

The Libertarian Volunteer

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

The P.I.P. Plan

"Juggling" your way to greater Libertarian political success

BY BILL WINTER

Next time you see a juggler on TV or at the circus, study him carefully. That's the skill you need to be a successful Libertarian Party leader.

Well, not the art of juggling itself. But the *concept*.

Building a successful Libertarian Party — whether at the national, state, or local level — is like juggling: There are three central concepts we must pay attention to simultaneously . . . three "balls" we must keep in the air at the same time.

These three areas are: Projects, Infra-

structure, and Professionalization.

It's what I call the PIP Plan.

(Wait a second, you may ask — what about membership? Yes, membership is important. But adding Membership would have made this, ahem . . . the P-I-M-P Plan — so we'll include Membership *within* the Projects area, OK?)

What is the PIP Plan?

It is essentially what most successful state and local LP organizations are *already* doing.

In most cases, those successful organizations didn't sit down and say, "Let's do the PIP Plan." But these basic principles of success are the *common denominator* of most successful volunteer groups — whether they are political, charitable, religious, or whatever.

I think, when you hear these principles, they will help you better understand:

■ Why some of our

state parties are *surging* forward — and others are growing very slowly.

■ Why one state has 28 Libertarians in public office — and other states have one or two . . . or none.

■ Why some states run 100 candidates for public office — and other states run a handful . . . or none.

For answers, look at the PIP Plan of Libertarian success.

Just to confuse you, I'm not going to start with "P," but with "I" — Infrastructure. I'll get back to the P's later.

■ **Infrastructure:** No Libertarian state party can do the business of politics until it takes care of business first.

I'll warn you: This is the *boring* stuff. This is the stuff that no one wants to volunteer to do. But this is the stuff that *must* get done, day in and day out, quietly, or nothing else happens.

So what is political infrastructure?

First, it is an accurate, up-to-

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Analysis: '96 Local Campaigns

BY RON CRICKENBERGER

Before 1996, no Libertarian candidate in the lower 48 states had been elected to a significant (State Representative or above) partisan position with *only* a Libertarian nomination.

The bad news is that we still haven't.

The good news is that we are getting closer, and that the level of professionalism for our local campaigns is increasing.

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**PROJECTS
INFRASTRUCTURE
PROFESSIONALISM**

■ From the Editor

The Volunteer's back, and ready for action

Forget Ayn Rand or Ludwig Von Mises. The proper person to quote is Lewis Carroll — specifically, his White Rabbit character from *Alice in Wonderland*: "I'm late, I'm late!" Yes, after an eight-month hiatus, the *Libertarian Volunteer* has returned. No excuses (and no more literary allusions), but after the frenzied 1996 presidential campaign and a pile of backlogged work in early '97 (a new LP prospect information package, new renewal letters, and more), we're back.

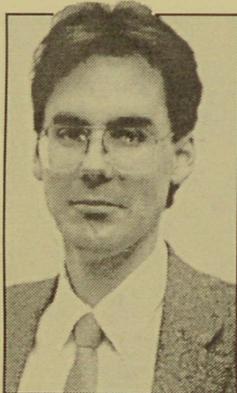
This issue features several "catch-up" pieces that I had hoped to print last year, but are still relevant: Information about new staff here at the HQ; Ron Crickenberger's analysis of the most important 1996 local campaigns; and a few others.

And it features the usual batch of "hands-on" advice articles: A piece on the nuts-and-bolts of building a successful state or local party (based on a speech I gave at the recent State Chairs' Success '97 conference);

information on planning a state convention; advice for Libertarian candidates; and much more.

Even better, the eight-month vacation from the *Volunteer* allowed me to stockpile a number of excellent articles for the next several issues: Advice the media has given the LP; more local party-building tips; how to write successful letters-to-the-editor; and much more. The next several issues will be great (and, hopefully, much more timely as well.)

So, sorry for the delay. Now let's get right to it — we've got a political party to build! ■



Bill Winter, Editor

■ From the National Director

Success '97 may be coming to your state

You may soon get to have the same experience more than 70 state party activists had in early March. We brought them to Washington, DC for a training and planning event called Success '97. Purpose: 1) to create a consensus about how best to proceed to succeed, and 2) to gain the tools that success requires.

Everyone agreed, Success '97 was exactly what its named implied — a smashing success. Now we're working to take this show on the road, to 10 locations around the country. You'll be receiving an invitation as the date for the Success '97 event in your area draws near. But let me give you a small preview by touching on some of what we discussed.

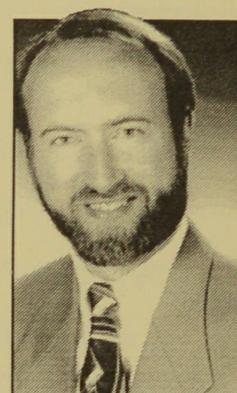
First, the "division of labor" — it's one of the most important concepts in economics, but one to which we've paid scant attention. It stands to reason that each level of our party has things which it can do uniquely well. And it also stands to reason that each of us should concentrate on those tasks. For instance, the national party has an ability to concentrate resources and staff talent to produce large membership mailings. And most of our growth has come from that source. But there are other kinds of projects that just shouldn't be done from a national office.

For instance, we can't set up information booths at fairs, shopping malls, and flea markets, and thereby generate qualified inquiries. But local parties can do this, and should. Likewise, we can't set up volunteer phone banks and canvass a precinct to identify potential members and voters. But a campaign can, and should. And there's very little National can do to organize new local parties. But that's a perfect job for a state party. Think how much more effective we could all be if we focused on the things we're uniquely qualified to do.

These were the fruits of Success '97. First, that each of us has a unique job to do. Second, that membership growth is our road to victory. Third, that small forward steps are the key to walking the road to victory. Fourth, by doing all of the above, each of us can implement "Operation Everywhere" at our level of activity.

Haven't heard of Operation Everywhere? It's our eventual plan for all Americans to hear about the LP, over and over again. At the national level, we'll provide advertising — radio, TV (when we can afford it), and targeted magazines. At the local level, you can provide candidates, meetings, outreach events, and newsworthy activities. Together, we will work to make the LP "everywhere."

If you'd like to learn more, plan on joining us when Success '97 comes to a city near you. ■



Perry Willis, National Director

The Libertarian Volunteer

A newsletter for LP volunteers, activists, officers, and candidates
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GENS, Bulk Rate mail, & registering Web sites

Q Does the Libertarian Party have a GEN? Can candidates use it? According to Internal Revenue Service instructions, GENs are four-digit numbers assigned to non-profit organizations. — D.M., Michigan

A We asked Ron Crickenberger, the LP's Political Director, to respond:

Basically, GENs do not apply to political campaigns. Since the Libertarian Party itself is not tax exempt, we cannot have a GEN. [The LP is not a for-profit organization, but neither is it classified as a non-profit, tax-exempt organization.]

The way to protect yourself from tax liability is simply to not have over \$100 in "income" from the campaign (which is unlikely to happen in most campaigns which do not raise over \$5,000 anyway). Income generally only applies to things other than contributions, such as interest earned on a bank account. There has been some

Ask the HEADQUARTERS

confusion in the past whether things like selling T-shirts produced income, so to be on the safe side, such items should be offered as premiums for contributions, rather than "for sale."

If you *did* have income from your campaign, and must fill out IRS form SS4, Section 8a, you should check "other non-profit organization," and enter "politi-

cal candidate committee" to specify what "other" you are. In Section 9 of the form, check "other" and enter "started political candidate committee."

Most of the above info came from Mr. Dave Jones of the IRS Exempt Organizations Technical Division.

Q Would it be possible to get help from the National office with regard to registering either lpri.org or lp-ri.org as a WWW domain? — Mike Rollins, Vice Chair, Rhode Island

A We asked Joe Dehn, who maintains the LP's World Wide Web site, to respond:

The LP uses the domain name "lp.org," and all the two-letter subdomains like "ri.lp.org" are available for use by the affiliate parties. You don't need to do anything to register it, or pay any fee.

What you do need (and would also need if you registered a completely unrelated name) is an http server somewhere with a unique IP address (i.e., software running on a machine somewhere that will respond to requests from WWW browsers directed toward that specific address, returning info about the LP of Rhode Island and not about other things). You can achieve this either by having a dedicated host — a real machine connected to the Internet used just for this purpose — or, more practically, a "virtual host" on a machine run by an ISP or somebody else. Many ISPs provide such a service, although they often

charge more for it than for a plain account which just lets you make your pages available in a subdirectory on a common host.

If you set your pages up on either your own machine or a "virtual host," all you need to do is send me the IP address and I will make the name "www.ri.lp.org" point to it.

Q Can state parties send mail using National's bulk rate permit — thus avoiding the costs to purchase their own permit and the annual fees? —R.R., Rhode Island

A Unfortunately, no. What state affiliates can get from us is the right to take advantage of our *non-profit* mailing rates — not just bulk rate. (Non-profit rates are much cheaper than bulk rates.)

Usually, only non-profit or-

ganizations (as certified by the IRS) get non-profit rates. But there is a clause in Post Office regulations that grants non-profit rates to nationally organized political parties — and their state affiliates, too. We have been recognized by the Post Office as a bona-fide nationally organized political party, so we can mail at non-profit rates.

So, what you can get from us is acknowledgement that you are an "official" affiliate, which qualifies you to mail at those lower non-profit rates.

How much can you save? Well, non-profit rates are only about 12.4¢ per piece (compared to about 26¢ per piece for standard bulk rate and 32¢ for First Class), so you can still save money if you mail out a certain volume of mail a year — even with the permit fee and annual fees. ■

Tips! Advice for LP candidates

Some tips for LP candidates from Jeff Daiell, candidate for U.S. Senate ('88) and Texas Governor ('90).

■ Complete and sign all election paperwork *on time!* Failure to do so may result in your being dropped from the ballot by election officials.

■ Do not vote in the Democratic or Republican primaries. This could disqualify you from running on our ticket.

■ Show up early. If you're invited to attend a function, try to be the first one there. It shows you care about the group and it gives you a chance to go one-on-one with attendees.

■ Buy a nameplate and wear it at all functions. You are *always* campaigning. Let people know who you are.

■ Bring at least one supporter to every event. It looks better if someone other than yourself is carrying and distributing campaign materials. Also, you may not want to solicit funds from a strange audience, but your ally could ask if you're accepting campaign contributions. Others may then contribute, too.

■ Speaking of money, ask for it *early and often*. Try to raise money from family, friends, co-workers, neighbors, etc. Even if you're not planning to raise a lot of money, a few hundred dollars would be very useful for the campaign for an advertisement, travel, or whatever.

■ Always *always* send a thank-you note to your contributors. It doesn't have to be fancy, but you *must* thank them. ■

Two staff members added to LPHQ team

Editor's note: Since last year, two new staff members have been added to the team at the Libertarian Party's national headquarters in Washington, DC. Since many LP activists will come into contact with them — either on the phone or in person — we asked them to write a brief essay to introduce themselves and explain how they came to be working for the Libertarian Party.

George Getz: Deputy Director of Communications

I'm George Getz, the party's new deputy director of communications. I'm 35 and a native of St. Louis. After graduating from the University of Missouri-Columbia School of Journalism in 1983, my first job was working as an assistant commentary page editor for the left-leaning *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*.

Our conservative readers referred to the paper as "The Pravda Dispatch," and they had a point. One day in 1984 a Libertarian candidate met with the editorial page board. I had never heard of libertarianism before, but was intrigued by the Nolan chart and drawn to the intellectual consistency of the party philosophy.

My colleagues took the "world's smallest political quiz" and, unimpressed, voted for the Mondale-Ferraro ticket. I told them they had the world's smallest political minds — and voted for David Bergland.

I moved to Washington in 1992 to get an inside view of government. I worked as a press secretary and legislative



■ **George Getz:** "I am working harder and enjoying this job more than any I have ever had."

assistant for a Democratic Congressman, Bart Gordon of Tennessee, then as a fundraiser for the National Republican Senatorial Committee.

Now *that* was bipartisan-ship! But, after working inside government for a short time, I can tell every American who doesn't trust their government that they damn well *shouldn't*. I left convinced that the restoration of freedom and individual rights can come only from the outside, and only from the patient but persistent efforts of the party of principle — the Libertarians.

I first approached the Libertarian Party in 1995, but was told there were no jobs available. Just before the 1996 nominating convention, I tried again, and Communications Director Bill Winter was looking for an assistant. I applied for the job and got it.

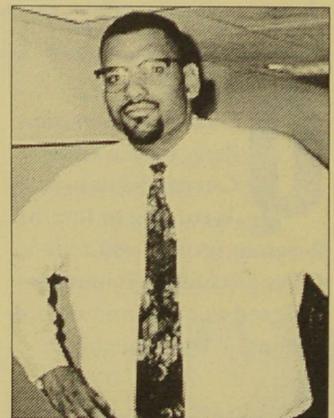
I am working harder and enjoying this job more than any I have ever had. After having seen the political alternatives, I can tell you I'm in this thing for the long haul — and I hope everyone else is, too. ■

Daniel Smith: Affiliate Services Manager

The summer after I graduated from the University of Vermont (in 1992, with a degree in Political Science), my friend Scott and I spent a month going to fifteen baseball games in twelve different cities. As part of the trip, we stayed with a friend in Columbia, South Carolina.

During that stay, the three of us engaged in several long, heated political discussions focused by my friend's libertarianism. At the end of the stay, he handed me a copy of *Libertarianism in One Lesson*. The conversations I had in South Carolina and *L.I.O.L.* are the two things that brought me to libertarianism. I did not, however, become a Libertarian until I moved to Washington, DC.

I have lived in the national capitol for just over four years. While living in the District, I have taught civics for a non-profit educational organization. The greatest benefit of teaching civics in Washington, DC was getting to see that what I had learned in high school, and was teaching now, failed



■ **Daniel Smith:** "Listening to Congress talk about how more government was necessary became hard for a budding Libertarian to stomach."

to take libertarian ideas into account. Listening to members of Congress talk about how more government was necessary to solve the problems facing the country became hard for a budding Libertarian to stomach.

After I left teaching, I began looking for a position which would incorporate the skill I learned in the classroom and my political beliefs. I called the Libertarian headquarters in January 1996 to see if I could volunteer during the election year. I was offered a part-time position fundraising for ballot access. After the convention — and the merger of the Browne campaign and the national headquarters — I was hired full time to work on affiliate services, Browne/Jorgensen material sales, and volunteer activities in the national office.

In the coming months, I will continue in my work with affiliates, activists, and volunteers. I will also be working closely with Perry Willis on our expanded programs for new member recruitment. ■

Contact?

Need to contact Daniel Smith or George Getz? Here's how:

■ **SMITH:** Phone: (202) 333-0008 Ext 231 • E-Mail: 104702.3320@Compuserve.com

■ **GETZ:** Phone: (202) 333-0008 Ext 222 • E-Mail: 76214.3676@Compuserve.com

LP hires first-ever Political Director

■ Ron Crickenberger joins the LP staff to provide more support for candidates

For the first time in its history, the Libertarian Party has hired a full-time, paid Political Director — whose major goals will be to recruit more LP candidates, boost the number of Libertarians in office, and, as quickly as possible, help elect more LP state representatives.

Ron Crickenberger, a long-time Libertarian National Committee member and volunteer chair of the party's Campaign Committee, accepted the job of Political Director in March. He'll join the staff at the party's office in Washington, DC by June 1st, after selling his business in Atlanta, Georgia.

"I feel very honored that [LP National Chairman] Steve Dasbach asked me to be the Party's first political director," said Crickenberger. "His confidence in me as the best person for the job is going to give me a lot to live up to."

Crickenberger has been active in the LP since the early 1970s. During that time, he has done "just about every type of volunteer job there is

in the party — [including] campaigns from presidential down to city council, organizing rallies, and collecting over 5,000 volunteer petition signatures."

But some of his proudest accomplishments, he said, came from his volunteer work on the party's Campaign Committee.

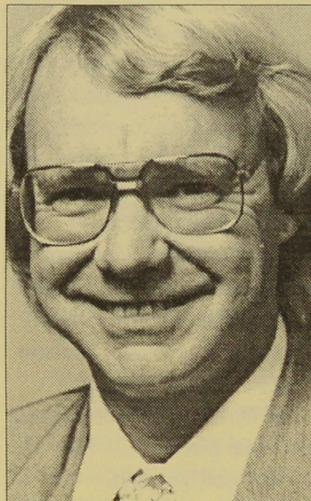
"For the past five years I've worked closely with many campaigns around the country, but I've always known there was so much more that needed to be done for our candidates," he said. "I've often felt frustrated at having to go to work at my business because it took me away from the work I considered most important — fighting the battle for Liberty."

During his tenure as Campaigns Committee chair, the number of Libertarians in public office increased by 139% — from 76 to 181. And one of those new LP office-holders owes his victory *directly* to Crickenberger's hands-on help.

"In 1995, I managed the winning campaign of Bruce Van Buren for Avondale Estates City Commissioner," he said. "The single biggest issue of the campaign was that Bruce was a Libertarian, [a fact that was highlighted in] hit pieces put out by the opposition. This made the victory sweeter."

LP Chair Dasbach said that it was Crickenberger's record of success that made him a natural choice for the new job.

"Ron's experience in recruiting and training candidates, managing Libertarian campaigns, and actually getting



■ **Crickenberger:** "I want to see our candidates move to the next level of performance."

Libertarians elected to office makes him uniquely qualified to serve in this position," he said.

Dasbach also said Crickenberger's appointment is a milestone for the party.

"Having a full-time political director will enable us to increase the number and quality of LP campaigns, and help us elect more Libertarians to local office," he said. "We've needed this position for a long time."

Now that he can devote all his energies and time to supporting Libertarian campaigns, Crickenberger said he has ambitious goals.

"I want to see our candidates move to the next level of performance in the 1998 election cycle," he said. "We've

set goals of 1,000 candidates at all levels, 218 congressional candidates, and at least 100 candidates raising at least \$10,000. I also want our upper-level campaigns to become membership generating devices, and I'm working on programs to help them do just that."

In 1998 or beyond, Crickenberger said, "I also want to elect a Libertarian to a significant partisan office—state representative or above — solely on the Libertarian ballot line. We've only done that in Alaska, more than a decade ago."

Crickenberger said he also wants to figure out ways to exploit the natural advantages the LP has over the older parties — like a large number of computer savvy members.

"There are a lot of support projects I've wanted to get going," he said. "An example is a Campaign Technology Committee, dedicated to putting our membership's computer expertise to work at winning elections. It's one area where we should be able to develop an actual advantage over our political competition."

But will one person be able to accomplish all these goals?

"I've got my work cut out for me," he acknowledged. "There's no shortage of things that need to be done for our candidates." ■

Contact?

Want to contact Ron Crickenberger, or join the Campaign Technology Committee? Here's how (before June 1st):

- Phone: (770) 717-9287
- E-mail: 74203.2314@Compuserve.com
- Mail: 5143 Rosestone Drive, Lilburn GA 30247

Tips! Prospect Inquiry Follow-up

■ When a prospect requests information about the LP, how many mailings should they get in response? In the business world, more is better, says marketing expert Herschell G. Lewis. "Follow up every inquiry at least *three* times. Seven isn't too many," he wrote in the April 1997 issue of *Direct* magazine.

'96 Local Campaigns

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First, a little history on the difficulty involved in being elected as a third-party candidate. During the time that the LP has been in existence, we are the *only* nationally organized third party to elect any members to a partisan, State Rep. (or above) position. There have been a few State Rep. wins for parties organized in only one state, but the fact that these number less than a dozen in the last 25 years only underscores the difficulty of the task our candidates face.

We achieved four such wins in Alaska from 1978 to '84, all with a Libertarian ballot designation only. We had six State Rep. wins in New Hampshire in 1992 and '94, but all of these were achieved with multiple party nominations. The LPNH winners actually received more votes on their major party ballot lines, but were officially elected as Libertarians because of their party registration.

Here's a look at 1996's top two local LP campaigns — what went right, what went wrong, and the results.

JON COON FOR MICHIGAN STATE REPRESENTATIVE

This was one of three races targeted and endorsed by the Libertarian Campaign Committee as having the most potential for success. While Coon did not win, his campaign set a new standard for professional organizing of LP election efforts.

Among the accomplishments of the Coon campaign:

They had professional quality voter contact materials. And they made several contacts per voter, in a variety of ways.

Voter materials included:

- Two district-wide mailings, large format, slick paper.

- A slick piece with an endorsement by Walter Williams sent to all Republicans.

- Three slick printed absentee voter pieces.

- A poll handout.

- Enough hunter orange signs and bumperstickers to scare every deer out of the district. (Hunter orange was Coon's signature color.)

- And an 18-minute video delivered by volunteers to 20,000 homes in the district.

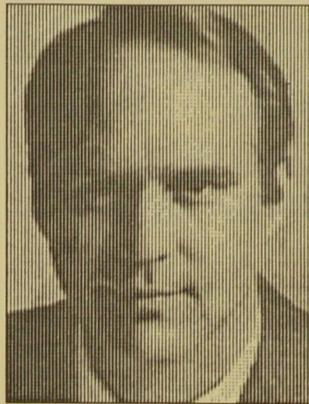
The Coon campaign showed more expertise and professionalism in the area of volunteer recruitment than any other campaign in our history (outside of presidential) — some 200 in all.

- They identified 2,000 voters who were Coon supporters, and contacted all of them with a Get Out The Vote [GOTV] call.

- They received an NRA endorsement.

- They did more absentee voter work than any LP campaign I know of, and did better to guard against voter fraud than any LP campaign ever has.

- And they raised more money than any State Rep. campaign in our history. Possibly as much as any non-presidential campaign at any level



■ **Jon Coon: He "set a new standard for professional organizing" of an LP campaign.**

in our history, with the exception of his own campaign for U.S. Senate two years earlier, where they set the record (\$200,000). They outspent the incumbent about two to one, and had over 900 individual contributors. They raised the vast majority of their money long before even asking for any help from the LP Campaign Committee.

The Campaign Committee sent \$5,000 in direct contributions to the Coon campaign, and paid postage for a targeted fundraising mailing for them (about \$2,000). This fundraising mailing was an experiment for us in two ways:

1. It was sent to our top 1,000 contributors over the last year. We did this as a blind mailing from our mailhouse.

2. It included the campaign video, a first for LP fundraising. Their mailing to our top contributor list brought in about \$10,000.

I also did telefundraising to this top donor list, and raised \$3,500 in pledges for Coon.

It would be difficult to point to anything that the campaign did wrong that could have affected the outcome in any significant way. Their main obstacle from the beginning was the heavily Democratic district,

and an incumbent without any big negatives to run against. This race, even more than most, is an example of how we need to build a bigger army of members in order to achieve regular electoral success.

With 20/20 hindsight, two parts of their strategy do deserve a little questioning.

- Their last district-wide mailing was a comparison piece that described the candidates as being largely equal in personal character and positions on the issues — with the caveat that Coon was still the better choice since he wasn't beholden to the major parties. This piece related back to the fact that the incumbent had no serious negatives to run against.

Giving your opponent equal footing in your piece is unusual to say the least. This piece also touted the fact that Coon had more signs and had raised more money than his opponents — hardly reasons to vote for someone. To their credit, the campaign did a test of this unusual strategy. They did a 500-piece mailing, then polled the recipients. Results showed that the "I'll vote for Coon" column moved up by 10% — a very healthy gain for one piece.

Another lesson came from a last-minute polling after the video had been dropped. Coon and his campaign manager, Barbara Goushaw, considered the video the secret weapon of the campaign. Sixty percent of those who watched the video said they were voting for Coon. But after 10 days of getting the video, only 24% had viewed it. If an earlier drop could have been done, enough phone work to encourage folks to watch the video might have made a major difference.

The campaign chose to drop the video very late in the

JON COON'S FINAL ELECTION RESULTS

Jon Coon, Libertarian	4,942 Votes	15.4%
Republican	5,378 Votes	16.8%
Democrat	21,684 Votes	67.8%

campaign for three reasons:

1. They didn't want to tip their hand on how much they were able to do. They feared that if the incumbent became worried, his last-minute fundraising could outstrip theirs.

2. Their fundraising timeline did not allow for the video to be produced any earlier.

3. You are "supposed to" drop your major pieces late in a campaign—when the average person thinks about politics.

In retrospect, this may have been another case where conventional campaign strategy was not applicable for LP candidates. Any campaign manager will tell you to hold most of your funds and promotional materials until late in the campaign, since that's when most "undecideds" make up their minds.

But a Libertarian candidate has a much smaller base of "guaranteed" support. To win, he must change the minds of a significant portion of the electorate that has already decided to vote for one of the older party candidates. This may dictate a strategy for earlier expenditure of funds and advertising than would be usually recommended.

Interesting sidenote: President Clinton came to campaign against Coon, speaking at a rally for the incumbent Democrat.

DON GORMAN FOR N. H. STATE REPRESENTATIVE

Gorman's re-election race and campaign this year were vastly different than the previous two elections where he won. New Hampshire law allows for multiple party nominations (a candidate's name can be listed on the ballot more than once). In 1990, the Democrats did not file candidates for all the seats in his district. So, in the primary, Gorman sought and won the Democrat line through a write-in campaign, and went on to

victory in the general. In 1992, Gorman won unfilled spots on both Democratic and Republican lines in the same manner.

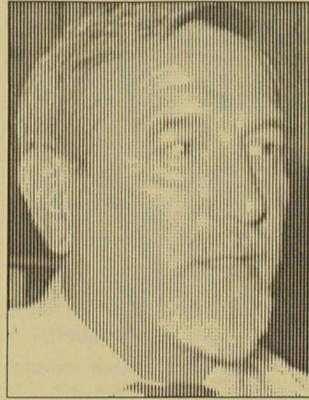
In 1996, the major parties filled all the spots. Gorman attempted to pick up a Republican nomination by competing as a write-in against the Republican who was on the ballot in the September primary. He received about 60% of the votes needed—a good showing as a write-in—but not enough for that second nomination.

Gorman's previous winning campaigns had consisted of little more than one mailing to a targeted list, some signs, and poll workers on election day. His failure to receive a major party nomination in the primary put him in a position of needing to mount a campaign an order of magnitude above what he was used to—with only two months left to go.

Another factor working against us was New Hampshire's "voluntary spending limit," their version of an incumbent protection law. This limited the amount of money we could spend on the race without incurring fines.

Gorman's percentage is the highest we have received in a three-way race for State Rep. outside of Alaska, and with only a Libertarian nomination.

The LP Campaign Committee contributed \$1,000 to Gorman for the primary, and an additional \$3,000 for the general. I also raised more than \$4,150 in pledges from telemarketing to our top donor list. It is likely Gorman outspent his opponents significantly.



■ **Don Gorman:** "The conscience of the legislature."

While Gorman ran a campaign that was *several* magnitudes greater than he had run in the past two elections where he won, there were still some shortcomings.

In particular, there was little voter ID work ahead of time, so no real GOTV effort was possible. Heavy, early phone work, for polling, voter ID, persuasion, and GOTV, could possibly have made the difference in this race. Although this level of phone work is very unusual for a State Rep. race in NH, the winning Democrat did use an extensive volunteer phone bank.

Another factor: The campaign had obtained and databased the 2,000 highest propensity voters, i.e., those voters who always vote in the primary and the general.

In Gorman's past campaigns, this group of voters was all that he needed, since his election was won mainly in the primary in 1992, and completely in the primary in 1994. But this year I feel it was likely a mistake. The highest propensity voters, who always vote in

primaries, are probably those voters who are the most committed to the older parties.

A theory of mine is that the LP's most likely voters are those who do not vote in the primaries, but who do vote faithfully in the general. Targeting this group, rather than the very highest propensity voters, definitely flies in the face of traditional strategy for the major parties. This theory will need a lot of testing to be proven, but Gorman's experience this year does give it some credence.

Gorman had one 2,000-piece mailing during the primary. He mailed three pieces district-wide for the general election. There were several newspaper ads. And tons of signs, primarily in voters' yards. He also gave out a lot of pencils at "Dump Day," which seems to be a campaign must do, apparently unique to NH.

Gorman's literature had quotes about him from the Speaker of the NH House, the House Majority Whip, and a neighboring legislator. The winning Democrat's literature had endorsements from the common folk.

Campaign aside: Tipper Gore came in to campaign for the Democrat. (Is there a pattern here?)

Gorman was profuse in his thanks to the Campaign Committee, the LP, and the 100+ contributors around the country who pitched in to help him. Gorman said he's been particularly consoled by letters from members of the NH House expressing dismay at his loss. One echoed words said about Andre Marrou in the Alaska House, "You were the conscience of the legislature." ■

Ron Crickenberger is the LP's Political Director.

DON GORMAN'S FINAL ELECTION RESULTS

Gorman (Libertarian)	1196 Votes	22.5%
Cady (Republican)	1790 Votes	34%
Hutchison (Democrat)	2328 Votes	43.5%

Success the P.I.P. Way

> CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

date **database** of members and prospects. You can't do much if you don't know who your members are, and who your prospects are. And how to reach them.

The National headquarters provides a number of services in this area: We send every state party a weekly listing of new members and prospects. We can send complete database dumps of everybody from your state, or lists of just your members, or just lapsed members.

(For states who have joined the Unified Membership Program — and let the National LP handle all the membership renewals—you still have an urgent need for an up-to-date database. It's what you will use to mail your newsletter, and to recruit candidates, and to publicize your annual state convention.)

Second, infrastructure consists of sending out a prompt, professional **information package** to interested prospects, and sending out timely membership renewal notices to current members (if you're not in the Unified program, that is).

What do you need in a good prospect information package? Well, you want . . .

■ **A cover letter**, thanking them for requesting information; giving a very brief overview of who we are and what we stand for; some sense of progress and optimism — and, most important, you want to close the sale. Ask them to join. In that many words—*please join the Libertarian Party!* Tell them: Sign the membership form and send in your check! Tell them exactly what they should do!

A little while back, I got a

sample information package from a state party with a nice cover letter. It told people what was in the package, encouraged them to read it, and encouraged them to *consider* the Libertarian option. But it never asked them to join the party!

Every good salesman knows: You get more sales if you *close* the sale. Ask people point-blank: *Will you join the Libertarian Party? Or, even stronger, tell them: We need you to join the Libertarian Party today!*

■ **A good package also has issues information.** At the state level, that should mean something about *state* issues. And at the end of that issues piece, ask them to *join* the party if they agree with our stand on those issues.

■ **A good info package also talks about your success** — either political accomplishments like the number of Libertarians in office in your state, or positive media quotes, or other good news. People need to be reassured that they're joining a winning team. And then, once you reassure them, *ask them to join.*

■ **And, of course, you need a response form** — where, hopefully, after being asked to join so many times, they actually do!

So, why are we so fanatical about getting new members?

Because, if there's one thing I've learned during my time in the Libertarian Party, it's this:

Success come from a growing membership base. More members equals more money equals more activity equals more activists equals more candidates equals more election wins equals more publicity equals more prospects equals more members.

It's like medication: Repeat as needed.

Third, infrastructure is a **bank account.** And a treasurer to keep records, and to file whatever paperwork is required by the state, and to send memberships to the National office.

The *first* thing you need to do, if your party is in an early developmental stage, is to build your infrastructure — get these pieces in place.

Infrastructure are the bricks you build your Libertarian organization with — brick by brick. But once you've built that structure, you can't just sit around.

That's when you turn to "P" — **Projects!**

Projects are both *internal* and *external.*

Internal projects are those things you need to do to keep your organization functioning, so I'll start with them.

First, it's an ongoing, implemented **plan to raise money.**

In politics, you can't do much without money.

But here's the secret: Nobody will give you

money *unless you ask them!* That means fundraising letters. That means taking up a collection at your convention. That means special fundraising events, like dinners, or auctions, or similar events.

Here's another secret: Nobody likes to ask for money. People *hate* it! They feel like it's begging. So fundraising is usually at the bottom of the list of state party activities. Instead, many activists are content to

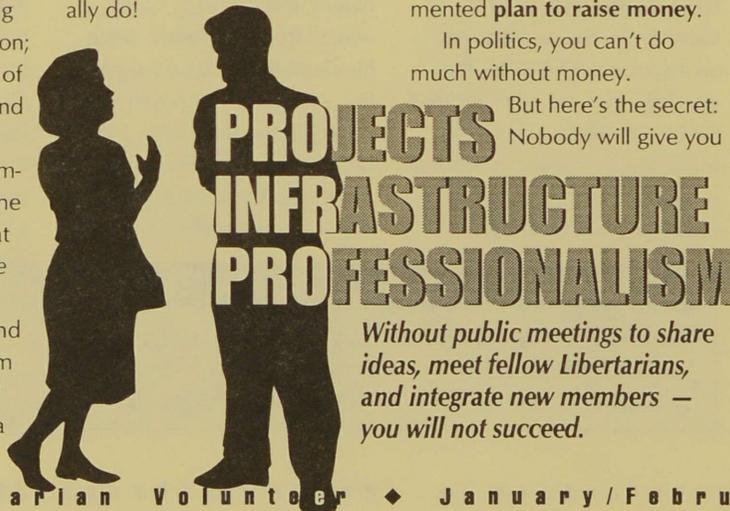
★
"Nobody will give you money unless you ask them."

complain, "We don't have any money!"

That's why you need a plan. You need *scheduled* fundraising events. You need to make it a priority. And guess what? It's *not* like begging. If people like what you're doing, and like what you propose to do in the future — they will cheerfully give you money. Some of them will even thank you for asking! They will be delighted that they can help the Libertarian Party succeed.

Second, an internal project is a **newsletter** that goes out regularly to all your members. A good quality newsletter. A newsletter that stresses *activity and success.*

A good newsletter is vital to your success. How many times do you get together and meet all your state members face-to-



face? A good newsletter is the *only* tool you have to build a sense of community . . . a sense of shared purpose . . . a sense of progress . . . with every one of your members! Especially in larger states where Libertarians are widely separated.

All the people in your party can meet you through your newsletter. They can share your success. They can learn about your plans, and your progress.

Third, an internal project is an organized **media outreach plan**—which can include press releases, press conferences, and personal contacts with the media — to promote the party and earn publicity.

We know how important it is for the public to hear about us. The more they hear about us, the more positive coverage we get, the more comfortable people get with our ideas — the better we do, right?

Perhaps. But I need to caution you about something: Publicity does NOT automatically create success!

Sure, it helps — but it is only *one aspect* of a successful organization.

Why? Because publicity does not drive success — *success drives publicity*. Media publicity is a way of keeping score; as a general rule, the more you succeed, the more media coverage you'll get.

Of course, you want to make sure you get your *fair share* of media while you're becoming successful, and you want to make sure your successes are properly publicized. That's why you need a media program, even in your early stages of development.

But I will stress one point again: **Build your organization first. Media follows.**

The last important internal projects are regular, publicized,

10-Point Checklist

A Libertarian state or local party that does not do the following things will fail. It might stay alive — in a state of pleasant stagnation — but it will not thrive and grow.

A successful Libertarian Party . . .

1 Maintains an accurate, up-to-date database of members and prospects.

2 Sends out a prompt, professional information package to interested prospects, and sends out timely membership renewal notices to current members.

3 Engages in ongoing, constant prospecting to increase the size of the organization.

4 Publishes a regular, decent-quality newsletter to keep members and prospects informed. Uses newsletter to publicize activities and success.

5 Has a bank account, a Treasurer, and an ongoing, implemented plan to raise money.

6 Runs candidates for political office. Monitors elections (or registration numbers) which affect ballot status.

7 Is active in the political system — whether through elections, referendums, lobbying, or whatever.

8 Has regular, publicized, productive, & interesting public meetings. Has regular meetings of party leadership to plan strategy & projects.

9 Has an organized media outreach plan — which can include press releases, press conferences, and personal contacts — to promote the party and earn publicity.

10 Has leadership dedicated to growth, success, & professionalism — and determined to avoid factionalism, arguments, and obstructionism. Party leadership has a solid, realistic vision for success.

productive, and interesting public **meetings**. And regular *private* meetings of party leadership to plan strategy and projects.

People are social animals — even Libertarians, contrary to what you may have heard. Without public meetings to share ideas, build relationships, meet fellow Libertarians, and integrate new members into your group, you won't succeed.

And without regular meetings of the party leadership — to chart the future direction of the party, and its plans, and political goals — *nothing happens*.

You drift aimlessly, like a ship without a rudder.

Then there are the External Projects. For the Libertarian Party, projects are political. *Political parties do politics* — that's why they exist.

We are not a *theoretical* political party: We don't exist to talk about politics, or debate philosophy. We exist to engage in political activities.

■ We exist to run candidates!

■ We exist to get candidates elected!

■ We exist to support those

Libertarians who are in office!

■ We exist to lobby our legislatures!

■ We exist to participate in initiatives and referendums!

■ We exist to educate the public about the Libertarian option — to the degree that function supports the five *political* goals listed above.

I have come to realize that we Libertarians can no longer define ourselves by what we say. I mean, we love to talk about Libertarianism: We *believe* this, and we *believe* that.

It is time to start defining ourselves by *what we do!* Actions speak louder than words.

For a political party, action is politics. If you're not willing to engage in politics, then the Libertarian Party is not the right place for you. You should join the Advocates for Self Government, or contribute to the CATO Institute. Both are fine libertarian organizations — but they don't engage in partisan political activity.

Every state and local party must participate in some kind of political activity every year. Obviously, you will start small. If you're just getting started, run just one candidate, or lobby one bill. *But do something!* And then, next year, do more. Your goal should be to engage in more and more political activity, year after year.

The other most important Project you must participate in: Membership growth . . . prospecting. A successful state Libertarian Party engages in ongoing, *constant* prospecting to increase its membership.

Remember, despite our impressive growth over the last three years, we are still a *tiny* party. We must grow if we are to succeed! Outreach and membership growth are not

> CONTINUED ON PAGE 10

something Libertarian parties should do if they have the time; it is something they should be doing *all the time*.

Everything we do should be with the goal of increasing membership!

Think: How many of your problems result from too-few members? Does your group not have enough money? Not enough volunteers to collect ballot access petitions? No one to run for office? No one to do a newsletter?

We've got to fix that!

Prospecting is a numbers game. If you collect 100 prospect names, somewhere between 10 and 20 will join the party.

If you collect zero prospect names, zero will join the party.

Every state party needs to view prospecting as a basic function of that organization. It's like breathing — if you don't do it, you will die.

You need to plan booths at fairs and gun shows. You need to get LP candidates for public office to gather names as they campaign. You need to participate in membership programs furnished by the National LP — like our Million Dollar Tax Day Outreach Project.

Now, we've come a full circle back to "I" — infrastructure. Once you get all those new prospect names, what do you do with them?

- They go into the database.
- They get sent a prospect information package.
- They get some issues of your newsletter.
- They're invited to a meeting.
- They are encouraged to vote for our candidates.
- And, when they *join* the party, they are invited to . . .

Help with our political efforts, or run for office themselves, or help recruit more members.

If you do those things, then the Libertarian Party moves for-

ward. It's bigger than it was before. It's more powerful. And it can do more.

But we can't just do more — we must also do *better*.

And that's the other letter "P" — **Professionalism.**

Professionalism must permeate everything we do. A *constant effort* to improve *everything* we do must be part of our mission.

But the fact that we're not yet doing something perfectly is not an excuse not to do it — it's almost always better to do *something* than to do nothing. But if you know something can be done better, improve it next time. And improve it again the time after. And the time after.

The Libertarian Party needs to make a *commitment* to excellence and professionalization. To put it simply, every time we come into contact with the public — whether through our newsletters, public meetings, press releases, candidates, conventions, brochures, whatever — it must be top-notch.

- When we hold meetings, they should be productive, polite, and interesting.
- When we produce literature, it should be eye-catching and professional.
- When we explain our ideas, we should do so in an effective, compelling fashion.

Let me give you a quick example of how *not* to do this . . .

First Issue?

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

- You're a new state, county, or local LP officer.
- You're an important "activist," as designated by your State Chair.

A Libertarian was on a radio talk show, being interviewed about the LP position on drugs.

The talk show host asked him — in an astonished voice — "So you people want to legalize heroin and cocaine?!"

Now, before I tell you what he said, let's think about how he *should* have answered that question. You've probably all heard of the Ransburger Pivot, where, when you are asked a tough question, you try to agree on *basic goals* with the person asking the question.

For example, if you are

★
"Let's try winning and see what it feels like."

asked, "So Libertarians would abolish all public schools?" you say, "Well, we all want the same thing: We want the best possible education for our kids." And then you go on to explain why you think that free market education would provide that.

Or, as in this case, you are asked about drugs, you could answer, "Well, we all want the same thing: We want to reduce the crime that drugs seem to bring and we want to help those people who are hooked on drugs." And then you explain why you think decriminalization would accomplish that.

OK, that's how the question *should* be answered. How did this particular Libertarian answer it, when he was asked: "So you Libertarians would legalize heroin and cocaine?"

His answer was: "Yup!"

Nope — wrong answer.

We must aim for excellence!

If we project the image of a disorganized, confrontational, amateurish group, we will never gain the respect or votes we deserve. We'll also never gain more members. After all, who wants to join an organization that doesn't have its act together?

No, perfection is not an option. But a constant effort to professionalize is vital. Every year, you should be able to look back and see a measurable improvement from the previous year.

If you implement the PIP plan — and focus on Projects, Infrastructure, and Professionalism — in your LP organization, you will achieve success. Not right away, but you will start *heading in the right direction*. You will achieve *more* political success than you achieved in the past.

I want to end with a quote from Paul Tsongas, who you may remember as a 1992 candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination. I don't usually quote Democrats, but Tsongas's quote has particular application for Libertarians.

Paul Tsongas said in late 1991 to his fellow Democrats: "Let's try winning and see what it feels like. If we don't like it, we can go back to our traditions."

Well, my suggestion for Libertarians is: "Let's do the work required to be a winning political party. Like Paul Tsongas suggested: Let's try winning and see what it feels like!" ■

Editor's Note: *This article is adopted from a speech given by Bill Winter at the Success '97 LP Leadership Conference in Washington, DC. Winter is the National LP's Director of Communications.*

Political FYI

How do Libertarians compare?

Not to Republicans and Democrats—but to candidates for office from other “minor” parties?

A nationwide survey of alternative party candidates from the University of California (Irvine) suggests major similarities between Libertarians and other small parties’ candidates, whether Socialist, Patriot, U.S. Taxpayer, Natural Law, or other.

Jerold Hansen, a professor at the Department of Politics & Society at the university, surveyed 584 candidates from 45 different parties who ran in the November 1994 elections.

“This study is the first ever of its kind in the United States,” said Hansen. The study gives “a look at an increasingly active, yet understudied, segment of the American political system.”

According to the study, third-party candidates tend to be:

■ **The “socioeconomically elite”** — most respondents were Caucasian (89%), male (80%), highly educated (62% had at least a four-year college degree), and above average in income (55% earned \$40,000 a year or more.)

■ **Married** (83%) and stable (48% had lived in their state for 20 years or more).

■ **Middle-aged:** 61% were between the ages of 34 and 54. By comparison, only 18% were younger than 34, and only 21% were older than 54.

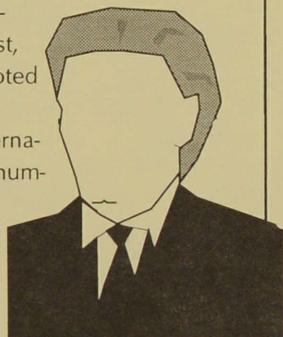
■ **Relative newcomers to their party:** 41% had joined in the 1990s, and 35% had joined in the 1980s.

■ **Former members of a “major” party:** 63% had previously been a member of the Republicans or Democrats; 14% had been a member of both at one time.

■ **Relatively loyal to their own presidential candidate:** 56% had voted for their party’s presidential candidate in 1992. By contrast, 17% voted for George Bush; 11% voted for Bill Clinton; 14% voted for Ross Perot; and 3% voted for another alternative party’s candidate. (Note: These numbers may be somewhat skewed because only the LP’s presidential candidate was on all 50 state ballots.)

■ **Ideologically motivated:** 31% said they ran for office for ideological motives; 21% cited party reasons; 17% said civic duty; 12% said a specific issue prompted them to run; and 10% cited personal reasons.

“These are interesting statistics,” said LP National Director Perry Willis. “They suggest that there is a certain kind of individual, demographically speaking, who is attracted to third parties, and who is willing to run as a third-party candidate. I think this study will help us refine our prospecting and candidate recruitment efforts, since it gives us a better idea of exactly who our target market should be.” ■



■ **Fill in the blanks:**
Who is the “typical”
third-party candidate?

Planning a successful LP state convention

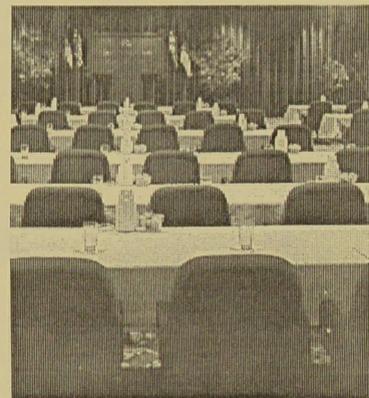
BY KATHY GUIRE
& JOHN KORMYLO

Since the State Convention season is fast approaching, we thought we’d share ideas from last summer’s conference [in Texas] for those of you thinking about putting on a convention.

First of all, *start early*. This can’t be emphasized enough. We started planning in October and soliciting speakers in January for the June event. Now, true, this mostly involved contacting the hotel and choosing the date, but we cannot emphasize how important *planning* is. This includes a timeline of deadlines for when things should be done and when they *must* be done.

There are several ways a conference/convention can lose money. Basically, the problem involves *too many fixed costs* and *overestimating the number of attendees*. (You *cannot* go on the attendance figures from previous years.) In particular, hotels require you to guarantee a certain number of meals a certain period in advance. If you guarantee 100 meals and only 80 people show up, you just lost money big-time.

Figure out your break-even. How many people can you realistically expect? We lowered that number and based our break-even on 40 attendees. We had over 140, so needless to say, we made money. Mark all the meals up and then charge more on top of that. Most hotels will not charge for meeting rooms if you have sleeping rooms and banquets. Shop around to get the biggest bang for the buck.



■ **Most hotels will not charge for meeting rooms if you have sleeping rooms and banquets.**

Of critical importance is the early registration. This gives you an idea how many people will actually attend (about twice as many people show up as pay in advance). The early registration *must* have enough of a discount to justify paying early. Most of the money will arrive at or about the deadline, so timing is important. It should be as late as possible, and *must* be about a week before any major payments or decisions are due. The announcement/order form should be mailed out a few weeks before the deadline; not so long that people will forget, but early enough to give them time to think about it and make plans.

Needless to say, if you expect anyone to show up, it is a good idea to have lots of interesting speakers. Our advice is to get started early and ask *everyone* for advice (of course, you don’t have to take it). No one person can possibly know all the good speakers available, much less how to get

➤ CONTINUED ON PAGE 12

Notices

■ **Show your support:** The LP of Duval County, FL has a new bumpersticker for sale: MORE MONEY IN YOUR POCKET / LESS GOVERNMENT IN YOUR LIFE/ VOTE LIBERTARIAN 1-800-682-1776. Cost: \$2. All money raised goes to support the LP. To order, send \$2 and SASE to: LP of Duval County, PO Box 16451, Jacksonville, FL 52245-6451.

■ **The Price of Liberty is . . .** knowing the right freedom quote at the right time. A new book, entitled *Eternal Vigilance*, can help. It's subtitled "A Collection of Quotations on Lib-

erty and Government from Ancient and Modern Times," and contains hundreds of provocative and interesting quotations on the topic of human liberty. To order, send \$11.95 (plus \$2.00 s/h) to: Free World Press, P.O. Box 62072, Boulder City, NV 89006. Or call (520) 758-4877.

■ **Election Workshops:** The Federal Election Commission will hold a series of workshops around the country this Spring and Summer "in an attempt to educate [political] committee officials in election law." Experts from the FEC's Information Division will visit Cleveland, OH; Princeton, NJ; Des Moines, IA; Madison, WI; Phoenix, AZ; and Bismark, ND. Specific dates and locations haven't been finalized, so call (800) 424-9530 (press 1) for more information.

Convention

> CONTINUED FROM PAGE 10

in touch with them. We started by contacting all the LP presidential and VP candidates and writing all the major libertarian related organizations and every important LP figure we could think of. We then added to the list as new suggestions came in. Almost every LP figure was willing to speak for expenses.

It is important to send out press releases. Every time a speaker confirms, send out a press release. This is in addition to the press release announcing the event.

When planning meals, talk to the hotel caterer. Some places say it's cheaper to have a buffet while some say a sit-down dinner is cheaper. Remember that many

of the attendees have limited budgets, so lobster is not a good idea. Don't be afraid to ask the hotel staff for anything.

When choosing your speakers, try to keep as many as possible local to avoid transportation costs. You would also be amazed at how many interesting speakers you can get that won't charge a fee.

We scheduled the best speakers for the meal events. While our profit margin was lower for the meals, the customer's cost is much higher, and a good turnout at the meals makes the hotel friendlier.

Have an interesting and fun fundraising event. We auctioned off government agencies and then shredded them. Talk about visual! Action! Peer pressure!

In short, start early and plan, plan, plan! ■

The Libertarian Volunteer

The Libertarian Party

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