

Let Freedom Ring!

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August 2004

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Libertarian Strategy Gazette It's a Rough World, Stand Up for Liberty!.....1

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Duties of the State Committee

At the State Convention, we had a slate of 13 candidates (one of whom has since resigned from the state committee) tell the State Convention

*"Dear Fellow Libertarian,
We request your vote for us for State Committee of the Massachusetts Libertarian Party.
Here's What We offer:*

- 1. Positive and Productive Libertarian Leadership*
- 2. To fulfill the legal and organization requirements of the Libertarian Party*
- 3. Individual Initiative and Personal Responsibility for Massachusetts Libertarian Activism and Campaigns*
- 4. To work with, not against, Libertarian Party Candidates and Activists*

Thank you for your support. Thank you for your vote. Rich Aucoin Jess Bowen Michael Cloud Chris DeLeo Bob French Carla Howell David Hudson Rocky Jepson Peter Kuntz Tom LaRoche Jay Vandersloot Al Wilcox (I have deleted the resignee's name.)"

Those people won the vote at the State Convention, and were later elected by the Regular Members of the State Committee as Associate Members of the State Committee.

Because many people are not familiar with the State Party Bylaws, let me call your attention to part of their contents:

Mandatory Duties of the Libertarian Party of Massachusetts State Committee and Its Officers and Committees. (English Grammar: "shall" is not an option but a mandate.)

There shall be a Regional Chairman and Regional Vice Chairman for each Region, both of whom shall reside in their Region and be Members of the State Committee. Each shall be elected by majority vote of the State Committee members residing in his Region at the next meeting after the organizational meeting of the State Committee.

[State Committee Duties] (Continued on page 2)

Badnarik Is Coming To Massachusetts He Will Address the Freedom Rally and Have a Fundraiser

Michael Badnarik, Libertarian candidate for President of the United States, will visit Massachusetts on September 17 and 18. He will address 50,000 or more attendees at the MassCann Boston Freedom Rally, held on the Boston Common on Saturday, September 18, noon-5PM.

The Committee to Elect Krick is staging a fundraiser, with Michael Badnarik as speaker, the evening of Friday, September 17, 6-9 PM. A Badnarik fundraiser will follow. The fundraisers will both be held at Bickford's Restaurant, 270 Cochituate Road, Framingham, opposite Shopper's World. Tickets are \$25 from the Committee to Elect Krick, 79 Chittick Road #2, Boston MA 02136. There will be hot and cold refreshments, and a chance to meet each of the candidates.

Help Support the Party and the Candidates

As in years past, the Pioneer Valley Libertarian Association will have its tent, tables, and literature at the Boston Freedom Rally. The PVLA Tent is in space U at one end of the booth displays. The adjoining space T will be in use by the Free State Project. A major literature distribution effort for Badnarik is planned. Please show up, enjoy the speeches, register voters, and help to distribute literature in support of the Badnarik for President campaign.

LaRoche Resigns from State Committee

Ann LaRoche has resigned from the Libertarian Party of Massachusetts State Committee, effective immediately. She made clear that she would continue to assist her husband Tom, who is at present the State Chair, that she would continue to assist Tristan Lewis, who recently became the State Party Executive Director, and that she would continue to assist with changes in the LPMA mailbox location.

LaRoche's letter of resignation cited internal difficulties in the Party State Committee such that her participation would not be an effective use of her time or energy.

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(Continued from page 1) [State Committee Duties]

The Chairman shall

- (a) call meetings of the State Committee at least quarterly
- (b) appoint a General Counsel, Parliamentarian, and Sergeant-at-Arms.
- (c) fill all vacancies for Regular Member positions (There are presently 78 vacant Regular member positions.)
- (d) appoint membership on all standing committees (Executive, Budget, Candidates, Finance, Program, Public Relations, Registration and Membership, Convention, and Rules.)

The Vice Chairman shall be responsible for overseeing, promoting and insuring the effectiveness of the standing committees of the State Committee.

The Secretary shall keep the minutes... All minutes shall be open for inspection by State Committee members... availability of minutes on a public electronic network is sufficient.

The Treasurer of the State Committee shall be the custodian of all funds of the State Committee including internal State Committee accounts, and shall be responsible for the maintenance of detailed books of accounts of all monies received and paid in accordance with normal accounting principles. The Treasurer shall also be responsible for complying with any campaign or political finance laws, including preparation and filing of all necessary reporting documents. The Treasurer shall give reports to the State Committee of the financial state of the treasury at each regular meeting. The Treasurer shall have responsibility for making approved payments from State Committee funds within the limits of the total budget.

Regular Members shall be responsible for organizing all the city, ward and town committees ("local committees") in their district.

Regular and Associate Members shall work with State Committee personnel to assure local committee activity in:

- i. recruiting candidates for partisan and non-partisan local, county and state public office;
- ii. acting as a standing campaign committee to assist Libertarian candidates for partisan and non-partisan local, county and state public office;
- iii. raising funds at the local level to further local committee efforts and to aid Libertarian candidates;
- iv. identifying newly-registered Libertarians at the local level and soliciting their participation in the local committee;
- v. organizing registration drives and getting out the vote;
- vi. providing local newspapers with favorable news releases and letters to the editor;
- vii. organizing meetings, rallies, seminars and social events;

Now Available in Paperback

George Phillis' books *Stand Up for Liberty!* on the Local Organization Strategy for the Libertarian Party, and *Funding Liberty* on the 1996-2000 Presidential campaign anomalies, are now available in paperback and ebook format. For more information <http://www.3mpub.com/phillis>

viii. assuring the preparation and adoption of local committee by-laws consistent with these by-laws;

Regular Members are individually responsible for assuring that no local committee membership positions are vacant.

Duties of Committees: (These are limited to mandated duties ("shall"). Some committees do not have any mandated duties that I can identify.

The Executive Committee shall meet at least eight times yearly... and shall exercise all the powers of the State Committee except... No funds shall be disbursed to any candidates after the election in which they ran for office without the approval of two-thirds (2/3) of the Executive Committee members.

The Candidates Committee shall be responsible for recruiting, training and assisting candidates for all elective offices in the Commonwealth.

The Budget Committee shall meet no later than October 15 for the preparation of the annual operating budget...

The Finance Committee shall raise money for the State Committee...

The [Program] committee shall recommend and supervise statewide publicity, provide proposed media releases, develop data on incumbents from other parties, shall develop and publish internal communications for the members of the Libertarian Party of Massachusetts, and shall be responsible for monitoring and responding to news articles, letters to the editor and editorials at the state and regional level.

Letter to the Editor

Friends of Liberty,

I recently sent an e-mail to a local talk show host expressing my concern about the imploding LPMA, and asked for advice. His reply in part was:

"As far as the party goes... it seems that the party is obsessed with ideology for the sake of claiming moral high ground. By being uncompromising, they can claim 100% consistency and 100% irrelevance to the political process. America was created through compromise and without unanimity every policy has to be created through compromise. On top of it, the ideology seems to exist in a vacuum. The advice I have for libertarians is to WAKE UP and realize your principles are more relevant than ever but your ideology couldn't be more irrelevant."

I had not given much thought about separation of principles from ideology. We must be practical, and we can do so without compromising our principles or abandoning our long-term ideology. I believe we have a good ideology, but we should not let it supersede getting our candidates elected. Several years ago, our governor candidate said that if elected he would eliminate the income tax. He was promising something impractical he could not deliver even if elected. We should work to be perceived as the party to solve immediate practical problems while always being guided by our desire for more responsive smaller and less

Web Pages:

Worcester wcla.tripod.com
 Western Massachusetts pvla.NET
 America and the World www.cmlc.org (Now in Spanish)

intrusive government.

My family members joke about the losetarians. Do we have candidates who want to win?

Our candidates should be listening to how they can best serve the people, not proposing how to rule them. We need Libertarians in office. We in Massachusetts should not be squandering our very limited resources on pet projects like tax roll back or other worthy but expensive endeavors. Political office can be a bully pulpit.

We should consider endorsing major party candidates if they are clearly the best libertarian choice and we can not supply a responsible candidate. However our endorsement will mean little if we are not perceived as a serious party.

Clearly a course correction is needed. If in doubt of that, listen to Cloud's persuasion tapes again.

Roland O. Peterson
telephone 781 899 5266

Support Our Candidates

Once again, several of our fellow Libertarians are running for State Legislature. They could use your volunteer and financial support. Our fellow Libertarian Candidates can all use volunteer support. They can all use money. While the State Committee may lawfully supply candidates with money, the State Committee has no money and is not presently raising any. Instead, there is a Libertarian PAC, the Liberty Tree Low Taxes Small Government Political Action Committee, which will supply the six candidates with \$500 each, if it can raise the money. It is a sixth (or if a donation comes in, a third) of the way there, The Liberty Tree PAC is reached at George Phillies, 87-6 Park Avenue, Worcester MA 01605. Donations are legally limited to \$500, are not tax deductible, and come with the request that you provide your occupation and employer to the recipient group.

The candidates are considerably fewer than in 2002, but all good libertarians:

STATE SENATE

Norfolk Bristol and Middlesex District Louis Sinoff 39 Rice Street Wayland

Worcester Hampden Hampshire and Franklin District, Carol McMahon, Monson (Treasurer contact: George Phillies 87-6 Park Avenue Worcester MA 01605)

STATE REPRESENTATIVE

7th Bristol Raymond P Leary 200 Goodwin Street Fall River

7th Middlesex Greg Doherty 541 Franklin Street Framingham

23rd Middlesex Dan Dunn 63 Stowcroft Street Arlington

!4th Suffolk Doug Krick 79 Chittick Road Boston

Television Reviews

from Tim Crowley

CSPAN, January 1, 2004

Targeting Voters with Political Mail.

A lecture presented by:

Dan Hazelwood, Pres. Targeted Creative Communications.

Lecture at American University, Shown on C-Span. 1-1-04

There are two purposes for direct mail. One is fundraising. The other is to get more votes, or to influence public opinion. Mail for getting votes is not like fundraising mail.

An average voter comes home from work. He has many chores to do. He scoops up the mail and looks through it. He looks at your letter for about 2 seconds. How to hold his attention?

There are three kinds of readers.

1. Glance at it for 2 seconds.
2. Some will read up to 50 words.
3. Some will read almost everything.

Each of us does all three, depending on the circumstances. You must design your political literature to catch the attention of all three types of readers.

In war, you find, fix, and fight your enemy. There is an analogy in direct mail. Find who you want to talk to (voters). Fix their attention. The biggest challenge in a campaign is to understand that it is our job to make it easy for voters to receive our information and to pay attention to us. Fight by delivering a persuasive message to the voters.

Targeting: the first rule is to hunt where the ducks are. Don't send direct mail to everybody. Mail can be targeted to certain demographic groups. TV is a powerful medium, but everybody sees it.

The Rule of Thirds.

- 1/3 are for you.
- 1/3 are against you.
- 1/3 in the middle are non-partisan.

Who do we ignore? Who gets GOTV info? Who gets persuasion pieces?

Narrow your audience and increase the repetition. The voter file shows likely voters by party. You can find swing precincts. You can look at certain demographics (women and seniors). Coalitions and issues groups have special lists. Voter files are not standardized.

At the very least, know where the good places and bad places are for your candidate and your party.

Women and seniors read more of their mail than other demographics do. Men under 35 read their mail the least, unless it comes in a plain brown wrapper. Mail is a bad tool to reach men under 35.

If you have a list of gun owners, don't talk to them about tax

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cuts, talk to them about gun rights.

Send out pro-choice mail to suburban women under 45. But women under 45 in lower income groups are pro-life. It varies by state, however. In PA, they didn't send pro-choice mail to women with Italian or Irish surnames because they are probably Catholic. They didn't want to activate the opposition against them. The targeting must be good. Think through the nuances.

One local election targeted dog owners. X voted for dog parks. Y voted against the dog park. X got a list of dog licenses. Dog owners are a very specific group. They are a coalition group. The park was a minor issue to everyone else but the dog owners. A hunting license list will tell you who the sportsmen are. Match them with the voter file.

You need a media mix. It depends on the campaign. Whatever you send out can be used by the opposition against you (email, direct mail, ads).

It is our job to get the voter's attention. We have to give the voters information in a manner that they want to receive. That's why I'm typing this, for crying out loud. No one looked at the tapes. Political mail must compete with higher priorities in life. So use powerful visuals, use teaser headlines, good photographs and effective design. Leave lots of white space so it does not look crowded. Make it easy for people to pay attention. We are competing with catalogs, etc. not with the other political mail. Years ago, almost all mail was personal letters from Aunt Millie. Now it is almost all junk mail. People must sort it every day. Make sure your mail isn't sorted into the

trash.

A standard sheet of paper folded into thirds is very easy to throw away. If you mail something the same size as a standard business envelope, it fits right in the hand and is the least likely to be read. It will get tossed out.

Something oversized and colorful gets looked at for an extra two seconds. It sticks out from the other mail. Even small wedding invitation sized mail gets read. It said that candidate X voted for raising taxes on married couples so you will be getting less wedding invitations in the future. It cut through the clutter and got read.

Big or small is okay. Also use color. White letters are easiest to throw away. Teaser headlines get people to read your mail.

You must make a choice between delivering a simple, straightforward message or using a teaser headline to pull the reader in a bit and get them involved.

Many candidates use their old photos in their ads and they look bad. Some photos look phony, staged. Use a photo that shows the candidate shaking hands with voters, looking them in the eye, acting like they care. Stand a little close because the camera separates you. You must be within 5 feet to get a good photo which shows the facial details.

Make the photo so clear that you don't have to read the factual material to get the point. Don't overdo ugly photos of your opponent. Don't use white text on a dark background. Don't make it so that they have to read very methodically to get the point. Make it clear who's the good guy and who's the bad guy. Voters are glancing very quickly. Don't put 300 pounds of stuff into a 5 pound bag. Sometimes connect politics to popular culture. Images may be copyrighted. Use images in the public domain.

Photos of public figures in a public place are the safest. If the mailing looks very political, it will only work with the base voters. A 300 word bio is too long. Seven bullet points is enough. A photo of the candidate talking on the phone while writing is too cliched.

Studies show that 500 words is the upper limit of a print advertisement. Use conversational English, not policy wonk jargon. Don't say the quality of life/transportation is poor. Say I'm stuck in traffic. Property taxes are too high. Our kids aren't learning in school.

Whenever you look at any ad, your eyes are drawn to some places and away from others. Use narrow column widths like a newspaper does. If people have to slow down to read, mail will end up in the trash. People are more likely to read the text on the inside right, than the inside left. So put photos inside left and text inside right. For body copy, use an 11-14 point font with a serif font (the little feet on the letters).

Just give a headline and some bullet points. Back it up with a policy paper that maybe a dozen people will request. Too little text in your platform makes you look less credible. Voters

Show Your Liberty Spirit!

Become

yourname@4liberty.net

Now \$14/month

for Libertarians

excell.net/excellnet_national-dialups.htm

Dialup in most states and Canada.

**Libertarian Owned
Libertarian Operated
Supporters of the
Pioneer Valley
Libertarian Association**

might not read it all, but they like to know it exists. The credibility threshold is about 50 words, not 400 words.

Don't use unflattering photos that are outtakes from the wedding album. Sometimes a photo can send strange signals.

PS: the PS is the most read part of any letter. Always have a PS to summarize your main point. Every campaign letter should have a PS.

Do informal focus groups with ads. Show candidate's family the family photos that you are thinking of using first. Look at photos close up and far away. Sometimes you can mirror reverse the image, if there are no signs in the background. Check the expressions of background people. People read subliminal things into photos. Good photos make the voter draw the right conclusions.

Your campaign must have a consistent theme. Direct mailings to a target group can't contradict your main theme. Use repetition. Again, use repetition. Make it easily understood and relevant. People are not focused on politics. Lawyers and policy wonks write bad copy. You can start sentences with and or but, if they make a point. And that's not all....

The credibility threshold is higher for your positive accomplishments than for negatives about your opponent. Your claims need to be credible.

Use popular culture. In a New York City race, Lew Yavolei raised taxes more times than George Steinbrenner changed managers. Yavolei 24 times, Steinbrenner only 22 times. They used pop culture to get voters to read political mail. You don't have to be a baseball fan to understand Steinbrenner. But place no Yankees logo in the ad. You don't want to get sued by the Yankees. Also, it would be a distraction from the theme of Yavolei raising taxes.

Candidates always want side by side comparisons with the opponent on the issues, but comparisons do not work. The voters mix the two candidates up. Pass the comparisons out in focus groups, then take them away. Within 15 seconds, the voters forget who is who. Comparisons just don't work in practice.

Teaser headline: Don't work, take drugs, skip school, and don't get paid. The ad shows a lazy fat white guy watching TV with a drink in his hand. They didn't show any minorities at all. This gets around charges of racism by the opposition. The issue was welfare, not race. Always ask, what will the other side say about our ad? What must you adjust to avoid problems? Is there any perceived 'code language' in there?

Try to connect with emotional hot button issues, even in print.

Mail arrives in 1-3 days. Respond to attacks quickly if at all. Send GOTV mail close to election day.

The absentee voter timeline is earlier than the general election. If a statewide race uses TV as the primary tool, then use mail as a support method. Smaller local races use mail primarily. If

you are new at designing mail, it takes three weeks from concept to the post office. Allow a few days for delivery. There are many details to postal rates. Standard bulk mail that is red tagged political moves faster.

Try to deliver 3-5 pieces of mail to a target group. Space them out every 2-3 days. Start two weeks before election. Don't mail once in September, once in October, and once in November. This is a disaster. Voters forget the previous pieces. You may decide to target some demographic groups in the summer if you have the resources. Voters may get 12 pieces of political mail a day just before election day, so find a way to stand out. You have to talk to the voters when they are voting. Don't cross pressure your messages.

Voter Targeting- Who will get your message?

Hopefully 50% plus one.

Voter Targeting is a Resource Allocation Tool
The campaign resources are time, money, and people.

Mail- a statewide campaign spends \$100,000 on mail. That is not enough money to send mail to everyone. Try to mail it to persuadable voters.

Phones- you can only do so many recorded messages or live calls.

Look at past election results. If 90% of a precinct votes Democrat, the precinct has a 90% Democratic Performance. The GOP then has 100-90= 10% GOP Performance (not counting minor parties)

Some people vote differently up ticket and down ticket.
Auto phone calls cost 7-10 cents per message.
Mail can cost \$1 apiece if very persuasive.

How to decide which precincts to canvass? Where do you send the candidate? It depends on whether it is for Get Out The Vote (GOTV) or to persuade the undecideds.

How to create targeting numbers? First look at registered voters (find info online)

Three Main targeting calculations

1. turnout percentage
2. Performance
3. Expected vote

How many registered voters? 200m in US.
You Need precinct level data the most.
County level data does not show the enclaves.

1. Turnout percentage- look at average of previous elections. But compare: Off year versus Presidential year versus Gubernatorial year - all are different.

Use the past 2 election cycles.
Turnout is driven by competitive elections.
There is more GOTV in competitive elections.

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If same candidate ran before, the data will help with the targeting but not the turnout.

Campaign staffs consistently overestimate turnout because they are too closely-involved.

Expected Vote = (turnout%) (registered voters)

2. (Democratic) Performance- is the index of what the average Democrat gets in that precinct. Democratic Performance + GOP Performance + minor party performance = 100% Performance is irrelevant in a primary. Take out the 'outliers'- unusual results. Also throw out uncompetitive races (over 20% victory margin)

Democratic Performance Statewide- use an average of past races for president, governor, senate, attorney general, auditor general, etc. races. Take an average of all races of the election cycle and get an average performance. Is your candidate above or behind the average performance? If behind, there is potential to get many more votes. If ahead, you are beating the average.

You must separate saints, sinners, and persuadables. Voters have less information on down ticket candidates, so they vote the party line. In some districts, your base puts you over 50%, especially urban Democratic Party districts. The average D or R base voter is 35-40 years old, so you must win over the persuadable voters.

For your party, look at the highest and lowest vote getters.

Al Gore 60%

Senate 50% The difference is the count of persuadable voters.

Do this for each year and average the averages to get one general number. If the Democratic Party Preference is over below 50%, Ds can still win, but they must do better than their average. If Democratic Performance is 47%, you must run 3 points ahead of the average Democratic Performance in order to win.

Within a state, some districts are competitive and others aren't.

$(\text{expected vote})(\text{avg persuadable voter } \%) = \text{Persuasion index}$

If there are one million persuadable voters in a state, and 200,000 of them are in one county, then concentrate on that one county. Rank all the counties by persuasion index. Send candidates to the counties with highest persuasion index. Also send the GOTV resources to counties with highest persuasion index.

Turnout in special elections is lower than usual if the election is held on some day, other than the first week on November. Find the calculation from the expected vote and use it for your vote goal. $(50\%)(\text{expected vote}) + 1 = \text{vote goal}$.

There are many untapped voters in areas with high performance and low turnout. Focus the GOTV on these areas.

Two ways to win:

1. get out your base
2. persuade the undecideds.

South Dakota Reservations usually have 90% Democratic Performance, but only a 30% turnout. The Ds increased the

turnout to 60% on these reservations. They worked on this year round. Daschle won statewide by 500 votes in a heavily GOP state.

Persuasion elements include literature drops, media/TV, and telephone.

Aggregate all counties within a media market to determine advertisement buys. Media markets that cover many states are less effective, but cable helps get around this. Younger voters are more persuadable, but they have lower performance. You may have to figure out how to target 30-50 year-old females, etc.

Third parties are usually ignored in calculations. Persuadable voters are up for grabs. Rank counties by persuasion index. Put resources where there is low turnout but high performance. Campaign staffs overestimate turnout because they are too close to the action. Defend your decisions with common sense.

Where Your Money Went

For the second quarter, the Badnarik campaign raised \$116,067 and disbursed \$60,416 and shows Contract Service payments to John Airheart, Fred Collins, Christy Corse, Aaron Russo, and Lorrie Kopp. For May, the Nolan campaign raised \$26233 and spent \$269790. For June, the Nolan campaign raised \$8034, had debts of \$21561 to the candidate, and for the election cycle had raised \$111814 and disbursed \$133376. For the Second Quarter, the Russo campaign reports receipts of \$46016 and expenditures of \$42711 (including \$6000 of repayment of candidate loan). For the election cycle, the Russo campaign raised \$76581 and spent \$72072.

For the quarter, the LP of Massachusetts raised \$5046 and spent \$3016, leaving it with \$3355 cash on hand and a debt be negotiated relating to the cancelled hotel convention site. Disbursements for the quarter include \$1755 in convention expenses, \$361 for printing an issue of the newsletter, and \$500 to the LNC for party membership dues.

For June, The Libertarian National Party raised \$207805 and spent \$282763, including \$1467 of coordinated candidate support, and for Ballot Petitioning: \$27,500 to the LPIL, \$5000 to the LPPA, \$1000 to the LPWV, and \$3000 to the LPOH.

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