

THE LIBERTARIAN *Volunteer*

Volume 5 ♦ Issue 3 ♦ July/August 1994

A newsletter for LP volunteers, activists, officers, candidates, & student organizers

Sal Gazzetta's 33 tips for smart LP candidates

*A leading campaign consultant tells
what Libertarians must do to win*

What is the *one* predominant factor in winning any election?

What percentage of your campaign money must you raise *upfront* – before you even announce your campaign?

What are the *only* two things you should have printed on an effective yard sign?

How soon can you start *attacking* your opponent?

Suppose you had an hour alone with one of the top professional political consultants in America, and he offered to answer all those questions – and more. Would you be interested?

Several dozen Libertarians had exactly that opportunity a few months ago, at a candidate training seminar hosted by Sal Gazzetta in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. And they got an earful.

Gazzetta's credentials are impressive: He has been a professional campaign consultant for 25 years. He has worked on over 250 campaigns. He has written three of the definitive text-

books about the modern American campaign.

And he's not afraid to give advice – even controversial, fly-in-the-face-of-conventional-Libertarian-wisdom advice. When it comes to campaigns and politics, Gazzetta doesn't just go after sacred cows; he blows them to smithereens with a

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Campaign money: How to get it from the National LP

Money is what wins elections. While financial underdogs do occasionally pull off upsets, money is the single dominating factor in the vast majority of campaigns. In virtually every race that Libertarians have won they have outspent the competition.

The primary objective of National LP funding is to make the *difference of victory or defeat* for local, targeted races. We were successful with Don Gorman, Finlay Rothhaus [in NH], and, by all evidence, Tamara Clark [in Nevada].

Secondary objectives include promoting or matching contributions from outside the LP, and in certain cases to show support for sitting elected officials who defect to the LP. We funded the candidacy of Don Roulston, a NH State Rep. who defected to the LP, even though his nine-way race was difficult to evaluate and was thought to be a long shot. A sitting, partisan, official, (even though in Roulston's case it was as a lame duck) must know that if he crosses the aisle to join us that we will support him.

It is very important for other organizations that support our candidates to know that we also support our candidates. Paul Siegler, LP candidate for State Senate in New Hampshire, received substantial contributions from two state PACs. John Buckley, LP candidate for State Assembly in Virginia, received \$1000 from the Gun Owners of America PAC.

While the focus of targeting for funding is state legisla-

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**BY RON
CRICKEN-
BERGER,
CAMPAIGN
COMMITTEE
CHAIRMAN**

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**"Gazzetta doesn't
just go after
sacred cows; he
blows them to
smithereens with a
sharp tongue and
salty language"**

From the Editor

LP campaigning, the smart way

Many Libertarian candidates view issues like children view toys: The one who ends up with the most . . . wins.

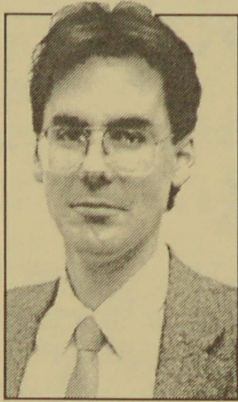
And, of course, issues are important. Why even bother to have a Libertarian Party if we don't talk about Libertarian ideology, insights, and solutions? But political campaigns are much *more* than issues.

Indeed, issues are like a steering wheel on a car; needed to point you in the right direction. But without gasoline, an engine, tires, spark plugs, and a whole host of lowly but important components, your car isn't going anywhere.

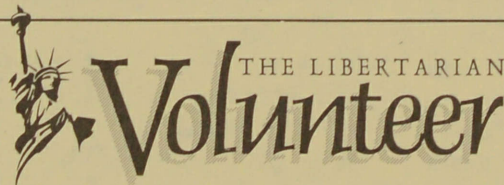
This issue of the *Libertarian Volunteer* focuses on those "lowly but important components" of a campaign: Political body language. Public image. The goals of a campaign. Where to get the best campaign signs. In other words, the "components" you need to more *effectively* convey your issues to the voters.

A warning: This issue isn't a replacement for a good campaign manual. Instead, we feature a series of articles, suggestions, and tips to *improve* your effectiveness as a candidate or campaign manager.

By all means — keep talking about the issues. But first read this issue of the *Libertarian Volunteer* . . . so you can do it smarter, more efficiently, and more effectively!



Bill Winter, Editor



A newsletter for LP volunteers, activists, officers, candidates, & student organizers

Volume 5 ♦ Issue 3 ♦ July/August 1994

The *Libertarian Volunteer* (formerly *APC News*) is a publication of the Libertarian Party.

Our goal is to provide proven advice, timely news, political resources, strategic suggestions, and accurate information for Libertarian volunteers.

Letters, comments, articles, and suggestions are welcome!

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From the National Director

Your real goal: "Increase the size of our army"

What should a Libertarian candidate do? I believe the answer is simple: candidates should *only* do those things that empower them (or other Libertarians) to do still more in the future. The ultimate victory of our cause is still a long way off, and we cannot afford to take any steps that do not lead to other steps. We must always be marching forward. No backward steps. No sidesteps. Only forward steps.

This is a war. The military philosopher Carl von Clausewitz said, "War is the pursuit of politics through other means." But I tell you, "Politics is the pursuit of war through other means."

It does not matter if a war is fought with ballot boxes or cartridge boxes, one factor predominates for both: the size of your army. Cleverness may win battles, but rarely wars. The Confederates were clever, but the Union bigger. The Union won the war. Napoleon was clever, but his enemies were numerous. He too won battles, but lost the war.

Sooner or later clever people goof. Size, on the other hand, is somewhat goof proof. Size is everything. Membership is everything.

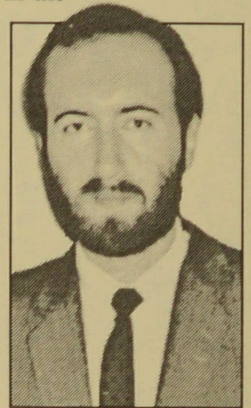
Why membership? Because the number of your members is the best definition of your size. Politics is the clash of constituencies, and bigger constituencies beat smaller constituencies.

But, you ask, isn't it really money that's crucial? And I ask in turn, "Where does money come from?" Perhaps you've heard it said that money is the mother's milk of politics, but I tell you that MEMBERS are the mother's milk of MONEY. MEMBERS are crucial.

Aren't political campaigns about winning votes? Yes, but consider: who is more likely to vote for you? A member or a non-member? Who is more likely to knock on doors for you? A member or a non-member? And who is more likely to give you money? A member or a non-member?

Votes flow from money and money flows from members. Members are everything.

Who is a member? Anyone who gives your local party money with the intention of becoming a member. Second best is anyone who's given you money with the intent of



Perry Willis,
National Director

electing you to office. Why is the former better than the latter? Because the latter may only be dedicated to you, as in the case of a family member, while the former supports the cause and, by extension, other Libertarian candidates too.

Members support the cause for the long term, and you for the term of the campaign.

If you need great amounts of money to win, then the number of those who agree with you must also be great. But as the number of those who agree with you increases, not only do fewer people remain to convince, but you also have more money with which to convince. The more members you have, the less money you need to have, but the more money you do have. Where the line of your need for money crosses the line of money-availability, there lies victory. Join the lines together by recruiting members.

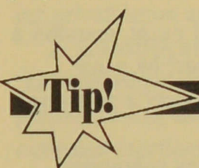
Shouldn't you focus on maximizing your vote totals? Yes, BUT ONLY IF YOU CAN WIN. If you're not certain you can win, then maximize future votes by recruiting members now.

Recruit members and the votes will follow. It is only possible that a voter may become a member, but it is absolutely certain that a member will be a voter. The only votes that truly matter are winning votes and winning votes

are rare. As for non-winning votes, they are here today, gone tomorrow. A non-winning vote is but one step, while a member is many, many, many steps. Recruit members.

Isn't it okay to run campaigns just to increase awareness? Yes, it is okay, but nothing more. Awareness is transitory. It does not last because it does not create the resources needed to take further steps. And, as no further steps are taken, awareness fades. Out of sight, out of mind. Do you want your efforts to fade? Of course not. Take steps that lead to other steps. Recruit members.

A campaign is a battle, and victory in battle can lead to victory in war, but never, never, never forget the war for the sake of the battle. Win today if you can, but if not, prepare to win tomorrow. *Recruit members.*



MEDIA INTERVIEWS

Two tips for more successful media interviews, from "Campaign Doctor" Thomas Sweitzer:

➤ Don't get sandbagged. Ask ahead what the interview will be about.

➤ Treat questions as openings for the topics you *really* want to talk about. — CAMPAIGNS & ELECTIONS MAGAZINE

Contest: Win a 3-D Liberty watch for the best "factoid"

Do you have a "factoid" for liberty? If you do, you can win a 3-D Liberty Head watch!

In the first of a regular series of contests, the *Libertarian Volunteer* is looking for the best factoids which illustrate the inefficiency, ruthlessness, or brutality of government.

"We're defining a factoid as any short fact — or combination of facts — that illuminates our Libertarian message in an interesting or amusing fashion," said Bill Winter, editor of the *Libertarian Volunteer*.

Some samples already collected:

■ Number of Americans killed annually because of the Corporate Average Fuel Economy (CAFE) laws passed by Congress, which have forced automakers to build smaller, lighter cars: 3,900
—The Washington Times

■ Amount of money spent by the government on the "War on Poverty" since 1965: \$5 trillion

■ Percent of Americans below the poverty line in 1968: 13

■ Percent of Americans below the poverty line in 1994: 13

—Heartland Institute

"As you can see, a factoid can consist of a single statistic, a group of statistics — or even statistics plus a pertinent quote — presented to show that you can't trust government" said Winter.

Contest rules:

➤ Enter as many factoids as you wish.

➤ No factoid should be longer than 60 words.

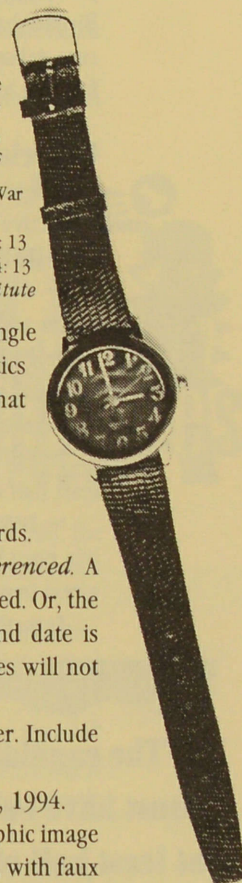
➤ Factoids must be true and *must be referenced*. A xerox copy of the original publication is preferred. Or, the name of the publication, author (if given), and date is required. (Factoids without verifiable references will not be considered.)

➤ Send to LP headquarters, Attn: Bill Winter. Include your name and address.

➤ **Deadline:** Must arrive by September 15, 1994.

➤ **First Prize:** A watch with a 3-D, holographic image of the head of the Statue of Liberty on the face, with faux leather strap. **Second Prize:** A circulated 1991 "Walking Liberty" \$1 coin from the U.S. Mint, one ounce of .999 silver. **Third Prize:** A commemorative medallion from the recent National Association of Radio Talk Show Hosts Convention, from the Liberty Mint. Winning entries will be printed in the next issue of the *Libertarian Volunteer*.

"We're planning to use these factoids in future issues of our *Liberty Today* outreach tabloid," said Winter. "So this contest, while fun, also has a serious purpose."



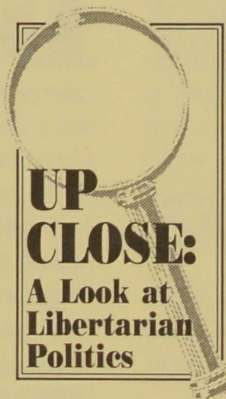
National LP funding

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tive races, recent NatCom votes have given the Campaign Committee the authority to fund other local races, non-partisan races, and races which could qualify for matching funds. We just missed winning two partisan county commission races in South Carolina before the committee had this authority.

I do not generally favor our funding non-partisan races. When we start out on an even footing, without an "L" in front of our name on the ballot, a good candidate can win without National support.

However, when a candidate has maintained a very high profile as a Libertarian, such as [former] Alabama State Chair and recently elected Birmingham City Councilman Jimmy Blake, the race takes on partisan aspects, and National funding may be appropriate.



Criteria for National Funding

Selection for funding is based on both objective and subjective criteria. The most important objective factors:

- **INCUMBENCY**
- **OUTSIDE POLLING:** Must show strong name recognition and support.
- **PREVIOUS CAMPAIGN RESULTS:** Former elected officials, vote totals of high 20s in a 3-way race, or anywhere in the 40s in a two-way deserve attention.
- **FUNDRAISING:** The candidate must have raised at least half of the funds needed to win on his or her own.
- **DISTRICT SIZE:** The number of votes necessary to win must be small enough that national money can make a real impact.

Less objective criteria include:

- **INSIDE POLLING** by the campaign organization.
- **COMMUNITY STANDING:** The candidate must have a history of community activity and service.
- **DISTRICT MAKE-UP:** Is there a history of high LP or independent vote totals, tax revolts, or Libertarian initiatives?
- **COMMUNITY SUPPORT:** Can the candidate demonstrate a volunteer network both inside/outside the Libertarian Party?
- **OPEN SEAT** or demonstrated vulnerability by the incumbent.
- **ENDORSEMENTS.**
- **GOOD CAMPAIGN PLAN** and a detailed plan of how

Libertarian National Committee funds will be spent

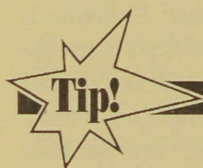
➤ **"BREAKTHROUGH"** support or endorsements, such as Tamara Clark with the Chamber of Commerce and John Buckley with GOA.

Other information we ask for includes:

- What organizations do you belong to?
 - How many votes are needed to win and how was that number computed?
 - How many doors have you knocked on?
 - Do you have the voter rolls computerized with phone numbers?
 - How much did each of the candidates spend in the last election cycle for this office?
 - How much have you and your opponents raised so far?
 - How many dollars per vote will be needed to win and how did you compute this figure?
- We also do a personal interview with each candidate.

To date we have not had a candidate who met every single criteria, but the closer they get the more it makes sense to fund them. We have consistently waived the fundraising requirements for State Representative races in New Hampshire. The Democrats and Republicans don't do fundraising for these seats, which has enabled us to outspend them dramatically with small donations per race.

For more information on National LP funding of campaigns — or to apply for money — contact Ron Crickenberger at: 1351 New Hope Road, Locust Grove, GA 30248-9437. Or call: 404-957-6825



CAMPAIGN VOLUNTEERS

Are your volunteers feeling overworked, underappreciated, or a little glum? "Campaign Doctor" Cathy Allen gave the following tips for political leaders to "rally the troops" — without spending a lot of precious campaign money:

- **Recognize them.** At your next event, mention a few of the "unsung heroes and heroines" by name.
- Send your most valuable volunteers a **personal, complimentary note.**
- Send **birthday cards** to your key volunteers.
- Unexpectedly stop by an event and **personally thank everyone** there.
- **Feed them.** Pizza and beer or donuts and coffee are always popular. Or, try something different: Bring in some home cooking or some Ethiopian or Thai cooking to spice things up.

— CAMPAIGNS & ELECTIONS MAGAZINE



"The candidate must have raised at least half of the funds needed to win on their own."

teer network both inside/outside the Libertarian Party?

- **OPEN SEAT** or demonstrated vulnerability by the incumbent.
- **ENDORSEMENTS.**
- **GOOD CAMPAIGN PLAN** and a detailed plan of how

Six suggestions for LP candidates

Editor's note: The following "common sense suggestions" are from Daniel Walker of Tallahassee, Florida. He is the Chair of the Leon County Libertarian Party.

➤ **If running for a "specialized" state executive office** — such as public utility commissioner, Secretary of State, commissioner of labor — obtain enough information about what the official's duties are. Those duties are usually set forth in the state statutes. Contact the executive office yourself. Ask for any brochures or pamphlets which tell of the department's duties. Most executive departments have to file some sort of annual report with the governor or legislature; ask for a copy. It's a public record.

➤ **Most states have a state auditor**, whose responsibilities include auditing the executive departments. Ask if the department is annually audited. Check the most recent couple of audits;

maybe you'll find some choice nuggets concerning inefficient operations; bits of information you can use in interviews and at candidate forums.

➤ **In many states there are non-governmental, independent think-tanks** with a conservative/libertarian economic approach to state-level public policy issues, such as the Georgia Public Policy Foundation, James Madison Institute (Florida), Independence Institute (Colorado), Heartland Institute (Illinois, Missouri, Ohio, Wisconsin, and Michigan). If you're running for any state-government office — executive or legislative — contact the appropriate think-tank and ask for a list of their publications. It might have materials you can put to good use in policy papers and on the campaign trail.

➤ **Running for county or municipal office?** Contact the Reason Foundation for a list of its papers concerning privatization and state/local government policies.

➤ **It's difficult enough to get people to listen to "cutting edge" ideas.** It's even more difficult when a person relating such ideas doesn't dress "as expected" at campaign functions. If you're appearing at a forum where most or all in attendance will be wearing business attire, then you wear business attire. Leave the jeans, tee-shirts, tennis shoes or sandals to the Greens.

➤ **Philosophy is not enough.** Neither are platitudes. We must be up to speed on relevant topics and public policies, and we must be able to set forth our positive approaches — as well as attack the statist.

Candidate advice from the NRA

An NRA Vice President tells LP'ers what to do — and what not to do

Want to maximize your chances — as a Libertarian candidate — of having a harmonious and productive relationship with the NRA? Want to know why you didn't get an "A+" rating from them? Want to know how to get money from the NRA?

At the recent LP of Florida annual convention, NRA 1st Vice President Marion Hammer (slated to be president of that organization in 1996) presented some real-world political advice for LP candidates across the country.

Based upon her knowledge of NRA operations and their candidate rating procedure, Hammer said that:

1) Some Libertarian candidates fail to respond to NRA candidate questionnaires.

2) Libertarian candidates often come across as more "arrogant" than "passionate" in their beliefs.

3) It's not unusual for Libertarian candidates to contact an NRA affiliate office with the opening line of, "You're probably not going to support me, but . . ."

Among her recommendations and observations were:

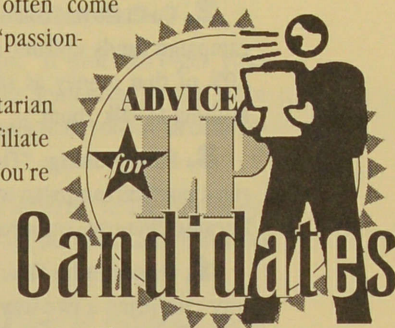
➤ **Answer the NRA questionnaire!** If you don't, the candidate rating sheets will state that you, the candidate, failed to respond. Voters will draw their own conclusions from that.

➤ If a question is badly worded or needs clarification, call the affiliate office and ask for a clarification; it's OK to contact them.

➤ The best rating any non-incumbent can get is an "A" rating, not an "A+." The only way to get a "plus" rating is for an incumbent to have a long record of consistently supporting NRA positions.

➤ Don't call an affiliate's office to share your assumption that the NRA won't support you, and then proceed to attack the NRA based on that assumption. The NRA has limited funds to use, and must use them wisely. If you run a serious, solid campaign with a credible chance of victory against opposition with a lower approval rating than you, you will be considered for support. The NRA will not, however, expend funds in races where the preferred candidate has little or no chance of victory.

➤ **No matter what, return those questionnaires!**



"Philosophy is not enough. Neither are platitudes."

33 tips from Sal Gazzetta

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with a sharp tongue and salty language.

In blunt terms, Gazzetta tells Libertarians exactly what they must do to win. He tells them how he would run an LP campaign. He gives them an insider's political tips.

Best of all, he's convinced that Libertarians can actually win — *if* they're willing to do what it takes.

Here are 33 of Gazzetta's tips, suggestions, rules-of-thumb, pronouncements, and intriguing opinions for Libertarian candidates — distilled from two-and-a-half days at his workshop. Be warned: You won't agree with everything he says. Some of it may make you re-examine your theories about politics. Some of it may outrage you.

And some of it might help win your next campaign.

We turn the floor over to Mr. Sal Gazzetta:

1. Campaign costs: "A rule of thumb: In a winning race, expect to spend at least \$1 per person in your district. Per person — not per voter."

2. Cash flow: "You need 20% of your total campaign funds upfront as seed money. If you can't get 20% of that money as seed money up front, we've got nothing to talk about."

3. Fundraising: "There's no question: You cannot run a political campaign without financial resources. Why? Because financial resources equal communications."

4. Opponents: "You're actually better off in a three-way race [than a two-way race] for financial reasons. For example, in a district with 50,000 voters where 30% vote, that's 15,000 votes [up for grabs]. In a three-way race, you need 5,001 to win. In a two-way race, you need 7,501. It costs more money to reach those additional 2,501 people."

5. Fundraising: "How soon do you have to start fundraising? For Congress, one year before the election. For state assembly, six to eight months. For city council in a small city, four to six months."

6. The political mood: "People are fed up with the two parties, and the time is ripe for a third party."

7. Signs: "Your stationary [yard] signs — especially for minority party candidates — are invaluable. Get the name out there as soon as possible. If you do nothing else as a Libertarian candidate, plaster your district with stationary signs."

8. Design: "If you're going to spend money on anything, have a professional graphics designer design your [campaign materials]. That's your image."

19. Targeting: "Don't target non-voters. They're bitches — they don't vote. It's a waste of money."

10. Direct mail: "Put a stamp on your direct mail pieces. Studies have shown that people are more likely to open an envelope with a stamp on it [than an indicia]."

11. Paper candidates: "I am vehemently opposed to paper candidates. When you run paper candidates, it becomes a joke. That's not how you get respect."

12. Vulnerable opponents: "If an [incumbent] opponent won by 60% or more, you don't have a chance unless his favorable rating has dropped under 50%."

13. Winning elections: "Instead of arguing with each other about your philosophy, you have a moral obligation to go out and win elections. In my book, you're negligent if you don't learn how to run — and fight to win — elections."

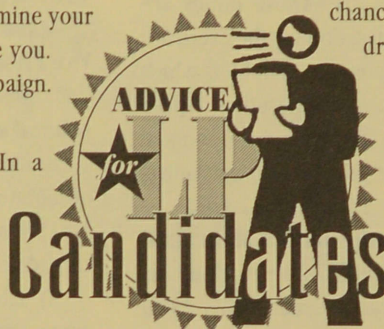
14. Candidates: "If everyone in your community looks like a penguin, don't run an aardvark for office. That means you have to cut the locks, cut the sides, and put on a suit and tie. You have to create the appearance that you are one of them. Do you fit in? Do you look like a part of the community? [You have to ask]: 'What's more important to me — my own ego or the objective?'"

15. The campaign message: "Find certain shared values. Don't accentuate the differences — accentuate the shared values. Talk about the fact that we're losing control of our childrens' educations. Talk about the fact that we're being taxed to death. Don't talk about what *you* care about — talk about what *they* care about . . . and how your solutions as Libertarians will help them. You're not compromising your principles — you're playing by the rules of the game. And if that's heresy, then take me to the chopping block!"

16. Campaign signs: "People in cars have on average four seconds to read a sign. Don't clutter it up; have just your name and the office you're seeking."

17. Women candidates: "In most demographics, being a woman is a positive. It will get you more votes than it will loose."

18. Professionals: "I have never in 25 years seen a volunteer-run campaign beat a professionally run campaign. There's an incredible amount that has to be learned [before you can run a successful campaign]."



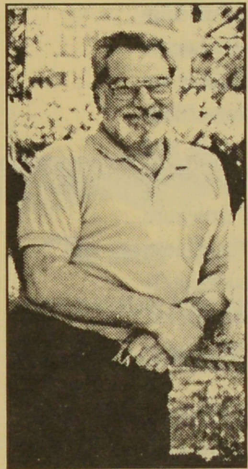
"Don't target non-voters. They're bitches — they don't vote. It's a waste of money."

19. Attacks: "You never start your attack until your name ID and favorable ratings are on par with your opponent. The biggest mistake that candidates do is go on the attack too soon, before you have established your own credibility. If you do, you will immediately be tagged as a negative candidate. You immediately give your opponent a free ride back into office. You're so eager to tear butt that you forget that you don't have the credibility to start tearing."

20. Credibility: "A Johnny-come-lately who puts himself up for public office but has never done *anything* of a community or civic nature is suspect. Do anything to show that you're involved in your community. Believe me — your chances are diminished by not having any of those [community involvement] alliances."

21. Newspaper ads: "You only give money to newspapers so they will run your press releases. They're whores. You can buy their coverage. I don't see many races being won or lost because of newspapers."

22. Name ID: "Nobody in their right mind uses electronic media to build name ID. It's too expensive. Stationary signs build name ID; electronic media builds favorability ratings."



Sal Gazzetta

23. Brochures: "Do a two-color brochure. A one-color brochure is not saying that you're a professional. It's amateurish."

24. Candidate photos: "If you're gonna take a picture, take a little time and do it right. Pay to have someone do it professionally, and do it right. And for God's sake, make sure you look like a leader."

25. Campaign message: "Stress the fact that you are fiscally conservative over anything else in your platform. Stress the fact that you are philosophically in favor of reducing taxes and reducing the size of government."

26. Targeting voters: "You need to find out who's for you, who's against you, and who's undecided. Then focus your resources on the undecideds. If you don't find the undecideds, where you gonna go? Down the tubes."

27. Winning: "If you're not winning, it's because you're not doing what it takes to win, not because you're Libertarians."

28. Fundraising: "I don't believe in putting a piece in the mail unless you ask for money."

29. Direct mail: "[In fundraising appeals], include a courtesy reply envelope instead of a BRE. I always ask people to put a stamp on it [the reply envelope]. If you put the [postage-paid] imprint on it, you'll get everything from

a buck to dog poop back in the mail."

28. Image: "Show that you're reasonable; that you're able to compromise. Show that you aren't an extremist; that you don't live in never-never land. You can always compromise in the direction you want to go — you can educate, lead, coax."

29. Name recognition: "Name recognition is always the predominant factor in winning the election. Take that to the bank — or lose the election."

30. Campaign research: "I go to coffee shops and restaurants and eavesdrop for hours at a time. And I learn more than I can from any survey. You've got to do that kind of detective work to find out what the populace is thinking!"

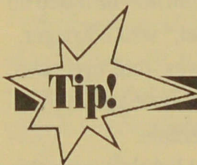
31. Victory: "Pick and choose your battlefields very carefully. Your primary objective at this time is to get Libertarians elected — period! If nobody is running for an office, run someone! Exploit *any* opportunity to get a Libertarian in office. Everybody likes a winner! You'll be amazed at how many whores are out there who will jump aboard if they think you can win."

32. Campaign message: "If you can't get your message down to two or three sentences, you're more interested in hearing yourself talk than you are in communicating."

33. Fundraising: "Don't be afraid to ask for money. Give people the opportunity to say no. Don't deny them the opportunity to say yes."

Editor's note: To order any of Gazzetta's three campaign books — The Campaign Manual; The Campaign Strategy; The Finance Manual — or other campaign products, write:

Political Publishing Company, P.O. Box 17274, Alexandria VA 22302



GETTING PAC MONEY

Need some PAC money to bolster your campaign war chest? "Campaign Doctor" Thomas Sweitzer gives the following advice: "Joe Donor gives you money because he likes you or believes in you. PACs are more calculating. A PAC's decision to give you money will be businesslike, not based on personality. Do you and the PAC share similar views? Will you use its money effectively? And, most important to PACs, *will you win?* PACs see their contributions as investments. If you don't win, they can't collect."

— CAMPAIGNS & ELECTIONS MAGAZINE

Secrets to being "picture-perfect"

*Your appearance can swing the vote
by as much as 10%, studies show*

It's an accepted axiom that "a picture is worth a thousand words."

But how many *votes* is a picture worth?

Quite a bit, suggests a recent article in the *San Francisco Examiner*.

"Americans pick their political candidates, in part, the same way they shop for cars, cosmetics, and cantaloupes — by appearance," according to an article by Lisa M. Krieger. "In an age of declining party allegiance and increasingly complex issues, voters are judging candidates by the one trait in which they have expertise: looks."

Krieger drew on research from Shawn Rosenberg, a professor of political psychology at the University of California. By showing voters a series of different candidate photographs, Rosenberg was able to shift approval

ratings up or down by five percentage points. "In a real election, that would translate into a 10% margin — enough to swing a close election," noted Krieger.

Why the focus on a candidate's looks? "People think they have a sense of what 'competence' and 'trustworthiness' look like, based on images that are pervasive in our culture," said Rosenberg.

Highlights of Rosenberg's research:

➤ Appearance has more impact in smaller contests. "In the bigger races, it's likely that voters have formed opinions on candidates based on many factors. But in smaller contests, a voter's first impression may be based on that smiling mug shot on the pamphlet," wrote Krieger.

➤ Voters favor: Almond-shaped eyes, thin eyebrows, thin lips, a broad or round face, and short hair.

➤ For men, dark clothes are preferable.

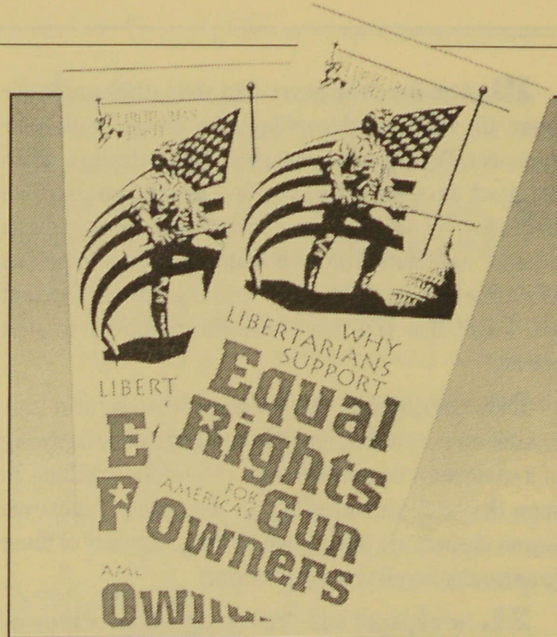
➤ For women, a formal blouse and lightly contrasting jacket were best. Also, a simple necklace and earrings create a more positive image than no jewelry.

➤ A plain studio background scores higher than a background with books, flags, or other political paraphernalia.

➤ Candidates shouldn't look too good. People who are too handsome or pretty are seen as "less trustworthy or competent, more trivial."

➤ Women who are older and "more experienced" score higher than younger women.

**"A voter's first
impression may be
based on that
smiling mug shot."**



Improved gun brochure offered

The National LP has unveiled another new outreach brochure for sale: "Why Libertarians Support Equal Rights for America's Gun Owners."

"We're determined to improve *every* brochure we offer," said Bill Winter, Director of Communications. "This is the latest one — so we can do more persuasive and professional outreach to America's gun owners."

The "Equal Rights for America's Gun Owners" brochure replaces the old "Responsible Gun Ownership" brochure. While the text is the same, the brochure is completely redesigned, and is printed in two colors on better paper. It is available for just 5¢ each in quantities of 100, and is in stock and ready to ship.

To order by credit card, call the Libertarian Party HQ at (202) 543-1988. Brochures are also available by mail order; see the new order form in future issues of *LP News*. Price: sample 50¢ or \$5/100.

The HQ also has newly redesigned copies of the 1994 party Program available for sale (sample \$1 or \$10/100).



MEDIA INTERVIEWS

Another tip for more successful media interviews from "Campaign Doctor" Thomas Sweitzer:

➤ Do your homework. Before the interview, spend some time anticipating the questions and developing a list of three or four points you'd like to make. Practice those responses. — CAMPAIGNS & ELECTIONS MAGAZINE

Nine tips for more efficient meetings

In a recent story in *The Wall Street Journal*, CEOs throughout the country were asked what accounts for the largest share of unproductive time on the job. Their answer: Meetings.

The same is certainly true for many Libertarian organizations.

How can you solve the problem of ineffective meetings?

The editors of *Communication Briefing* newsletter give the following nine suggestions:

- > Before deciding to hold a meeting, ask yourself this question: "Is this meeting *really* necessary—or is there a more efficient way to handle these needs?"

- > Start and end all meetings on time.

- > If you hold regularly scheduled meetings, ask yourself: "How much do these meetings *really* accomplish? Are these meetings *necessary* to meet our goals?"

- > Before holding a meeting, determine what your goals are. Decide what you want to accomplish as a result of the meeting. Put it down in writing; seeing these goals on paper will sharpen your focus.

- > Make sure that *only* the people needed to make decisions attend the meeting. Exclude those who aren't necessary; you'll only waste their time (and yours).

- > Develop an agenda and distribute it a day or so before the meeting. Insist that people come prepared to discuss the items on the agenda.

- > Never pass out support material at the beginning of a meeting. Why: People will read it instead of listening to you. Hand out the material at the end of the meeting. If you *must* hand out material early, just use an outline; let people fill in notes from presentations.

- > Try to control public power struggles between rivals. It wastes time—and irks others. One way: Deal with those who are constantly creating problems by speaking to them privately.

- > Be sure that everyone knows who's responsible for doing what as a result of decisions reached. Put it in writing *immediately* after the meeting and distribute it. This approach will prevent misunderstandings.

Editor's note: To subscribe to *Communication Briefing*—described as "a monthly idea source for decision-makers"—call (800) 888-2084. Subscription rates: \$69 per year for 12 issues.



"Be sure that everyone knows who's responsible for doing what as a result of decisions reached."

Finding the best campaign HQ

What should you look for in a good campaign headquarters? According to "Campaign Doctor" Thomas Sweitzer in *Campaigns & Elections*, look for the following features:

- > **Cheap:** "Headquarters don't get votes. Save your money to talk to voters."

- > **Safe:** "Remember, people will be working late."

- > **Functional:** "The purpose of any headquarters is to get work done, not to hang out. HQ doesn't have to be pretty. Is there ample parking? How about heat and air conditioning? I've worked in a number of headquarters with neither. It's no fun."

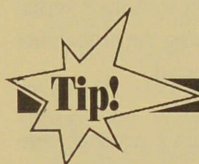
- > **The right size:** "Don't go crazy on space. Big offices are nice, but look ridiculous if you can't fill them with volunteers. But make sure you have enough space in case the campaign grows. You don't want to be forced to move when things heat up."

- > **A reliable landlord:** "Get a landlord you can deal with. Toilets overflow; someone has to fix them."

- > **Location:** "Putting a headquarters in a targeted neighborhood sends a signal that the area is important."



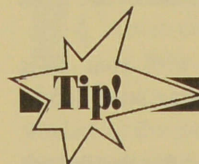
"Toilets overflow; someone has to fix them."



VOLUNTEERS

Are you stuck with a disruptive, irritating, or unpopular volunteer? "Campaign Doctor" Thomas Sweitzer gives the following advice to deal with the problem without hurting the volunteer's feelings:

- > Come up with an assignment that will get them out of your hair. (If it actually helps you, that's an added bonus.) Suggestion: Have them write a position paper (which no one reads). — CAMPAIGNS & ELECTIONS MAGAZINE



COMMUNICATION

Avoid confusion with volunteers by always being definite about questions. Say "yes" or "no." Don't say "maybe" or "I'll try to get it done by Tuesday." People will hear it as a positive statement, and get upset if you don't deliver. Make sure what you're agreeing to is what they hear.

— COMMUNICATION BRIEFINGS

Mastering the art of body language

Here's why successful politicians avoid the "fig leaf" pose — and never invade people's "intimate zone"

Body language — it's defined as "nonverbal communications; the outward manifestation of inward emotions."

It consists of facial expressions, physical posture and gestures, vocal pitch and intonation, hand gestures, personal space, and physical touch.

And, according to experts, it accounts for 90% of all communication in our culture.

"Each individual not only shows his or her inner emotions silently but also interprets those nonverbal messages as they are projected by others. This is how we develop feelings about people and situations," writes Glenn Berlin in his article, "The Art of Using Political Body Language" in *Campaigns & Elections* magazine.

"Every time political candidates meet with voters, potential campaign contributors, or the press, they are sending nonverbal messages that tell everyone how they feel," warns Berlin. "Smart candidates will make sure that their nonverbal messages are congruent with their verbal messages, thereby dramatically increasing the probability of being understood, believed, and elected."

Here are tips based on Berlin's research into political nonverbal communications; behaviors that will win — or lose — candidates support, votes, and money:

> **Don't** stand with your hands in your pockets. "This is a clear signal that a politician is being closed and defensive."

> **Don't** jingle change in your pocket. "This often happens when a candidate is soliciting campaign funds. This gesture signals a preoccupation with money and sends that message to the potential donor."

> **Don't** stand with your arms crossed. "Crossed arms send defiant vibes."

> **Don't** stand in the "fig leaf" stance, with hands grasped in front of the groin. "The fig leaf is indicative of self-control and may be negatively interpreted."

> **Be careful** about "steeppling" — when fingertips

are placed together, forming a triangle. "Steepling expresses confidence, but can be misconstrued to mean arrogance."

> **Don't** use too many hand gestures when speaking to an audience. "It can be distracting."

> **Do** stand with your arms at your sides. "For most people, assuming this posture feels awkward. To the observer, however, this posture appears relaxed."

> **Do** bend over when talking to shorter people, or seated individuals. "Height superiority gives the person standing a distinct advantage and may cause physical discomfort to the person seated."

> **Do** sit forward when seated, "leaning toward the person with whom you are speaking, and establish good eye contact. This posture sends a nonverbal message that the listener is interested in what the speaker has to say."

> **Don't** cross your arms and legs when seated. "This posture transmits a negative image similar to standing with the arms crossed."

> **Do** use the "hand-to-face" posture, with your hand resting lightly between the nose and chin—the classic pose from "The Thinker." This "indicates attention, interest and evaluation of the subject at hand."

> **Don't** invade people's personal space. "There are four distinct zones of space: intimate, personal, social, and public."

"The **intimate zone** is from six to eight inches from the body and is off-limits to all but close personal friends and loved ones. Anyone else penetrating this zone causes feelings of actual physical discomfort."

"The **personal zone** is from 18 inches to four feet, and that is the zone we use in the performance of our work."

"Between four feet and 12 feet is the **social zone**, [used] for protection when confronted with strangers."

"Finally, the **public zone** is at a distance greater than 12 feet, used when we address large groups of people."

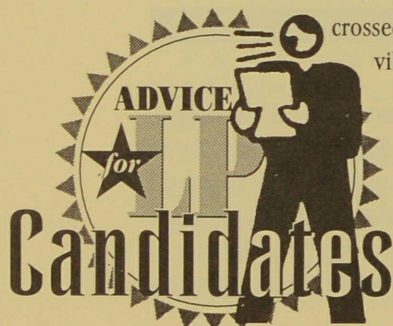
"Try to remain within the personal zone to conduct campaign business. It is in this zone that the voter and contributor will feel the most comfortable. Unfortunately, some candidates insist on intruding into the voters' intimate zone, thereby causing feelings of discomfort."

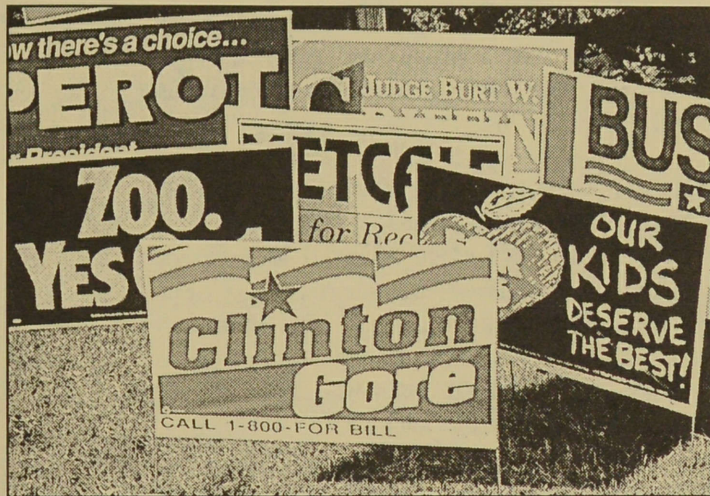
Berlin ends with a strong warning to candidates to pay attention to their non-verbal communications — or risk sabotaging their campaigns:

"To insure that words are heard, understood, and acted upon, candidates must be aware of body language and how it affects communication . . . [or] that candidate [will fail] at his primary task of persuasion. Understanding these interrelations between verbal and nonverbal messages is a critical element of a campaign plan."



"Body language accounts for 90% of all communication in our culture."





Looking for good campaign signs?

Are you looking for effective, professional signs for your campaign?

According to professional political consultant Sal Gazzetta, the best supplier of political signs in America is Patriot Signage, Inc. In fact, he's so impressed by their product that he hands out samples at his campaign seminars.

Patriot Signage, Inc. doesn't make the typical cardboard-on-a-stake signs. Instead, according to their sales literature, they produce "a heavy-duty polyethylene plastic sleeve that slips snugly over the pre-bent wire frame (provided and included in the price)."

What are the advantages of this kind of sign? "No more stakes, no more staples, no more limp, wet signs. Signs and steel frames are quickly assembled, making them incredibly easy for volunteers. Brilliant graphics on bright poly grab voter attention as no other signs you've seen," they note.

Since 1991, the company has manufactured signs for over 1,200 candidates and issues, including the Bush, Clinton, and Perot for President campaigns.

Sample pricing: 1,000 signs, white type on a blue background, 26" x 16" printed both sides, includes frames: \$1.89 each. 5,000 signs: 99¢ each. For two colors plus white: 1,000 for \$2.46 each; 5,000 for \$1.12 each. Signs are shipped within 20 days of art approval and payment.

For more information, contact Patriot Signage, Inc. at (800) 777-7446. Or write: 2260 Park Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio 45206.

(Legal disclaimer: The Libertarian Party does not officially endorse any manufacturer of campaign signs. This information is provided as a service for candidates.)

Watch out for 800# dirty tricks

Are the Libertarian party's political enemies using "dirty tricks" against our candidates?

The LP headquarters received a call in May from an activist in Michigan, who said he had evidence of exactly that.

According to this activist, someone called up the phone company that supplied the toll-free 800# service for the Jon Coon for U.S. Senate campaign, and ordered the phone service turned off.

The 800# was shut off for three days before the campaign staff realized it. The person who did this apparently posed as someone from the Coons campaign.

A little more research also uncovered the fact, he said, that the Michigan 800# was not listed on the national 800# directory (which you can get by calling 1-800-555-1212), and neither was the National Libertarian Party. This activist said that *every* 800 number is listed unless you specifically request not to be — which made him believe that someone had requested that the LP numbers be "de-listed."

This activist's recommendation to solve this problem, or prevent it from happening to you:

- Get a security code with your 800# provider. Set it up so only someone who knows the code can change or shut off your 800# service.

- On a regular basis, check to make sure that your 800# is listed in the 800# directory. If possible, tell them that you are not ever to be de-listed.

"The 800# was shut off for three days before the staff realized it."

Four campaign tips from an Oregon LP candidate

Four campaign tips from Dan Vander Ploeg, Libertarian Candidate for Governor of Oregon:

- You should be preparing to run *months* in advance of the nominating convention. As it is, my race will last for five months, and we've spent one of those five getting organized.

- Put in a second phone line to your house right away, especially if you use a modem

- Make a point of being extra nice to your spouse—who probably did not volunteer for this adventure

- Have your mug shots and platform outline ready when the newspapers call after your nomination.

Notices

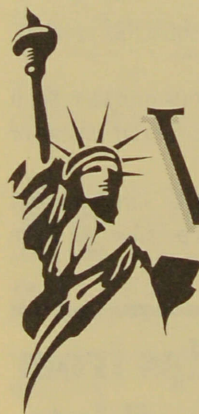
■ **Candidate software:** We received a letter at the national HQ from Mohn Software Design, offering for sale a "Personal Campaign Manager for Windows" software package. It is geared towards third party campaigns, and tracks "contributions, expenses, and volunteers." It also claims to create reports to assist filing FEC reports, and records voters' phone numbers, party affiliation, and addresses. For information, call (800) YOUR-PCM. Or, for a demo disk, send \$5 to: MSD, 2155 Lafayette Avenue, Bethlehem, PA 18017. (Disclaimer: The National LP does not officially endorse this product. This is provided for informational purposes.)

■ **Practical Politics:** California LP activist Randall Grindle is looking for Libertarians "interested in the practical politics of cutting back the state, so we can share information on what actually works in the real world." Grindle has been active in efforts to eliminate sign regulations, reduce zoning regulations, and fight dump fee increases through citizens committees and

petitions. He has also been involved in a mediation project and with the local United We Stand organization. To contact him, write P.O. Box 684, Lower Lake, CA 95457. Or call: (707) 994-4817.

■ **Artist needed:** Director of Communications Bill Winter is looking for a volunteer artist to contribute occasional artwork for LP projects such as brochures, flyers, and newsletters. "I need someone with a clean, simple style, who can produce black and white line art with a fairly quick turn-around," said Winter. "I'm looking for professional quality work to visually enhance LP projects." Call Winter at (202) 543-1988.

■ **Model "Good Government" Proposals:** We received a letter recently from Dan Walker, an LP activist in Florida, which contained three "good government/structural reform" proposals. He suggested that they might be useful for LP candidates at the statewide level. Walker noted: "These reform proposals are neither explicitly pro- or anti-Libertarian. They're designed to attract the attention of people who are interested in government reform in addition to ideological or policy debates." For copies, write: Dan Walker, 3255 Capital Circle NE, #7-H, Tallahassee FL 323308.



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