and detailed picture of what is actually involved in registering and voting. It should be aimed at removing the fear that the procedure is either embarrassing or time-consuming.

The get-out-the-vote committee should take special care to see that registration and polling booths are established at points conveniently reached by voters. Wherever feasible, booths should be placed in or near factories and other places of employment. Many workers have limited time and poor transportation. Where officials and store executives will cooperate they should be placed in department and retail shopping centers. Car pools, organized on a block or neighborhood basis, are invaluable on the actual election day.

An organization which specializes regularly in what it calls a "Voter's Service" program is the League of Women Voters. Usually, part of this service program is aimed at getting out the vote. The league's suggestions for such activities are well summarized in its publication called *Give the Voter a Hand*, which can be obtained from the league's national headquarters. Many of the local leagues will already have it. Use the ideas in it to supplement the outline above.

To give you an idea of the league's approach, here are 4 of their 26 suggestions on how to get out the vote.

## USE YOUR IMAGINATION

Be different! Appeal to the imagination of your community by using a little of your own! There are many new techniques and new twists to old techniques! Try a few of these for flavor:

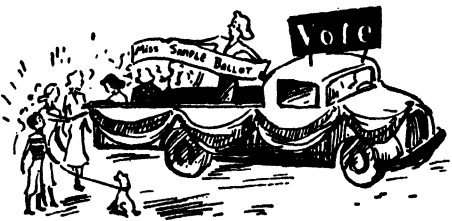
1. Ask the Police Department to carry nonpartisan "get-out-the-vote" signs on their car bumpers during election.

2. Do you operate in a rural area? Use a "votemobile" to travel around the county—a car which shows a sample voting machine (if you use machine)

or a sample ballot, a large map listing polling places, and bright colored flyers listing the facts of voting.

3. Ask hotels and restaurants if you may stamp their menus with voting information; department stores and banks if you may stamp their statements.

4. Ask the city if you may stencil "voting" signs on the sidewalks — and arrange to clean them off after election.



From time to time in various parts of the country special **nonpartisan** get-out-the-vote organizations have been created and special campaigns waged by them. One such organization, which functioned recently in Chicago under the leadership of the well-known Elmer Layden, has been known as Americans Will Vote, Inc. Organized as an Illinois, not-for-profit corporation, it waged a nonpartisan campaign in the Windy City during the fall of 1950. The magnitude of its operation can be judged from some of these figures, which represent minimum distributions: About 5 million leaflets were distributed advertising election day; 300,000 automobile stickers were used along with around 50,000 correspondence stickers; other leaflets were used in the hundreds of thousands; nearly a million lapel buttons were distributed; and postage meter slugs were used to frank untold quantities of mail.

Few get-out-the-vote efforts can be on this scale, but ingenuity can make your funds go a long way—for many business and civic agencies will be glad to cooperate. There is no reason why a similar organization could not be created almost anywhere. For further information on the organization of Americans Will Vote, Inc., write Elmer Layden, President, Americans Will Vote, Suite 3213, 141 W. Jackson Blvd., Chicago 4, Illinois.

A still different kind of effort, and one on a nationwide scale, has been that undertaken by The Advertising Council, Inc. in conjunction with The American Heritage Foundation (sponsors of the well-known Freedom Train) before the November, 1951, state and local elections.

The council, which represents all phases of the advertising business, has prepared a set of specimen ads which are available for the use of any advertiser or advertising medium which cares to use them. At the bottom of the ad is a place for the sponsor's name.

The council's 1951 "voting kit" represents an unusual effort in that 1951 was considered an "off" year as far as elections go. However, the council plans to continue this type of effort and additional advertising materials will be available for use in connection with future elections. For further information about this kind of get-out-the-vote material write the council at 25 West 45 St., New York 19, N.Y. Other council offices are in Washington, D.C., Chicago, and Hollywood.

There is still one other type of nonpartisan get-out-the-vote literature—issued, in this case, by the **government** itself. During the weeks before the November 7, 1950, elections in the state of Washington, a statewide registration and voting drive was sponsored by the political parties and many private organizations. To help in this drive the state itself put out a special folder titled, *The 1950 Washington State Election Is Important to You*. This folder, unusually effectively done for a government publication, tells the "why" and "how" of registration and voting

The State of Washington also publishes *Official Voters' Pamphlets* containing statements in behalf of candidates for office. All candidates may obtain space in these pamphlets by paying set fees for it and the pamphlets are then distributed to registered voters by the state government. There is no reason why other states could not do as much or even more.

The **partisan** political organizations seldom engage in an all-out voting campaign except among their own potential adherents. However, nearly all these organizations make special efforts to interest the so-called "first" voter. Both major parties, for instance, have pamphlets specially prepared for any of us who come under this heading.

The Republican National Committee's pamphlet is entitled *First Voters, Who Are You?* and makes a special appeal to this group. The Democratic National Committee's equivalent is called *Congratulations! First Voter*. The CIO-PAC's publication, which is more general in nature, has been prepared by Joseph Gaer and is called *What Every Voter Should Know and Do*. For additional materials aimed at youth groups, women, and other categories of potential voters, it is best to write the state and national headquarters of the political organizations. Nearly all of them will have some literature available.

There is also one other group of potential voters to which the political parties devote a great deal of attention. These are the so-called "intermittent" and "independent" voters.

Here is the typical situation in many communities.

In Chapters 1 and 2 we looked into some of the voting habits of American adults as a whole. As a result of many investigations, we know that there is a hard core of individuals who can be counted on to vote—almost no matter what happens. Some will vote the Republican ticket, others the Democratic ticket, and a few others the more well-known minority tickets.

But, we also know that at least 50 per cent of our potential voters (1) do not vote or (2) vote infrequently or (3) tend to cross party lines when they do vote.

All this means that, politically speaking, **the balance of power in our American democracy lies with the 50 per cent which has been referred to above as the "intermittent" and "independent" voters.**

Another get-out-the-vote technique which the parties normally use to bring these laggard voters to the polls on election day is the **telephone canvass**. It is used, of course, in addition to (not in place of) the efforts of the precinct and block workers, the transportation committee, and the rest of the political organization. This technique can also be used before election day and for registration campaigns as well.

It is a last-minute sort of personalized campaign, and one which,

in order to be most effective, takes a good deal of careful planning. By far the most complete directions for the conduct of a telephone canvass are found in the *Campaign Manual* of the Republican National Committee. This manual also contains sample forms and suggested "conversation" topics. It has not been possible to reproduce the forms, but here are the general instructions.

## CANVASSING BY TELEPHONE

### I. THREE TYPES OF TELEPHONE CANVASS

A canvass by telephone **on** election day is a highly effective method of getting voters to the polls.

In addition, it is a fairly good method of canvassing **before** election day where canvassing cannot be done in person. Canvassing by telephone before election day must necessarily be done by a special division, because the only excuse for canvassing by telephone before election day is that there are not enough precinct workers to do it personally.

Canvassing for **registration** can also be done by telephone.



Canvassing by telephone **on** election day can be done by two groups concurrently, i.e., by the precinct unit and also by the separate division of telephone canvassers. The precinct unit, that is, the precinct captain, his subordinate block captains and the other workers in a particular precinct, can always make their own telephone canvass of the particular precinct, using the voter's cards, previously described, which contain the voters' telephone numbers. This is something always to be encouraged; and the fact that a special canvass by telephone is also being made by a separate division of the campaign organization should never be a deterrent to whatever telephone canvassing can be done by a particular precinct unit. But don't annoy any voter with too many telephone calls.

## II. PREPARATORY STEPS FOR A TELEPHONE CANVASS

### A. Appoint a Chairman:

A telephone canvass is a big operation; and it requires weeks of advance planning and work. Someone should be appointed to direct the telephone canvass, directly responsible to the campaign manager. Women are especially suitable for this type of work.

The chairman of the telephone canvass should be encouraged to recruit his or her own workers; and often a women's group or club, as a unit, will take on a telephone canvass as a group or club project, as its contribution to the campaign.

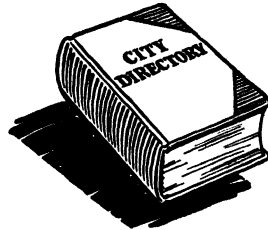
### B. Obtain a Geographical List of Telephone Numbers:

#### 1. *Advantages of Geographical Arrangement:*

The advantages of arranging the voters and the telephone numbers geographically are: (a) Those in a given area will tend to be of the same type or income group, etc.; (b) they will have the same polling place; (c) such an arrangement can be easily compared with other geographical lists of voters showing whether they are Republicans, Democrats, favorable or unfavorable, etc.; and (d) it is possible to concentrate on certain areas.

#### 2. *Methods of Geographical Arrangement:*

Geographical lists of voters with telephone numbers may be obtained as follows: *a) From a geographical telephone book:* In large cities, like New York, the telephone company has a special telephone book in which all persons with telephones are listed geographically by street and number. *b) From the city directory:* Nearly all the cities of medium size in the United States have city



directories, which list their inhabitants geographically by street and number, and give the telephone numbers of those who have telephones. A single page of these city directories provides a good telephone canvass tally sheet. Two copies of the city directory of your particular city will be necessary, one for the odd-numbered pages, and one for the even-numbered pages.

### C. Record the Voters To Be Approached:

1. *In the Pre-Election Day Canvass:* All registered voters should be recorded.

2. *The Election Day Canvass:* Record only the **favorable**, registered voters, that is, those who are Republican or who otherwise will vote for our side.

**D. Prepare Telephone Canvass Tally Sheets:**

1. *Limit the Number of Names:* A separate tally sheet should be prepared for each canvasser, to be inserted in the individual telephone canvass kit described below. Each tally sheet should be limited to 20-50 names, addresses, and telephone numbers, for that quantity is usually all the average canvasser can handle. The tally sheet should be double-spaced; and all voters on each tally sheet, should, if possible, have the same polling place. The address of the polling place should be stated, where necessary, with the ward and precinct number. A page of a city directory will serve as a good tally sheet.

**E. Prepare an Instruction Sheet:**

1. *For the Pre-Election Day Canvass:* This should contain a statement of the objective of the canvass, suggestions for conversing with the voters, etc. The canvasser should also make notations of each conversation with each voter for future reference, 10 pages of blank note paper being inserted in each telephone canvass kit for that purpose. The instruction sheet should also contain a statement of the reasons why the candidate should be elected.

2. *For the Election Day Canvass:* This instruction sheet follows the same general form as that of the pre-election day instruction sheet, except that it is then usually too late for much political argument.

**F. Assemble the Telephone Canvass Kit:**

An individual telephone canvass kit should be prepared for each canvasser. It can be easily assembled in an inexpensive Manila file folder, using a fastener, as follows:

1. On the inside page of the cover, that is, on the left of the folder as it lies open before the canvasser, paste the tally sheet so that it will be before the eye of the canvasser when the papers on the right are also being used.

2. Fasten on the right-hand page of the folder, as it lies open, in the following order from top to bottom: (a) the instruction sheet; (b) a concise summary, with headings, of the reasons why your candidate should be elected; and (c) 10 blank pages of scratch paper on which the canvasser can make notations of his conversations.

Each kit should be numbered, and the number and address of the area covered should be written on its cover and tab. A master notebook should be kept by the chairman of the telephone canvass, with the lines numbered consecutively, beginning with No. 1, to the last number of the telephone kits prepared. As the kits are issued to the canvassers, the name, address, and telephone number of the person taking or responsible for each kit, and the telephone to be used, should be written opposite the number of each kit as it is issued to the canvasser. This provides information which the chairman of the telephone canvass can use to check up on the canvassers themselves, to make sure that each one is proceeding with his or her job.

**G. Recruit Telephones:**

In addition to the recruitment of canvassers, it may also be necessary to recruit telephones. That is, it may be necessary to find people who are willing

to volunteer their telephones for use in the telephone canvass. Often each canvasser will use his own telephone; but it may be necessary to ask other people to volunteer the use of their telephones, in homes, hotels, offices, etc. The election day telephone canvass is concentrated in a few hours; every canvasser should have an available telephone, and indeed, each canvasser should be assigned a particular telephone in advance.

### III. THE TELEPHONE CANVASS OPERATION:

As soon as possible in advance of election day, the process of recruiting the number of volunteers and telephones necessary for the canvassing should be started. A registration canvass should take place during the registration period. A pre-election day canvass should be put on in the week or 10 days preceding the election.

The election day canvass takes place, of course, on election day itself. Each canvasser should start work shortly before or immediately after lunch, and continue with his or her list until it is satisfactorily covered or until the polls close. Make notes of the results of each conversation. They provide an invaluable record for future reference.

---

## 4. ADMINISTERING THE ELECTION

Elections do not run themselves.

Somebody has to print the ballots, arrange for election supplies, select the election judges and clerks, rent the polling places, arrange for the delivery and servicing of voting machines, count the votes, and announce the results. All this takes a good deal of organization and the time of a lot of people, especially if it is to be well and honestly done.

However, election management is something about which most people know very little. Therefore, this chapter is oriented toward the general problem of election management. The place and interests of the political parties and other civic organizations will be brought out where their participation is either desirable or legally required.

The general management of a local election is usually in the hands of a board of election commissioners or an election manager of some sort operating under their own authority or under the general supervision of a county or city clerk, the county judge, the county auditor or some similar official. This top board or agency then is responsible for supervising the operation of the election.

Officials are then appointed (elected in a very few cases) to handle individual precincts and polling places. The normal local polling officials are (1) judges, (2) inspectors, (3) clerks of all kinds, (4) watchers or challengers, (5) a limited number of other political party representatives, and, frequently, (6) a policeman or detective or two.

Judges, inspectors, and clerks actually administer the election and receive special pay, around \$10 a day, for their efforts. Normally these

persons may not all be from the same political party. In a few places individuals who wish to do this work must pass a preliminary examination. But usually these temporary jobs are open to persons nominated by various members of the political parties and are a part of the normal political patronage. In fact, most parties are extremely interested in getting their own workers appointed to these jobs—for obvious reasons. But usually other citizens may also apply and may receive appointments—especially in areas where a particular party, which by law must be represented, does not have a good organization.

After they are appointed, it is normal for these persons to attend a short (one afternoon or evening usually) course of instruction in order that they know what to do and not to do.

Watchers and challengers are the legal representatives of the political parties and other interested civic organizations, whose function can be inferred from their job titles. Their business is to check on each other, on individual voters, on fraud, and on illegal activities on the part of judges and other election officials and outsiders. They are especially concerned with challenging the right of individuals to vote and they frequently serve a very useful purpose by uncovering individuals who have no legal right to cast their ballots in a given precinct or at a certain polling place.

Other party workers are occasionally allowed to come into the polling place for consultation, to take messages, and the like. The policemen or detectives are there to receive and act on complaints or handle disturbances.

All states have fairly explicit laws on how polling places are to be set up, on procedures to be followed in setting up ballot boxes, arranging voting booths, handling the ballots, and processing the voters.

Other laws will prescribe the time for opening the polls, the duties of the officials, the nature and placement of the ballot box, the proportion of voting booths or machines to the number of voters, the number of voters who may be in the polling place at one time, and a long list of other requirements.

Here is a sample of the kind of instructions normally given to judges and other election officials. In this case the city concerned is Wheeling, West Virginia. Other cities, counties, and states may have differing instructions but these will give you some idea of the things involved in election administration.

In most states the law also prescribes the time and manner of closing the polls and the counting (usually referred to as "tallying" or "canvassing") and reporting procedures. The same officials who administer the voting normally do the counting also. There are fairly stiff penalties for failure to conform to the legal regulations.

---

## Instructions to Judges and Clerks of Regular City Election

### Note: Every Official Must Read These Instructions Carefully

#### OATH OF OFFICIALS

Before opening the polls or proceeding to function as judges and clerks of election, each official must take the prescribed oath as set forth in each of the poll books, and sign his or her name to the affidavit provided in said poll books.

#### OPENING OF POLLS

Poll shall be open for the reception of voters at 6:30 o'clock A. M.

#### SIGNING OF BALLOTS BY POLL CLERKS

Each poll clerk shall write his or her name on the back of the ballot in the place provided thereon, and no ballot shall be voted which does not have the name of each poll clerk on the back thereof in his or her own hand-writing.

**JUDGES OF ELECTION ARE NOT PERMITTED TO SIGN THEIR OWN NAMES ON THE BACK OF BALLOTS, AND ARE NOT AUTHORIZED TO SIGN THE NAMES OF THE CLERKS OFFICIATING.**

#### VOTING OF BALLOTS

When a voter presents him or herself, it is the duty of the judges to first ascertain if such person is a qualified voter, and unless the name of such person appears in the registration books, or has a certificate of transfer issued by the City Clerk, such person shall not be entitled to vote.

**IT IS THE DUTY OF THE JUDGES IN PRESENTING A BALLOT TO A VOTER TO SEE THAT THE NAMES OF EACH POLL CLERK, IN HIS OR HER HANDWRITING, APPEARS ON THE BACK OF THE BALLOT.**

The voter shall then mark the ballot in accordance with his or her wishes. No one shall assist him or her, unless the voter states that he or she cannot read or write, and requests the assistance of the election officials.

After the ballot has been marked by the voter he shall present the same to one of the judges who shall, after folding the same, announce the name of the voter and deposit the ballot in the ballot box.

#### CLOSING OF POLLS

The polls shall close promptly at 6:30 o'clock P. M. If, however, a voter presents himself before 6:30 o'clock P. M. he or she shall be permitted to vote although by reason of the congestion of voters the actual casting of such ballots is delayed after 6:30 o'clock P. M. If it is found at any voting precinct that a large number of voters have presented themselves before 6:30 o'clock P. M. but by reason of congestion cannot cast their ballots before that time, the judges shall take the names of all persons who have so presented themselves before 6:30 o'clock P. M.,

and as soon as possible ascertain if such persons are qualified voters, and if it is ascertained that such persons are qualified voters, permit such persons to cast their ballots in the manner hereinbefore provided (even though the actual casting of the ballot transpires after 6:30 P. M.)

#### MATTERS TO BE VOTED ON

Two matters are to be voted upon:

- (1) Councilmen
- (2) Housing Authority Ordinance

You have been furnished two Ballot Boxes—one is for the votes for councilmen; the other is for votes on the Housing Authority Ordinance.

It is imperative that the proper ballots be placed in the proper box.

#### PROCEDURE AT CLOSING OF POLLS

At closing of the polls immediately seal the ballot box containing the votes for councilmen; send it directly by one of the judges to the central counting place, with a record of the number of ballots for the councilmen which they have given out to be voted, less those returned to them as spoiled or unused.

The ballots on the Housing Authority ordinance must be counted by you and you may proceed to count these ballots, even though one of the judges has taken the ballot box containing the votes for councilmen to the central counting board.

The judge taking the ballot box containing the votes for councilmen to the central counting board, must return to his precinct and aid in the completion of the count of the ballots on the Housing Authority ordinance.

#### DESTRUCTION OF UNUSED BALLOTS

Immediately on closing the polls the commissioners selected shall count all the ballots remaining not voted, record the number of same on the tally sheets and Poll Books, and destroy all of such ballots by immediately consuming them by fire or otherwise.

#### FILLING VACANCIES

In the event that a judge or clerk, during the conduct of the election, cannot continue to serve by reason of illness or resignation, the remaining judges shall appoint a person to fill the vacancy. Such person so appointed to fill the vacancy, shall, before serving as an official, take the prescribed oath. Should the vacancy filled be that of a poll clerk the newly appointed clerk shall sign his or her name on the back of the ballots voted; and shall not sign the name of the person whose vacancy he or she is filling.

**IF A QUESTION ARISES WHICH IS NOT COVERED BY THESE INSTRUCTIONS TELEPHONE WHEELING 354 OR 448.**

HOWARD C. LANE,  
City Clerk, City of Wheeling

The counting of voting machine ballots is much simpler than counting paper ballots, the complete count for an entire city frequently being available within an hour or two after the closing of the polls. There are, however, strict rules on the use of voting machines, and they must be opened, repaired, sealed, and read according to precisely prescribed regulations.

Once the counting is done, the certified tally or canvass sheets are then sent in to the central election board, which may, in turn, compile those counts which should be forwarded on to the officials compiling, for example, the vote for a United States Senator. The secretary of state of an individual state is the person normally in charge of the entire

state election administration process. He or other legally designated officials then certify to the United States Congress such voting tabulations as are required to decide elections to federal and state offices.

Recounts may be demanded at certain points in this process. These may be authorized by the individuals or boards in charge of city-wide, county-wide, or statewide election administration. There are varying rules as to who shall bear the cost of the recount. Sometimes it is the government and other times it is the individual. If you are interested in a recount you had better see a lawyer—and quick!

The most crucial thing in election administration is to **know the law**. Your ignorance (if you are an official) may cost your party an election and, if it is mistaken for intent to defraud, may get you into serious trouble.

So, if you are going to serve on an election board or as a polling judge, inspector, or clerk, you will do well to listen quite carefully to any instruction available. If you are only a watcher or challenger your ignorance won't get you in much trouble unless you try to object to something that is perfectly legal. But if you don't know when somebody else is disobeying the law, you aren't much use at your job.

## 5. POLICING THE ELECTION

All the above leads us to the problem of **election frauds**.

The activities necessary to handle such matters are described by the Republican National Committee as the "protective phase" of political work.

Let us consider this problem from the standpoint of (1) the election officials, (2) the political parties, and (3) other civic groups interested simply in honest elections.

In the previous section of this chapter, the responsibilities of election officials have been discussed. Among these responsibilities are those concerning the prevention of fraud. This means, as has been emphasized before, that the election officials need to be trained in what they need to know. They particularly need training in how to interpret the various laws regulating voting behavior and voting procedure. This is done in many places, but not as often nor as well as might be desired.

Therefore, if you have had only a minimum of instruction, and are planning to be an election official, you would do well to do a little more looking up on your own. Sometimes the state secretary of state puts out special pamphlets. In Philadelphia the civic organization known as the Committee of Seventy also puts out a special folder entitled *Information for Voters—Watchers and Election Officers*, compiled from the Pennsylvania Election Code.

It is a good idea for any election official to have with him a copy of the state election code. At least check and find out where you can get

more information in a hurry—in case you find you need it election day. Then you will be prepared to cope with an emergency in a fairly intelligent way. And, incidentally, if police are supposed to be assigned to your polling place, check and see if they are on the job.

From the standpoint of the political parties, the “protective phase” is also of great importance. There’s no point in going to a lot of trouble only to be counted out. Nor do you want a lot of opposition party “ringers” or “floaters” voting who ought to have been challenged about their right to vote.

Therefore, most political organizations spend a good deal of time in preparing party workers to be what is known as “challengers” or “checkers” or “poll watchers.”

In its *Republican Workers’ Manual*, the Republican National Committee recommends a training school for such workers as a must.

The committee further suggests that a special “poll-watchers’ manual” be prepared and used as the basis of this instruction. Normally each political party (and often other interested organizations) is entitled to have its own watchers and challengers at the polls. But they are of no use unless they are properly trained to do their job.

One of the most complete manuals for challengers has been prepared by the Democratic State Central Committee of Michigan and is called *How to Be a Challenger*.

Prepare your poll-watching manual, select your personnel for the jobs, put them through a training school, and then back them up with action when the time comes. The work of the poll watchers should be especially coordinated with that of the “law committee,” mentioned several times before. For if anything is to be done, it usually must be done quickly and by experts who know their legal business.

Normally the activities of the political parties—engaged in checking on each other—will be sufficient to guarantee a fair and honest election. However, there is sometimes collusion between party workers in local areas. And, in some areas, there may be only one party with any real organization.

As a result, in some places—notably Chicago and New York—civic organizations of various kinds have undertaken quite extensive work on election day. In many places the Leagues of Women voters sponsor poll-watching schools. Chambers of Commerce may set up special programs for the training of watchers. The same is often true of labor unions.

But the Joint Civic Committee on Elections in Chicago and the Honest Ballot Association in New York have gone the farthest in systematizing their work over the years. Both organizations have existed for a long time, the New York association having been formed at the instigation of former President Theodore Roosevelt in 1913.

Both organizations recruit poll watchers from all kinds of sources: ministers, schoolteachers, students, civic-minded businessmen, and the like. They train them in a short course and then place them over the city. These persons are not just there unofficially but have the proper credentials entitling them to be watchers just the same as those representing any of the official political parties. In New York the liaison between the officials of the Honest Ballot Association and the city police and law enforcement officials has been extremely close and effective. Both groups have done a great deal to bring elections in these cities up to the levels that we would like to see them. And this is a kind of work which almost any civic-minded organization in any community could do.

Here it is not possible to go into all the details of their arrangements, pamphlets, training schools, and the like. Write them directly if you wish more direct and precise information—you will find their addresses in Chapter 10. Anyway, much of their material applies only to the two cities in question.

But it is appropriate to reproduce here some excerpts from the manuals of these organizations: excerpts which relate especially to the problems of **election frauds**. These materials should give you a good general idea of some of the problems involved and some of the things to look out for wherever you are.

First, here is a section from the Joint Civic Committee's pamphlet entitled *Chicago's Fight for Honest Elections—Instructions to Observers*.

### THE OBSERVATION AND DETECTION OF FRAUD

What is there for the observer to observe? It is true that, with one or two exceptions, our election laws are about as well framed to eliminate voting frauds as is reasonably possible. The trouble does not lie with the law; the trouble comes from disregard of the law. The human element cannot be made angelic just by statute. Vote frauds are committed by human beings. Dishonest elections require dishonest judges and clerks and dishonest precinct captains and party workers. Vote frauds can best be prevented by the selection of careful and honest judges and clerks and by the punishment of those who turn out to be dishonest. Most of the judges and clerks who have served in the past and who will serve at the forthcoming elections are conscientious and upright men and women, but a sizable minority of them have not been, as is evident from the frequent parade of names in the contempt cases heard by the county court.

### THE SUBSTITUTE JUDGE OR CLERK:

It is quite possible that, in order to secure the presence on the precinct election board of officials who are dishonest, a regularly qualified judge or clerk of election may be "induced" to absent himself on election day. The "emergency" appointment of the "right" person may then be filled at 6:15 A.M. Even if the substitute is not in conspiracy with this movement, he is apt to be

quite inexperienced and fraudulent practices may abound without his knowledge.

Observers should remember to note every sustained absence of a precinct election official and to identify each substitute official by name, address, and party affiliation.

If the officially appointed judge or clerk appears after a substitute has been appointed, he is required to take up his duties and the substitute is dismissed.

### **FRAUDULENT USE OF APPLICATIONS FOR BALLOTS:**

The packages of official ballots and of applications for ballots, as well as the precinct binder and other election supplies and materials, are delivered to some one of the judges of election the day before election. These supplies are checked over by the judges of election to make sure that everything is in proper order for use the next day. Only on the morning of the election are the sealed packages and the sealed precinct binder to be opened. This must be done in full view of all those present, and only one package of each at a time should be opened. The rest of the packages remain sealed until needed.

The voter must sign the application for ballot in the polling place. This signature must be compared by two judges to ascertain that the person signing the application is the same person who signed the registration card. The registration card should be checked in the lower right-hand corner to see if that person has already voted on this election day.

But in certain precincts judges of election sometimes permit a precinct captain or other party worker to take applications for ballots the night before election. Armed with these applications, the criminal attempts to induce the voter to sign the application in his home (in which event the ballot can be later marked as the criminal desires) or attempts himself to forge the voter's name. (In such cases, the signatures on the registration cards in the precinct binder are used as models.) Then the criminal, by use of these applications, secures a corresponding number of ballots and fraudulently votes them as he sees fit. This type of fraud cannot be committed without the connivance of the judges and clerks of election.

Forged applications are prepared outside the polling place and afterward brought in by the fraudulent voter. Careful observance will detect such a voter's failure to sign an application before the clerk in charge of applications and the production of a forged application from a pocket or handbag.

An attempt may be made toward the close of the day to put forged applications on the poll binder in order to bring the number of applications up to match any extra ballots which have illegally found their way into the ballot box.

To check this fraud, the observer should:

1. Be sure that the precinct binder is sealed on the morning of election day.
2. Be sure that all packages of official ballots and of applications for ballots are sealed on the morning of election day.
3. Be sure that only one package of official ballots is opened at one time.
4. Be sure that the judge in charge of the ballots counts the number of official ballots in each package as it is opened. There should be 100 in each

package. Note any variations on your observer's report and request an explanation. Report by telephone what appears to you to be an illegal diversion of ballots.

5. Make an effort to see that two judges compare the signature on each application with the signature of that voter on his registration card. A practical approach to this problem is for the observer at irregular intervals to request a careful comparison in his presence as a spot check.

### **OMITTING TO INITIAL BALLOTS:**

By simple process on the part of the judge who is in charge of the ballots of omitting to initial the ballot given to any voter, the ballot becomes void and cannot be counted. A dishonest judge, who knows and opposes the political views of any voter, can disfranchise him by this means.

To prevent this fraud, the observer should watch every ballot as it is deposited in the ballot box to note the presence or absence of initials.

### **CHAIN VOTING:**

This type of vote fraud is common and hard to detect. The chain is started by obtaining a blank official ballot, either by stealing it, by getting it from a dishonest judge, by application for an absent voter's ballot made by a party worker who thus secures a ballot, or by a voter in the employ of the operator of the chain failing to deposit the ballot but instead delivering it to the operator of the chain. Sometimes the voter brings in a blank piece of paper that looks like a ballot, puts the ballot in his pocket, and slips the piece of paper in the ballot box when the judge's attention is diverted. The ballot is marked outside the polling place by the operator of the chain and is then given to a controlled worker who conceals it in his pocket and presents himself at the polls to cast his vote. This voter receives a ballot from the judge, goes to the voting booth, folds his new ballot and puts it in his pocket, takes out the ballot previously marked, leaves the voting booth, deposits the marked ballot with the judge at the ballot box, and outside the polls gives the unmarked ballot to the operator of the chain who then marks it as desired and starts the process over again. When the chain ends an attempt may be made to deposit the extra ballot or ballots in the ballot box.

The value of this fraud to the operator of the chain is that he knows that the votes are being cast "the right way." At about 50c a head, a desired election result in some of the problem precincts can be obtained very easily and very cheaply. And the precinct captain, whose sole qualification for his political job is his ability to command the votes as desired in his precinct, has again proved his "fitness" for his position as an assistant to the organization. This fraud can however be stopped, though it requires constant vigilance on the part of the observer who should:

1. Be sure that all packages of ballots are sealed on the morning of election day.
2. Be sure that only one package of ballots is opened at a time.
3. Be sure that each package of ballots contains exactly 100 ballots, and that the judge in charge counts these. Make a note of any variation and request an explanation.

4. Be sure that no ballot is initialed in advance.
5. Be sure that the judge hands out only one ballot at a time.
6. Be sure that every voter leaving the voting booth hands his ballot to the ballot judge, that he does not personally deposit his ballot in the box and does not walk out with it.
7. Be sure that every ballot given to the judge after voting has on it the judge's initials. An absent voter's ballot used would not have such initials and could not be substituted for an initialed ballot. It could, however, be deposited when the judge was not looking and the initialed ballot carried out of the polling place to start a chain.
8. At irregular intervals during the day suggest a change in the judge who is initialing ballots thus causing a rotation of the judges doing this work. If the changes occur at irregular intervals previously initialed ballots may be discovered and the chain broken up.
9. Call committee ward headquarters and report suspected chain voting.

#### **MISUSE OF THE ASSISTED VOTE:**

This method of vote fraud consists of compelling a voter to ask for assistance in marking his ballot, whether the voter needs assistance or not. If the voter does not conform to the request of the precinct captain in asking for assistance, he is not paid for his vote as agreed or is refused favors or reported as unqualified for patronage.

Once the voter has been intimidated by this means to ask for assistance, such will be given him by two precinct election officials (supposedly of opposite political parties but actually working with one political party) who will mark the ballot according to their wish and not according to the voter's wish. Too often only one election official will give the assistance or a precinct captain or other political worker is permitted to do so. All this, of course, is a flagrant violation of the letter and spirit of our election laws. Even precinct captains push voters around and walk into booths to "assist" them.

To prevent this fraud the observer should:

1. Be sure that no person receives assistance who does not qualify for it by reason of inability to read the English language, physical disability, or blindness.
2. Be sure that every voter who requests assistance (except for reason of apparent blindness) signs an affidavit that assistance is necessary.
3. Be sure that the assistance is given such voter only by two precinct election officials of opposite political parties.
4. Be sure that before the application for assistance is granted, the voter is thoroughly questioned. Particularly should this be the case where the voter has signed his registration card in English and nevertheless pleads inability to read the English language, as his reason for requesting assistance.

(NOTE: Judges of election are required thoroughly to question the voter asking for assistance, checking all his answers with the information contained on the reverse side of the registration card.)

5. Be sure that the officials who render assistance sign the affidavit of the assisted voter that such assistance was given as the voter directed.

**SOLICITATION OF VOTES:**

The law forbids electioneering or soliciting of votes within the polling place or within 100 feet of its entrance. The judges of election are charged with the responsibility of preventing such practice. Violation of this law may intimidate voters, preventing them from voting as they wish, even discouraging them from voting at all.

Observers should immediately report such violations.

**“REPEATERS AND STINGERS”:**

The same person may attempt to vote more than once during the day in the same precinct. A “repeater” may present a forged application under the name of a registered voter whom he knows will not present himself at the polls. He may also attempt to vote twice under the same name where he knows there are two cards in the precinct binder under the same name or under two like names distinguished only by an initial.

If the observer has a list of persons whose names appear on the precinct register although they are known to have moved from the precinct or to have died he should watch for “repeaters” attempting to vote under the names of such persons. The fact that ward and precinct workers have been trying to round up the soldier and sailor absentee vote may lead to organized attempts to vote under their names particularly if the worker has secured a specimen of the handwriting and knows the data on the registration record card. Watch this carefully. Detection of forged applications or affidavits will also aid the observer in preventing such attempts at illegal voting.

**STUFFING THE BALLOT BOX:**

One method, not so widely used now because of the Permanent Registration Law in Illinois, consists of stuffing the ballot box. This procedure is just exactly what the name implies: the illegal deposit in the ballot box of official ballots marked by the criminal. If done in sufficient number, the election “result” may be swayed. Prior to the enactment of the Permanent Registration Law, this method was very effective. The only danger rested in detection at the time of stuffing. Now, however, ballots must be counted and made to agree in number with the applications for ballots on file in the poll binder. Excess ballots are destroyed. Stuffing the ballot box, to be effective, now requires a similar stuffing of the poll binder with applications for ballots. The requirement of agreement in number of ballots and applications has crimped this fraud, though not entirely stopped it.

To check this fraud the observer should:

1. Be at the polling place not later than 5:45 A.M.
2. See that the ballot box is empty when the polls open at 6 A.M. It must be shown to you.
3. See that each package of ballots is counted when opened. Note any variation from 100 and request an explanation. Report by phone what appears to you to be an illegal diversion of ballots.
4. See that the judges compare the number of voted ballots with the number of applications for ballots. They must agree in number; if not, the excess ballots must be destroyed.

5. Keep your own count of the ballots cast. This may easily be done by checking off the names on the printed precinct register, and the supplemental list, as persons vote.
6. See that the judge in charge of ballots initials only one at a time as called for.
7. See that the ballot box is kept in unobstructed view at all times. Incidents have been known where the precinct captain deliberately screened the ballot box with challengers and watchers of his own party to keep it from public view. Of course, this was done with the cooperation of a judge or judges of election.
8. See that an official at the count does not slop ballots onto the floor where planted ones could be picked up with them.

### **SHORT-PENCILING:**

This method of fraud is employed by dishonest judges after the polls have closed. A judge may cancel a vote by the simple process of marking the ballot in opposition to the voter's mark.

Short-penciling can be done when the judge handles the ballots after the close of the polls. Ingenuity on the part of the dishonest judge is the order of the day: he may conceal a short pencil in his hand as he sorts the ballots or he may use a bit of graphite on the fingernail, a bit of lead pencil fastened under the fingernail with sealing wax, a piece of lead pencil in a cigar or cigarette or fastened in a pencil eraser.

A variation of the short-penciling game is employed whenever the judge not only wishes to negate the vote cast for the opposing political party but wishes further to create a vote for his own. In such instances not only is the ballot short-penciled but the legitimate cross is erased.

To prevent this fraud the observer should be particularly watchful when the judges handle the ballots after the closing of the polls. The ballots should be kept completely on the table in full view and no one should touch them except the judges.

### **FRAUDULENT COUNTING AND TALLYING OF VOTES AND MAKING RETURNS:**

During the count of the ballots dishonest judges may call the votes improperly as they read them to the clerks who tally these votes. Similarly, the judges may call the votes properly but the clerks may tally them for other candidates.

Fraud can be committed in the transfer of the vote total from the tally sheets onto the statement of votes. These vote totals should be compared and the observer should see that every one of the judges and clerks signs the statement of votes.

After all this is done the observer should accompany the judges and clerks to the office of the Board of Election Commissioners to make sure that no change is made before the election materials are handed in.

### **CONCLUSION:**

Fraudulent election practices flourish under cover. Dishonesties such as are related above certainly will be deterred by the presence in the polls of trained observers who will stay on the job until the election is completed.

The essentials of effective observing at the polls are:

1. Arrive at the polling place before it opens. Telephone ward committee headquarters and give the telephone number where you may be reached.
2. Be certain to have full equipment, which will be delivered to you. It will include the printed precinct register and supplemental list, observer's credentials, form of observer's reports, with assignment sheet. Secure pen or pencils and blank sheets of paper. You will be given special telephone numbers for emergency calls.
3. Be alert to detect all violations of the law in the operation of the polling place, whether they are deliberate or the results of mistakes or indifference. **Never** allow your attention to be distracted.
4. Courtesy is essential to the proper spirit of this work, and to avoid the possibility of exclusion from the polling place. A courteous manner will not weaken the firm remonstrance which should be made to the judges and clerks of election whenever it appears that the laws are not being strictly observed.
5. Report promptly by telephone to the special number provided, in cases where precinct officials are apparently disregarding the law in defiance of protests.
6. Give faithful attention to duty from the beginning to the end of your assignment. Cut no corners. Leave no loopholes for mistakes or fraud.
7. Be sure to send in your observer's report filled out as required dependent upon whether you are assigned to the day or night shift.

And here is a summary of what the Honest Ballot Association considers that every poll watcher in New York City should know. It is taken from their *Instructions for Watchers on Election Day*.

#### Fifteen Points

1. Be at the polling place not later than 5:30 A.M.
2. Locate nearest telephone to the polling place before entering. Be provided with at least six nickels for phone calls, this book, and a pencil.
3. Exhibit your watcher's certificate promptly to the chairman of the Board of Inspectors and to the police officer.
4. Enter as soon as possible on the tally sheet furnished you the names and addresses of:
  - (a) All four inspectors of election, the clerks, and their respective parties;
  - (b) Captains for all parties;
  - (c) Shield numbers of the two police officers assigned to your polling place (inside and outside).
 and mail tally sheet as soon as possible after close of election.
5. Do not leave the polling place under any circumstances unless you are relieved. For relief, call your local headquarters or the HBA.
6. See that all counters on the voting machine read zero at the opening of the polls. Otherwise make necessary record.

7. Watch voting machine. Do not permit tampering, defacing, switching of names, spying through holes in curtains, or other illegal practices.
8. See that all unauthorized persons are kept outside of the guard rail at all times.  
One watcher from each party or independent body may be inside the guard rail at all times. During the count, two watchers. (Elec. L. Secs. 196 and 197.)
9. Do not permit electioneering within, or within 100 feet of, the polling place.
10. If the voter is recorded in the registration book as entitled to assistance, then, and then only, may he at his request have assistance of two inspectors of different political faiths, or, if the specified physical disability is manifest, assistance of his father, mother, brother, sister, wife, or child instead.
11. If you make an arrest for a violation of the election law, telephone your own headquarters or the HBA to send relief at once.
12. Do not forget that you have the right to challenge any voter who is a suspect or who is not entitled to vote in the district. Also that it is the duty of the Inspectors to challenge **everyone** on the "challenge list."
13. Should the machine get out of order, telephone the Board of Elections (CAnal 6-2600) and also the HBA at once.
14. All persons **in line** at the hour set for the closing of the polls are entitled to vote.
15. When the count is being recorded one HBA watcher should carefully check each counter in back of the machine as the figures are called off, while another HBA watcher verifies the proper recording of the vote in the statement of canvass and the return.

In general, be polite but firm. Do not allow yourself to be browbeaten by anyone. You have rights, established by law. Assert them courteously.

Whenever necessary bring to the police officer's attention the duties imposed on him by law and by his department's rules and regulations.

One more thought—

**The final purpose of the "protective phase" is nothing less than the preservation of our entire American democratic political system.**

## 6. CONCLUSION

And when it's all over, whatever the result, don't forget to **thank those who helped you out**. This is probably even more important if you lost than if you won, especially if you have any hopes for the future.

## *The Big Picture*

YOU MAY WELL BE ASKING yourself by now: **How do all the things we've been talking about fit together?**

There are two ways to look at this "fitting-together" business.

One way we will consider here in this chapter. This is through attempting to understand the relationships of our own local political actions to the larger political whole of which we are but a small—though essential—part. The other way of looking at the ideas presented in the preceding pages we will talk about in the next chapter.

Perhaps the best means of illustrating the importance of grass roots, local political action to the larger political scene is to look at a brief case history, written by some of the people who took part in it.

This case history was prepared by the Republican State Central Committee of Iowa for distribution by the Republican National Committee. It should give you a far clearer picture of what we discussed much earlier in Chapter 2, under the heading of "The System."

### VICTORY BLUEPRINT

#### The Iowa Story

##### *The Importance of Organization*

While the Iowa election of 1950 was a clear sweep for the Republican ticket all the way down the line, the election was by no means "in the bag" when the campaign started in the spring.

**BETTER ORGANIZATION** was the key to the Iowa victory.

##### *What Republicans Faced in Iowa*

The Republican organization in Iowa was in a bad state of disrepair. Many county and precinct organizations were virtually inoperative: some because they did not know how to organize for effective get-out-the-Republican-vote procedures, others because of factional disunity. Many workers were discouraged because what had appeared to be an easy victory in 1948 had turned into a bitter defeat with the loss of a Senate seat and the state presidential vote.

There was a general lack of interest as the 1950 campaign approached.

Little had been done in the nonelection year of 1949 to foster and maintain interest.

This was the general picture in the spring of 1950.

Fundamentally, Iowa is Republican—but not blindly so. As a general rule, Iowa people are unusually well informed, and they are not easily stampeded. This widespread intelligence combined with the nature of the state's economy has developed a thoughtful electorate.

#### *Reviving the Party Organization*

During the 1950 organizational period, new and younger blood was recruited into the regular organization. Over 100 of the 200 county chairmen and vice-chairmen elected in the 99 counties (Lee County has 2 each) were new officials. Youth was encouraged, 40 of the 100 county chairmen being under 40 years of age. These new recruits supplied new vigor and vitality and brought new ideas into the organization.

In the matter of party expression in Iowa, state convention resolutions represent the official party thought. The party organizations themselves are selected in the primary elections held in June. Following this, county conventions are held to name the county chairmen, to organize the county committees, and to adopt resolutions which develop into the party's state platform.

#### *Drafting the State Platform*

A departure from previous resolution procedure helped further to give vitality in the lower echelons of the party. State Chairman Bob Goodwin urged all county organizations to give serious consideration to the problem of resolutions and to send their resolutions to state headquarters. Here they were sorted by the state headquarters staff and turned over to an informal canvassing committee. This committee was composed of one individual from each congressional district representing all auxiliaries of the party.

From these county resolutions, the informal committee drafted the proposed resolutions to be submitted to the state convention platform committee. This procedure, which started a "grass roots" movement in the state, was generally acknowledged as an excellent way to get closer to the people, many of whom were gratified to feel that they had an actual part in writing the state platform. In at least one instance, a resolution passed at a precinct caucus became a part of the state platform.

#### *Schools of Politics Organized*

Fundamentally we believed that you can't organize and sell the customers unless you know **how**. The need to increase our political literacy was recognized. We knew that old methods could be improved with new but proven techniques; that new members of the party organization could benefit from a drill in fundamentals.

Designated by the state chairman to be organization director was Alden L. Doud, state senator and retiring member of the State Central Committee. Senator Doud was sent to Washington in May to attend the Republican National Committee's School of Politics, and along with others from Iowa who

attended the school, he drafted a plan for similar schools to be held in the state of Iowa.

In each of the eight congressional districts, one-day schools were held, to which county chairmen and vice-chairmen, women leaders, and Young Republicans were invited. These were conducted in late July and early August, immediately following the state convention. Nearly every one of the 99 counties was represented in some one of the political schools.

#### *Workers' Manual Distributed*

National Committeeman Harrison Spangler drafted a precinct manual for workers to "get out the Republican vote." A copy of this 12-page printed pamphlet (entitled *Republican Workers' Manual, 1950, A Plan to Win*) was sent to each of the 5000 precinct committeemen and women in the state, and to other workers interested in concentrated efforts, especially in the larger cities. It proved most valuable as a practical plan to follow in locating Republican voters.

A theme of "Salesmen of Freedom" was adopted which became very popular. Workers were given "freedom" buttons and meetings were called "sales meetings."

In the belief that you can't get Republicans to vote unless you know who and where they are, main emphasis was placed on a census to determine the number of Republican voters in each precinct. Most of the counties conducted some form of census and then concentrated on getting to the polls those voters who had indicated they were Republicans. The detailed procedure followed was outlined in the *Republican Workers' Manual*.

One of the "extra" benefits of the plan was the fact that many workers felt that, for the first time, the state and national organizations had presented to them a concrete plan, and had given them something specific to do toward winning the November election.

#### *Campaign Headquarters Established*

A unified headquarters is most important in the conduct of any political campaign. A campaign headquarters—not to be confused with the regular state headquarters which is maintained on a year-round basis—was set up in Iowa in September. The organization director, speakers' bureau, campaign managers of the two major candidates (senator and governor), the state chairman, publicity director, and National Committee members all had office space in the campaign headquarters, which also included a large general office and mailing room.

Promotion and advertising material was mailed in bundles to county chairmen, timed to take advantage of big meetings as well as local situations.

A daily "strategy meeting" was held at which the plans for campaigning were thoroughly discussed, techniques were altered if necessary, speech material was reviewed, and advertising planned. These daily meetings made it possible to shift the strategy quickly to meet changing situations, and also served to provide close coordination for all activity.

*Speakers' Bureau*

The organization was supplemented by an effective speakers' bureau, headed by W. S. Rupe, Ames publisher who was formerly a Chautauqua director and more recently was attached to the Chicago office of the National Committee in the 1944 and 1948 campaigns.

Assignment of speakers to various counties was made in cooperation with local organizations. Speakers were so routed that they would cover a single area in one trip, rather than be forced to hustle from one end of the state to the other, and back again. As requests for speakers came to headquarters, they were cleared with the respective candidates, and itineraries were set up to get maximum use of the available manpower. Under this system, virtually every county in the state had at least one major candidate at least once during the campaign. Minor candidates were assigned to the smaller meetings, and in some cases noncandidate speakers were used to fill speaking dates.

Key rallies were planned well in advance, and publicity was coordinated with the rallies to obtain the best results. By coordinating activities, it was easy to set up several outstanding meetings and effectively utilize the services of our main candidates.

*Progress Reports*

Throughout the campaign, Mr. Doud kept in touch with county organizations through numerous bulletins, telegrams, and letters (written on special "Salesmen of Freedom" letterheads, with The Team of candidates' names listed in the left margin). Progress reports were obtained and exchanged periodically. When it developed that a county was not following through on some phase of the get-out-the-vote plan, assistance was offered. In several cases members of the state staff went into the counties and helped the local groups with organizational problems.

The opposition did try to throw many diversionary attacks on us. But we fended them aside and stuck to our fundamental plan. It paid us well. In all but 3 out of 99 counties there was some type of organization functioning. In those where organizations were perfected, the results showed a substantial vote increase for every office—from senator and governor right down to the local level. More courthouse posts, for example, were won in 1950 than in 1930, the previous peak.

*Help from Outside Groups*

Considerable "outside help" was received throughout the campaign.

While there was no formal alliance with farm organizations, agriculture's opposition to the Brannan Plan reacted in favor of Republicans. In the matter of correlation of meetings, speech writing, and research, close cooperation existed with friendly farm officials. In addition, the Farm Bureau held county meetings during the middle of the campaign to arouse interest in getting out the vote.

Medical groups also held scores of meetings stressing the need for election of congressmen opposed to the socialization of medicine. Some cooperation existed between the Republican organization and these groups.

Church groups were encouraged to take an active role in the election. Protestant groups were wholeheartedly behind the Republican state administration's antigambling drive; and Catholic groups, usually Democrat, were openly fighting the national administration's softness toward communism. Both issues paid off in Republican votes.

#### *Financing the Campaign*

In February, 1950, we were broke. Funds that had been raised ahead of time, ostensibly for 1950, had been exhausted as they came in. Accordingly, the finance chairman and the central committee determined on a \$25-a-plate Lincoln Day Dinner to obtain the needed funds to carry the organization along until the enthusiasm of the campaign would bring in contributions.

The first of its kind among Republicans in Iowa, the dinner was a real success. State Finance Chairman James Schramm put zeal, humor, and intense effort into the work. He had a very able full-time assistant, Edward J. Morrissey, secretary of our State Finance Committee, with an office in state headquarters.

Each county was assigned a fund-raising quota to care for state and national needs. The counties were urged to add their own needs to these quotas and to concentrate on a one-package fund. The counties were given credit on their quotas for money raised from the sale of Lincoln Day Dinner tickets. While the money raised was adequate, at no time could we afford to be reckless in the expenditure of funds, which sometimes were in short supply.

In county after county an unusual effort was made to raise money to pay for local advertising and promotion. This was done with the full blessing of the state organization. This activity produced a corollary benefit; it stirred up intense local organizational interest.

We finished the campaign "in the black." In 1951 we staged another state-wide fund-raising Lincoln Day Rally which likewise was highly successful. If the receipts from this event, together with the surplus from the '50 campaign, are carefully husbanded and frugally spent, we expect to see them last through July of 1952.

We believe that it is poor policy to be continuously asking for funds, so we won't hold another drive until mid-'52. We won't turn down any contributions, however, nor will we miss the opportunity for another money-raising Lincoln Day Rally in 1952.

## Success Story

THE OTHER WAY of putting together the things we have talked about in the earlier parts of this manual is by again taking a look at what some other people have done in the matter of practical political action—but this time, from a relatively nonpartisan or nonparty and purely local point of view.

**This way we can see what other citizens, like ourselves, have been able to do in their own home community**—using the same basic tools and techniques that we have been discussing throughout this book.

There is no one single way to use these tools and techniques. Rather, there are multitudes of ways, each one dependent upon what you want to do, when you want to do it, and how you want to do it. Each civic and political problem is in some way different.

But here is at least one solution for one particular problem. In this case the story is about an organized citizens' drive made in Pinellas County, Florida (centering around St. Petersburg), for the approval of a bond issue which would go to improve the community school system. The story has been written by Floyd T. Christian and Harriet Lutz for distribution by the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools.

You may say: "But this isn't a **political** matter!"

And you would be as wrong as wrong could be. It may be a "non-partisan" matter all right. But just try and get through a measure which may raise taxes, and you'll quickly find out how "political" such a question rapidly becomes.

The idea in presenting such a case study as this is to give you one more glimpse into some of the kinds of civic political action open to you as an individual citizen.

Most of the materials and examples that have been presented up to this point have related pretty directly to what we more often think of as purely "partisan" action. But there are other kinds of political action than partisan political action. If you feel that you can't take part in the latter, then perhaps you can help out in the kind of community work described in the story below.

And you might also note how many of the political action tools and techniques that we have been talking about in this book were actually put to the test by the citizens of Pinellas County.

---

### SUNSHINE ON PINELLAS BOND DRIVE

December 11 was a red-letter day in the educational history of Pinellas County, Florida. At 7 o'clock that night, the taxpayers of the county had proven by a high majority vote that the needed money, a \$6,205,000 bond issue, would be made available for new schools.

Lack of school space is not original in Pinellas—it is true all over the nation. Figures showed that the enrollment numbered about 24,000 students. Facilities for taking care of this enrollment were adequate for only 11,000. No major building had been done since the middle '20s. In the interim, "Pinellas County had had twins."

In April of 1949 another referendum had been held to approve of such a bond issue but the venture had failed: there had been a recent change in school administration; the public was not educated to the real need, and the schools themselves tried to promote the issue rather than give the taxpayers and citizens a job that belonged to them.

The situation in Pinellas County, Florida, is unique in a way. The population is made up mainly of retired, inactive residents whose interest in schools, if any, is that of grandparents. Another differing factor is the special state law affecting bond issues. It states that, to be successful, 50 per cent and one of the qualified freeholders (taxpayers) must go to the polls. Of these, a majority must vote "Yes." The first referendum was lost because the needed number did not go to the polls.

After this loss, the County Board of Public Instruction was not the only group that realized how deficient the public school plant had become. Parents saw their children attending school in shifts because there was not space for full day sessions. Public-minded citizens realized that the situation was rapidly becoming drastic.

In February of 1950, at the suggestion of the superintendent and the County School Board, these citizens held a meeting in the St. Petersburg Senior High School to form a committee to be known as the Citizens Advisory Committee. This group divided into subcommittees after electing officers—a chairman, vice-chairman, and a secretary. It has been estimated that over 100,000 man-hours of work have been spent by these and other public-minded persons before the desired end was accomplished.

The first subcommittee was the school study group. Out of about 150 persons 50 visited from school to school, making the trips on school buses. Although certain findings came out of these trips, the committee felt that smaller numbers, unannounced, would be able to see existing conditions much better. Using their own time, cars, and gasoline, a chairman and his picked committee were appointed to visit each given school. The main stipulation was that the school be one in which no personal interest was involved.

In three weeks' time all of the schools were visited. Each individual made his own report on a check sheet devised for that purpose. These were given to the

committee chairman who correlated the findings and passed them on to the chairman of the subcommittee. Long days and hours of compilation were spent in totaling the results of this study. It is an interesting point to note that when the final report of the School Study Committee was submitted, it so nearly matched the needs felt by the Board of Public Instruction that it was accepted in nearly every detail:

1. Maintenance, due to war and lack of funds, had been neglected to a point of property loss;
2. Additions were needed to existing buildings;
3. New schools needed to be built.

At this point the county superintendent of schools and the school architect conferred to decide what the resulting needs would entail in buildings and money. The total was three new senior high schools, five new elementary schools, a combination elementary and junior high for Negroes, and a junior and senior high school for Negroes.

They concluded that, of the needed expansions in present school buildings, the erection and payment could be done on a pay-as-you-go basis. This part of the program would include 30 major projects in county schools to provide more classrooms plus required auxiliary facilities as libraries, gymnasiums, and cafeterias.

The Finance Subcommittee of respected citizens that included three leading bankers studied the situation thoroughly. They realized that unless the plan was a watertight affair guaranteeing as little tax increase as possible, it would never be sold to the public. After much study and debate, they stated that a combination of bond issue and pay-as-you-go method of financing would not entail a change in the millage rate. Confusion entered the picture at this point, however. A re-evaluation of property was taking place in the county. Many citizens believed, contrary to fact, that this was related to the school bond issue. The only active opposition to the bond issue that ensued was due to this circumstance.

All committees were carefully organized and briefed. At all times the entire advisory committee was aware of all that was going on within the group. This was no haphazard affair. To prepare the public for the coming campaign, a public relations committee, directed by a local public relations administrator, was formed. This committee furnished material for newspapers, radio, and speakers. Owners and managers of all county newspapers and radio stations were invited to attend all meetings to give their opinions and suggestions. For the first time in history, the county had a nonpartisan issue in which all eleven papers were in accord—nine actively and two passively. The columns of print that were run during the campaign would fill a Sunday edition. Toward the end of the crusade, local advertisers gave their space, whole pages, to the "Vote YES" quotation. Editorials, cartoons, and speeches appeared daily. A question and answer column was run and rerun.

A four-page factual sheet and tabloid carrying pictures of existing conditions, statistics, questions and answers was compiled. This was published and financed by the advisory committee.

On this sheet were also the names and addresses of the advisory committee.

Forty thousand copies of this paper were distributed to clubs and used in the door-to-door policy that followed. The sheets were not thrown into the yards—they were delivered personally.

The November 7 general election hampered the committee in setting a date for the bond referendum. The bond issue questions had to go to the polls either 30 days before or 30 days after the general election. Because the latter was a highly partisan affair this year, the committee decided to hold the bond referendum 30 days after the regular election and use that time to educate the public when the smoke of politics had settled.

Radio stations were generous with their time. Talks ranging from 15 minutes to repeated "spot" announcements hammered the "Vote on Monday" into the public ear. That was not all. The last two days of the drive the Junior Chamber of Commerce added spectacular sound effects. A truck carrying a barbership quartet toured the streets with banners flying. Sound trucks drove about urging the populace to "Remember Monday . . . Vote for the Children." An airplane with a loud speaker flew overhead carrying the same message.

Citizens found milk bottle tops on their daily milk supply reminding them of the important day and date. The J.C.'s painted reminders on the crosswalks of all the main streets of the cities.

The subcommittee, known as the Speakers' Bureau, was made up of individuals who had been active in the work from the time it started. Their names as backing the drive were on the factual sheet given to the public. They, not the Board of Public Instruction, were accepting the responsibility of this venture. The Public Relations Committee had sent out nearly 150 letters to clubs and organizations in the county asking time at meetings for speakers to acquaint the members with the facts. Nearly all of these organizations were reached with time allotments given from three to thirty minutes. One man drove 25 miles to speak seven minutes before a group. These speakers carried illustrated posters bearing pictures of the existing school conditions. These were placed in conspicuous places. One such speaker met with 35 organizations.

The Get-out-the Vote Committee was made up mainly of officers and members of the PTA. In the fall, at a county council meeting of this group, it was unanimously agreed to approve and support the bond issue. This active organization did yeoman duty. Even with the months of campaigning that were spent prior to the election, the drive would have failed due to negligence on the part of the voters without the final drive made by the PTA. They had organized headquarters in St. Petersburg and Clearwater. The precinct lists were broken down into parts of precincts affected by each school. Chairmen were appointed in each district, and each was made responsible to see that a majority vote was obtained. Some chairmen had a hundred workers. There were enough PTA workers so that each person need make only ten calls, all to taxpayers in that precinct. At each call the worker gave information and a factual sheet and solicited the support of the voters in the home. On December 11, people all over the county were tensed for the outcome of all of this strategy. Polls opened in the morning at 7 o'clock and closed at 7 o'clock in the evening. The early-morning paper in St. Petersburg reminded people of their duty and

privilege in large red letters across the front page. Some voters stopped at the polls on their way to work in the morning, but not enough. By noon, the afternoon paper was on the streets with a very pessimistic view of the outcome. There had been little or no opposition. To defeat the issue people had only to remain away from the polls and this they were doing.

Precinct workers tightened their drives and got ready the 1000 drivers who were alerted to be thrown into the fray at the last moment if the need arose. When the 5 o'clock voters arrived to vote, they remained to help. More lists were checked and double-checked. Telephones rang continuously. Cars were dispatched with the word, "Don't come back without them." Each car had a driver and a helper to stay as baby sitter or nurse, if need be. Many humorous stories have been related since of what the voters were doing when the drivers arrived: taking baths, mixing cement, going to bed, getting dinner, playing cards, and entertaining. But they left what they were doing and went to vote. At 7 o'clock it was over and the tally began.

Station WTSP gave spot announcements every five minutes from 7 until 8 o'clock as the tension mounted and reports came in. Even Gabriel Heater's newscast was interrupted. It was obvious from the first that the majority would be a "yes" vote if only enough voters had reached the polls.

At 8 o'clock it was over. A majority had been reached. The official tally was "some 2524 more than the required 23,052 had gone to the polls." It was an overwhelming "yes" vote—only 1240 voted "no."

It has been a public affair. The Citizens Advisory Committee and hundreds of others deserve credit and thanks. The job has just begun. Again Pinellas County is unique: the Advisory Committee and the Board of Public Instruction will work together to see that the schools of the county become what our children need and deserve.

## *Where to Write for More*

THIS BOOK is aimed at bringing out in a systematic form some of the more effective techniques and procedures for the organization of citizen political action at the grass roots, local level.

In order to prepare this compilation several hundred miscellaneous pamphlets, folders, brochures, booklets, and the like have been culled for the best descriptive materials available. Undoubtedly, however, there are sins of commission and omission. Anyway, it is impossible to put everything that you might need to know for effective political action within the covers of one small book.

The purpose of this chapter is twofold: (1) to give you some further idea of the sources to which the author has gone for the materials which you have already looked at and (2) to give you some other suggestions about where to write for more information in case you find you need it.

To avoid repetition of titles, names, and addresses this chapter is organized a little differently from the manual itself. First we will talk about certain prominent political (partisan and nonpartisan) organizations which put out some of the best publications and materials. The publications of these agencies will be discussed along with the agency itself, rather than under other headings.

Then, after the discussion of organizations and their specially prepared literature, there is a section listing references of a more miscellaneous character. This has been divided in turn into "general" and "topical" listings—the latter dealing with more specialized areas of concern. However, there will be no attempt in this chapter to relist items whose sources are indicated earlier in Chapters 1 through 7.

Therefore, if you wish to look for references on, a subject such as, for instance, "election administration," you should look first under that heading in Chapter 7, and then at the "topical" listing to see if there are any further specialized items on this subject. After these checks, you may get some other ideas from some of the publications listed under the "general" heading or mentioned in the discussions of various organizations.

---

## 1. ORGANIZATIONS AND AGENCIES

**a. Political parties—general:** Both major, and many of the minor, party headquarters put out considerable quantities of publications on political organization and techniques, aimed at interesting all kinds of people in political action. Unfortunately, these organizations maintain no catalogs of publications which you can write for and order from. Usually it is best to send out letters all at once to the Research Division, the Women's Division, the Young (Democrats, Republicans, etc.) Division, and the Publicity Division. The national party headquarters also have lists of the addresses of all their state and many local party headquarters. Each of the local organizations, especially those of the states and the large cities, will have publications of their own. Political publishing, like political organization, is pretty much a decentralized affair. Also, political publishing is generally for the use of the political organizations themselves. For instance, these organizations seldom carry for very long any stock on hand of their publications. The materials are produced to be used in a particular campaign and, once they are issued to the using agencies, no more of a particular publication may be available. Quite a number of the manuals from which items have been taken for this book are, as a result, no longer in print.

**b. The Republican Party:** The national headquarters of this party is now at 921 15 St., N.W., Washington, D.C. Quite a number of the publications of this political organization have been noted in this book. The most important single publication on Republican political organization is the Republican National Committee's *Campaign Manual*. Approximately 90 pages long, this pamphlet outlines in considerable detail organizational procedures recommended by the National Committee. Unfortunately, the manual, though published in 1950, is out of print. However, copies may sometimes be obtained through state and local party headquarters which may not have exhausted their allotments. Comparatively speaking, this is one of the best-written and most complete manuals available.

Another source of Republican material, one which is currently quite active, is the Republican Congressional Committee. For information write the Director of Public Relations, Republican Congressional Committee, 210 George Washington Inn, Washington, D.C.

If you are especially interested in precinct work, the outstanding publication which outlines a good many of the tricks of the trade is the manual known as *The American Voters Handbook—Republican Precinct Worker's Handbook* by John Leonard East, the Chairman of the Republican Central Committee of Cook County, Illinois. The 124-page manual is published by the National Precinct Workers, Inc., 332 South Michigan Ave., Chicago 4, Illinois. Most political literature in this country is free but this publication is not. The price is, however, reasonable for a privately printed work.

**c. The Democratic Party:** The national headquarters of this party is in the Ring Building, 1200 18 St., N.W., Washington, D.C. By far the greatest number of organizational publications put out by this headquarters have been

prepared by the Women's Division. Most of them have been referred to in this book.

Outside Washington, the New York Democratic State Central Committee has done a considerable amount of publishing of its own, quite a bit of which has been listed already. The offices of this organization are in the Hotel Biltmore, New York 17. The New York Committee has, along with its Republican opposite number, been especially active in promoting schools of politics. Write either headquarters for information on conducting such a school. The New York Republican State Central Committee's address is 41 East 42 St., New York 17.

**d. The Progressive Party:** There is very little organizational literature currently being produced by this political organization. However, the New York offices of the Progressive party, now at 150 W. 46 St., New York 19, have a few items available from previous campaigns.

**e. The CIO-PAC:** The national headquarters of this organization is in the Dupont Circle Building, 1346 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. The CIO-PAC is one of the more prolific publishers of political action materials, aimed more at the labor unions than the general public, but useful to anyone interested in political organization. A large number of the best of their publications have been discussed in the book by Joseph Gaer, entitled *The First Round—The Story of the CIO Political Action Committee* and published in 1944 by Duell, Sloan and Pearce. Copies of a few of the publications mentioned in this book are still available. For more recent publications, write directly to the Washington office for information.

A number of the local state CIO-PAC's also put out their own publications. Again, write directly to these local organizations, the addresses of which may be obtained from the Washington office.

**f. Labor's League for Political Education:** The national offices of this organization, the A.F. of L. counterpart to the CIO-PAC, are at 1525 H St., N.W., Washington, D.C. Most of the publications of this agency are, however, not directly on organizational matters.

**g. League of Women Voters:** The national offices of the league are at 1026 17 St., N.W., Washington, D.C. This organization has available a great number of publications designed to stimulate citizen participation in politics—particularly on behalf of women. Fortunately, this headquarters has a small catalog of these publications available for the asking. However, there is a small charge for nearly all of the items listed.

In addition to the materials available from the national headquarters of the league, there are numerous publications by the state and local leagues. These are, however, not cataloged in any one place, and one will have to write to Washington for the addresses of the local and state leagues. The most valuable of these local league publications are the special handbooks on state and local government and politics.

**h. National Municipal League:** This organization, with headquarters at 299 Broadway in New York, publishes a great many materials of interest to local civic organizations, especially those of cities and towns. It not only puts out publications designed to stimulate civic organization and action for the

general improvement of local government, but also publishes such items as the *Model City Charter* and other models of suggested legislation. The Citizen Action section of the monthly publication of the league, the *National Municipal Review*, also contains a great many references to all kinds of current civic movements at the local level.

**i. Chamber of Commerce:** The national offices of the chamber are at 1615 H St., N.W., Washington, D.C. These offices as well as the state and local chambers put out a great many publications of general civic interest. For information from the national chamber write the Department of Governmental Affairs at the above address. One of the most complete publications by a state Chamber of Commerce is one put out by the Indiana State Chamber of Commerce, Board of Trade Building, Indianapolis 4, Indiana. It is called *Citizenship Participation*. Though selling at a fairly good price, it is unusually thorough and well done.

**j. Farm Organization:** These agencies are somewhat less prolific in publications of general civic interest, but the Farmers Union, the Farm Bureau, and the Grange all have some materials available.

**k. Bureaus of Governmental Affairs:** Most of the state universities and some of the municipal universities have developed what are frequently known as Bureaus of Governmental Affairs or Institutes of Public Administration, etc. A letter to the political science department of almost any college or university will enable you to find out the location of the nearest bureau. Further letters will usually produce the bureau's publications list. These agencies usually specialize in the operation of local government in their own states and much valuable data and information can be obtained from them.

**l. Other Civic Organizations:** In nearly every town, city, county, and state there are innumerable civic agencies of various kinds, most of which the average citizen is at least aware of. Sometimes these organizations may have special publications of considerable use in political affairs.

There are two, however, which are of special interest to those concerned about elections and election procedures. Both have been referred to in previous chapters, but here are their full names and their addresses.

One is the Honest Ballot Association of New York, whose address is at 27 William St., New York. The other is the Joint Civic Committee on Elections at 111 W. Jackson Blvd., Chicago, Illinois. The New York agency is not only active at ordinary elections, but, at the suggestion of Thomas E. Dewey when he was a Special Prosecutor, has for a number of years been active in supervising (at their request) many labor elections. Both groups have a great many forms and publications which they use in their work. There is no reason why this sort of work could not be done in many other places.

One more publication should also be mentioned at this point. This is the *Kansas Election Manual* of the League of Kansas Municipalities, 312 Capitol Federal Building, Topeka, Kansas. This 212-page book is, as far as the author knows, the only one of its kind in this country. It is a comprehensive outline—with 40 pages of illustrative forms—of election procedure in the state of Kansas. Though expensive, it is all-inclusive and extremely well done.

**m. British Political Parties:** Many of the publications of the British Labour

and Conservative parties put the organizational efforts of our own parties to shame.

The national headquarters of the Labour Party is at Transport House, Smith Square, London, S.W. 1, England. Their principal organizational publication is now in its ninth edition. By Harold Croft, it is called, simply, *Party Organisation*. Other publications are available on the *Conduct of Local Elections*, *Labour's League of Youth*, *Women's Sections*, and *Trades Councils*. These can all be obtained for small sums from the above address.

By far the most complete series of organizational publication is, however, published by the Conservative party, whose national offices are at Abbey House, 2-8, Victoria St., London, S.W. 1, England. These pamphlets, 11 in number at the present time, are known as the "Organisation Series" and concern general party organization, duties of officers, model rules, business meeting procedure, youth organization, finance, registration, indoor and outdoor meetings, use of volunteers, local government elections, and children's organizations. This is probably the most complete series of political publications on democratic party organization ever published, and many of our organizations could learn from them.

Incidentally, all the British parties—contrary to American practice—charge small sums for their publications. Their theory, to which there may be some point, is that what you pay for you are apt to keep and use to best advantage.

## 2. GENERAL REFERENCES

**a. Texts:** Those of you who really want to look into the general history, organization, and operation of political parties in this country—at the national and state as well as local levels—should go to some of the basic college textbooks dealing with political parties, elections, and political behavior in general. Any of the following cover the subject thoroughly and also include a great deal of additional references on all kinds of specific topics: (1) V. O. Key, *Politics, Parties and Pressure Groups*, Thomas Y. Crowell Co., New York, 1948; (2) Howard R. Penniman, *Sait's American Parties and Elections*, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, 1948; (3) Hugh A. Bone, *American Politics and the Party System*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1949; (4) Dayton D. McKean, *Party and Pressure Politics*, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1949; and (5) Peter H. Odegard and E. Allen Helms, *American Politics*, Harper & Bros., 1947.

A less detailed treatment and one more popularly written has been published by the National Council for the Social Studies, 1201 16 St., N.W., Washington, D.C. It is their Bulletin No. 20, entitled *Parties and Politics in the Local Community*, by Marguerite J. Fisher and Edith E. Starratt, published in 1945. This 150-page booklet has the advantage not only of a textual discussion but also of a section devoted to "teaching aids" and bibliography. It is, however, aimed more at understanding the political process than at encouraging direct political action.

A much shorter summary of the American political system is by Franklin L. Burdette. Called *Political Parties: An American Way*, it is available for a very small sum from the Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20.

**b. Other General Works:** There are a few other books and publications which are of a general "how-to-do-it" character and which contain information of value. The principal ones are the following:

(1) Frank Kent's *The Great Game of Politics*, though originally published in 1928 by Doubleday, Doran and Co., Inc., of New York, is still a classic in its discussion of the practical political scene at the national as well as the state and local levels.

(2) Another classic was reissued not long ago by Alfred A. Knopf of New York. This is William L. Riordon's *Plunkitt of Tammany Hall*, republished in 1948 with a new introduction by Roy V. Peel. This volume consists of Plunkitt's advice to a budding politician and his observations on the inner workings of politics. Though Plunkitt dates back to the turn of the century, his remarks are still at least partially relevant and, in any case, they make most interesting reading.

(3) Among more recent books is Lowell Mellett's *Handbook of Politics*, published in 1946 by Penguin Books, New York. Unfortunately, it is now out of print. It is especially useful on the "how-to-start" question and on the analysis of congressional activities. J. Howard McGrath's *The Power of the People*, published by Julian Messner, Inc., of New York in 1948, is more a study of Democratic party policies than an organization manual, though it is of some value on practical organizational problems. Hugh Scott's *How to Go into Politics*, published by The John Day Co. of New York in 1949 is of more use to the beginner. Of special interest to women will be Louise Young's *Understanding Politics, a Practical Guide for Women*, published by Pellegrini and Cudahy of New York. This book, however, is mainly a kind of popularized text on American government rather than a manual of procedure. Completely down to earth in their treatment of practical political operations are two other books. One has been mentioned before and is Joseph Gaer's *The First Round—The Story of the CIO Political Action Committee*, published by Duell, Sloan and Pearce in 1944. The other is Harold Gauer's *How to Win in Politics*, published in 1946 by Bruce Humphries of Boston. Both of these last two books are especially good on publicity and public relations problems.

### 3. REFERENCES ON SPECIAL TOPICS

(1) **Parliamentary Procedure:** The best single source is, of course, *Robert's Rules of Order*. This may be purchased almost anywhere. There is no reason, however, why other compilations cannot be used in most cases and there are a good many useful summaries of parliamentary procedure. These won't do for complicated problems, but they will do for most ordinary situations. One of the best manuals to use in training groups in parliamentary procedure is O. Garfield Jones' *Senior Manual for Group Leadership*, published by Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc. Another excellent and complete guide by a well-known authority is the *Standard Code of Parliamentary Procedure* by Alice F. Sturgis, published by McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., of New York.

A special handbook for use in New England town meetings has been prepared by Geoffrey Bolton, former Town Moderator of Shirley, Massachusetts. Called *A Handbook for Town Moderators*, it can be obtained for a reasonable sum

St., Boston. Town meetings frequently involve special procedural problems over and beyond those of the ordinary type of meeting.

(2) **Polling:** Good public opinion polling is apt to demand a fair amount of skill but reasonably accurate techniques are not too difficult to understand and apply. Besides the brief summary reproduced earlier, the reader may find these of some value: Hadley Cantril, *Gauging Public Opinion*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1944; A. B. Blankenship, *How to Conduct Consumer and Opinion Research*, Harper & Bros., New York, 1946; and Mildred Parten, *Surveys, Polls, and Samples: Practical Procedures*, Harper & Bros., New York, 1950. For another type of analysis which is often useful, see Louis H. Bean, *How to Predict Elections*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1948. Bean's system is based upon the study of voting behavior over long periods of time rather than upon polls of immediate preferences. Bean was, incidentally, one of the few persons correctly and publicly to predict President Truman's victory in 1948.

(3) **Public Relations:** The literature in this field is almost beyond comprehension, and any of the general reference works quoted above will give you enough citations to keep you occupied for years to come. But there is one further special citation to make—of John P. Keith's manual concerning a *Public Relations Program for a Citizen Committee*, published in 1950 by the Bureau of Municipal Research of the University of Texas, Austin, Texas. This manual tells how a number of citizens' committees conducted their public relations programs so as to produce electoral majorities for, especially, new constitutions. Much of the experience outlined in this manual is also applicable to almost any other type of political campaign—and especially those of a relatively nonpartisan or bipartisan sort.

(4) **Reform and Reorganization:** These topics have not been discussed in the previous chapters of this manual, but some of you may be interested in doing something about your local or state political system. If so, you should read first the special report of the Committee on Political Parties of the American Political Science Association, entitled *Toward a More Responsible Two-party System*. It has been published for sale at a very reasonable price by Rinehart of New York. For a few more ideas as applied to a single state, you might be interested in one of the publications of the Michigan state reorganization survey. Entitled *State Election Administration*, it was published in January, 1951, by the Michigan Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization of State Government, P.O. Box 240, Lansing, Michigan. For other reform proposals see the standard texts listed earlier.

---

## CONCLUSION

It would be possible to drag out this bibliography to almost any length, but some limits have had to be drawn. In general, books and organizations and materials mentioned here have been those which you might not easily run across or else they have been works which, within their own covers, may contain all the detailed bibliography which you would need.

On any further matters on which you feel guidance, it is suggested that you look first at the college texts listed earlier in this chapter. They are all full of references to other works on all kinds of specific problems.

Good-by and good luck!





