

MEETING OF CLARK FOR PRESIDENT STEERING COMMITTEE

September 29-30, 1979

Ranada Inn, Rosslyn, Virginia

Members Present: Dallas Cooley, Ed Crane, Carol Cunningham, Ray Cunningham,  
John Hilberg, Chris Hooker, Dave Nolan, Howie Rich.

Others Present: David Koch, Dick Randolph, Andrea Rich.

After introductory remarks by Ray Cunningham, the following were discussed:

CFP OFFICE

1. The new LP/CFP national office is at 2300 Wisconsin Avenue in Washington
2. CFP has one large office next to the LP office on the second floor. CFP is taking additional space on the third floor @ \$8 per square foot.
3. Christina Herbert will be hired immediately as a Clark staff person in Washington.
4. Carol Ann Moore is working full time in Los Angeles for no compensation. Her background is in conventions and industrial press. She will be given a salary from now on.
5. Shirley Gottlieb in L.A. is willing to stockpile literature, host work parties, take CFP telephone calls after hours.
6. Later in the meeting it was decided that there must be a staff Researcher; a clipping service is not enough.

COORDINATORS

National Coordinator. Bill Burt, John Mason, Bill MacReynolds have applied. Emil Franzi, Bruce Cameron were also suggested. The consensus was that none was exactly right for the job. The National Coordinator would be responsible for nationwide ballot status, the office, mobilizing state parties and "how to" publications. Howie Rich will be interim Ballot Drive Coordinator through end of 1979.

Communications Coordinator. Ed Crane was appointed Acting Communications Coordinator and is expected to be permanently appointed, to be announced when the other coordinators are selected. Dave Nolan had applied but withdrew his application.

Fund Raising Chairman. Dave Padden and Bruce Cameron were suggested for Fund Raising Chairman. Cameron will be contacted to see if he would accept the job.

### BALLOT DRIVES

1. 38 "weak" states in terms of present organization according to Hocker memo.
2. Rich pledges 20 states on the ballot by 12/31/79.
3. The 20 possible states were discussed extensively.
4. Hocker and Rich will meet October 3rd to hire Field Coordinators and contact state parties.

### CFP COMMITTEE

1. A monthly budget is being prepared.
2. There will be monthly reports as well as long-range budget planning.
3. In addition to the national CFP committee, there will be 20-30 affiliated state committees.
4. Money that is raised by either national CFP or state CFP will go to national for distribution. Money raised by state LP will go to state party.
5. Joint national CFP and local LP fund raising will split proceeds on a negotiated basis.
6. All committees must be monitored on a weekly basis to make sure we are within budget.
7. Dallas Cooley and Carol Cunningham are working on computerized accounting and leasing a computer for the purpose.

### FUND RAISING

1. National LP has a list of about 12,000 donors.
2. The list must be researched for phone numbers, amount of dollars, special issues for each donor.
3. Dick Randolph suggested we add special quasi-libertarian lists such as NTU, Council for Competitive Economy, National Rifle Association.
4. Possibility of commissioned fund raisers.
5. Randolph suggested we start with bank loans cosigned (\$1000 each).
6. Rich suggested a small committee to make personal pitches for big bucks.
7. It is easier to get someone to contribute than to join the LP.
8. We should tap the PAC's.
9. David Koch suggested film and suitcase projector for personal calls.
10. Hocker is preparing a fundraising mailer.
11. Each member should contact FEC to get copy of FEC regulations.

#### VICE PRESIDENTIAL ROLE

1. Meetings with intellectual spectrum
2. Speaking lessons
3. Hard facts
4. Researcher to encapsulate what's going on in the world

#### VOTER COMMUNICATIONS

1. Dave Nolan outlined four stages of the campaign: Pre-primary, Primary, Convention, Final Months.
2. There was an extended discussion of appealing to special interest groups vs. the general voter. The consensus was that appeals to special interest groups have not worked and that we should go after the general voter with something new to offer.
3. Opinion Research in Princeton is going to do a marketing research study for us. Also, Everett Lad offered his help; John Hilberg will contact him.
4. We should come up with a theme for the campaign as soon as possible.

#### SPECIFIC MEDIA

1. Hilberg suggested "marinating the media," subtly bringing CFP to media's attention now for possible fruition later:
  - a. Crane suggested putting radio spots into primary states specifically so that media will be exposed to us early. Tentatively, these will begin in January.
  - b. We discussed billboards at Dem. and GOP convention sites, billboards near media, back-of-bus billboards in major markets.
2. We will make a big push to get on debates; we will probably not be successful in 1980, but must create a presence for 1984.
3. A 60-minute documentary is being prepared and we will try to get it on TV.

#### CANDIDATES SCHEDULE

1. Clark should not be doing much campaigning now but should relax and be with his family as much as possible.
2. Criteria for his appearances as follows:
  - a. national media coverage, large events
  - b. helping state projects, ballot drives
  - c. fundraising

CANDIDATES SCHEDULE (cont'd)

3. Koch scheduling will concentrate on (b) and (c) for the time being.
4. Cunninghams will contact Donna Dudek re scheduling.

BOOKS

1. Ray Cunningham recommended the following:
  - a. "Political Campaign Management," Arnold Steinberg
  - b. "The Political Campaign Handbook," Arnold Steinberg
  - c. "Mail and Telephone Surveys," Don A. Dillman

The next Steering Committee conference call will be 8:00 p.m., October 14.

The Steering Committee will meet Sunday, November 4, in New Orleans.

## MEETING OF CLARK FOR PRESIDENT STEERING COMMITTEE

November 2-3, 1979

Netaire, Louisiana

Members Present: Dallas Cooley, Ed Crane, Carol Cunningham, Ray Cunningham, John Hilberg, Chris Hocker, Howie Rich

Others Present: Ed Clark, David Koch, Jule Herbert, Andrea Rich

### REPORTS FROM THE CANDIDATES

Ed Clark has been getting positive feelings wherever he goes: a whole hour on Sacramento TV; good media in Phoenix; good feelings from Arizona and Tennessee which had gone for Hunscher; generally the media seems more well-informed about him and libertarianism.

David Koch has been doing a lot of reading and meeting with people: he spent a whole day with Jerry Butz, image consultant; he met with the LR and Cato people and has a meeting scheduled with Bob Poole.

### WASHINGTON OFFICE

The LP office is well set-up and they are ready to get started on the CFP office upstairs.

Kristina Herbert is the office manager. Marian Williams and Ricki Strandfeld are field coordinators with Cathy Thomas joining them next week. Kris has hired a part-time university student (Mary Porto) for typing, filing, etc.

### L.A. OFFICE

1. Carol Ann Moore is still operating on a volunteer basis. She wants to continue on a paid basis with the following functions: (a) maintain master schedule; (b) administrative support of Clark; (c) focus of Clark activity in California. A problem is that she has no secretarial skills.
2. Clark needs an executive secretary. Chris Hocker will ask Nicole Bergland if she can recommend one; in the meantime Hocker will send correspondence to Clark for signature.
3. Shirley Gottlieb is acting as stockpoint, distribution point, focal point in the west. She is receiving \$100 per week.
4. The Clark headquarters in Joe Coberly's LA office will be available in another month. It will accommodate 2-3 people. It has phones and is near the freeway. It is free.
5. The Clark master schedule must be maintained in Washington. Hocker will straighten out this situation.

### ORGANIZATION

1. Jule Herbert has agreed to be the CFP Treasurer.
2. Hocker suggested that the Finance job be broken down into two functions: a Finance Director to handle nuts-and-bolts administration and Finance Chairman to handle the outreach. Some names suggested were McReynolds, Kris Herbert, John Mason, Bill Burt, Laura Wertheimer.

ORGANIZATION (cont'd)

3. It was decided that, if the National Committee will agree, Chris Hocker will become National Coordinator and Bill Burt will step in as LP Executive Director.

BALLOT DRIVES

1. Howie Rich gave a report. For all practical purposes, we are on the ballot in 9 states. Rich feels confident we will make 20 by '80.
2. There is a good functioning organization: Williams, Strandfeld, Thomas, K. Herbert.
3. California ballot drive is a continuing problem. Tom Palmer will be sent there immediately to coordinate campus drive.
4. CFP should be prepared to give \$20,000 to California petition drive. Rich was authorized to spend the \$20,000 judiciously if necessary. Palmer can pay dorm people if necessary.
5. Effective immediately control of the California ballot drive becomes the responsibility of CFP Steering Committee, who ~~are~~ willing to put in major resources and who will marshal additional resources to see it succeed.

SURVEY

1. Crane submitted letter he had sent to Opinion Research, Inc. feeling them out about doing a possible in-depth survey.
2. Hilberg discussed as a possibility Everett Ladd of the Univ. of Connecticut Social Science Data Center.
3. Hocker mentioned Claritas and doing less expensive surveys by "caravans."
4. Crane, Hocker, Carol Cunningham, and Hilberg volunteered to serve as a committee to interview the three (or more) firms and make a recommendation.

COMMUNICATING TO THE TROOPS

1. We must start a methodical program, either news releases or a newsletter, for disseminating information to the troops. The Clark fundraising letter presently in the mail contains a lot of information.
2. News releases should go out to the libertarian press.
3. An "insiders newsletter" should go to all contributors beginning December 1. Clark campaign newsletter will go out bimonthly.
4. Hocker will prepare an outline of internal communications.

NEW YORK ISMS

1. There was a discussion of a possible suit to change the name of the party in New York. Rich will put Jule Herbert in touch with Mike Kessler, who is willing to act as the attorney for the suit.
2. Cathy Groudine submitted a proposal to be the part-time, paid PR person located in New York. This will be Crane's decision.
3. Rich discussed the Kessler proposal to recruit college students to serve as media people locally for the campaign. Rich will develop this proposal further.

COST CONTROL AND FINANCIAL ACCOUNTING; BUDGET

1. We need to run on a budget and know where we stand at all times.
2. The budget will be flexible but every department will be allocated and must stay within budget for a determined amount of time. This is particularly critical because there will be three different directors spending money instead of one as in the LP. Clark agreed this is very important but reminded us we also need a way to override the budget allocation.
3. Without good planning the budget won't succeed and the three directors will just wing it.
4. It is important that we have an Authorization for Payment form because we will certainly be audited by the FEC and will need to show them. All this will go into the computer.
5. We will generate FEC reports monthly rather than quarterly. Our system must comply with the FEC format; however, the committee needs the information in a format relevant to us in order to properly run the campaign.
6. The budget will be prepared in two ways: line item listing and timed presentation.
7. Cooley will take responsibility for updating the budget on a regular basis. He will explain the system to J. Herbert and get him in sync with it.
8. After the first month a weekly Cash In/Cash Out report will be sent to all members of the committee.
9. Ray Cunningham wants a summary of what the system is like and the series of attachments which are the various forms which will be used with the system. He would like it by Thanksgiving if possible.
10. Word processing is also part of the system so we can generate letters.
11. David Koch wants a proposal from us as to when we want his funds.
12. Cooley and Hilberg will ask J. Herbert to see if we can legally invest our money in a money market fund like the Reserve Fund.
13. Individuals on the Steering Committee should not ask Koch for money for their pet projects since that money will come out of his donation to CFP.
14. The LP has informed the FEC that we are in our primary period. We are awaiting their reaction.
15. It is intended by the LP that all funds in excess of its budget will go to CFP.
16. The LP owes a \$35,000 debt to vendors for the LP Convention. The Clark campaign will loan the convention committee the money. Crane will send out a letter to 40 or 50 people who attended the convention who might send in \$1000 to retire the debt.

FUND RAISING

1. Hilberg reports there are 8 or 9 separate sources available to the national party which would comprise a list of approximately 61,000 unique libertarians. They range from the 7500 national LP list to the manually-kept SIL list and include Reason, LR, Inquiry, FEE, SLS, new LP state members and other lists Hocker has access to.
2. Hilberg finds it difficult to evaluate these lists without seeing recent employment of them.

FUND RAISING (cont'd)

3. There is the possibility of another 150,000 names (Clark for Governor list, 50,000 CFP registered voters, etc).
4. Hilberg has a computer which he is willing to lend for a merge-and-purge. Is there a third party whom everyone would trust to merge and purge?
5. Clark wants to have the big national list ready in the next 2-3 months. The negotiations are very tricky.

VOLUNTEERS

1. The Clark for President campaign will be organized on the basis of a national network of volunteers. There are a few individuals with full-time, overall campaign responsibility who will be paid. It is the present view of the CFP Steering Committee that the bulk of our limited resources can best be directed toward media and the production of campaign materials.
2. There are people around the country waiting for an OK to work as state or regional CFP coordinators. Some want to get paid. Rich feels they absolutely should not be paid, but expenses can be negotiated. Hocker modified to make super regions (i.e., the western coordinator might be paid), or, if states pay most of the money we could kick in some, possibly \$1000 per quarter. More discussion is needed.
3. Does Hocker need an assistant in Washington? Would an assistant with a geographic separation be more worthwhile?
4. Volunteers who want to work in the campaign need constant guidance from the national office. We need a system to be in contact with volunteers around the country.

GENERAL CAMPAIGN

1. Hocker is working on a questionnaire to go to state parties. Included might be their goals, key activists in each state, their pluses, their specific needs.
2. The Cunninghams are moving. For the present address them c/o IECCO, 777 Post Road, Darien CT 06820. (203) 655-3345.
3. Scheduling is very important. Clark should be available for Chamber of Commerce national meetings, etc. K. Herbert is researching dates of meetings of national organizations in 1980.
4. Clark's internal commitments should be flexible. During the Dem and GOP primary periods, he will be going to state party conventions. Should state parties pay his air fare?
5. A master schedule needs to be developed to establish due dates for the campaign.
6. The national coordinator will work on setting up state committees and developing the role of the states in the campaign.
7. Vernon Smith wants to start an Economics Professors for Clark board. The whole matter of committee endorsements should be looked into.

KEY IDEAS

1. America. Freedom was the original idea.
2. Don't waste your vote.
3. Restore the American Dream.

The next meeting of the Steering Committee will be in Washington on December 8-9.

CLARK FOR PRESIDENT STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING  
December 8 and 9, 1979  
Washington,,D.C.

Members Present: Dallas,Cooley, Ed Crane, Carol Cunningham, Ray Cunningham, John Hilberg, Chris Hocker, Howie Rich

Others Present: David Bergland, Bill Burt, Jule Herbert, Kristina Herbert, Bill McReynolds, Andrea Rich, Riki Strandfeldt, Cathy Thomas, Marian Williams

HEADQUARTERS REPORTS

Crane reported on organization of D.C. headquarters since coming from San Francisco. CFP headquarters will be moving to the second floor, LP to the third floor of 2300 Wisconsin. Headquarters space was discussed and a plan for rearrangement of present space. We are also seeking additional or alternate space.

There will be formal staff meetings weekly on Monday mornings in Washington. The minutes will be distributed.

Crane has had meetings with various media. Development of quality press kit is a high priority.

RECENT MEDIA

New York meeting over Thanksgiving had encouraging media coverage, good attendance, high quality people. There were articles in the New York Times, Soho News, and a long interview with the reporter from the Saturday Review.

H. Rich suggested we not talk about Koch's contribution in interviews but rather about budget numbers.

Clark has a possible interview with High Times. We have received feelers from ABE and CBS.

L.A. HEADQUARTERS

The L.A. headquarters is being set up. There is a possibility of hiring a full-time assistant to Clark.

There was some feeling that this L.A. office is inappropriate. An Orange County location appears to be quite satisfactory. Orange County would want some subsidy from CFP for rent and two workers. CFP agreed to commit to a lease which would piggyback the space with a few other groups.

BALLOT DRIVES

Ballot drives are somewhat behind schedule. Howie Rich is Ballot Drive Coordinator, responsible to Chris Hocker. Clear demarcation of authority is now in place.

By 12/31: In addition to the first six, Wisconsin, New Mexico, Utah and Vermont are certain. We will be on in Kansas, New Hampshire, North Dakota, Iowa and California. "Very live" states are Delaware, Kentucky, Colorado, New Jersey, Mississippi. "Possible" in Alaska, Nebraska, Michigan.

By 1/31: Illinois, Arizona, Arkansas, Ohio.

Even though Maryland, West Virginia, Georgia and Oklahoma seem impossible for this campaign, they are working on each case individually, not writing off a single state yet.

### TREASURER'S REPORT

Unofficial groups are forming (states) for Clark, which is a potential problem. The national CFP committee is responsible for all reporting. Hooker must appoint state chairs for CFP soon so that we have a focal point and communications point.

There was a discussion of CFP employees and the independent contractors connected with the campaign.

There is approximately \$15,000 in the bank this date. Cash out for November was \$23,500, much of it office expenses and reimbursements of expenses. December and January sheets should be more representative.

The latest fundraiser was a success: 473 contributors to this date (Dec. 6). \$18,600 collected funds and \$14,782 in unpaid pledges = \$37,780. The cost of the mailer was about \$2000.

We should try to satisfy the 20 state requirement for qualifying funds.

Ray Cunningham would like a weekly cash flow report broken down into categories for cash in and cash out. CFP members should also receive the monthly FEC report beginning in January. It will give us a better breakdown by category.

### WESTERN UNION MAILGRAMS

Crane discussed a proposal that Western Union hook up a terminal for mailgrams. We can use it for, among other things, sending out press releases for next day delivery. The cost would be about \$1.60-1.80 per mailgram. The terminal also plugs into the New York Times research library. In addition, Western Union has media lists prefiled which we can cull and use. Also, if our computer can interface with theirs, we can use our mailing list.

The bare minimum cost would be \$3500-4000 throughout the course of the campaign, but the cost would surely be much more than that.

If our TV spots showed an 800 number to phone and make pledges, the pledges could be typed up that night and 'thank you' mailgrams could be sent out right away - very effective fundraising technique.

### McREYNOLDS PROPOSAL

Bill McReynolds submitted a fundraising proposal. He asked that three facets be examined: the plan, the costs, and himself as finance chairman. Discussion followed and continued the next day. It will be discussed again during the next telephone conference call.

### SCHEDULING THE CANDIDATES

Our scheduling has to be centered around media and major events rather than local groups. Clark must primarily be used for outreach. Crane wants to do the scheduling, wants to be super aggressive at seeking out these opportunities.

There was a discussion of the criteria for sending Clark to state conventions. There might be good opportunities for media coverage but priorities must be carefully determined.

Cunningham passed out copies of detailed campaign scheduling criteria, taken from "The Political Handbook of Media and Advance" by Arnold Steinberg.

It was decided that Clark could be tentatively promised to some states for their conventions on the basis that, if a major media event occurs, Koch will substitute for him. Hooker and K. Herbert sent out a questionnaire to state parties asking about their conventions. We should make it clear that from July on, the focus will be totally on the outside world.

### SCHEDULING THE CANDIDATES, contd

Crane hopes that by March first our philosophy would be so refined that we could appoint a scheduling director. We must objectify it so that our state LP people know what the criteria are, but that it isn't just a matter of their fulfilling certain criteria.

Clark should always have someone with him when he travels or, at worst, a trusted person in each location to handle things for him. A photographer should always be around shooting pictures with a flash to create a presence.

There was a discussion of advance; the possibility of using regional LP members for advance, which would help develop their skills, vs. needing a professional for this critical job.

### LOCAL P.R. NETWORK

H. Rich proposed a network of people around the country to develop better relationships with local media, particularly media that would generally not get our releases. They could follow up every press release with: "did you get our press release? Will you use it?" This has three advantages: it is cheap; we will get exposure in hundreds of little newspapers ~~we~~ <sup>which</sup> wouldn't get our releases otherwise; it will develop good people in the field.

We will put these local people on our Western Union list and they will be responsible for distributing the releases to their local media. They will send us clippings; this is great feedback and gratification for them.

Jennie Roback is interested in developing this network. The mechanics of making sure they perform and developing them would be Hocker's; the mechanics of what goes out to them would be Crane's. Decisions regarding issues, policy, image must not be compromised. All this must come from the national party.

### OPINION SURVEY PROPOSAL

Crane and Hocker had meetings with Opinion Research. They (O.R.) are preparing a proposal for us. An unsuccessful meeting was also held with Polarity Management.

### GENERAL CAMPAIGN

1. Crane is developing campaign materials, first being a palm card. The campaign book is in progress and Crane is contacting paperback houses.
2. The Clark newsletter will be folded into the LP News. The insiders newsletter will alternate with these.
3. A personnel requisition should be submitted for intermediate-level staff.
4. Regional coordinators and state chairs should be chosen very soon.
5. D. Cooley proposed we publish a "convention watchers Guide" to be inserted in Sunday newspapers and used by people watching the conventions to keep track of balloting, etc. We would include libertarian messages, ads, etc.

BUDGET AND FINANCE CONSIDERATIONS

1. Ray Cunningham requested we develop a system to break down the budget into 10 categories and each of those into 10 categories or work packages containing a brief description, start date, finish date, cost.
2. Hocker and Crane will analyze the existing budget in the Master Plan and give us a more refined breakdown in two weeks.
3. Perhaps develop level 1 - 2 - 3 budget depending on the amount raised.
4. We should have a definite budget by the next meeting.

R. Cunningham made the point that our campaign planning should be done now because as the campaign gets into gear, we will do less and less planning.

The next meeting of the Steering Committee will be January 12 and 13 in Washington, D.C. There will be an interim conference call on Sunday, January 30, at 8:30 p.m. EST.