



ARE YOU

A

'SHADOW'

VOTER?

IN response to many requests from concerned citizens, this booklet has been prepared as a public service by the Women's Division of the Republican National Committee.

While it explores some new political territory, it follows a high tradition for which the Women's Division has become well known among researchers, political scientists and the public—that of making available for nonpartisan use, hard-to-get facts, often unobtainable elsewhere, on our two-party system.

Elections are governed by the laws of the fifty individual States and copies of those statutes would weight a five-foot bookshelf. The advice given here is brief, general and practical. If the honest citizen or party worker takes these steps to protect himself from ballot thieves where they exist, we shall more nearly ensure fair elections in the United States.

Use of this pamphlet by citizens of all political persuasions is welcomed.

It can be ordered for \$5.75 per 100 copies (FOB Washington) from TypeMasters, Inc., 463 Eye Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.

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WOMEN'S DIVISION, REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
1625 Eye Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

ARE YOU A "SHADOW" VOTER?

If you are, you've been robbed of your precious American heritage, the right to cast your ballot freely for the candidate and political party of your choice, for the kind of government you want.

Over three million votes are stolen or lost in every national election.* Three million citizens go to the polls and cast ballots in good faith, only to become "shadow" voters when their ballots are defaced, discarded, not counted, or nullified in other illegal ways.

The number of vote frauds, moreover, seems to be on the increase.

Every citizen, regardless of party, has a stake in clean politics. How can there be honest government, asks the voter, if there are not honest elections? The sacred privilege of voting is guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States and the sanctity of the ballot is one of the basic freedoms upon which our republican form of government rests.

Each of us, therefore, has a legal right to expect his ballot to be counted as *it was cast*.

At a time when our system of government faces continuing challenge, there is no place for fraud—or suspicion of fraud—in the free elective process. Nothing could more dangerously tarnish America's prestige.

* Source: Honest Ballot Association, New York, N. Y.

HOW DO BALLOT THIEVES STEAL YOUR VOTE?

The case histories at left, taken from recent newspaper accounts, magazine articles, and written complaints of voters, highlight typical tricks of ballot bandits. At right are suggestions for your protection.

"TOMBSTONE" VOTING

PADDED VOTER LISTS

TO PREVENT THIS

"A doctor declared that when he entered his polling place he discovered from an election clerk's off-hand remarks that his father and mother were also enrolled and probably had voted. 'Dad died in 1943,' wrote the doctor. 'Mother has not voted in at least ten years. She moved four years ago and has never registered in this ward to vote.'" (N.Y. Herald Tribune, from Chicago, Dec. 6, 1960)

DO THIS

Make a complete, accurate canvass of the precinct between 6 and 3 months prior to election. Cover every dwelling. List all voting-age occupants. Tightened election laws should require that a voter's affidavit card be signed at the polls in the presence of officials of both parties, who will compare the signature with that in the poll clerk's registration book. Unless precinct leaders keep lists constantly updated on deaths and departures and all signatures are scrutinized at the polls, vote thieves can and will move in.

VOTE BUYING

LAXITY OF LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS

"A (name of party) precinct captain of the ___th precinct, ___th ward, was seen handing money to voters outside the polling place at (___) Drexel Avenue on election day." (Chicago's American, Dec. 1, 1960)

"He mentioned one precinct where the policeman ran the election, even taking part in counting ballots." (Chicago Daily News, Nov. 30, 1960)

Place watchers, armed with cameras, outside polls. They should snap any suspicious activity and, if possible, identify "bought" voters whose ballots should be challenged immediately. Have plenty of "cruisers" in automobiles, with cameras, to trail suspected voters to payoff point. Report irregularities at once to chief of police, press, and your county chairman.

DISQUALIFYING BALLOTS

TO PREVENT THIS

"Election judges in the precincts varied widely as to what they considered grounds for voiding ballots. In some precincts, notably where there was a heavy (opposition) vote, up to 40 percent were disqualified, while in others (friendly areas) there were almost no throwouts." (N.Y. Herald Tribune, from Austin, Texas, Dec. 4, 1960)

DO THIS

If your state law is ambiguous on ballot disqualification, move to get it tightened prior to election. Failing this, get a ruling from the Attorney General of your state. Your state party organization should then instruct its poll workers on the ruling. **Both parties** must concur in every decision to void a ballot.

SPOILING BALLOTS

It is easy for a vote thief to nullify an opposition ballot by tearing it slightly or marking it with graphite concealed under a finger nail. This is usually done during the count.

Every action of every election clerk or judge must be under constant surveillance. Challenge all suspicious movements. Report at once to your county chairman and the press.

RIGGED MACHINES

"Ward 6, Precinct 38, Chicago. At about 10:15 a.m. the (voting machine) indicator indicated 121 votes had been cast after 43 persons had voted." (N.Y. Herald Tribune, Dec. 6, 1960)

"When voting machines were checked (in Chicago) it was discovered that some election officials could not even transcribe the totals on the counting device to their tally sheets correctly." (LOOK, Feb. 14, 1961)

Officials of both parties should inspect machines before they are locked at the warehouse prior to shipment. Officials of both parties should be present when machines are unlocked for election day use. They should inspect to see that all counters are set at zero. (In case of paper ballots, officials of both parties should check ballot boxes to make sure they are empty before polls open.)

COLLUSION

TO PREVENT THIS

"Election judges of both parties met with the Democratic captain in one precinct the night before the polls opened. They filled out more than 100 false voters' affidavits in the same handwriting. The morning of election day they recorded their 100 ghost votes on the voting machine in the precinct before the polls opened. The first valid voter that day was actually not No. 1, but No. 101." (LOOK, Feb. 14, 1961)

DO THIS

In an active, alert party there is vigorous competition and demand for jobs at the polls. Dishonest officials are crowded out. Collusion and party phonies can only occur when one party is weak and ineffectual.

PARTY PHONIES

"Hundreds of election officials who voted Democratic in a previous election have turned up as Republican judges in the following elections . . . Collusion between Republican and Democratic election officials creates the most effective condition for stealing votes. A subservient-party precinct captain may owe his livelihood to the dominant-party precinct captain. His job may depend on his continued cooperation with the dominant party." (LOOK, Feb. 14, 1961)

Where both parties have enough basic precinct strength to elect local officials, patronage is awarded accordingly, removing pressure for party disloyalty.

PARTY SELLOUTS

"Two judges in Ward 4, Precinct 4 (Chicago) assisted Clifton Jones . . . who appeared intoxicated and partially blind . . . He was given assistance (in voting) without requesting same or filling out an affidavit. * * A leader in Precinct 47, Ward 29 (Chicago), allegedly brought along a Spanish interpreter to simplify the problem of instructing Puerto Rican voters as they entered the booth. "Vote straight (name of party)—that's all," they reportedly were told, first in English, then in Spanish." (N.Y. Herald Tribune, Dec. 6, 1960)

Some dishonest election officials, under the pretense of offering guidance to the handicapped, illiterate, or blind, trick them into voting for the official's preference. An alert poll watcher stands right there when "advice" is given, loudly challenges any electioneering, and challenges any such vote cast. Most election laws require (1) that assistance be requested and (2) that any assistance in the polling booth be observed by officials of both parties. Report violations at once to the chief of police, your county headquarters, and the press.

TRICKERY BY "ADVICE"

DISQUALIFYING VALID VOTERS

TO PREVENT THIS

"We know of an instance in Philadelphia's 28th ward where a (name of party) registration was missing. Her plight led to police station at 19th and Poplar Streets where they reported 2,200 missing registrations."

"A teacher returned to Wilkes-Barre to vote and found that whole pages were torn out of the polling book, that voters were told their names couldn't be found except when ones came who were voting for (name of candidate)." (Letters from Pennsylvania voters to Republican National Committee)

"FLOATERS"

"Two persons in two separate counties told me how they transported in their cars or trucks men from one polling place to another and paid them to vote the (name of party) ticket each time. Some voted as many as ten times in ten different polling places in the same election." (Letter from Missouri voter to Republican National Committee)

DO THIS

Party officials should be armed with complete, up-to-date lists of eligible voters. The voter himself should play safe always by bringing proof of registration and insist on his right to cast a ballot. Do not hesitate to interrupt all voting if you are not accorded your right. Report interference **at once** to your party headquarters, the press and police.

Again, up-to-date lists of eligible voters are a "must," so that every non-eligible can be confidently challenged. Use your camera to photograph suspected "floaters." If you can verify, challenge those votes and report to your party headquarters, police and press. Tightened election laws should require that a voter's affidavit card be signed at the polls in the presence of officials of both parties, who will compare the signature with that in the poll clerk's registration book.

JAMMED MACHINES

TO PREVENT THIS

"This letter is to let you know how the (name of party) got the election in Bexar County. I vote in precinct five. When I went into the voting machine it had all the (name of other party) tabs open and stuck open. I was not going to be cheated out of my vote so I doubled up my hand and hit the top, or master tab, and hit it with all my force until the whole column closed. I met several of my friends afterwards and they told me the same thing, only it did not occur to them to try to do what I did. And as they did not want to vote the (party) column they voted the Constitution Party." (Letter from San Antonio, Texas voter to Republican National Committee)

DO THIS

Voting machine mechanics should be on duty and every polling place official should have their telephone number, in the event machines need repair. Sometimes machines are jammed deliberately to create long lines, discouraging people from voting. Officials of both parties must be alert and vigilant to this, especially when it seems to operate against one party only. When a mechanic does not arrive in a reasonable time, notify them again and call for an extra machine, which should be available. At same time, notify county headquarters, police and press.

CHAIN BALLOTING

"Chain balloting is probably the most effective method a precinct captain can use in stealing an election. It is hard to detect and, when detected, hard to prove if all concerned profess ignorance.

"The essential ingredient . . . is one clean, unmarked paper ballot . . . The precinct captain marks the ballot as he wishes it and hands it to one of his voters, who has been captivated by money, loyalty, fear or promise of future favor. The captive voter casts the ballot and emerges from the voting place with the clean ballot he was handed by an election official and on which he was supposed to exercise his franchise. He gives this clean ballot to the precinct captain in exchange for his pay, and the process continues as long as the captain's 'election-day money' holds out." (LOOK, Feb. 14, 1961)

Chain balloting can occur only in paper ballot districts. Only through the closest observation by poll watchers of every action of every official **inside and outside** the polling place can it be caught.

ANTI-FRAUD RULES

1. *Act at the polls.* One experienced election official has said, "I have found that elections are like cement. When they are set, they harden—and that's it." Election laws, even when adequate, require vigilant enforcement *at the polls*.

It is almost impossible to prove fraud after the fact and extremely difficult to obtain on-the-spot evidence that will stand up later in courts. Recount procedures are inadequate, expensive, time-consuming, legally complex and cumbersome. Recount moves can be frustrated easily when the opposition party holds control of election boards and judgeships.

2. *Know the law.* Elections are governed by State election laws covering ballot box or machine procedures, handling, marking and counting of ballots, how polling places should be set up, recounts, and the like.

Always have one copy of your State election laws on hand. Obtain it from your nearest county official in charge of elections. If he cannot provide it, write to the Secretary of State in your State Capital.

3. *Keep the law handy.* Every poll worker should carry a copy of the State election laws and a roll of dimes for contacting headquarters if situations arise which he or she cannot handle. Make sure—in advance of election day—that a telephone pay station or other phone facility will be accessible to you. Blocking the telephone is an old political trick, so have runners who can speedily report irregularities to headquarters, police and press.

Be polite and firm. Do not permit yourself to be browbeaten.

If difficulties are anticipated, request additional police protection *in advance*. Remember that you must know the election law, not the policeman, but he is there to help you get justice. Be alert for situations in which police or election deputies knowingly help only the dominant party. Report any such situations at once to your party headquarters, to the police and the press.

Both parties should use "squad cars" manned by "reporter-photographer" teams. One car should cover only a few precincts, patrolling its "beat" continuously. When infractions occur, story and pictures should be made available quickly to local papers, wire services, radio and television stations.

4. *Practice!* Precinct leaders should hold regular, intensive briefings prior to election to make sure poll watchers and checkers are properly informed and trained. If possible, test workers' alertness by staging a situation loaded with irregularities, to see how many they detect. Practice and drill are necessary on what to watch, whom to watch, how to spot and challenge irregularities, how to handle situations firmly.

5. *Man- and womanpower.* Precinct leaders should see that sufficient trained poll watchers and checkers are assigned. No polling place may be left unguarded. No voting machine may be left unattended. No counting process may be left unwatched. No absentee ballot tally may be left unsupervised.

Workers must be vigorous enough, informed enough and aggressive enough not only to recognize a potential violation instantly, but to insist on its prevention.

A wise precinct leader does not send frail women into wards manned by toughs where there is likely to be intimidation or violence. He assigns workers appropriate to neighborhood, type of resident, and type of opposition party workers at the polls.

6. *Get evidence.* At least one worker at every polling place should carry a camera, preferably with flash attachment, and know how to use it fast. All cruising party workers should have cameras in their automobiles, keeping them in sight, using them in situations which appear to be payoffs or "floater" operations.
7. *The Tally Sheet.* The crucial point in an election is ballot-counting or machine-checking. By the time this occurs poll workers may be tired, hungry, out of sorts, and can become negligent. This is the chance for crooked judges to call votes improperly or for crooked clerks, who may have been recording properly-called votes, to doctor their tallies.

Make sure poll watchers operate in shifts and poll workers, too, if election laws permit. If not, make sure that coffee and sandwiches are provided at appropriate times to keep them comfortable and alert. Once the vote is recorded on the tally sheet and the election officials have signed it, the results are almost impossible to change.

8. *Citizens Honest Ballot Association.* Ballot thieves aim to destroy your rights as an American citizen. It requires aroused citizens, trained and alert, to stop them in their tracks.

Organize a Citizens Honest Ballot Association in your city or county. When members of both political parties work for clean elections, ballot thieves will be on the way out.

9. *Extra Security.* In areas where there is an unusual amount of fraud, it is not enough to have polling place officials on duty in the usual numbers. They must be augmented by an extra staff trained to give the added security and protection necessary to combat the fraud history of the area. Hire trained investigators, if necessary.

In some states, where the ballot carries a perforated tab, pressure groups require voters to bring the tab to one of the leaders, ostensibly to show how the vote was cast. Uncovering this type of intimidation is also a job for trained investigators.

10. *Work for Legislation.* To remove antiquated election statutes from your State's books and to clarify ambiguous sections, an aroused public is necessary. States under one-party domination frequently have "reprisal" laws on their statute books or measures discouraging establishment and growth of an opposition party. Getting rid of these will be a battle and your help is needed.

11. *Remember, you are working for a precious ideal and have the right to expect cooperation from all citizens and officials, regardless of political belief.*

IN THE 1960 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN VOTERS WENT TO THE POLLS IN 166,256 PRECINCTS OF THE UNITED STATES. 68,824,818 AMERICANS CAST BALLOTS, BUT VICTORY WAS WON BY A HAIRLINE MARGIN OF 112,881—LESS THAN ONE VOTE PER PRECINCT.

"Rigged election machines, premarked ballots and other frauds could have determined the outcome of the 1960 elections. . . . What appears clearly from the evidence produced in 1960 and earlier is that, in any close election, the dominant political organization in many localities can alter the outcome in its favor and against the popular will."

—LOOK, February 14, 1961, "How to Steal Elections"

"The great number and assortment of documented incidents (of fraud in 1960) reported to state and federal authorities shows graphically that much more is needed to protect minority party candidates in places where majority political machines are powerful enough to prevent effective competition in the precincts."

—NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, December 6, 1960

"Election laws . . . cannot be enforced if one party concedes to another party the dominance of any precinct or area. Such concessions create the atmosphere for collusion between Republican and Democratic officials to rig election returns. "In some areas, it takes personal courage to be an honest, vigorous worker for the out-of-power party. This is true in the jungles of the big cities as in the backwoods of the South.

"It will take personal courage, skilled poll watchers and honest officials to carry through a reform. But it is a worthy reform, and one that should be demanded by voters of every party. Frauds are a threat to every honest voter."

—LOOK, February 14, 1961

WOMEN'S DIVISION
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
1625 EYE STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6. D. C.

Clare B. Williams, Assistant Chairman, Republican National Committee
Vera R. Glaser, Director of Public Relations, Women's Division



A HISTORIC FIRST

This booklet carries the recommendation of the nonpartisan Fair Campaign Practices Committee which has never previously endorsed a publication prepared by a political party. Following are excerpts from their statement:

"This booklet is useful to citizens who want to make sure that their votes count, Democrats as well as Republicans. It is well and lucidly written. It is terse. It is much to the point. And it is based on facts that exist today . . . What people need to know are the techniques by which they may be cheated . . . Stolen votes are a disgrace owned by the American people, not by either party.

"My hat is off to the Women's Division of the Republican National Committee, for this job needed to be done. We are listing 'Are You a Shadow Voter?' as recommended reading in the next edition of our school and discussion group pamphlet, 'Fair Play in Politics.' "

SAMPLES OF PRESS COMMENT ON "ARE YOU A 'SHADOW' VOTER?"

New York Daily News: "It's nonpartisan, factual, hardboiled, readable—and of the greatest value to every voter who wants his or her ballot to count rather than be larcenously counted out."

Columnist Roscoe Drummond: "It is must reading if reform is to be achieved."

Columnist Gould Lincoln: "A remarkable pamphlet . . . If Americans are to be certain of clean elections, it is far better and more practical to take steps to prevent election frauds before they are committed than to unveil and punish them after the fact . . . This is precisely the aim of the drive now under way and which the Women's Division of the Republican National Committee hopes to foster among Democrats as well as Republicans. Both parties should be sticklers for honest elections, honestly counted and recorded."

U.S. News & World Report: "Fifteen ways to steal votes are described and documented . . . (The booklet) tells how to avoid being victimized."