

The Libertarian Volunteer

A newsletter for LP volunteers, activists, officers, and candidates

The perfect candidate's brochure

■ The secrets of white space and color

The candidate's brochure is the backbone of your publicity effort. Therefore, it must be versatile and calculated to reach the lowest common denominator, simple and striking.

It is *not* a position paper, or a Statement of Principles, or a condensation of the LP Platform. If you feel you need these, fine. But don't include them in the candidate's brochure.

■ The Standard Brochure

Most political brochures look alike; this is no accident.

A standard, three-fold brochure fits into a standard envelope, can be carried in a pocket or purse, and is familiar to most voters. It is no more complicated than an 8" x 11" piece of paper folded twice, with print on both sides. It can be printed in large quantities at low cost. Unless you have some overriding reason to do it differently, or have more money than you know what to do with, stay with the standard brochure format.

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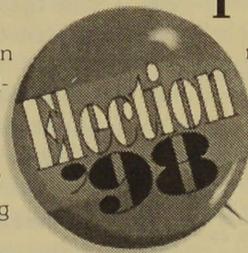
Maximizing your campaign

BY RON CRICKENBERGER
LP Political Director

The long-term goal of the Libertarian Party is to win a majority of elections at all levels of office from dog-catcher to president, and thereby bring about a Libertarian society. But at this stage of the party's development, there is value in campaigns that do not stand a realistic chance of

victory in this election cycle, but are intended to achieve other goals. Libertarian campaigns currently fall into the following categories:

■ **Paper:** The candidate agrees to have his name placed on the ballot, answer media calls, attend candidate forums, perhaps issue a press



release, but not much else. These campaigns are valuable in offering voters a choice on election day, by increasing the party's overall presence, and showing that we have a broad base of people who are willing to put their principles into action.

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10 campaign
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■ From the Editor

What you can do to help in Campaign '98

If you're a candidate, you already know what to do in the last few days before November 3rd. If you don't, LP Political Director Ron Crickenberger explains how to squeeze the most success into the final 10 days of your campaign (see his article on page 3, "Top 10 things for the last 10 days.")

But if you're *not* a candidate, there are still ways that you can help. Here's a few suggestions:

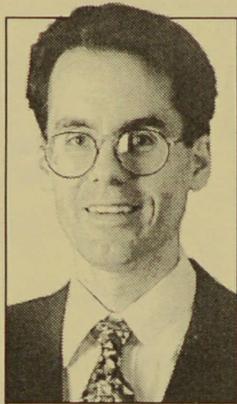
1) Vote! Earlier this year, an LP candidate in New Mexico lost a race for City Council by *one vote*. How would you like to have been a local Libertarian who didn't bother to go to the polls that day? How would you like to know that you cost a Libertarian an election? *Don't let it happen again!* Get out and vote on November 3rd!

2) Work the polls. As Ron Crickenberger points out, more than 10% of the electorate makes up their mind about who to vote for *on Election Day*. Your presence at the polling station — handing out a brochure, waving a sign, or talking to voters —

can sway those undecideds to vote Libertarian. It's not too late: Call your local LP candidate and volunteer to work on Election Day.

3) Send in a last-minute contribution. It will help, either to buy last-minute ads, or print a batch of Election Day hand-outs. Our candidates need your financial support to make that final push.

4) On November 4th, start building the size and strength of the Libertarian Party. Yes, Election '00 is just 729 days away! What we do during those 729 days will determine how well we do in the first election of the New Millennium. *What are you waiting for? Let's get busy!*



Bill Winter, Editor

What Works



A "rolling billboard"

Here's how Tennessee LP member **Jerry Phillips** spreads the word about the Libertarian Party: He uses his van as a "rolling billboard" — complete with the party's toll-free phone number for information.

Does it work? "It's surprising how often I am approached in parking lots," he said. "I carry several pamphlets with me and when asked about my signs, or when an opening is made, I present the written word of Libertarian ideas."

Petitioning "the easy way"

Planning a ballot access petition drive — but frustrated by indifference, a lack of good places to petition, and a dearth of registered voters?

LP activist **Scott Kjar** of Alabama suggests how to fix that: "We can petition at the Democratic and GOP primaries." This is, he says, "petitioning the *easy way*, the way that is guaranteed to get us lots of signatures, and high verification rates. The people who show up at the primary are registered voters. Since they are voting anyway, they are already expressing an interest in both the process and the outcome. They are the perfect target audience for a petition drive.

"Remember, you are standing outside the polling place for the Democrat or Republican primary. *Everyone* who passes you is a registered voter, so *every* signature you gather will count toward your petition requirement.

"And since a lot of people will go past you on Election Day, a small fraction of them is all you need to meet your petition requirements."

The Libertarian Volunteer

A newsletter for LP volunteers, activists, officers, and candidates
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Top 10 things for the last 10 days

■ 10 crucially important things that every candidate should do in the last 10 days of the campaign to increase vote totals

BY RON CRICKENBERGER
LP Political Director

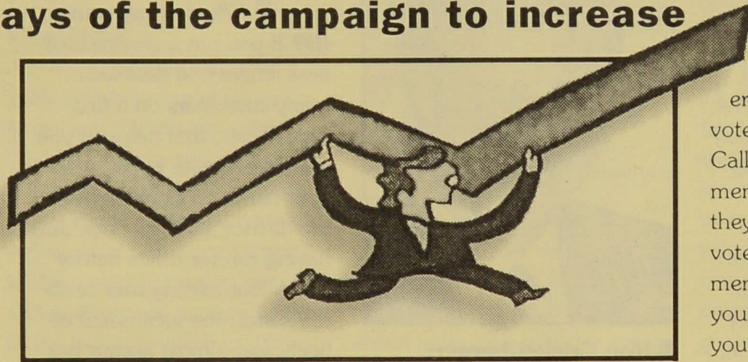
Election Day — and the few days before it — are the *most important* of the entire campaign. Whether you have invested 10 or 1,000 hours in your campaign so far, your efforts in the last 10 days can as much as double your votes — and in a close race can mean the difference in victory or defeat. While you have been thinking heavily about the election for months, many voters are just now beginning to pay attention to their electoral choices.

Strange as it may seem to someone who is interested in politics enough to become a candidate, 10% or more of the electorate makes up their mind on whom to vote for for President on Election Day. As you go down the ballot, the percentage increases dramatically. In a city council or similar race that has received little publicity, the percent that make their decision on Election Day can be as much as 50% or more.

Your job as a candidate is to swing as many of those last-minute deciders as possible into the Libertarian camp.

Campaigns with differing levels of activity will have different end game strategies. But the following final-stretch campaign activities can be done on even the tiniest of shoestring budgets, and should be done by all Libertarian Party candidates.

■ **Letters to the Editor:** Encourage your supporters to



write one last letter to their local papers, mentioning you and the Libertarian Party by name, along with some good reasons to vote Libertarian.

■ **Letter Kits:** Letter kits are the ideal thing to hand to someone you meet who says, "Is there something I can do to help your campaign?"

A letter kit consists of 20 small, personal correspondence-style envelopes, stationary to go with them, 20 of your brochures, three sample letters encouraging votes for you, and an instruction sheet. Tell your letter kit volunteers to draft a one-page letter to their friends who live in the district, using the sample

letters as a guide, or simply copying the letters if they desire.

If they want to do more, or if they say they do not have 20 friends in the district, ask them to write to 20 people on their street. Tell your volunteers that they may stamp the envelopes themselves, or let the campaign stamp them — but they should not mail them. You want to pick up the letters from your volunteers to time the mailing for best effectiveness — as well

calls to your key supporters, reminding them to go vote for you on Election Day. Call all the Libertarian Party members in your district. Even they need reminding to go vote. Then call all the past members and LP inquiries in your district as well. Plus all of your personal friends and family. Increase your effectiveness by asking all of your core supporters to call 20 of their neighbors, and have a quick script ready to fax or email to those who agree to do so.

■ **Walk your district:** Doorbelling is time-consuming, but highly effective. Increase your effectiveness as a candidate by having three volunteers accompany you on your walks, and "leapfrog" each other from house to house. Having a volunteer distribute your literature door-to-door while also walking their kids in strollers can be a good touch.

■ **Issue a final press release (or two, or three):** If you have campaign activities to report on, make sure you let the press know. Inform them of what precincts you'll be walking prior to E-day. Your last release before the election should let the media know where and when you will be voting. Do it early and make a show of it. Vote with a local minister that supports you, or with your family. You could show up on the noon news with a reminder for your supporters to go vote.

■ **Shake Hands!** Go by the local senior centers for lunch or breakfast in the days

"10% of the electorate make up their minds on Election Day."

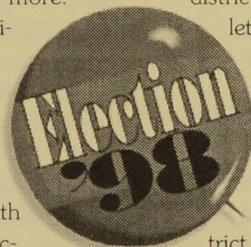
as to ensure that the letters actually get written.

The power of this tactic is that very few people get personal letters anymore. Getting a personally addressed and apparently personally written letter from a friend or neighbor makes a strong impact.

■ **Raise last-minute money for last-minute ads:** Call all of the previous donors to your campaign and thank them for their support of your campaign — and mention those last-minute ads you'd like to run with their help. Your previous donors are most likely to give you an additional donation right before the election. They already have an interest in seeing your campaign do well.

■ **Work the Phones!** Make get-out-the-vote phone

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Maximizing your campaign

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■ **Party-Building:** The candidate has evaluated the race, and does not feel that there is a realistic chance of electoral victory this time. The campaign is run with the intention of building a base of support for future success.

■ **Ballot Access:** The campaign's goal is to achieve or retain ballot access for the Libertarian Party in a state or district. The need for ballot access campaigns is determined by the needs of each state party.

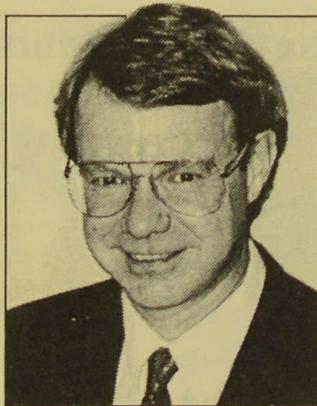
■ **Winnable:** The candidate has evaluated the race and determined that there is a reasonable likelihood of electoral victory in this election.

The choice between a "paper" or a party-building campaign will be determined by the individual candidate's time-and-effort commitment. But how do you tell if you should be running to win, or if you should run a campaign designed to help other Libertarians win in the future?

To determine if your race is winnable, ask the following questions.

1 Can I raise enough money? And, how much is enough? 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.

You will need to raise at least as much as the typical winner does in the race you are running. You find this amount by examining the pre-



■ **Ron Crickenberger:** "You will need to raise at least as much as the typical winner does."

vious campaign disclosure reports on file with either the Secretary of State's office, or your local voter registrar. Winning congressional campaigns usually start out at the half-million dollar range. State house seats can cost anywhere from \$2,000 to a quarter million or more, depending on the state and how hotly the race is contested. Plus, as a Libertarian, you are likely to need more than the usual amount of funds to overcome the inherent advantages of running as a major party candidate. Can you raise this much money in the time it is needed?

2 How does my history of community involvement compare to my opponent's? If your opponent is chairman of the Kiwanas Club, president of the Chamber of Commerce, serves on the Zoning Commission, and is a leader in the PTA, your chat room on the Internet is not likely to equal out in terms of the number of votes that can be delivered. Though it is possible to overcome a previous lack of civic involvement, it puts you one more

step behind the opposition.

3 What is my name ID? If you run a service business where you deal with many customers on a first-name basis, that helps. If you are a real estate agent, with your name on signs all over the district, that will help. Just having run for office before helps. But barring true celebrity status, the incumbent officeholder almost always has the edge in name ID.

4 Does anybody care if you win? Can you mobilize a strong team who will go out and work really hard to get you elected? Can you get perhaps as much as two percent of the voters to volunteer for some aspect of your campaign? Can you get endorsements from community leaders?

5 Is the incumbent vulnerable? In general, all a sitting officeholder has to do to get re-elected is to not screw up. Open seats usually offer the best shot, but they also tend to be the races where the most money is spent.

Analyzing the results

If you can answer "yes" to the above questions, and can make the time commitment necessary, you should probably run to win this election. If not, you should probably set goals with an eye toward building a base of support for future electoral success.

If you have decided that yours will be a party-building campaign, you should still have firm goals — tangible goals, which can be quantified as much as possible. "Reaching as many people as I can

and telling them the Libertarian message" isn't sufficiently specific for the purpose of goal setting, but one or more of the following may be:

- Number of votes
- Percent of the total vote
- Number of news stories
- Number of new Libertarian Party members
- Inclusion in debates or candidates' forums
- Reaching "balance of power" status in the vote
- Raising a targeted amount of money
- Registering a certain number of Libertarian voters.

All of these are quantifiable. You'll know for certain whether or not you've reached them by the end of the campaign. And that should give you and your campaign team the motivation to set forth and follow a detailed game plan to achieve them. Therefore, the first thing you should do after deciding to become a candidate is to put specific goals down on paper.

Which of your goals should take precedence? If after careful evaluation you have determined you may have a shot at victory in this election, then your clear goal is to achieve the majority or plurality necessary to win.

If you have determined that you should be running a party-building campaign, then do those things which will have lasting benefit after the campaign is over. This would include:

■ **Voter Identification:** Canvassing the voters to determine who the Libertarian supporters are, and retaining the list of supporters for future elections. This gives an early base of support for the next Libertarian campaigner in your area a base which can be easily contacted for donations, volunteers, and placement of yard signs.

■ **Generating inquiries** about your campaign and the Libertarian Party. This gives you a list which can be used for fundraising during the campaign, and provides prospects for membership recruitment as well.

■ **Registration of voters as Libertarians.** When done on a one-on-one basis, or with outreach booths, registration drives can be very effective in developing and identifying a support base.

■ **Recruiting LP members.** This is perhaps *most* important for long-term success. Dues-paying members of the party have made a commitment which is likely to last for years. For party building, it is more important to recruit a supporter for life than it is to recruit five

more votes for this election.

What do all these have in common? They provide you with a list of supporters for future elections — something the older parties have been collecting for decades.

How high?

How high should your goals be? Not an easy question to answer. Obviously, goals which are either too easy or outrageously difficult are not good. But they should certainly reflect what you hope to gain in this campaign, over and above what was accomplished in the previous election. If the previous Libertarian vote total was 1,000 for the district, then perhaps your goal should be 2,000 . . . or much higher. If

“What if you fail to achieve some of your goals? Who doesn’t?”

you want to build party membership to double its current size in your district, then set a goal of generating 10 inquiries about your campaign for every member needed, and send the inquiry names to the national office. We’ll send them membership information packages

for you, and we typically convert 10% or more of inquiries into dues-paying members.

What if you fail to achieve some or all of your goals? Who doesn’t? Don’t hesitate to set ambitious goals at the beginning, and let your supporters know what they are — then adjust them downwards (or upwards) as the campaign progresses. Even if you do fall short of your goals, what you learned in the process of trying to reach them should be a valuable lesson for you or anyone else who campaigns in the future. But if you don’t set goals, there will be no standard by which to measure your achievements, and little solid evidence for application in future campaigns.

Effective one-on-one LP salesmanship

Friendship, good listening skills, and shared values — those are the tools required to effectively “sell” Libertarian ideas to other people, according to communications expert Charles Ehrenpreis, Ph.D.

Speaking to a meeting of the LP of New Hampshire, Ehrenpreis said that “conversion by personal contact is an effective approach,” but works best when Libertarians are armed with some basic communications skills.

Ehrenpreis, who has given workshops on communication to many groups, gave numerous suggestions to increase the success rate of Libertarian “salesmen.”

First, Ehrenpreis said Libertarians should be selective in whom they choose as their prospect. “Pick people if you enjoy their company,” he said, and warned, “You are not going to convert somebody who holds a radically different [political] viewpoint.” Also, he said, “Pick

“You must pass what I call the friend or foe filter.”

people who you will have access to over a period of time, because this isn’t a one-shot sell.”

Establish rapport

When a prospect has been selected, establish “real rapport,” said Ehrenpreis. “Your major concern in the first meeting is to pass what I call the friend or foe filter. You want to make sure the person lights up when they see you coming the second time.”

One way to maintain that rapport is by not starting arguments — a bad habit many Libertarians are guilty of, he said.

“In my view, if you set out to win an argument with somebody, you make the task that much harder,” he said.

Since people can sense when a person has selfish motives, Ehrenpreis suggested that Libertarians should have a genuine attitude that you “have something of great value” to bring to the prospect.

In subsequent meetings, advised Ehrenpreis, demonstrate your friendship. “Cooperate with them for the purpose of helping them to attain some of their goals,” he said.

Careful listening is required to discover the issues that they are most concerned about, he said. “Once you have this common ground, now you’re ready to get down to the real discussion.”

To introduce Libertarianism, you should “give them a fresh view on some area of belief they have” from a Libertarian perspective, he said.

For example, he sug-

gested, if they think that a minimum wage law is good, you should present it as a racist law that increases unemployment among black men.

“You’re agreeing with them on basic values,” said Ehrenpreis — but also showing that Libertarianism is the way to *really* help people.

Dropping seeds

“Once you know what the person’s values are, you start dropping seeds,” he said. “The object is not to carry every discussion to a conclusion, but to drop a seed, which then will sprout in this person’s mind.”

Finally, he said, “Let them draw the conclusion. Lead them up to the last step and then change the topic. Make sure the position the person takes at the end belongs to them.”

Libertarians who follow these suggestions will have a better chance of changing the way people view the freedom philosophy, said Ehrenpreis.

Building the perfect brochure

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Many brochures can be "self-mailers" — that is, the back panel has enough space for a stamp and address, so that it can be dropped into the mail. Make allowances for this when you design your brochure, if you are planning to do any mass mailings.

■ Appearance

Unless your budget is so tight it squeaks, have the typesetting done professionally — either by a competent desktop publisher, or at a quick print/design store. The more you do professionally, the better. Voters do not respond to material that looks as if it were designed and pasted together on the kitchen table, because it looks as if "you don't have a chance." Voters won't vote for people who don't have a chance, even if they agree with you.

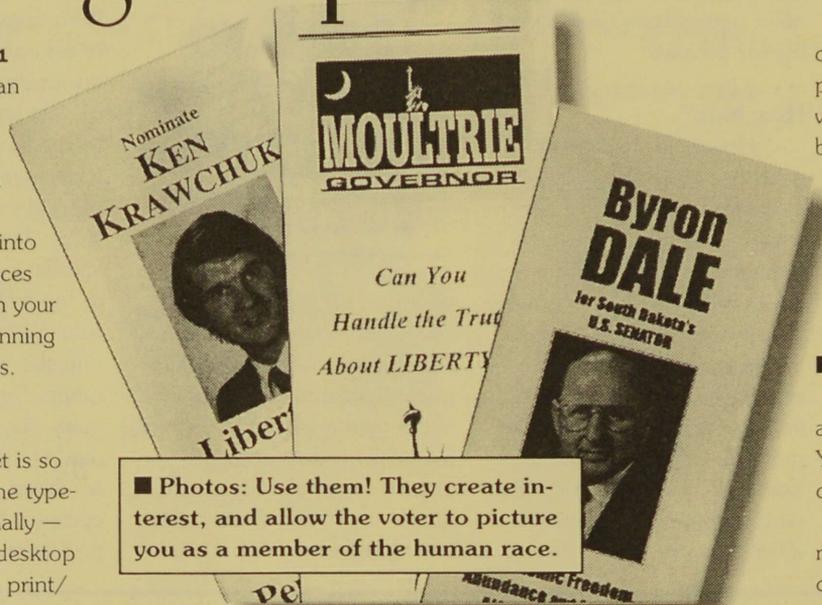
People know that it takes a lot of money to run a campaign, so anything you put out should look fairly expensive, whether it is or not. The added legitimacy of professional work heightens the willingness to listen to your message many times over.

This means selecting a paper that feels nice; having lots of white space around your printing; using good quality photographs; and choosing a pleasant type face.

It also means, if you can afford it, using two colors or even three, instead of just one.

■ Color

In general, bright colors and color combinations are preferable to the more subtle and aesthetically pleasing. You can, however, make effective



■ Photos: Use them! They create interest, and allow the voter to picture you as a member of the human race.

use of the "screen" — that is, using a solid color, like deep blue, but reducing the tone in certain areas of the brochure. The same color then appears to be two or three different colors. (With desktop publishing, there should be no difference in price for using screens.)

Some colors reproduce well, which is why you see them all the time. Blue is probably the best. Getting into pastels and light browns is great if it works, but disaster if it doesn't, so be very careful.

Also, try a "reverse." This is the technique of printing white (or whatever is the color of your paper) letters on a dark background. This also creates the illusion of more than one color.

■ Layout

To repeat, *white space* is precious. Margins can be used to frame islands of print. They should not be used for cramming in afterthoughts, diagrams, or symbols.

You can create imaginary "frames" around specific paragraphs in your brochure not

only with white space, but also with "boxes" (lines around a paragraph), and the use of a reverse print or a screen to highlight specific items. Some words or paragraphs can be printed in bold or italic type, to set them off further.

Nothing turns a reader off faster than to be confronted with a wall of small print, called "gray area." Psychologically, gray areas are death. They say, "Don't read me." The voter won't read your brochure unless he wants to, so give him every incentive.

■ Photos

Use them. They create interest, and allow the voter to picture you as a member of the human race. Posed shots are OK if you look natural. Candid shots are always good, especially if they relate to a specific point in your brochure. Captions should not be necessary, unless there are several people in one photo whom you wish to identify.

Quality counts for photos, too. If you don't have a good

camera, borrow one, plus a photographer who knows what he's doing. Always use black-and-white film, and never use Polaroid or instamatic cameras. Best of all: Pay a professional photographer to do it right. The extra money is usually well worth it.

■ The Message

Tell the voter who you are, in pictures and in words: Your background, your qualifications, and your political party.

Stress the two or three most important issues in your campaign, and hit them hard — explain the problem and the libertarian solution. It is usually a bad idea to go after your opponents in your brochure, unless you can cite chapter and verse and their offenses are truly horrible. If you do take this approach, set the relevant paragraphs apart in some way.

You are the candidate. The Libertarian Party is not. Neither is John Galt. So, unless your name happens to be John Galt, don't tell the voters who he is. Tell them who you are, and relate your specific solutions to their specific problems.

■ Before You Go To Press

Make *absolutely* sure that there are no spelling, grammatical, or typographical errors, and that the copy is laid out straight on the page, and that photos are cropped properly with no wavy edges. Ask the printer for a proof before the final brochure is run.

Since every word counts, every word that is garbled will take away points in the mind of the voter, who expects you to be perfect. So be perfect, at least where the brochure is concerned.

The all-purpose, fall-back defense

■ **Don't know the answer to a pro-government argument? Use these universal principles to defend yourself (and win converts)**

BY HARRY BROWNE
1996 LP Presidential Candidate

In a conversation, a debate, or a radio show, sometimes someone will make an assertion you can't refute simply and briefly.

He might cite a government program he claims is working well — one you don't know enough about to show the damage it does. Or he may propose a government program that seems plausible on the surface, and can't be refuted without a long economic explanation. Or he might give anecdotal evidence that

century, we had child labor, sweat shops, environmental pollution, and large trusts that drove out competition" — asking four questions that would take several complicated minutes to answer completely.

In any of these cases, you need to refer to a universal principle — an all-purpose answer that will cut through the claims, even if you have no specific knowledge regarding the claims being made.

Here are nine principles I've found valuable in such situations.

1 Futilitarianism:

Government doesn't work. It doesn't deliver the mail on time. It doesn't keep the cities safe. It doesn't educate our children properly. So you shouldn't expect it to work any better in the program you're proposing.

2 Reality Check:

It doesn't matter what we *think* government should do or what we *wish* it could do. We should recognize what government can do. And government has made a mess of virtually everything it has touched. So whatever it is we may want government to do, Libertarians always look for more realistic ways to achieve it than by turning to government.

3 Making It Political:

Whenever you turn something over to the government, you transform it from a scientific, medical, commercial, or financial matter into a political issue — to be decided by Bill Clinton, Newt Gingrich, Teddy



■ **Harry Browne: "Refer to a universal principle — an all-purpose answer that will cut through the claims."**

Kennedy, Jesse Helms, and the rest of the gang. It will be decided for the benefit of whoever has the most political influence — which won't be you or I. So don't be surprised when the worthy program you

propose is corrupted by adding a new federal building for West Virginia, or road-building contracts in the districts of key Congressmen, or hiring quotas for the personnel involved. Is this what you want — to transform a serious matter into a political boondoggle?

4 Stealing from the

Poor Box: It's easy to see how someone has been helped with money that was taken from someone else, especially when we can't see the people whose lives were hurt when their money was taken from them — the family who now can't afford braces for their child's teeth, or who must move into a smaller home, or who can't afford college educations for their children. Or

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"He may propose a program that seems plausible on the surface."

someone's life was apparently saved by a particular government program. Or he'll assert some "fact" of history that can't be checked and disputed in the course of a conversation. Or he'll say, "Don't you think government should protect [the children, the elderly, the poor, the disabled, or someone else]?"

Or maybe he'll ask a bunch of questions at once, such as, "Before government stepped in at the turn of the

Tidbits

If you get an investment offer that seems targeted to Libertarians and appears to be too good to be true, it probably is. And, it may also be fraudulent: According to a story in the *Wall Street Journal* (March 31, 1998), two "investment" companies based in Belize have been charged with defrauding investors out of \$6.5 million. Among their victims: Members of the Libertarian Party, who were promised that they could "hypothetically" receive an annual return of more than 500% through leveraging debt instruments.

"The first test market for the scheme were members of the Libertarian Party, a civil-liberties group that advocates small government," reported the *Wall Street Journal*. "That met with limited success and the defendants then targeted other investors."

Instead of "leveraging debt instruments," the companies — Banner Fund International and Swiss Trade & Commerce Trust Ltd. — bought a shrimp farm and lent \$40,000 to Belize's Minister of Agriculture.

So far, law enforcement officials have only covered \$250,000 in assets derived from the so-called investor funds.

Universal answers to tough questions

> Continued From Page 3

the good company and its employees who were driven out of business by government regulations and taxes. As long as you ignore the people who have been hurt, any government program might seem helpful. But stealing from one to give to another is neither helpful nor compassionate.

5 Camel in the Tent:

Ask the government to take care of something you think worthy (whatever it may be), and you open the door to everyone else's "worthy" project. And the next thing you know we have a \$1.7 trillion government and a \$5 trillion debt. You must first ask yourself: do you want smaller government? If you do, you'll never get it by asking for new government programs or by trying to hang onto some current program.

6 The Great Libertarian Offer:

The cost of a government program to the average American isn't a few cents a day, or a couple of dollars a month — as the politicians say in order to trivialize the price. You can't have your program without everyone else getting his favorite program as well. And all those programs add up to the income tax you have to pay, as well as a \$5 trillion debt and a lifetime tax rate for your children that economists now estimate will be 70 cents out of every dollar they earn. So wouldn't you happily give up your favorite federal programs if it meant you never had to pay income tax again?

7 Constitution: Where in the Constitution is the federal government authorized to

be involved in [fill in the blank]? If you allow the government to ignore the Constitution in this area, don't be shocked when it ignores the Constitution everywhere else as well. Nor should you be surprised that your overall tax bill is so huge.

8 Coercion vs. Persuasion: You may feel this program does some good. But does that justify forcing other people to pay for it? If the program is so wonderful, you should be able to entice people to support it *voluntarily*.

9 Sticking to Relevant Issues: You apparently believe that government regulations forced companies to invent air conditioning and the technology necessary to increase production and improve working conditions. That's a very imaginative notion, but it has nothing to do with the fact that government is much too big today, too expensive, and too oppressive. What's really important is that we reduce your tax bill just as quickly and as far as possible.

■ Putting it into practice

Pick the universal principles you're most comfortable with and become familiar with them. Be ready to use them whenever someone raises an issue you don't have the time or the specific knowledge to dispute.

Even when you can deal with a specific issue, dispense with it quickly and then move the discussion back to a universal principle — so that the conversation doesn't bog down in details.

Remember, too, if you have an audience, it doesn't

“You're not trying to win an argument; you want to win a convert.”

matter whether you persuade the questioner; it's the audience you're trying to sell. So don't feel you have to deal with every point raised by the questioner.

And always remember that — no matter what the circumstances — you aren't trying to win an argument. You're trying to win a *convert*.

You don't win a convert by scoring debating points. You win one by showing him how his life will be improved by proposals that are uniquely Libertarian — proposals that Democrats or Republicans would never be comfortable advocating.

Once a universal principle gets the conversation off an exotic story or claim, turn the discussion to your proposal and how it will improve the listener's life dramatically.

Better yet, ask him to tell you how your proposal will improve his life. For example, “When the income tax is repealed, what will you do with the money?” Get him thinking and dreaming about the benefits to him.

If you focus on his life, you have the strongest message in the world — and no one can compete with it.

Tidbits

When it comes to politics, America's other so-called “third parties” are a lot of talk, but not much action — in California, at least.

According to figures compiled by Ted Brown, the Libertarian Party in California is running more candidates this year than the Natural Law Party, the Peace & Freedom Party, the Reform Party, and the Green party . . . *combined*.

The LP has 95 candidates on the ballot this year, compared to 44 candidates who levitated onto the ballot for the Natural Law Party; 25 for the California-based Peace & Freedom Party; 14 for Ross Perot's sputtering Reform Party; and 11 for the chronically disorganized Green Party.

The disparity is widest for the State Senate (20 seats), where the Libertarians are running 11 candidates, compared to two for the Peace & Freedom Party and one for the Natural Law Party; and the State Assembly (80 seats), where the 39 Libertarian candidates trounce the 11 candidates that the Natural Law Party got on the ballot; the Peace & Freedom's five; the Reform Party's five; and the Green Party's two candidates.

“The other third parties seem to be giving up the ghost,” said Brown, the LP of California's candidate recruiter.

“Ask the Campaign Pro”

■ Fundraising, competition, and the importance of wearing suits

BY DAVID KAMIONER
Professional campaign consultant

Q What's the best way to raise money?

A One on one. The people who are going to give you large amounts are going to want to look into the candidate's eyes and see him/her ask them for it.

Now, is this fun for the candidate? Of course not. But it is a necessary evil. Events, PACS, direct mail, etc., can get you part of the way there. But there is no substitute for just plain asking for it face-to-face from those who have it.

Q How much of my personal money should I kick in to my own campaign?

A Depends on the race. But you can't expect others to follow you over the top of the trenches if you're back at

headquarters sitting fat and happy. At the very least, perhaps enough money to get going, about \$1,000-\$2,000. But that number could be much lower or higher, depending on the race.

Q Who do we compete for votes with more, the Republicans or the Democrats?

A No question, the Republicans. The national Democrats are so far off the American mainstream that they might as well be living in North Korea. (Some of them might enjoy that. I mean, it's so hard to throw a good famine these days, what with rock stars butting in and all.) But the Dems appeal to one thing well: venality. Not a department we do well in, thankfully.

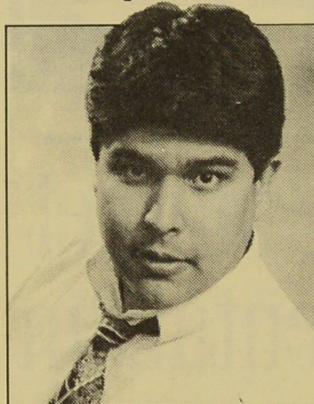
The problem with the GOP is that many times they're just plain tactically stupid. But ideologically many Republicans, if they thought we were a viable alternative to the GOP, especially the younger ones, would switch. Our job is to give them that sense of momentum and viability.

Q How do you organize Election Day activities?

A Carefully. Many a campaign has been won or lost on Election Day.

First, get a list of polling places and then get the last pertinent election results in your district. Assign your people to cover the the highest turnout polls. Duh.

Make sure your people are dressed and comport themselves in keeping with local bias and custom. Many voters are political point-of-sale shop-



■ David Kamioner: “There is no substitute for just plain asking for money face-to-face from those who have it.”

pers. They will make a decision on the basis of the last impression they get.

Cover your polls the first two-and-a-half hours they are open, from 11:00 am - 1:30 pm and from 4:00 pm until close. Have regular contact with your people to gauge turnout, and then move them around if turnout patterns are very different from what you anticipated. Keep someone constantly in a car roving from poll to poll, putting out brushfires and minor problems. HQ should be in touch with that person through cell phone. Get lunch and refreshments on a regular basis (the refreshments, not the lunch) for poll workers if they are going to cover polls all day.

And for God's sake, thank everybody with a party afterwards.

Q Is a write-in campaign worth the effort?

A The lower the office, the more it is. If the incumbent is unopposed in the general, the more it is. The higher

the office, thus the more hassles getting on the ballot, the less it is. But if it's going to be a stiletto fight in a dark alley between the status quo parties, think long and hard, given the logistical nightmares possible, before getting into the fight in the first place.

Q How effective are billboards?

A For name recognition, if you've got the cash to buy them, great. But be careful, a dumb ad, blown up to the size of a house, is a really dumb ad.

Q Do I have to actually wear some suit while I'm campaigning? Are people that shallow?

A Yes.
And yes.

Q How can Libertarians capitalize on the Clinton scandal(s)?

A By stressing that this stuff — not intern sex (although there is a fair amount of that) — but abuses of office and the corruption of power is business-as-usual for the status quo parties. The only way, just like in the market, to clean out the sclerosis and keep them honest is by competition from a party that is not mesmerized by the cult of government and the trappings of authority. Namely, us.

■ Have questions about politics or campaigns? Mail to: David Kamioner, 1251 Green Street, Reading, PA 19604. E-mail: conmgmt@penndata.com. All questions will be answered, although not necessarily in print.

First Issue?

Wondering why you got this issue of the *Libertarian Volunteer*? You've probably been added to our complimentary mailing list because:

■ You're a new state, county, or local LP officer, or executive committee member.

■ You're an important "activist" in your state, as designated by your State Chair.

■ You're a '98 candidate for public office.



www: Free Market Environmentalism

One of the toughest issues for Libertarians to address is the environment. Here are two web sites that feature extensive information about free-market environmentalism and the dangers of government regulations. Both sites provide useful information for LP spokespeople or candidates.

■ Political Economy Research Center (PERC)

Address: <http://www.perc.org>

PERC was an early pioneer in "free market environmentalism." Their primary goal is to provide market solutions to environmental problems. (Location: Bozeman, MT)

■ Competitive Enterprise Institute Environmental Studies Program

Address: <http://www.cei.org>

One of the most important policy areas of the Competitive Enterprise Institute is their Environmental Studies Program. Look here for links to a wealth of policy reports, articles, and essays on free-market environmentalism. (Location: Washington, DC)

Reprinted from the May-June 1998 *Minnesota Libertarian*.

Tips! Effective Radio Interviews

■ **Getting ready to do a radio interview?** Here are some tips from the LP's Press Secretary, George Getz:

If you get the sense that your listeners don't know anything about the LP, be prepared to talk about Libertarianism in general. Charles Murray's book, *What It Means to Be a Libertarian*, is extremely helpful in suggesting ways to present our views to beginners; so is David Bergland's *Libertarianism in One Lesson*.

If you feel that the audience already knows what we stand for, choose an issue that will immediately differentiate us from the R's and D's. I believe our two best issues are taxes and the drug war. Of course, the tax issue is inextricably linked to the GOP betrayals, so there are a lot of Republican-bashing points you can make.

10 days, 10 things

> **Continued From Page 3**

preceding the election. There is near 100% voter "turnout" in group homes. Stop by the local factory at shift change and greet voters on the way in and out.

■ **Do an election eve literature drop:** Doorhangers or flyers distributed door-to-door in the early morning hours before the polls open can be very effective. Make sure that as many voters as possible see your literature the first thing when they leave for work on the morning of the election. Hint: You may want to skip the neighborhoods with lots of automatic garage doors—you won't be able to get your flyer where it will be noticed.

■ **Work The Polls:** Assuming that your state's election law lets you get close enough to the polls for effective campaigning, this is the most important Election Day activity for you and your volunteers. Have signs to wave and literature to give to the voters on their way in to the polls.

"Shake every possible hand 'til the polls close."

The candidate should shake every possible hand all day from the opening of the polls 'til they close. Even if the law requires you to be a good distance from the polls for campaigning, you may find precincts where voters must park away from the polling entrance, and be able to greet them there.

■ **Thank your supporters with an election night party:** Make sure they feel appreciated, and that their efforts were valuable.

Besides, you still need their help to take down all those signs after Election Day.

Tips! Press release sound-bites

■ **Are you a Libertarian candidate, getting ready to crank up your media operations?** Here's some advice from North Carolina LP member Tom Bailey, specifically designed for a fledgling candidate's first press release:

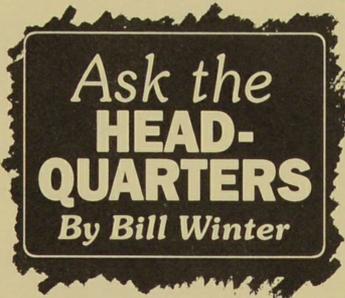
"Be sure to include some sound-bite type quotes. *'I am running because . . .'* Or: *'You should support me because . . .'* Or: *'I expect to win because . . .'* These statements should be no more than twenty or at most thirty words.

"If you are in a small community you have a better chance of being reported on sooner. Don't get discouraged if there is no [early] report. The reporters will read your stuff. They will come around if it looks like you have staying power. They will often wait to see if you are just a flash in the pan. They only want to report on serious news."

(Reprinted from the January/February 1998 issue of the *Tarheel Libertarian*)

Are we really the 3rd-largest party?

Q I'm making the following claim in a news release: "The Libertarian Party . . . today is America's third-largest and fastest growing political party." Is this true?
— J.M., Connecticut



A Both those claims are difficult to quantify. Do you measure "largest" by vote totals, people in office, number of candidates, or registered voters? If you measure by vote totals, which votes: Presidential? Total?

That said, we are arguably the "third largest" party by:

- 1) The number of people we have in public office.
- 2) The number of candidates we run each election cycle.
- 3) The cumulative vote totals of our candidates at all levels.

On the other hand, the Reform Party supposedly has more registered voters now (thanks to their massive voter registration drive in 1996), and has certainly won more votes at the presidential level.

However, I think it is fair to say that, based on total votes, total candidates, and to-

tal number of elected officials, we are the largest and most successful third party now.

As far as "fastest growing," again, it depends on how you measure it. I don't think the other minor parties have the kind of dues-paying membership we do (if they do, I've never seen membership numbers). So, it's hard to compare on that basis. And updated voter registration numbers won't be out until after the 1998 election. (And even that number can fluctuate wildly, based on the states in which you have ballot status or the right to register.)

So, I'm not sure we can claim that we are the "fastest growing third party," and back it up with any kind of firm evidence. On the other hand, I don't think any other party can make that claim either.

Tips! Opposition research on the Web

■ **Need to know where your opponents stand on the issues?** Here's a suggestion from Dirk Deardorff, LP candidate for State Assembly in California: "A good site to get your opponents' positions is www.vote-smart.org. We all got questionnaires from Project Vote Smart and the results are online. I found at least one area (education) where the Dem and Rep hold the same statistical positions — and probably aren't even aware of it. This information could come in handy at upcoming debates and forums."

Talking Politics

A column of random political news, statistics, quotes, opinions, advice, and suggestions.

The one issue in every campaign:

"There is only one issue in every campaign — who can do the best job," says Jerry Russell, president, Campaign Consultants. What he means by that, says LP Political Director Ron Crickenberger: "Voters are looking for the candidate who can be most effective once in office. They look for someone who has a track record of accomplishment. They look for someone who is 'like them.' Your job as a candidate is to position yourself as that someone. You use your stand on issues as part of your positioning, but remember that issues and principles are what you win *for*. Organization, money, and manpower are what you win *with*."

Libertarian history: Interested in the early days of the Libertarian Party? A new book by John Kelly, *Bringing the Market Back In*, examines the history of the libertarian movement in the USA from the end of World War II to the present. Included in that account: The story of the LP, focusing especially on the late '70s and early '80s. The book — published by New York University Press — is available from Laissez Faire Books (800-326-0996).

CATS burglars: First it was the Republicans — now it's the Citizens for an Alternative Tax System (CATS): Both organizations have stolen the "\$1,000,000 Bill" idea from the Libertarian Party, and used it to publicize themselves. The latest theft was reported in a CATS publication, which noted that Austin, Texas-area CATS members handed out the phony money on Tax Day to promote their campaign to replace the income tax with a national sales tax. "In fairness to CATS, at least they gave credit to the LP for the idea," said LP Communications Director Bill Winter. "When the Republican Party stole the idea, they didn't acknowledge us at all — which is typical of them."

In the name of tyranny: It's good to remind ourselves on occasion that, no matter how bad the U.S. government gets, other countries are worse. For example, the *World Press Review* (July 1998) reported that Peru has passed a new law outlawing names for children that are "extravagant, irreverent, contrary to public order, or foreign." Employees at the National Register of Identification and Martial Status were given the power to review and veto children's names.

Notices

■ Want Patrick Henry to speak at your next state convention?

Jack H. Stuart, an LP member who has performed the fiery Revolutionary War-era orator's immortal "Give Me Liberty Or Give Me Death" speech (in costume) more than two dozen times — to audiences as large as 4,000 people — is available "if a need for Patrick Henry arises for any Libertarian meeting." Price: Expenses (food, transportation, lodging). Interested? Call him at (707) 894-3640. Or e-mail him at: stuart.clvdl@juno.com

■ **Free sample copy:** If you attended the 1998 Libertarian National Convention as a del-

egate, you qualify for a free copy of *Ballot Access News*, the nation's leading publication on ballot access, third parties, and election law. Publisher Richard Winger will send a copy to any delegate who requests it. Write him at: Box 470296, San Francisco, CA 94147. E-mail: ban@igc.apc.org.

■ A Libertarian/feminist

e-mail list has been organized by Janice Presser, State Chair of the New Jersey LP, to discuss women's rights. Interested? E-mail her at: chair@njlp.org.

■ E-magazine: Reason

magazine — one of the nation's leading libertarian publications — is now offering a weekly e-mail newsletter with "information and commentary on hot topics in the news." *Reason Express* "will offer the same brand of sharp, alternative com-

mentary that readers of our magazine have enjoyed for years," said *Reason* Editor Virginia Postrel. For information, visit: www.reason.com. To subscribe, send e-mail to: majordomo@free-market.net with the following text as part of the body:

★ For the plain text version: subscribe Reason-Express YOUREMAIL@Wherever

★ For the HTML version: subscribe Reason-ExpressHTML YOUREMAIL@Wherever

■ Want to send a message

to the IRS when you mail in your tax return next year? LP member David R. Bull is offering for sale his "Bad Attitude Stamp Kit" — a set of four stamps (with ink pad) to send the IRS "money-grubbers a lesson." Included in the set are a cartoon character with a screw in his chest, two naked people on a barrel, and more.

To order, send \$11.50 to: Solutions, P.O. Box 3367, Redondo Beach, CA 90277.

■ Hornberger in action:

A videotape of noted Libertarian speaker Jacob "Bumper" Hornberger debating a college professor on the topic "Is Government the Enemy of Freedom?" is now available from the S.I.L. chapter at Washington State University. The debate pitted Hornberger against WSU political science professor Cornell W. Clayton. To order a copy of the 90-minute tape, send \$25 to: Students for Individual Liberty, CUB 337, Washington State University, P.O. Box 647204, Pullman WA 99164. (Make checks payable to: WSU Foundation; note that it's for account number 6250-7896. Specifically request the "Hornberger/Clayton Debate" videotape.)

The Libertarian Volunteer

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