



Emily Anne Staples Tuttle papers.

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## READER OPINION

10/20/80

### A candidate with the best shot

**To the Editor:** In a letter he sent to suburban newspapers a few weeks ago, Jim Ramstad, a Republican candidate for the State Senate, said, "I would be just as foolish [to challenge the incumbent Senator from District 43, Emily Staples, while agreeing to stay within the spending limits] as I would to challenge Jack Nicklaus to a round of golf without getting any strokes!" The analogy is worth carrying further.

Nicklaus is a great golfer who brings to every tournament talent honed by years of dedicated preparation. Similarly, Sen. Staples brought to the state Senate a talent for legislating honed by years of dedicated preparation in voluntary community service and experience on the boards of public institutions and the Hennepin County

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Library Board. When she was elected to the Senate everyone knew that she belonged there, just as everyone knows Nicklaus belongs among the outstanding golfers at the Masters.

It's no wonder that Sen. Staple's opponent feels overmatched, and I admire his candor in admitting it. But I'm not going to vote for him. Why, that would be like suggesting that he replace Jack Nicklaus on the Ryder Cup Team.

—Paul Hile  
Robbinsdale

# NOT FOR SALE



**There's no machine, no big bucks interests, no blind ambition behind Emily.**

**Just experience, knowhow and compassion.**

## DO IT AGAIN

**Re-elect Senator Emily**

# Staples

Prepared and paid for by Senator Emily Staples Re-election committee—L. Marofsky, Treas. 4092 W. Broadway.

# Do It Again



**Re-Elect Senator Emily**

# **Staples**

Prepared and paid for by Senator Emily Staples Re-election committee—L. Marofsky, Treas. 4092 W. Broadway

Should a state senate seat be bought?  
What does that kind of spending do to the clean tradition  
of Minnesota politics?

~~I want to~~ thank you for coming here this morning for what I  
~~think many~~ some of you may think is just another effort by a  
political candidate to get some last minute publicity. Let me  
assure you right now, this is ~~not~~ the case. I ~~am~~ a candidate for  
reelection to the Minnesota Senate and I have been working very  
hard and ~~honestly~~ within my own District 43 for many ~~weeks~~ <sup>months</sup> now.  
If I ~~was~~ <sup>were</sup> engaged in a forthright political campaign against an  
opponent who tried to show the voters the differences that we  
~~might~~ have in political philosophy ~~and~~ <sup>or</sup> to ~~properly~~ <sup>criticize</sup> ~~improve~~ my  
voting record on issues and suggest alternatives, I would not  
have had the audacity to call this press conference. I waged  
that kind of campaign four years ago and convinced the voters that  
~~I~~ <sup>was</sup> ~~honestly~~ <sup>representative of our district</sup> ~~was a more acceptable person than my opponent.~~

But that is not at issue any longer.

What is <sup>at</sup> issue is the most blatant, overt and dishonest attempt  
ever made to ~~buy~~ control of the Minnesota Legislature through a  
~~combination of money, lies and distortions.~~ The Independent  
Republican Party, with the willingly and knowing involvement of  
Minnesota's two United States Senators, several Congressmen and  
the Governor, have unleashed the most expensive and vicious attack  
ever waged against Minnesota ~~voters~~ in the long history of our state.

~~During~~ During the early stages of my own campaign, I  
thought that I was being singled out as a special target by the  
opposition. If dollars are an indication, then I am, but I have  
now learned that the identical pieces of campaign literature, the  
identically worded ~~distortions~~ <sup>and appearing</sup> distortions, are all coming off the  
same press in numerous other legislative campaigns throughout the  
state.

Deficit financing of campaign

Use of fund-raising to buy votes -

In past 43rd Dist has held clean campaign  
Had to import someone

2-2-2

~~For four years~~ For four years, I have worked ~~both~~ for the people of my own district for the very simple reason that I have lived there for 25 years and I have always worked ~~and~~ and cared about my neighbors. In the Senate, I was able to translate those concerns not only <sup>to assist</sup> ~~in terms of assistance to~~ my own district that I know so well, but to apply to all Minnesotans.

I entered this campaign not only willing but eager to inform every resident of my district of what I had done, how I had voted, the small ~~successes~~ successes I achieved and the ~~failures~~ disappointments I encountered.

I fully expected to be challenged on some issues, but I thought I would be confronted by honest disagreements, not outright lies, ~~distra~~ distortions and misstatements.

Someone once said to me that a seat in the Minnesota Senate, like respect and integrity, cannot be bought -- it must be earned.

Now, just three days before the election, my opponent has <sup>up to Oct 20</sup> ~~currently~~ spent and committed more than \$63 thousand dollars in <sup>more than ever spent in any previous legislative campaign</sup> his effort to unseat me. That, in itself, is no crime. What is disgraceful and a willful defrauding of the voters of District 43 is the fact that this money has been spent to promulgate outright fabrications and distrotions, <sup>it is being done</sup> by a man who by his own adminssion, purchased a second home in the district for the sole purpose of using the voters of my district as a stepping <sup>stone</sup> ~~floor~~ <sup>for</sup> ~~this own~~ political ambitions.

I am assuming that the literature that has been produced in his behalf is being purchased at a wholesale rate, for the same identical pieces, with only the names of the candidates ~~changed~~, <sup>ve</sup> appeared in many other legislative ~~districts~~. They all contain the same

distortions.

Let me give you one example before I conclude this statement and <sup>then</sup> I will be most happy to answer any ~~and all~~ questions that you <sup>may</sup> ~~might~~ have.

My opponent has consistently, in both printed matter and in public appearances, accused me and the other members of the legislature of raising our own salaries.

Not once, not a single time, did he point out that in raising the salaries of legislators, the per diem allowances for service in St. Paul was drastically reduced from \$40 a day to \$17 a day -- ~~48 to~~ <sup>Non Metropolitan area</sup> \$29 for out of state legislators. Not once did he comment upon the ~~difficulty of~~ impossibility of living away from out-state homes, food and housing, on that amount. Not once did he point out that they would be digging into ~~that small~~ their pay to make ends meet both in St. Paul and at home. Yes, the salary was increased from its previous <sup>low</sup> ~~ridiculous~~ \$8500 a year in hope that more <sup>representative</sup> ~~little~~ people, those without outside income, <sup>person</sup> ~~man~~ the small Minnesota business or farmer, might be able to serve in the legislature without filing bankruptcy. The legislature was never intended to be the private preserve of the affluent.

My opponent has both printed and spoken about the pension voted to legislators. Again, he chose to disregard the truth in favor of demagogic distortion, telling voters that legislators are fully vested after six years of service.

He <sup>was</sup> either ~~was~~ ignorant ~~was~~ or lying. The truth of the matter is that an legislator becomes **eligible** for a pension after six years and does not become fully vested until 20 years of service and then cannot collect on that pension until age 62. ~~Even co-ordinate~~ <sup>F</sup>ederal

School Bond referendum no vote!

law requires full vesting on contributory pensions after 15 years of service *in the private sector*

I ~~am~~ am deeply disturbed by this overt and callous effort to ~~buy~~ buy the District 43 State Senate seat at any price and by any means.

For 25 years, long before I came to the legislature, I <sup>have</sup> lived ~~and been~~ in my district and <sup>have been</sup> was actively involved in scores of organizations, both regional, district and statewide, to bring a better way of life for all of the residents not only of the district but of the state. And that is without regard to political affiliation ~~or~~ <sup>and</sup> race, color or creed. My greatest concerns <sup>have been</sup> ~~are~~ the young and the elderly.

~~I think the people of District 43 deserve better than even what I have been able to accomplish and I would not be honest to say that I don't care who wins. I do, because I want to work even harder for the views of the people of Dist 43.~~ They do not deserve to be represented by an inexperienced carpet-bagger who with the help of both state and national funds, is trying to buy a seat in our legislatures.

The only currency anyone in public office has to offer is personal honesty and integrity. My opponent has already proved he has neither.

Finally, I offer my sympathy to other members of my party who have been the victims of the cheapshot spin off of manufactured wholesale distortions generated by the ~~original~~ attacks on me.

Now I will be happy to answer your questions.

Emily Staples 1980 Campaign

Steering Committee

Myrna Marofsky	2835 Pilgrim Lane No. Ply. 55441	544-9685
Marie Weiss	2845 Pilgrim Lane No. Ply. 55441	545-0729
Larry Marofsky	2835 Pilgrim Lane No. Ply. 55441	544-9685
Harvey Weiss	2845 Pilgrim Lane No. Ply. 55441	545-0729
Winnie Hile	4230 Chown Ave. No. Robb. 55422	588-5430
Paul Hile	"	"
Joanne Lange	3601 Beard Ave. No. Robb. 55422	588-5430
Harvey Lange	"	"
Frank Dvorak	11745 38th Ave. No. Ply. 55441	559-2341
Barb Dvorak	"	"
Mickey Greenberg	1601 Spring Valley Rd. G.V. 55422	522-0018
Sara Utt	8316 29th Ave. No. N.H. 55422	545-5390
Bill Marsella	4023 Lake Road Robb. 55422	537-1033
Peggy Spector	5025 Hampton Road G.V. 55422	521-6242
Carole Rydberg	3225 Wellington Lane Ply. 55441	546-5368
Andrea Gaines	"	"
Austin Sullivan	17830 Cty Road #6 Ply. 55441	475-3379
Don Maxwell	2630 East Med. Lake Rd. Ply. 55441	544-5738
Diane Martindale	3537 Pilgrim Lane No. Ply. 55441	545-1527
Chris Merritt	1880 Spring Valley Circle G.V. 55422	529-6893
Lynn Gitelis	4945 G.V. Road G.V. 55422	588-8854
Linda Holstein	10720 Cty Rd. #9 #316 Ply. 55441	559-9684
Roger Rydberg	3225 Wellington Lane Ply. 55441	546-5368
Merle Mark	10730 Union Terrace Way Ply. 55441	546-8787

## Emily Staples 1980 Campaign

### Steering Committee

Purpose is to develop a strategy that:

1. Develops a message consistent with the aspirations of the voters and with the goals of Emily Staples.
2. Select one, two, or three ways of dominantly communicating that message to the voters.
3. Execute the chosen program with efficiency and timeliness.
4. Raise the money to pay for all of the above.

Techniques and Systems used to achieve the desired results:

1. Polling
2. Targeting
3. Individual voter contact
4. Mass media
5. Candidate activities
6. Voter registration
7. Volunteer organization
8. Fund raising
9. Get out the vote programs

### Campaign Strategy

More campaigns are lost because a plan was not followed than are lost because the plan was less than excellent. Designing a campaign plan is, therefore, the only way to make certain that there is one campaign- coherent and comprehensive - communicating the right message to the right voters at the right time.

A campaign is more than the sum of all the activities and operations of the candidate, staff, and volunteers. It has a total impact on the voters that exceeds the simple addition of its many parts. To shape that total impact is the purpose of the plan.

Finally, a campaign plan is evidence of an organized effort. When committed to paper, it will be a useful tool as we solicit the support of people and money. Regardless of an individual's feeling for a candidate, he or she will be more inclined to invest his or her time and money when he or she realizes that it will be sensibly spent rather than squandered away on second guessing and a "shoot from the hip" campaign management and philosophy.

## Emily Staples 1980 Campaign

### Steering Committee

#### Work Goals:

1. Research available campaign resources---Financial and Human.
2. Develop Winning Strategy:
  - a. Develop most winning messages and three to four sub-messages within each message.
  - b. Develop most efficient means to communicate messages.
  - c. Write Winning Strategies.
3. Write the Winning Plan:
  - a. Set up Campaign Calendar
    - Fund Raisers
    - Building alliances with specific organizations
    - Building name identifications
    - Canvass, etc.
  - b. Write work projects and determine best system for each project. (Example: Literature drops includes volunteer recruitman, map-drawing, transportation, literature writing, etc.)
4. Price the Plan.
5. Select and train Campaign Directors.
6. Establish Reporting Systems.

## Emily Staples 1980 Campaign

### Director of Volunteers (Carole Rydberg-Andrea Gaines)

Develop and direct a system for the identification, recruitment, and training of volunteers. Establish a committee that can respond to volunteer requests with appropriate resources within a reasonable time frame. Act as a liason between steering committee and volunteers. Be responsible for volunteer records.

#### Work Goals:

1. Locate and evaluate groups of activist people.
2. Designate projects from the overall campaign plan to committee members.
3. Develop a message from the facts about the campaign. Determine the most attractive reasons why people could profit by giving their time.
4. Establish a plan-Determine a timetable and a personnel requirement list for all projects expected to be staffed by volunteer personnel.
5. Develop an assignment system that can adequately move people from the recruitment process, through training, and into jobs.
6. Work with the Director of Communications to set up a volunteer communication network, such as "Letters to Volunteers".
7. Keep Emily Staples informed of volunteer work load. Notify her of exceptional efforts. Request her assistance with motivating volunteers.

## Emily Staples 1980 Campaign

### Director of Finance (Larry Marofsky)

Develop, direct, and implement the fund raising activities. Develop, administer, and control the campaign financial budget. Direct the development of the campaign targeting and special endorsement plan. Act as a liason between the finance committee and the steering committee.

#### Work Goals:

##### Development of Financial Plan

1. By evaluating both campaign need and campaign potential, set specific goals.
2. Calculate high and low goals for each level of contribution.
3. Divide goal for each level of fund-raising according to cash flow needs and establish a working calendar of goals.
4. Write a plan for four levels of fund-raising
  - Identification
  - Message
  - Collection
  - Reporting
5. Design the best systems
  - Person to person
  - Event
  - Mass solicitation
6. Compare plan to overall campaign plan.
7. Reduce plan to a series of specific assignments for each member of the finance committee.
8. Present plan to steering committee.

##### Development of Fund Raising Plan (Jack Mogelson)

1. Identification of the "who, what, where, when, why," of the particular group of contributors.
2. Develop and deliver message.
3. Determine methods of collection
  - Personal visit by Emily
  - Telephone call from Emily
  - Personal visit from member of committee
  - Phone call from member of committee
  - An endorsement or appeal from a particular group
  - "Dear Friend" Letter
  - Event focused fund-raiser
4. Develop reporting system.

Emily Staples 1980 Campaign

Director of Finance (cont.)

Work Goals (cont.)

Development of targeting plan (Diane Martindale)

1. Research the voters
  - a. Research past elections
  - b. Identify significant voting groups and sub-groups
  - c. Determine questions to be asked in order to obtain correct views of the electorate (See house polling)
  - d. Assist with canvass
2. Research the district
  - a. Obtain research material required to determine size, turnout history, and performance habits of all precincts.
    1. Obtain employment statistics
    2. Identify significant resources of the community that support jobs and/or wealth
    3. Personally interview community leadership in each category of resource.
    4. Determine and list significant categories of life-style using standards of living, density, mobility and culture.
    5. Prepare a map reflecting the above.
  - b. Do analysis by:
    1. Rating desirable precincts by size and Democratic voting record.
    2. Rating desirable Republican precincts which tend to vote more on the basis of events or candidates.
    3. Determine logical percent of campaign effort that should be devoted to each precinct. Above information will also be helpful in designing literature, planning fund-raisers, etc.
3. Research Emily Staples and Jim Ramstad regarding their records, public exposure, and relationship to community.
4. Prepare written targeting report and present to steering committee.

Emily Staples 1980 Campaign

Director of Finance (cont.)

Work Goals (cont.)

Development of Special Endorsements Plan (Diane Martindale)

1. Research and identify specific voters and organizations most likely to be prospects for special endorsements.
2. Work with Communications Committee to design appropriate literature for endorsements.
3. Develop system to obtain endorsements.
4. Prepare written endorsements plan and present to Steering Committee.

Emily Staples 1980 Campaign

Director of Field Operation

Work Goals

Voter Registration and Identification (Merle Pettersen)

1. Review voting statistics (see Targeting)
2. Investigate voter registration laws
3. Establish number of potential new voters
4. Target registration opportunities
5. Form Committee
6. Publicize drive
7. Keep records

Apartments and Home Owners association (Betty Cozatt)

1. Secure all contacts in all building or home owners associations
2. Co-ordinate with Communication Committee the design of special literature
3. Blitz apartments and associations twice
4. Help register voters
5. Display maps of polling places by November 1st

## Emily Staples 1980 Campaign

### Director of Field Operations

Plan, direct and administer Campaign Field Operation Activities:

1. Staples' Stompers-Literature drops, Door Knocking, Lawn signs, Maps, and routes.
2. Voter registration and contact
3. Apartment and home owner contact

Act as a communication liason between Steering Committee and Field Operations. Establish budget and keep appropriate records.

### Work Goals:

#### Staples' Stompers, Literature Drops, and Door Knocking (Bob Ansel, Bob Meyers, and Pam Henderson)

1. Select precincts- Co-ordinate with Manager of Targeting
2. Secure workers from Volunteer Co-Ordinator
3. Train workers
4. Schedule events based on campaign calendar
5. Obtain literature from Communications Committee
6. Provide maps and routes
7. Arrange transportation
8. Plan "Thank you" parties for major drops

#### Lawn Signs (Jack Gause, Harvey Weiss)

1. Check on various community sign ordinances
2. Secure all prime area locations for large signs
3. Secure 1,000 sign locations for small signs
4. Organize crew to make signs
5. Install signs
6. Organize maintenance crew and set out twice a week
7. Keep records of all locations

#### Maps and Routes (Walter Utt)

1. Obtain maps--Large ones needed for headquarters
2. Design routes by precincts on small maps
3. Provide copies for all activities

## Emily Staples 1980 Campaign

### Director of Headquarters Activities (Barb Dvorak)

Plan, direct and administer headquarter activities for:

1. In-house polling and canvass
2. Get out the vote
3. Candidate activity
4. Headquarters office managment activities

Act as a communication liason between Steering Committee and Headquarters. Establish budget and keep appropriate records.

### Work Goals

#### Polling (Ray Dabbah)

1. Conduct a telephone tracking system which moniters what the people are thinking at various times during a campaign:
  - a. Conducting and analyzing, in-house poll
  - b. Training of Volunteer interviewers on interviewing techniques
  - c. Develop and design questions which will provide an unbiased view on how voters really feel about issues, personalities, and the current political and economic system.

#### Canvass (Lauren Weck, Peggy Specktor)

1. Set goals for the type and number of voters to be reached.
2. Develop canvass plan.
3. Determine best timing.
4. Develop a canvass organization.
5. Prepare voter list.
6. Design canvass literature.
7. Prepare worker instructions.
8. Train workers.
9. Develop reporting system.

#### Candidate Activities (Connie Schroeder)

1. Develop a budget for allocating Emily's time to a variety of programs based on targeting information.
2. Determine goals of Emily's activites for each section of the district, i.e., leadership contact of community leaders, fund raising, community events, worker recruitment, door knocking,

Emily Staples 1980 Campaign

Candidate Activities (cont.)

and down time or rest.

3. Train a scheduler.
4. Prepare monthly, weekly, and daily calendars.
5. Select advance personnel.
6. Keep campaign scrapbook.

Emily Staples 1980 Campaign

Director of Headquarters Activities (cont.)

Work Goals (cont.)

Office Management Activities (Paula Beugen)

1. Set up headquarters
2. Schedule activities
3. Train volunteers
4. Procure supplies
5. Set up filing system
6. Provide information to public.
7. Take care of Emily's personal correspondence.
8. Keep appropriate records.

Get Out The Vote

Plan "Get out the vote" activities. Coordinate activity very closely with Field and Targeting activities so that duplication of effort is avoided.

1. Select specific precincts
2. Recruit and train workers for GOTV functions necessary for effective election day activity.
3. Obtain hand-out materials from Communication Committee.
4. Schedule and conduct promotion projects for visibility precincts.
5. Design and implement a transportation system for specific sweep precinct operations.
6. Schedule phoning for both sweep and check off precincts.

Election Night Party

Plan the victory party.

## Emily Staples 1980 Campaign

### Director of Communications (Linda Holstein)

Plan, direct, and implement campaign communication functions for:

1. Managing campaign media
2. Managing campaign positions and issues
3. Press activities.

Act as a communication liason between Steering Committee and Headquarters. Establish budget and keep appropriate records.

### Work Goals

#### Media

1. Explore various media and determine what can and cannot be done, i.e., billboards, newspaper, tabloids, spot radio, T.V., brochures, or specialized direct mail.
2. Design media plans for:
  - a. Audience lists
  - b. Message rationale
  - c. Budget
  - d. Calendar
3. Plan media effectively
  - a. Don't scatter resources
  - b. Consider timing
  - c. Get one form of media to complement another
  - d. Determine correct volume to get media done
  - e. Figure cost for each medium and determine budget
4. Evaluate J.R.'s media messages and tools
5. Literature preparation
  - a. Design logo and colors for literature, lawn signs and stationary
  - b. Design layout
  - c. Write copy
6. Literature Production (knows printer's language)
  - a. Assemble raw materials, i.e., up-to-date candid photographs.
  - b. Determine key union print shops who can deliver quality products in a short response time
  - c. Determine price and reprint costs.
  - d. Print lawn signs
7. Letter Writing (Phil Moe, Cob Burandt, Merle Mark)
  - a. Endorsement letters
  - b. Issue letters to the editors- pro-Emily and anti-J.R.
  - c. Volunteer newsletters
  - d. Special Groups Letters

## Emily Staples 1980 Campaign

### Director of Communications (cont.)

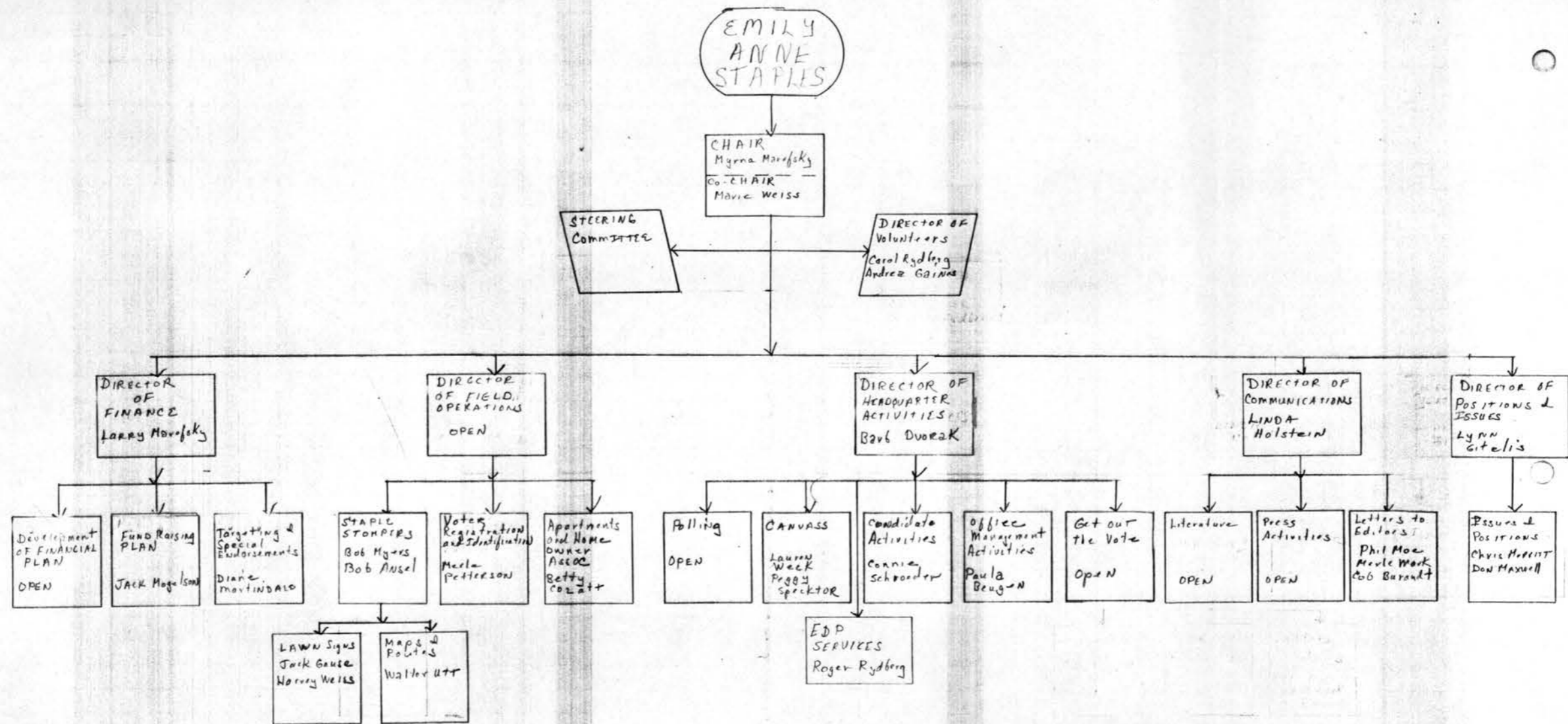
#### Work Goals

#### Press Activities

1. Contact press to arrange coverage at functions
2. Arrange interviews with Emily Staples
3. Arrange special interest features
4. Regularly call the press following non-covered events and report Emily's remarks and the key news involved
5. Schedule press conferences
6. Guide Photographer
7. Help in the design of ads.

#### Campaign Issues and Positions (Lynn Gitalis, Don Maxwell, Chris Merritt)

1. Identify audiences
2. Determine attitudes and desires of constituency
3. Research message elements, i.e., Emily's record, leadership, history, interests, groups with natural links to her, what she hopes to accomplish.
4. Research J.R.
5. Determine winning messages(6-8). Establish 4 to 6 attitude or issue sub-messages.
6. Field test message material.
7. Write basic message guide with Emily's help.
8. Select method of distribution of issue papers.
9. Write basic issues and positions with Emily's help.
10. Establish file. Clip local and national papers gathering items which give facts and figures about each subject.



# ENDORSE **EMILY ANNE STAPLES** SENATE DIST. 43

The suspense is over. Legislative re-districting has finally been accomplished, and now the next step is the endorsement of candidates to run on the Republican ticket.

Although our District 43 has sometimes been labelled "the Cape Cod district," we do, in fact, share many of the problems that face citizens throughout this metropolitan area: rising taxes, environmental quality and comprehensive health care, to name a few.

As a resident of Plymouth for 15 years, I have witnessed the transformation of the western and northern suburbs from semi-rural to highly urbanized, and am familiar with the problems that result. In addition, I have been active in both organization work and independent research devoted to these problems and their solutions, and I am convinced that I can make a positive contribution toward maintaining and improving the quality of life which makes Minnesota unique.

It is for these reasons that I am writing to you to let you know that I am now seeking Republican endorsement for the Minnesota Senate.

In addition to extensive study of the issues, I have also been active in the area of human rights, as immediate past chairman of the Women's Advisory Committee of the State Department of Human Rights, and as current treasurer of Minnesota Citizens for Court Reform.

I am a past chairwoman of the Plymouth Village Republican organization, and am currently vice-chairwoman of the Minnesota Republican Finance Committee and a member of the State Platform Committee.

I do hope to talk with each of you before the Endorsing Convention next Wednesday, but in the event I do not reach you, I have enclosed a brief biography and fact sheet for your information. Please feel free to give me a call if there is anything at all you want to talk about.

Our rapidly-growing suburban area needs legislators with sophisticated understanding of both the issues and problems confronting us, and of the political processes required to initiate programs and solutions. I believe that I have the experience and knowledge to be an effective Senator, and hope that I may count on your support.

Sincerely yours,

*Emily Anne Staples*  
Emily Anne Staples

Dear Friends:

Since my election to the Minnesota Senate in 1976, I have been stimulated by the enormous challenges facing those of us in public life. We must respond to the unique needs of residents in our districts. And, we must make intelligent decisions that shape the course of our state, respond to our immediate goals as Minnesotans, and correspond with our long-term needs and goals as residents of a strong, independent nation.

We must take steps to deal with inflation and its eroding effect on the family budget. We must be certain that our business climate--the backbone of our economy--is strong and expanding. We must take steps to control housing, health care, and energy costs. We must make every effort at the state level to decrease our national dependence on foreign oil.

And, we must continue our efforts to assure that every citizen in our state is recognized for his or her individual worth. Our senior citizens, who have made such a valuable contribution to society, must be assured of their rights to lives that are independent and financially secure. Our handicapped and disadvantaged citizens must be granted an equal opportunity to contribute their talents to society, for society can only benefit from them.

I have learned that one person can, indeed, make a difference in determining and implementing these goals. But my effectiveness as a senator is dependent on a unique partnership between you, the

constituent, and me--a partnership in good government. That partnership has been enhanced by your many phone calls, letters, and personal visits.

In the following pages, I have summarized some of my major concerns in the Legislature. They have been shaped by your concerns--concerns you have shared with me in our numerous encounters.

I have enjoyed working with you, and look forward to your continued support.

Warmly,

Emily Anne Staples

## STAPLES. AUTHORS LEGISLATION TO ASSIST SMALL BUSINESSES

"One of the most challenging tasks as a state senator was <sup>chairing</sup> serving on the Economic Development Subcommittee in the Senate, where I learned firsthand of the problems faced by small businesses in attempting to establish or expand operations in Minnesota," Staples said.

As the result of her efforts on that subcommittee, the senator authored many major bills that were enacted into law to assist small business. They include:

### Small Business Finance Agency

Perhaps the most important legislation concerning small business approved in the 1980 session established a Small Business Finance Agency, which will issue reduced interest loans to small businesses for operating or expanding projects, , including pollution control and waste disposal projects.

Senator Staples, who coauthored that legislation in the Senate, said, "I feel this loan program is essential--if many of our small businesses are to survive. With the prime interest rate, and businesses rates remaining exorbitantly high, the traditional sources of financing for small businesses have all but been eliminated."

The new agency will be authorized to participate with financial institutions in issuing loans of up to \$1 million to small businesses--if certain conditions are met. It will also be authorized to issue loans of up to \$100,000 from the proceeds of bonds sold to financial institutions (at least half of the loans granted in the program will be \$100,000 or less). It also will be able to issue loans of up to \$500,000 for pollution control projects, provided that those loans are guaranteed by an agency of the federal government.

### Uniform definition of small business

Senator Staples was coauthor of another important bill that set a uniform definition of small business--to assure that state small business assistance programs and set-aside contracts to where they were intended to go--to small businesses. It defines small businesses as those having 20 or fewer employees, with gross revenues of \$1 million or less.

"Until now, state law set four definitions of small business, which were broadly drawn to include businesses which were not necessarily small, or in need of state assistance," Staples said. "The new law sets guidelines which are much more restrictive, thus enabling the state to target its efforts to small businesses."

### Small business set-asides

Increasing the number of state contracts that are awarded to small businesses has been another of Senator Staples' major concerns. In 1979, she was an author of legislation increasing the percentage of state contracts that must, by law, be awarded to small businesses from 10 to 20 percent. The law also increased the percentage of those contracts that must be awarded to economically disadvantaged persons and minorities from 10 to 15 percent.

This session, Senator Staples continued her efforts to expand business opportunities for minorities, the economically disadvantaged, and the handicapped. She was the chief author of legislation authorizing the Metropolitan Transit Commission and other governmental units to establish a set-aside program for contracts with small businesses

operated by these groups.

#### Small Business Assistance Center

In an effort to help small businesses in Minnesota reduce the paperwork and expenses involved in licensing and applying for state aid programs, Senator Staples last year was chief author of a law creating a Small Business Assistance Center in Minnesota. The center, now in operation in the Department of Economic Development, is divided into two bureaus--the Bureau of Small Business and the Bureau of Business Licenses.

"Officials at the Bureau of Small Business report a large response from owners of small businesses across the state who need help in dealing with license and application procedures," Staples said. "The bureau also offers information on management and technical assistance programs. "

The Bureau of Business Licenses will initially study Minnesota's method of licensing businesses and recommend any necessary changes, such as the elimination of small business licenses.

#### Small business management education programs

Senator Staples was also an author of legislation to provide funding for business management programs in areas where they currently are not offered.

SENATOR STAPLES LEADERIN LEGISLATION FOR SENIORS, DISABLED, HANDICAPPED

Senator Staples has been one of the leading advocates in the Senate for programs to help the disadvantaged, the handicapped, and senior citizens. A member of the Health, Welfare, and Corrections Committee, she has authored many major bills to provide alternatives to institutionalization, to increase health care benefits for the elderly and disabled, to improve conditions for patients who must be institutionalized, and to increase the opportunities for the handicapped for independence and productivity. They include:

Nursing home pre-admission screening

Senator Staples was the chief author of this important new law, which establishes a screening program of nursing home applicants--to avoid inappropriate placement. Teams of social workers and public health nurses will be established to interview all nursing home applicants within 90 days of admission to determine if alternatives are available to nursing home placement.

"Studies have shown that many persons enter nursing homes simply because they believe they have no alternatives," Staples said. "In fact, many health officials believe that effective screening could reduce nursing home admissions as much as 25 percent per year."

In-Home Care Services

Senator Staples was the chief author of this major bill, intended to provide an important first step toward providing alternatives to nursing home care.

"For the elderly alone, the State of Minnesota spends \$250 million per year for nursing home care--and those costs are expected to increase about \$25 million per year--largly because of the steadily increasing number of nursing home residents," Staples said. "Those costs are particularly disturbing, because, a Legislative study commissioned two years ago found, many thousands of developmentally disabled, handicapped, and older people could be kept out of nursing homes, and several thousand others could be moved out of higher cost institutional care--if more in-home services were available."

The new law authorizes funding for a pilot program of such services--such as home health care, special transportation, home delivered meals, and other services to help the elderly or disabled remain in their homes.

#### Medical assistance earned income disregard for the disabled

This important new law, authored this year by Senator Staples, enables handicapped people to work without the fear that their incomes will make them ineligible for medical assistance.

"In the past, many handicapped persons have been forced to give up their jobs, because their incomes made them ineligible for medical assistance, when they simply could not afford to pay medical bills without such assistance," Staples said. "The new law will enable them to work, keep half their incomes, use the other half to pay work expenses and medical bills, and remain eligible for medical assistance."

## Hearing Impaired Services Act

This important new law, authored by Senator Staples in the 1980 session, will improve and streamline services for persons with hearing problems, many of whom currently must deal with institutional barriers daily in their attempts to find adequate employment, obtain social services, and cope with day to day living.

"A recent State Planning Agency study has indicated that approximately 267,000 Minnesota residents have mild to profound hearing disorders," Staples said. "Of that number, more than 140,000 are at least very hard of hearing, and 39,341 are deaf."

The new law establishes a statewide network of coordinated services for the hearing impaired, and provides for the establishment of eight Regional Service Centers.

"The centers will be a place for the hearing impaired to go when they need help," Staples said. "They will make referrals, provide interpreter services, loan equipment and services, and work with local social service agencies to improve services," Staples said.

Another important provision of the new law requires the Commissioner of Economic security to adopt a plan to deal with underemployment of hearing impaired persons.

"Underemployment is a growing problem among the hearing impaired in Minnesota," Staples said. "Persons with hearing handicaps are often passed over at promotion time, or placed in below-average jobs, although this discrimination is prohibited by federal law. The new law should alleviate this problem."

The law also calls for the Commissioner of Welfare to strengthen state services to the hearing impaired through needs

assessment, staff training, and program development.

#### Vulnerable Adults

Senator Staples was a coauthor of this law, which increases protections against abuse or neglect of vulnerable adults--persons who, because of physical or mental impairments, are unlikely to report such incidents to authorities. It establishes a reporting system similar to that for reporting and investigating child abuse, and requires institutions and programs serving vulnerable adults to develop abuse prevention plans.

#### Retired Senior Volunteer Program

Senator Staples was the chief author of this 1980 law, which for the first time involves the state in funding the Retired Senior Volunteer Program (RSVP)--a vital program involving seniors in almost every aspect of community life--in schools, libraries, nursing homes, nutrition and meals on wheels programs, and social and vocational programs.

"More than 8,000 seniors are actively involved in this crucial program in Minnesota," Staples said. "The new law will help to expand the program to areas that it currently does not exist, as well as enable some innovations in programs currently in operation."

#### Subsidized adoption

Senator Staples was the coauthor of this important law,

which establishes a 100 percent state funded program to subsidize adoptions for special needs children.

"This law has halped place many special children, who otherwise might not have been adopted," Staples said.

Medical Assistance Social Security cost of living disregard

Senator Staples was a coauthor of this law, which disregards Social Security cost of living increases in determining income eligibility for Medical Assistance. This law allows seniors, handicapped persons, and surviving widows and dependent children to keep more of their Social Security benefits and still be eligible for Medical Assistance.

SENATOR STAPLES CONCERNED ABOUT QUALITY, COST OF HEALTH CARE

Senator Staples has been a leading advocate in the Senate of measures to control health care costs and improve the quality of health care programs in Minnesota. Legislation she has authored includes:

Health care facilities certificate of needs amendments

Senator Staples was chief author of this measure, which reenacts and amends Minnesota law to bring it into conformity with federal law. The purpose of the measure is to control unnecessary health facility construction and expansion, and to limit duplication of health care services.

Hospital rate review

Senator Staples was chief author of this legislation, which allows the Commissioner of Health to periodically establish the acceptable level of increase for hospital acute care charges.

Poison Information Center

Senator Staples was chief author of this 1980 law, which establishes a statewide system, similar to the "911" emergency telephone system, to provide 24-hour emergency information on prompt identification, appropriate home treatment, or referral services to poison victims.

### Dental Professionals Regulation

Senator Staples was a coauthor of this new law, which provides for stricter regulation of dental professionals, by requiring dentists, dental hygienists, and dental assistants who fail their clinical examinations twice to obtain additional education or training before they retake the exam.

### HMO demonstration projects for special needs groups

Senator Staples was the chief author of this law, which allows the establishment of Health Maintenance Organization projects for persons who would not ordinarily be able to take advantage of such services--such as Medicare recipients, low income families, and groups of less than 50 employees covered by a single group health policy.

### Reconstructive surgery

Senator Staples was the chief author of this law, which requires health insurance policies and HMOs to cover reconstructive surgery which is necessary because of injury, illness, or, in children, to correct a functional defect resulting from a congenital disease or anomaly.

SENATOR STAPLES CONCERNED ABOUT EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

Senator Staples was the author of numerous bills in the Senate which prohibited discrimination on the basis of age, sex, or race. This year, her most important effort was the Job Sharing bill, which she carried in the Senate. The law creates a two-year demonstration project on job sharing for state employees--which divides 50 full time classified positions in state executive agencies into 100 or more shared position.

"The demonstration project should provide an overall examination of the entire concept of job sharing, and how it might be used in the private sector," Staples said. "The concept has exciting long-range possibilities. It would dramatically increase not only the number of available jobs, but also the job opportunities for individuals who want to devote more time to non-job pursuits."

"As society moves away from its traditional male/breadwinner, female/homemaker roles, and more families become two breadwinner families, the flexibility provided by job sharing is a necessity."

SENATOR STAPLES COAUTHORS

PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT FOR BIPARTISAN COMMISSION

"History has shown us that the Legislature simply has been unable to redistrict itself," Staples said. "Of course there is a conflict of interest involved--a conflict that leads to unbelievable political bickering. In fact, the entire question was thrown into the courts after the 1970 census, because the Legislature could not reach agreement."

The senator therefore was the coauthor of the proposed Constitutional Amendment creating a nine-member bipartisan commission to draw new Legislative and Congressional district lines after the 1980 census. The question will be placed on the November general election ballot.

STAPLES WORKS CLOSELY WITH LOCAL LEADERS

Senator Staples has worked closely with city, county, and school district officials to pass countless important local laws. Hennepin County, for example, is involved in an extensive recodification process, due to legislation Staples authored last year.

"I think my response to local government needs is perhaps my most important responsibility," Staples said. "Local officials are involved in the decisions that affect our every day lives--decisions that have the most direct affect on every citizen. Local officials, therefore, are attuned to needs at the grassroots level--and that, as you know, is the most important level of the political process."

FOR NEARLY FOUR YEARS I HAVE BEEN FULFILLING THE TWO ROLES THAT THE RESIDENTS OF DISTRICT 43 REQUIRED OF ME. I ~~HAVE BEEN~~ <sup>YOUR</sup> ~~THEIR~~ VOICE IN THE MINNESOTA SENATE, WORKING TO ASSURE A BETTER WAY OF LIFE FOR ~~MY~~ <sup>our</sup> DISTRICT, ~~BUT EQUALLY IMPORTANT,~~ <sup>I've been</sup> ~~SEEKING~~ AN EVER-HIGHER STANDARD OF LIVING FOR ALL MINNESOTANS. ~~THESE ROLES ARE INSEPARABLE.~~

AS A RESIDENT OF ~~THIS~~ <sup>Community</sup> DISTRICT FOR 25 YEARS, I AM CRITICALLY AWARE OF THE PROBLEMS OF MY CONSTITUENCY. LONG BEFORE I WENT TO THE STATE SENATE, I WAS ~~ACTIVELY INVOLVED~~ IN NUMEROUS ORGANIZATIONS DEALING NOT ONLY WITH SPECIFIC PROBLEMS ~~WITHIN~~ THE DISTRICT, BUT WITH THE NEEDS OF THE ~~ENTIRE~~ METROPOLITAN AREA AND THE ~~STATE AS A WHOLE~~. THAT EXPERIENCE ~~HAS BEEN INVALUABLE~~ TO ME IN BECOMING AN ~~ACTIVE~~ <sup>STRONG</sup> ADVOCATE IN THE LEGISLATURE AND I ~~TRULY BELIEVE~~ THAT THERE IS ~~NO~~ SUBSTITUTE FOR LOCAL AND REGIONAL EXPERIENCE.

DISTRICT 43 IS UNIQUE IN THAT IT IS BOTH A BEDROOM COMMUNITY AND IS FAST BECOMING HIGHLY INDUSTRIALIZED. MANY OF THOSE WHO LIVE WITHIN THE DISTRICT WORK ELSEWHERE AND THOUSANDS OF THOSE IN INDUSTRY COME FROM ALL PARTS OF THE METROPOLITAN AREA. THE ECONOMIC WELLBEING OF MINNESOTA IS ~~GRAPHICALLY~~ MIRRORED IN ~~THE~~ <sup>our</sup> DISTRICT. <sup>slow</sup> THAT IS WHY I ~~HAVE COMMITTED MYSELF~~ TO THE ~~IMPROVEMENT~~ OF THE ~~ECONOMY~~ AND ~~FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY~~ FOR ALL OF THE STATE AS VICE CHAIR <sup>person</sup> OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ~~ON~~ EMPLOYMENT, AND AS CHAIR PERSON <sup>of</sup> ~~FOR~~ THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

OUR ONLY HOPE OF STEMMING AND REDUCING INFLATION IS INCREASED PRODUCTIVITY. THAT COMES WHEN BOTH LABOR AND MANAGEMENT WORK

HAND-IN-HAND IN A ~~NON-ADVERSARY~~ ENVIRONMENT. IN MY FOUR YEARS, I HAVE ATTEMPTED TO ~~CREATE~~ THAT ENVIRONMENT, WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON THE PROBLEMS OF OUR STRUGGLING, SMALL BUSINESS PEOPLE. ~~THEY,~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~NOT~~ THE LARGE CORPORATIONS, FORM THE HEART OF BOTH MINNESOTA AND <sup>the</sup> AMERICAN ECONOMY, AND FOR THE PAST DECADE, HAVE ACCOUNTED FOR ~~ALMOST 98% OF ALL NEW PRIVATE SECTOR EMPLOYMENT.~~ YET TODAY, THE SMALL BUSINESS PERSON IS IN DANGER OF EXTINCTION. IT IS FOR THAT REASON I HAVE AUTHORED BILLS TO PROVIDE THEM WITH ~~INCENTIVES~~ AND ~~ASSISTANCE~~ AND HAVE PLEDGED ADDITIONAL HELP IN THE COMING SESSION. I AM COMMITTED TO ~~REDUCTION~~ OF THE CORPORATE INCOME TAX RATE FROM ~~12% TO 6%.~~ IT WAS THE OPPOSITION PARTY, IN ~~FULL~~ CONTROL OF ~~BOTH~~ THE LEGISLATIVE AND EXECUTIVE BRANCHES IN 1971 THAT ~~RAISED~~ THAT RATE FROM ~~9% TO 12%.~~ FOR MANY SMALL BUSINESSES, THAT WAS A ~~71% INCREASE~~ IN THAT FIRST YEAR. THAT WAS ~~71% IN '71.~~ DO WE WANT ~~81% IN '81?~~

*Payroll  
Tax*

I <sup>1</sup>AM CONCERNED ABOUT WHAT HAPPENS TODAY, BUT EVEN MORE ABOUT WHAT TOMORROW WILL BRING. <sup>our</sup> ~~my~~ OWN FOUR CHILDREN WERE EDUCATED IN MINNESOTA. I WANT ~~ALL CHILDREN~~ IN THE STATE TO HAVE ~~QUALITY~~ EDUCATION SO THAT IN THEIR ADULT YEARS THEY BECOME ELEMENTS OF THE ~~SOLUTION~~ RATHER THAN THE ~~PROBLEMS~~ OF THE FUTURE. THAT HIGH STANDARD OF EDUCATION IS IN DANGER AT THIS MOMENT ~~AS THE RESULT OF FISCAL MISJUDGEMENT.~~

TODAY'S ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES ARE ONLY <sup>slightly</sup> ~~MARGINALLY~~ THE RESULT OF OUR NATIONAL PROBLEMS. TWO YEARS AGO, A ~~D-F-L~~ ADMINISTRATION LEFT OFFICE BEQUEATHING TO THE STATE A ~~SUBSTANTIAL FINANCIAL SURPLUS.~~

~~NOW~~ WE ARE TOLD THAT AFTER TWO YEARS OF OPPOSITION ADMINISTRATION, THERE IS A ~~MASSIVE DEFICIT~~ AND THAT MAJOR FUNDING, PARTICULARLY IN THE FIELDS OF ~~EDUCATION~~ AND ~~HUMAN CARE~~, ~~MUST~~ AND ~~ARE~~ BEING CUT ~~OFF~~. I QUESTION BOTH THE ~~FISCAL INTEGRITY~~ OF THE ADMINISTRATION THAT HAS BROUGHT ON THIS DEFICIT AND THE NEED TO ~~SACRIFICE OUR~~ ~~CHILDREN'S EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS~~. THERE ~~IS~~ FAT IN STATE GOVERNMENT AND I WILL AND HAVE BEEN THE FIRST TO HELP PARE IT AWAY. BUT I APPLAUD SCHOOL DISTRICTS SUCH AS MY OWN, ATTEMPTING TO MAINTAIN QUALITY EDUCATION THROUGH BONDING AND JUDICIOUS SPENDING REDUCTIONS. UNFORTUNATELY, MANY SMALLER RURAL DISTRICTS DO NOT HAVE THAT CAPABILITY AND I AM COMMITTED TO CONTINUING TO FIGHT FOR PREMIUM EDUCATION FOR ALL MINNESOTA YOUNGSTERS.

MINNESOTANS ARE A ROBUST AND HEALTHY PEOPLE BUT THEY CANNOT CONTINUE IN THAT HAPPY STATE IN THE FACE OF RISING HEALTH CARE COSTS. AS A MEMBER OF THE SENATE HEALTH COMMITTEE AND OF A NATIONAL COMMISSION, *on Health insurance* I HAVE CARRIED LEGISLATION TO ADD SENIOR CITIZENS TO THOSE COVERED BY HEALTH MAINTENANCE ORGANIZATIONS SO THEY WILL HAVE ~~LESS EXPENSIVE~~ YET ~~MORE EXTENSIVE~~ OPTIONS.

THE LEGISLATURE EXISTS ~~SOLEY~~ TO SERVE PEOPLE AND AS AN EXPERIENCED SENATOR, I AM CONCERNED ~~ONLY~~ ABOUT ~~PEOPLE~~. I WILL ~~NEVER~~ TURN FROM THAT OBJECTIVE.

JOHN REMINGTON GRAHAM

COUNSELOR AT LAW

212 West Franklin Avenue  
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55404  
November 10, 1980

Hon. Emily Ann Staples  
Minnesota Senate  
St. Paul, Minnesota 55155

Dear Emily Ann:

I was disappointed to learn from our mutual friend, Tom O'Brien, that you were not reelected for another term.

No doubt, your successor-elect will be receiving more mail from the general citizenry than will you. It is my practice, however, to remain loyal to old friends. I want you to know that, in my estimation, you were the outstanding member of the Minnesota Senate during the 70th and 71st Sessions of the Legislature. Your keen intelligence and generosity of spirit, together with your unpretentious charm, were a grace to the upper chamber. I have always thought that, in due course, you should become Governor of this State. Remember Don Samuelson, who, after ten brilliant years in the House of Representatives, was defeated two years ago. It did not take long, however, for his constituents to perceive that they had made a mistake. Don made a nice comeback this year, and will serve, no doubt as well as ever, in the 72nd Session. I trust that you will keep this illustration of political life in mind. There are countless other examples of this kind. I recall that Roger B. Taney was more than once nominated and rejected for Justice of the United States Supreme Court, only to become a distinguished Chief Justice in due course, and to hand down, as an example of juridical excellence for generations to come toward the end of his career, his famous opinion on the writ of habeas corpus in Ex Parte Merryman, Tan. Rep. 246 (1861).

So hang in there, old friend. Take a private sabbatical, and return to public life in Minnesota as soon as possible. Did you ever consider the possibility of running for Lieutenant Governor along with Rudy Perpich in 1982?

The last time we spoke, I mentioned my new sweetheart, Sylvie Fortin, a French Canadian lawyer from Quebec. Well, we were married this last August 23rd. What a delight to live in two languages! I am nevertheless having trouble with the pluperfect subjunctive mood as yet.

This coming winter, she and I will be living in the Village of St-Agapit about 25 miles from Quebec City. I will be working on a treatise, in preparation for which I have researched for ten years. Ah, the fresh air, the farm animals, the cross country skiing, the after-dinner conversation in French to aid digestion, the quiet peace, and the good health!

Hon. Emily Ann Staples  
November 10, 1980  
Page 2

I think you know that my Dad, Bill Graham, passed away on October 7th last. He went out in style at home with all of the immediate family at his bedside or just minutes away. Like your father, he was a wonderful guy, and we miss him. But, life goes on.

With kindest personal regards, I remain

Cordially yours,

Jacq

P.S. Notre nouvelle adresse au Québec sera :

180, Rg. HAUT de LA PAROISSE  
St-Agapit, Ck. Lotbinière,  
Quebec, G0S-1Z0  
Canada

418-888-4458

Venez nous voir. Ce sera un plaisir de vous recevoir dans la belle province.

Et.

P.P.S. La place pour une femme est dans la maison, la maison du gouverneur! H.R.G.

*Some of* SENATOR EMILY STAPLES' *Thoughts on*

~~ISSUE PAPER~~ - TRANSPORTATION

"Cities and their transportation need to be brought into harmony, because urbanization and greater freedom of movement both contribute much to the accomplishments of man. Economic and social progress should not be impaired by an unnecessary discord between living and money. . . . a constructive approach to the application of transportation technology and a broader understanding of the causes of congestion could initiate a new era of city-building in which the many other basic problems of urban society would have a better chance of solution."

Wilfred Owen  
Brookings Institute  
The Accessible City

Due to the growth in our District, transportation problems impact our ability to deal with other social issues. Our dilemma is one of providing convenient, flexible transportation service in a cost-effective manner. The transportation issue is complicated by rising fuel costs, crowded highways and limited public transit. These problems affect all of us as we get to work, and as gasoline bills take a larger portion of our income. If we are handicapped or elderly the questions of independence and self-sufficiency are linked with that of transportation.

~~Senator Emily Staples~~ <sup>I</sup> supports <sup>legislation</sup> bills which will provide for increased efficiency, service and planning of a variety of transportation modes to deal with problems in our area.

## Congestion on

• Highway 12. Most of us experience the transportation "hassle" getting to and from work, ~~and often associated with Highway 12 and~~ <sup>This is very apparent on</sup> the major highways that "feed" into it. Twenty-five million dollars and 10 years have been spent studying this and other Hennepin County transportation issues. ~~Senator Staples understands the complexity of good planning,~~ <sup>is complex</sup> but believes it is time to see some results. For example, studies show that elevated rapid transit systems cost \$50-60 million dollars a mile to construct, while light rail costs ~~significantly less at \$10-15 million~~ <sup>in the area of</sup> a mile. Light rail is an electric powered "trolley car" type vehicle which can be utilized near or in conjunction with present highways. A potentially cost-effective approach might be to utilize the existing railroad tracks through Victoria, Excelsior, Hopkins and St. Louis Park to Minneapolis for a light rail commuter train. Much of the traffic on Highway 12 comes from these areas, from Highways 494, 18 and 100. The concept of lower cost light rail and the utilization of fixed resources is the type of responsible approach to transportation needs endorsed <sup>I</sup> by

~~your Senator Emily Staples.~~ <sup>I am currently serving on an ad hoc committee of the Senate to encourage those bodies which need to coordinate to do so as rapidly as possible.</sup>

• Light Rail Transit. ~~To address our areas needs, Senator Staples serves on the ad hoc Committee.~~

<sup>In the 1980 session I authored legislation</sup>  
• Public Buses. ~~Senator Staples carried a bill~~ for the Metropolitan Transit Commission which included funding for expanded service with ~~its obvious benefits.~~ It has been difficult to balance convenient

service in sparsely populated areas or areas of reduced ridership, with inflated costs and state and local budget constraints. In establishing bus routes in these areas the issue of cost-effective service, fiscal responsibility and alternative service cannot be ignored.

• Transportation for the Handicapped. Senator Staples supports Project Mobility and expansion of the service routes to New Hope.

• Rail Transportation. Increased efficiency of heavy rail service, with improvements in the condition of the tracks, could alleviate grain and other heavy truck traffic on our highways and thus reduce highway repairs.

• Federal Funding. In 1984 Federal matching funds for interstate highway ends. Senator Staples believes that Minnesota ought to utilize these available funds now in the upgrading of Highway 12.

• Staggered work hours and car pooling. Senator Staples lauds the efforts of individuals in car pooling to work. She also commends those companies who have provided vans for employees transit, car pooling incentives, and staggered or flexible work hours. All these voluntary methods help reduce the use to fuel and reduce highway congestion.

• High Occupancy Vehicle Lanes. Senator Staples supports the concept of special lanes of highways designated for vehicles carrying several passengers; but sees this approach as supplementary one to the primary planning necessary to alleviate highway congestion and reduce fuel consumption.

• Long Distance Travel. The rising costs of air travel often forces us to use the automobile for vacations and long distance travel at a time when fuel shortages demand economy. Senator Staples believes in the development and use of cost-efficient alternatives to the use of the family car wherever possible.

• 55 Mile Per Hour Speed Limit. This speed limit has been proven to save lives on the highway and save fuel, therefore, your Senator supports continuation of this speed limit.

For more extensive information regarding Senator Staples' approach to transportation problem solving please call \_\_\_\_\_.

September 20, 1980

Mr. Robert Bork  
Post Publishing Company  
8801Ba ss Lake Road  
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55428

To the Editor:

Debate my opponent! Of course! I'm very proud of my record and welcome the opportunity to publicize it.

Four debates are already scheduled - two sponsored by the League of Women Voters (Wayzata area which covers Plymouth at Oakwood School on September 30 and New Hope-Crystal which covers the east part of the district at St. Joseph's on October 15) one sponsored by the Northwest Suburban Chamber of Commerce (7:30 AM October 10 - place to be decided) ~~xxxx xxx~~ open to the public and one sponsored by the Employers' Association at noon on October 13 to which I'm sure anyone who is interested would be welcome.

Aware as I know people are of our race for the 43rd District Senate seat had my challenger lived here longer he would realize that even with four opportunities to hear us, residents of our district are so involved that we should not be disappointed with less than overflow crowds.

The fact that my challenger would attempt to undermine efforts by other groups to provide a forum for exploring our differences really disturbs me.

Anyone who would like to hear us will have the opportunity, and I hope they will take advantage of it.

Sincerely,

NICHOLAS D. COLEMAN

Senator 65th District  
Majority Leader  
208 State Capitol  
St. Paul, Minnesota 55155  
(612) 296-4196



Senate

State of Minnesota

September 25, 1980

Senator Staples

Here is a list of varied DFL accomplishments  
as written by Rep. Mike Sieben.

Does this provide you the info you need as  
mentioned to me late last Friday? If you need  
more, please do not hesitate to contact Majority  
Research.

Best Wishes,

Ray J. Joachim, Jr.

STATE OF MINNESOTA  
OFFICE OF SENATE RESEARCH

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461 STATE OFFICE BLDG.  
ST. PAUL 55155  
(612) 296-7678

MEMORANDUM

September 3, 1980

RE: Reductions in Education Aids

FROM: Joyce Krupey - Senate Research

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Joyce", written over the printed name "Joyce Krupey".

It has been decided by the Governor's Office and Commissioner of Finance that an 8.3 percent cut in the amounts appropriated for education aids is necessary. A number of options for making these cuts have been considered by the Department of Education. The main options were:

1. Make all cuts from categorical aids, leaving foundation formula aids untouched. This would allow local districts the greatest flexibility in spending the money they have, since categorical aids are dedicated funds and foundation aids are not dedicated.
2. Aid approach: Cut 8.3 percent from the aid portion of all aids, both equalized and non-equalized.
3. Revenue approach: Cut 5.3 percent of the total revenue available to school districts (equalized aids, categorical aids and levy). These cuts would come out of the aid but be computed on the basis of revenue.

This memo examines the impact of the second and third options as applied to the equalized foundation aids and revenue in high and low valuation school districts. Option number 3 is the one selected for implementation by the Department of Education.

September 3, 1980

Assume two school districts which have the same total revenue from the formula, one a high valuation district, one a low valuation district. The high value district receives 30 percent of its revenue from aid and 70 percent from levy. The low value district is exactly the opposite.

	<u>High Value</u>		<u>Low Value</u>	
Aid	\$1,800,000	30%	\$4,200,000	70%
Levy	<u>4,200,000</u>	70%	<u>1,800,000</u>	30%
Revenue	\$6,000,000		\$6,000,000	

Before any cuts in school aids, both districts have the same total formula revenue. Option number 2, stated previously, is to cut 8.3 percent of the aid for each district; option number 3 is to cut 5.3 percent of the total revenue out of the aid portion. These two options result in the following cuts for the sample districts.

8.3% of Aid	\$149,400	\$348,600
5.3% of Revenue	318,000	318,000

The revenue approach results in the same dollar amount being cut from each district. This is the same as cutting a fixed dollar amount per pupil unit. The aid approach results in a larger dollar amount being cut from the low value district. The revenue approach results in both districts ending up with the same amount of money available. This is how they started out before any cuts. The aid approach results in the low value district ending up with less money available than the high value district.

If the cuts were to be made up by a property tax levy, the low value district would be disadvantaged in two ways by the aid cut

September 3, 1980

approach. First, they would have more money to make up due to the cuts and secondly, they would need to make a greater tax effort to make up the cuts because of their low valuation.

	<u>High Value</u>		<u>Low Value</u>	
<u>No Cuts</u>				
Aid	\$1,800,000	30%	\$4,200,000	70%
Levy	<u>4,200,000</u>	70%	<u>1,800,000</u>	30%
Revenue	\$6,000,000		\$6,000,000	
<u>8.3% of Aids Cut from Aids</u>				
Aid	\$1,650,600	28%	\$3,851,400	68%
Levy	<u>4,200,000</u>	72%	<u>1,800,000</u>	32%
Revenue	\$5,850,600		\$5,651,400	
<u>5.3% of Revenue Cut from Aids</u>				
Aid	\$1,482,000	26%	\$3,882,000	68%
Levy	<u>4,200,000</u>	74%	<u>1,800,000</u>	32%
Revenue	\$5,682,000		\$5,682,000	

JEK:jb

23610000	WYKOFF	315468.	201120.	27379.	173741.	489209.	38.93	35.51
23710000	SPRING VALLEY	648454.	815194.	77573.	737621.	1386075.	55.70	53.22
23810000	HABEL-CANTON	513833.	348887.	45724.	303163.	816996.	40.44	37.11
24010000	BLUE EARTH	1455742.	372714.	96908.	275806.	1731548.	20.38	15.93
24110000	ALBERT LEA	3660807.	5026577.	460431.	4566146.	8226953.	57.86	55.50
24210000	ALDEN	545460.	148354.	36772.	111582.	657042.	21.38	16.98
24310000	EMMONS	292374.	58853.	18615.	40237.	332612.	16.76	12.10
24410000	FREEBORN	418798.	12263.	22846.	-10583.	408215.	2.84	0
24510000	GLENVILLE	603756.	293579.	47559.	246021.	849776.	32.72	28.95
25210000	CANNON FALLS	1010888.	1312085.	123118.	1188968.	2199855.	56.48	54.05
25310000	GOODHUE	636268.	337845.	51628.	286217.	922485.	34.68	31.03
25410000	KENYON	816614.	333486.	60955.	272531.	1089145.	29.00	25.02
25510000	PINE ISLAND	596262.	1099445.	89872.	1009573.	1605835.	64.84	62.87
25610000	RED WING	4797221.	0	254253.	-254253.	4542969.	0	0
25810000	WANAHINGO	484883.	164008.	34391.	129617.	614499.	25.28	21.09
26010000	ZUMBROTA	713271.	435085.	60863.	374223.	1087493.	37.89	34.41
26110000	ASHBY	208694.	229958.	23249.	206709.	415403.	52.42	49.76
26210000	BARRETT	197544.	121318.	16900.	104418.	301962.	38.05	34.58
26310000	ELBOW LAKE	705839.	201572.	48093.	153479.	859318.	22.21	17.86
26410000	HERMAN	566467.	26966.	31452.	-4486.	561981.	4.54	0
26510000	HOFFMAN	236953.	170605.	21601.	149004.	385957.	41.86	38.61
27110000	BLOOMINGTON	16753892.	12604309.	1555985.	11048324.	27802217.	42.93	39.74
27210000	EDEN PRAIRIE	2508706.	2655438.	273700.	2381739.	4890445.	51.42	48.70
27310000	EDINA	11530281.	2272586.	731552.	1541034.	13071315.	16.46	11.79
27410000	HOPKINS	11080971.	3051981.	749046.	2302935.	13383906.	21.59	17.21
27510000	GOLDEN VALLEY	1869429.	239871.	111793.	128079.	1997507.	11.37	6.41
27610000	MINNETONKA	6106691.	5490109.	614630.	4875478.	10982169.	47.34	44.39
27710000	WESTONKA	3120257.	2673766.	307083.	2366682.	5486939.	46.15	43.13
27810000	ORONO	2447402.	1874082.	229039.	1645043.	4092445.	43.37	40.20
27910000	OSSEO	6250108.	17229243.	1244406.	15984837.	22234945.	73.38	71.89
28010000	RICHFIELD	7944139.	3318938.	596943.	2721994.	10666134.	29.47	25.52
28110000	ROBBINSDALE	15194915.	17791262.	1748267.	16042995.	31237910.	53.94	51.36
28210000	ST. ANTHONY VILLAGE	2043780.	689221.	144849.	544372.	2588152.	25.22	21.03
28310000	ST. LOUIS PARK	9544339.	1917911.	607499.	1310412.	10854750.	16.73	12.07
28410000	WAYZATA	7114648.	4692254.	625766.	4066488.	11181136.	39.74	36.37
28610000	BROOKLYN CENTER	1301236.	1477385.	147267.	1330118.	2631354.	53.17	50.55
29410000	HOUSTON	384922.	587382.	51532.	535850.	920772.	60.41	58.20
29710000	SPRING GROVE	405104.	324730.	38681.	286049.	691153.	44.49	41.39
29910000	CALEDONIA	848560.	987614.	97317.	890297.	1738856.	53.79	51.20
30010000	LA CRESCENT	676135.	1480425.	114298.	1366127.	2042262.	68.65	66.89
30110000	AKELEY	132965.	434377.	30069.	404307.	537272.	76.56	75.25
30610000	LAPORTE	142222.	350448.	26111.	324336.	466558.	71.13	69.52
30810000	NEVIS	285382.	339225.	33104.	306121.	591503.	54.31	51.75

1 80/08/27. 13.52.17. SCHOOL FINANCE EQUALIZATION MANAGEMENT SYSTEM

PAGE

9  
0

ANALYSIS TITLE: AID REDUCTION FISCAL 81  
REPORT TITLE: REDUCTION = .053 \* REVENUE

0	TOTAL	TOTAL	AMOUNT	TOT. AID	TOT. REV	PERCENT	PERCENT
	VALUE	AID	OF	WITH	WITH	AT 11/0	AT WITH

Re-elect  
Emily

# Staples

State Senator District 43 4092 West Broadway Mpls. MN 55422

## STAPLES STOMPS

( Doorknocking for Emily Staples)

Date: Oct. 1, 8, 15

*Oct. 7- Senate group*

*Oct. 11-10:00 Oct. 20- group volunteers*

Place: 4092 West Broadway, Robbinsdale

16830 12th Ave. N., Plymouth

2380 Zealand N. Golden Valley

Time: 6-8:30 P.M. Followed by Pizza Party

Contact: Carol 546-5368

## LAWN SIGNS

( putting up signs at given locations)

Date: Oct. 4 Place: 840 Vicksburg, Plymouth Time: 11 A.M.

Contact: Marie 545-0729

Date: Oct. 5 Place: 8316 29th Ave. N. New Hope Time: 1130 A.M.

Contact: Sara 545-5390

## PHONE SURVEY

( Voter Survey for candidate preference)

Dates: Oct. 6, 13, 20, 27.

Place: 10700 Hwy #55

Time: 5:30

Contact: Diane- 545-1527

## LITERATURE DROPS

( distributing literature at the doors)

Date  
Oct. 22  
Oct. 25

Place  
4092 W. Broadway, Robb.  
4092 W. Broadway, Robb.  
Wayzata Sr. H.S. Plym.  
Wayzata Sr. H.S. Plym.  
4092 W. Broadway, Robb.

Time  
6p.m.  
10 a.m.  
10 a.m.  
10 a.m.  
10a.m.

## DFL

Prepared and Paid For By The Emily  
Staples for Senate Campaign Com-  
mittee - L. Marofsky, Treas., 4092  
West Broadway, Minneapolis, Min-  
nesota 55422.

Tel. 536-8834

Re-elect  
Emily

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Prepared and Paid For By The Emily  
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West Broadway, Minneapolis, Min-  
nesota 55422.

Tel. 536-8834

OTTO BREMER FOUNDATION  
700 NORTHWESTERN NATIONAL BANK BUILDING  
ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55101 • PHONE 612-227-8036

VALERIE S. LIES  
GRANTS ADMINISTRATOR

September 16, 1980

Dear Colleague:

On Wednesday, October 1, 1980, Martha Golensky, Executive Director of Women and Foundations/Corporate Philanthropy will be visiting the Twin Cities. Judy Healey and I thought this would be a marvelous opportunity to have representatives from the funding community meet Martha and hear, in particular, about the research activities of WAF/CP. As you are no doubt aware, over the past several years, this organization has done some limited analyses of the funding for programs serving women and young girls by select groups of corporations and foundations.

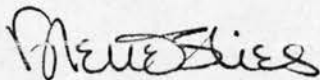
We are hoping you will be interested in attending a luncheon on Wednesday, October 1st at the St. Paul Athletic Club. Lunch will be \$5.40 per person and can be paid to the Otto Bremer Foundation either before or after that date. Lunch will be served at 12:00 p.m. and we expect that the program will end no later than 2:00 p.m.

I would appreciate it if you would indicate whether or not you will attend by Friday, September 26th. Please call Lynda Marrone at 227-8036.

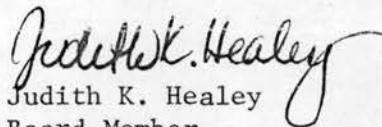
We hope to see you on the 1st at the St. Paul Athletic Club.

Sincerely,

OTTO BREMER FOUNDATION



Valerie S. Lies  
Vice Chair  
Women and Foundations/Corporate Philanthropy



Judith K. Healey  
Board Member  
WAF/CP

VSL/lm

Mickey D.  
1601  
Spring Valley Rd  
522-0018

Check internships

Ray Mathson  
537-9597

For newsletter

John Evans  
7531 - Angeline Dr

N.H. 55428

10:15 Cleveland  
George Wap

{ 15-  
20-

Ron  
Jimmy Williams  
asst. coach at U.  
Basketball

Harry Fischer - U. of M.

Jessie ~~Smith~~

Mr. Gorb College  
Council

amba  
Public service  
internships

Current economy's  
impact on higher ed.

Grecia Johnson  
296 - 6858



# Senate Majority Research

ROOM 24G STATE CAPITOL ST. PAUL, MN. 55155  
(612) 296-4949

ROOM 446 STATE OFFICE BUILDING ST. PAUL, MN. 55155  
(612) 296-4113

Dave Karpinski, Director  
296-4865

Denise Anderson  
296-7425

Judy Berglund  
296-4870

Greg Failor  
296-0165

Rosemary Goff  
296-0265

Marcia Greenfield  
296-4866

Ray Joachim  
296-7423

LaVerne Swanson  
296-7422

September 16, 1980

## MEMO

TO: Senator Staples  
FROM: Greg Failor *GF*  
RE: Draft Letter on Renters' Credits

Dear Renter:

When you turned this month's rent check over to your landlord, did you stop to think that part of your rent actually goes to pay the property taxes on the building you live in. Think about it. Even though you don't own the building you live in, as a renter you end up paying property taxes anyway. This is why the Legislature has included renters in the Property Tax Refund or "Circuit Breaker" Program. Under this program, 23% of the rent you pay, less any charges for utilities or furnishings, is considered to go towards paying your landlord's property taxes. Depending on your income, and the amount of rent you pay, you may be eligible for a cash refund from the state. Last year, property tax refunds, for renters, averaged about \$240.

The Property Tax Refund Program operates very simply. By February 15th, your landlord should have given you a form which shows the amount of rent you paid during the previous year. You have until the end of August to file your Property Tax Refund Return with the Department of Revenue. It takes the Department about 60 days to process your return and issue you a refund check.

I hope you take advantage of the Property Tax Refund Program. Should you have any questions about the renters' credit, please feel free to call on me.

Sincerely,

Senator Emily Anne Staples

*Renters can't  
deduct interest -  
Is that discrim?*

VEGA -- Draft Letter to Renters

Dear \_\_\_\_\_:

As a renter, you fully understand that it is not just Minnesota's traditional homeowners who have a stake in state government. I share that understanding, and would like -- in this brief letter -- to discuss recent successful legislation of benefit to renters; legislation which I supported and legislation which reflects the realization that renters depend on and have a right to expect state government to respond to their needs.

Among the recent measures of benefit to renters were bills:

- \* increasing the renters credit available on Minnesota income tax form.
- \* providing for the payment of interest on any money, such as security deposits, held by the landlord.
- \* providing for the return of such deposits within a reasonable time.
- \* restricting automatic lease renewals.
- \* requiring smoke detectors in apartments and duplexes built after January 1, 1980.
- \* providing more effective and speedier remedies for tenants seeking improvements in unsafe or substandard dwellings.
- \* providing increased protection against retaliatory evictions, and prescribing penalties for collection of damages if landlord cuts off utility service.
- \* prohibiting discrimination against families with children in rental housing.
- \* providing for 120 days notice if a landlord intends to convert rental units to condominiums, and giving tenants first option to buy.

I might add that as home prices and interest rates climb, we can expect more and more Minnesotans to choose rental housing. In fact, between 1970 and 1977 the number of renters in our state rose from 329,000 to 337,000. As a legislator I consider it a personal priority to ensure renters enjoy the same consideration, rights, benefits and privileges as homeowners; and I intend to continue to work toward that goal.

PROTECT YOUR FAMILY AND YOUR POCKETBOOK - Be aware of these valuable facts... *With the help of your State Senator*

*Supported* During the past several years <sup>YOUR DFL</sup> your ~~DFL~~ state senator has sponsored & significant legislation <sup>which</sup> ~~that~~ greatly benefits renters such as yourself. Special consumer protection for renters has become effective in the following ways:

RENT TAX CREDIT *As a Renter YOU GET A SPECIAL STATE TAX CREDIT*

Under a law enacted in 1975 any person having lived in Minnesota for at least a year and ~~renting for six months or more~~ <sup>you</sup> can claim a 10% rent credit on ~~their~~ <sup>your</sup> state income tax. The money, which is returned directly to you the renter, is especially helpful in offsetting today's runaway inflation and rising rent prices.

INTEREST ON DAMAGE DEPOSIT *YOUR SECURITY DEPOSIT IS RETURNED TO YOU*

Any damage or security deposit paid to a landlord must be returned to the renter along with a 5% simple interest payment after the renter vacates the undamaged unit. This law provides ~~the renter with maximum interest on the portion of money withheld during the rental period;~~ a further protection for your pocketbook as you work to meet today's high cost of living.

CONSUMER REPRESENTATION *YOUR consumer rights are protected*

A recent 1978 law provides for consumer representation on the Public Service Commission to protect the concerns of consumers over utility rates and quality of service. This law protects renters such as yourself from inadequate utility service and unreasonable rate increases. ~~This is part of a continuing effort to protect your hard earned wages from being eaten up by high utility bills.~~

SMOKE DETECTORS *YOUR FAMILY'S safety is assured.*

In 1977 the legislature passed a law requiring smoke detectors to be installed in all new and existing apartments and rental units. This law provides mandatory protection of your family and your property from unexpected tragedy.

THESE VALUABLE FACTS ARE BROUGHT TO YOU BY ~~YOUR DFL~~ STATE SENATOR <sup>WHO ARE</sup> AND THE ~~DFL SENATE CAUCUS~~ WHO HAVE LED THE WAY IN PROVIDING MAXIMUM PROTECTION FOR YOU THE RENTER, YOUR FAMILY, AND YOUR POCKETBOOK.

## Emily Staples 1980 Campaign

### Steering Committee

Purpose is to develop a strategy that:

1. Develops a message consistent with the aspirations of the voters and with the goals of Emily Staples.
2. Select one, two, or three ways of dominantly communicating that message to the voters.
3. Execute the chosen program with efficiency and timeliness.
4. Raise the money to pay for all of the above.

Techniques and Systems used to achieve the desired results:

1. Polling
2. Targeting
3. Individual voter contact
4. Mass media
5. Candidate activities
6. Voter registration
7. Volunteer organization
8. Fund raising
9. Get out the vote programs

### Campaign Strategy

More campaigns are lost because a plan was not followed than are lost because the plan was less than excellent. Designing a campaign plan is, therefore, the only way to make certain that there is one campaign- coherent and comprehensive - communicating the right message to the right voters at the right time.

A campaign is more than the sum of all the activities and operations of the candidate, staff, and volunteers. It has a total impact on the voters that exceeds the simple addition of its many parts. To shape that total impact is the purpose of the plan.

Finally, a campaign plan is evidence of an organized effort. When committed to paper, it will be a useful tool as we solicit the support of people and money. Regardless of an individual's feeling for a candidate, he or she will be more inclined to invest his or her time and money when he or she realizes that it will be sensibly spent rather than squandered away on second guessing and a "shoot from the hip" campaign management and philosophy.

## Emily Staples 1980 Campaign

### Steering Committee

#### Work Goals:

1. Research available campaign resources---Financial and Human.
2. Develop Winning Strategy:
  - a. Develop most winning messages and three to four sub-messages within each message.
  - b. Develop most efficient means to communicate messages.
  - c. Write Winning Strategies.
3. Write the Winning Plan:
  - a. Set up Campaign Calendar
    - Fund Raisers
    - Building alliances with specific organizations
    - Building name identifications
    - Canvass, etc.
  - b. Write work projects and determine best system for each project. (Example: Literature drops includes volunteer recruitman, map-drawing, transportation, literature writing, etc.)
4. Price the Plan.
5. Select and train Campaign Directors.
6. Establish Reporting Systems.

## Emily Staples 1980 Campaign

### Director of Volunteers (Carole Rydberg-Andrea Gaines)

Develop and direct a system for the identification, recruitment, and training of volunteers. Establish a committee that can respond to volunteer requests with appropriate resources within a reasonable time frame. Act as a liason between steering committee and volunteers. Be responsible for volunteer records.

#### Work Goals:

1. Locate and evaluate groups of activist people.
2. Designate projects from the overall campaign plan to committee members.
3. Develop a message from the facts about the campaign. Determine the most attractive reasons why people could profit by giving their time.
4. **Establish a plan-Determine a timetable and a personnel requirement list for all projects expected to be staffed by volunteer personnel.**
5. Develop an assignment system that can adequately move people from the recruitment process, through training, and into jobs.
- 6. Work with the Director of Communications to set up a volunteer communication network, such as "Letters to Volunteers".
7. Keep Emily Staples informed of volunteer work load. Notify her of exceptional efforts. Request her assistance with motivating volunteers.

## Emily Staples 1980 Campaign

### Director of Finance (Larry Marofsky)

Develop, direct, and implement the fund raising activities. Develop, administer, and control the campaign financial budget. Direct the development of the campaign targeting and special endorsement plan. Act as a liason between the finance committee and the steering committee.

#### Work Goals:

##### Development of Financial Plan

1. By evaluating both campaign need and campaign potential, set specific goals.
2. Calculate high and low goals for each level of contribution.
3. Divide goal for each level of fund-raising according to cash flow needs and establish a working calendar of goals.
4. Write a plan for four levels of fund-raising
  - Identification
  - Message
  - Collection
  - Reporting
5. Design the best systems
  - Person to person
  - Event
  - Mass solicitation
6. Compare plan to overall campaign plan.
7. Reduce plan to a series of specific assignments for each member of the finance committee.
8. Present plan to steering committee.

##### Development of Fund Raising Plan (Jack Mogelson)

1. Identification of the "who, what, where, when, why," of the particular group of contributors.
2. Develop and deliver message.
3. Determine methods of collection
  - Personal visit by Emily
  - Telephone call from Emily
  - Personal visit from member of committee
  - Phone call from member of committee
  - An endorsement or appeal from a particular group
  - "Dear Friend" Letter
  - Event focused fund-raiser
4. Develop reporting system.

Emily Staples 1980 Campaign

Director of Finance (cont.)

Work Goals (cont.)

Development of targeting plan (Diane Martindale)

1. Research the voters
  - a. Research past elections
  - b. Identify significant voting groups and sub-groups
  - c. Determine questions to be asked in order to obtain correct views of the electorate (See house polling)
  - d. Assist with canvass
2. Research the district
  - a. Obtain research material required to determine size, turnout history, and performance habits of all precincts.
    1. Obtain employment statistics
    2. Identify significant resources of the community that support jobs and/or wealth
    3. Personally interview community leadership in each category of resource.
    4. Determine and list significant categories of life-style using standards of living, density, mobility and culture.
    5. Prepare a map reflecting the above.
  - b. Do analysis by:
    1. Rating desirable precincts by size and Democratic voting record.
    2. Rating desirable Republican precincts which tend to vote more on the basis of events or candidates.
    3. Determine logical percent of campaign effort that should be devoted to each precinct. Above information will also be helpful in designing literature, planning fund-raisers, etc.
3. Research Emily Staples and Jim Ramstad regarding their records, public exposure, and relationship to community.
4. Prepare written targeting report and present to steering committee.

Emily Staples 1980 Campaign

Director of Finance (cont.)

Work Goals (cont.)

Development of Special Endorsements Plan (Diane Martindale)

1. Research and identify specific voters and organizations most likely to be prospects for special endorsements.
2. Work with Communications Committee to design appropriate literature for endorsements.
3. Develop system to obtain endorsements.
4. Prepare written endorsements plan and present to Steering Committee.

## Emily Staples' 1980 Campaign

### Director of Field Operation

#### Work Goals

#### Voter Registration and Identification (Merle Pettersen)

1. Review voting statistics (see Targeting)
2. Investigate voter registration laws
3. Establish number of potential new voters
4. Target registration opportunities
5. Form Committee
6. Publicize drive
7. **Keep records**

#### Apartments and Home Owners association (Betty Cozatt)

1. Secure all contacts in all building or home owners associations
2. Co-ordinate with Communication Committee the design of special literature
3. Blitz apartments and associations twice
4. Help register voters
5. Display maps of polling places by November 1st

## Emily Staples' 1980 Campaign

### Director of Field Operations

Plan, direct and administer Campaign Field Operation Activities:

1. Staples' Stompers-Literature drops, Door Knocking, Lawn signs, Maps, and routes.
2. Voter registration and contact
3. Apartment and home owner contact

Act as a communication liason between Steering Committee and Field Operations. Establish budget and keep appropriate records.

### Work Goals:

#### Staples' Stompers, Literature Drops, and Door Knocking (Bob Ansel, Bob Meyers, and Pam Henderson)

1. Select precincts- Co-ordinate with Manager of Targeting
2. Secure workers from Volunteer Co-Ordinator
3. Train workers
4. Schedule events based on campaign calendar
5. Obtain literature from Communications Committee
6. Provide maps and routes
7. Arrange transportation
8. Plan "Thank you" parties for major drops

#### Lawn Signs (Jack Gause, Harvey Weiss)

1. Check on various community sign ordinances
2. Secure all prime area locations for large signs
3. Secure 1,000 sign locations for small signs
4. Organize crew to make signs
5. Install signs
6. Organize maintenance crew and set out twice a week
7. Keep records of all locations

#### Maps and Routes (Walter Utt)

1. Obtain maps--Large ones needed for headquarters
2. Design routes by precincts on small maps
3. Provide copies for all activities

## Emily Staples-1980 Campaign

### Director of Headquarters Activities (Barb Dvorak)

Plan, direct and administer headquarter activities for:

1. In-house polling and canvass
2. Get out the vote
3. Candidate activity
4. Headquarters office management activities

Act as a communication liason between Steering Committee and Headquarters. Establish budget and keep appropriate records.

### Work Goals

*Have busy work available.*

### Polling (Ray Dabbah)

1. **Conduct a telephone tracking system which monitors what the people are thinking at various times during a campaign:**
  - a. Conducting and analyzing, in-house poll
  - b. Training of Volunteer interviewers on interviewing techniques
  - c. Develop and design questions which will provide an unbiased view on how voters really feel about issues, personalities, and the current political and economic system.

### Canvass (Lauren Weck, Peggy Specktor)

1. Set goals for the type and number of voters to be reached.
2. Develop canvass plan.
3. Determine best timing.
4. **Develop a canvass organization.**
5. Prepare voter list.
6. Design canvass literature.
7. Prepare worker instructions.
8. Train workers.
9. Develop reporting system.

### Candidate Activities (Connie Schroeder)

1. Develop a budget for allocating Emily's time to a variety of programs based on targeting information.
2. Determine goals of Emily's activities for each section of the district, i.e., leadership contact of community leaders, fund raising, community events, worker recruitment, door knocking,

## Emily Staples' 1980 Campaign

### Candidate Activities (cont.)

and down time or rest.

3. Train a scheduler.
4. Prepare monthly, weekly, and daily calendars.
5. Select advance personnel.
6. Keep campaign scrapbook.

Emily Staples-1980 Campaign

Director of Headquarters Activities (cont.)

Work Goals (cont.)

Office Management Activities (Paula Beugen)

1. Set up headquarters
2. Schedule activities
3. Train volunteers
4. Procure supplies
5. Set up filing system
6. Provide information to public.
7. Take care of Emily's personal correspondence.
8. Keep appropriate records.

Get Out The Vote

Plan "Get out the vote" activities. Coordinate activity very closely with Field and Targeting activities so that duplication of effort is avoided.

1. Select specific precincts
2. Recruit and train workers for GOTV functions necessary for effective election day activity.
3. Obtain hand-out materials from Communication Committee.
4. Schedule and conduct promotion projects for visibility precincts.
5. Design and implement a transportation system for specific sweep precinct operations.
6. Schedule phoning for both sweep and check off precincts.

Election Night Party

Plan the victory party.

## Emily Staples 1980 Campaign

### Director of Communications (Linda Holstein)

Plan, direct, and implement campaign communication functions for:

1. Managing campaign media
2. Managing campaign positions and issues
3. Press activities.

Act as a communication liason between Steering Committee and Headquarters. Establish budget and keep appropriate records.

### Work Goals

#### Media

1. Explore various media and determine what can and cannot be done, i.e., billboards, newspaper, tabloids, spot radio, T.V., brochures, or specialized direct mail.
2. Design media plans for:
  - a. Audience lists
  - b. Message rationale
  - c. Budget
  - d. Calendar
3. Plan media effectively
  - a. Don't scatter resources
  - b. Consider timing
  - c. Get one form of media to complement another
  - d. Determine correct volume to get media done
  - e. Figure cost for each medium and determine budget
4. Evaluate J.R.'s media messages and tools
5. Literature preparation
  - a. Design logo and colors for literature, lawn signs and stationary
  - b. Design layout
  - c. Write copy
6. Literature Production (knows printer's language)
  - a. Assemble raw materials, i.e., up-to-date candid photographs.
  - b. Determine key union print shops who can deliver quality products in a short response time
  - c. Determine price and reprint costs.
  - d. Print lawn signs
7. Letter Writing (Phil Moe, Cob Burandt, Merle Mark)
  - a. Endorsement letters
  - b. Issue letters to the editors- pro-Emily and anti-J.R.
  - c. Volunteer newsletters
  - d. Special Groups Letters

## Emily Staples 1980 Campaign

### Director of Communications (cont.)

#### Work Goals

#### Press Activities

1. Contact press to arrange coverage at functions
2. Arrange interviews with Emily Staples
3. Arrange special interest features
4. Regularly call the press following non-covered events and report Emily's remarks and the key news involved
5. Schedule press conferences
6. Guide Photographer
7. Help in the design of ads.

#### Campaign Issues and Positions (Lynn Gitalis, Don Maxwell, Chris Merritt)

1. Identify audiences
2. Determine attitudes and desires of constituency
3. Research message elements, i.e., Emily's record, leadership, history, interests, groups with natural links to her, what she hopes to accomplish.
4. Research J.R.
5. Determine winning messages (6-8). Establish 4 to 6 attitude or issue sub-messages.
6. Field test message material.
7. Write basic message guide with Emily's help.
8. Select method of distribution of issue papers.
9. Write basic issues and positions with Emily's help.
10. Establish file. Clip local and national papers gathering items which give facts and figures about each subject.

## AGENDA

Welcome - Emily Staples

Introductions - Brief biography  
- Favorite campaign "war" story - E.S. campaign or another

Report on 43d I.R. Endorsing Convention

Brief review of Organization Chart and Job Descriptions

Small Group Discussions on:

1. Functions of Steering Committee
2. Organizational Structure
3. Work Goals
4. Suggestions for filling open or vacant positions

Report Back

"Brainstorm" Campaign Theme(s)

Discussion of common activities between the E.S. and S.J. Campaigns

Set up meeting schedule

Wrap Up

Fund raising - public or not - how much?

Tight steering committee.

Buttons - Bumper stickers - Stay with Staples

Billboards - check w/ Naegle

Analyze spending of 4 yrs. ago - what should be added?

Separate campaign.

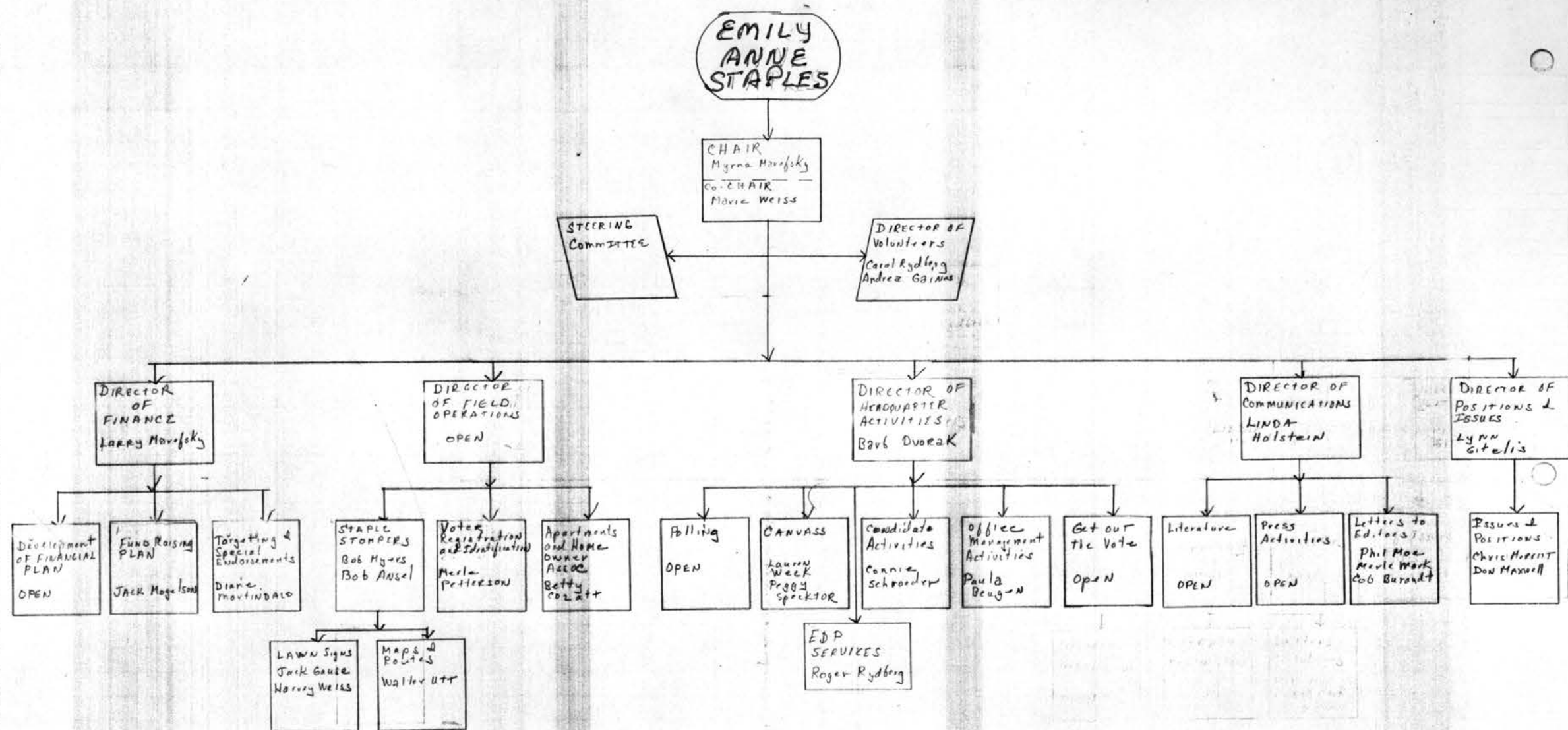
Colors?

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Calendar

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{ 3:30 - D. J. - Linda -  
This week or next



# Dist. 43 senate race sets a late-campaign pace in talk

By LANCE OLSON

Although the election is still six months away, the race for the state senate seat in District 43 is already shaping up to be a most interesting battle.

The holder of that seat now, Sen. Emily Anne Staples (DFL-Plymouth), was first elected in the last senatorial campaign in 1976, Staples becoming one of the few DFLers to be elected in the typically-Independent-Republican stronghold.

Sen. Staples, who intends to run again, beat an incumbent Independent-Republican by a healthy 10 per cent margin that time around.

This fall, her likely challenger will be Jim Ramstad, who announced his candidacy for the IR nomination March 21. Late-campaign rhetoric has already been generated.

"We just aren't being adequately represented," claimed Ramstad, a self-employed Minneapolis lawyer, said Friday. "Sen. Staples has a liberal voting record."

"I am strongly committed to representing the best interests of the taxpayers of the district and I don't think they are getting that representation now."

Ramstad, 33, a former aide to U.S. Congressman Bill Frenzel and a member of the Plymouth Human Rights Commission, is making his first attempt at elected office.

And Staples was quite aware of the potential competition when reached at her Capitol Hill office Friday during the last, frenetic hours of the current state session.

"I expected opposition, unquestionably," said Staples, who also ran for a house seat in 1974 but was defeated in that bid.

Asked if she knew much about Ramstad, who also served as chief assistant to former house Speaker L.L. Duxbury, Staples said she was quite aware of her potential November opponent.

"Yes, I've met (Ramstad)," she said. "He moved into the district to run against me, the carpetbagger."

Now that's the type of stuff late-October talk is made up of.

Ramstad admitted he only last summer moved into the 43rd District. Previously, Ramstad had lived in Wayzata. He also owns a vacation cottage on Big Island on Lake Minnetonka.

"Although I have never run for public office before, I

have had state and federal government experience," said Ramstad, a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of the University of Minnesota. "I won't have to be trained once I get to the state senate. I already know how to find my way around the capitol."

Ramstad claimed his experience in the private sector will allow him to "more competently represent" the persons of the 43rd.

"I've been in the real world and I know what it's like out there," he said.

Ramstad said he looked forward to head-to-head debates with Staples, should he win the IR endorsement. "I have received a lot of encouragement from not only republicans but also democrats and independents," said Ramstad of his decision to run for the senate. Naturally, it was a similar coalition which got Staples elected four years ago.

Staples thinks her party affiliation will have little impact on this fall's election.

"Certainly, I had some IR support in the last election," said Staples. "I think I have a strong voting record. You can't go just by a person's party label. You don't know much about that person until you get beyond that label."

As to Ramstad's attack on her "liberal voting record," Staples said that approach to an analysis of her performance the past four years is superficial.

"As to human services issues, I consider myself a little more liberal," said Staples. "Fiscally, however, I consider myself quite moderate. I think that's reflective of the district."

Staples said she expected the economy to be the biggest issue in the upcoming campaign. "We're in a much tighter period," she said. "People in the district and all over are as concerned about inflation as we are in the state legislature."

Ramstad, too, said the economy would be the single most important item in this fall's debates.

"People want a straight-forward, common-sense approach to their problems," he said. "At present, there are too many give-away programs."

Planning an extensive campaign, Ramstad promised to "personally visit all the households in the district and as many apartment buildings as I can gain access to."

Nick/Roger  
Does this sound like  
something from which  
all of us who are hearing  
could benefit?!?  
Emily Lane

THE NEWEST POLITICS

# How to Get Elected In the 1980s

By Edward N. Costikyan

**A**MERICANS ARE IN THE PROCESS of giving themselves up to a new sort of tyranny—domination by the shrinking minority who actually vote.

The politics that has emerged since 1965 has seen a continuing decline in the percentage of people who vote. The smaller the turnout, the easier it is for some special interest to seize control of government. When the governor of New York is elected by about 18 percent of the eligible voters, the governor of New Jersey by 15 percent, the mayor of New York City by 12 percent, and the president of the United States by 27 percent, we are getting dangerously close to the point where our elected governments lack legitimacy. Control passes from the people to the small minority that cares to par-

*This article is adapted from How to Win Votes: The Politics of 1980, published by Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.*

ticipate. An interest group commanding 7 percent of the populace may end up being able to impose its special views on the rest of the nation.

A warning against the risks of this was sounded more than a century ago by John Stuart Mill. What he said is today the most important rule about the politics of the 1980s: "The idea of a rational democracy is, not that the people themselves govern, but that they have security for good government. This security they cannot have by any other means than by retaining in their own hands the ultimate control. If they renounce this, they give themselves up to tyranny."

My rules reflect the danger perceived by Mill, which has silently emerged as a critical characteristic of today's politics. In form, my rules are a guide for candidates; in substance, they are a warning to the people who elect the candidates. The rules tell the

voters and the non-voters what is being done to them.

## RULE 1

**The first question for a candidate is: How do I get more people to vote for me than for my opponent?**

Too many candidates think of the election process as some sort of ritual that must be observed in order to gain public office. Too frequently, candidates lose sight of the fact that the purpose of campaigning is to get votes. They get caught up in the process and overlook the largest source of possible support—those who have no intention of voting for them or of voting at all. In the 1978 New York gubernatorial election, 82.5 percent of the possible voters did not vote for the winner, and 66 percent didn't vote at all.

## RULE 2

**You can't waken a sleeping non-voter by singing lullabies.**

Non-voters are bored and unmoved by what candidates say to them. If you start saying the same things and using the same words, you too will put the non-voters to sleep.

The worst thing you can do is lapse into politicalese. When a politician wants to say "I'll try to do that," he will say, "I would certainly say that I am committed to the accomplishment of that objective." If he wants to say "That program is finally working," he will say, "We have finally successfully implemented that program." Since Watergate, speakers use "prior" when "before" or "preceding" will do. They say "point in time," which is nonsensical. Even Watergate cannot be blamed for the current misuse of "adminis-



Reagan once had it, and maybe Reagan still does.

#### RULE 16

##### **Be yourself.**

Even expert media advisers can't make a silk purse out of a sow's ear. If you are a sow's ear, accept the fact and make the most of it. Who knows? You may be exactly what's craved by the voters—or, better still, the non-voters.

John Anderson has built his candidacy on this rule. He has been himself—somewhat blunt, somewhat pompous, somewhat didactic—and a lot of turned-off voters seem to welcome the freshness of his style.

#### RULE 17

##### **The amoeba is the model for building a political army.**

In order to succeed in the politics of today, every candidate for any office below the presidency—and for the presidency itself during the primaries—must build for himself or herself what the party organization once supplied: an army of enthusiastic workers. This is particularly true if the candidate lacks enough money to buy it all. The way a political army grows is the way an amoeba multiplies: When you have four people working for you in one election district, split off two of them and put them next door.

#### RULE 18

##### **The law of inertia in politics is this: People who do not vote tend to continue not to vote; people who vote tend to continue to vote.**

Voting is habitual. A poll we conducted for my book in Hartford, Connecticut, demonstrated that the attitudes of voters and non-voters about public officials and public questions were not that different; what was different was that non-voters had never acquired the habit of voting and voters had. This was particularly true of people from 18 to 35. Almost 90 percent of this group had never acquired the voting habit.

#### RULE 19

**If you want electronic-media coverage, you must give the electronic media what they want.**

#### RULE 20

**Television reporting is not news, it is spectacle. To capture coverage, you must create a spectacle.**

Those who run the media think they know what their viewers and listeners want to see and hear. They decide what is news and what isn't. If you want to capture their attention, you have to give them what they want, which is spectacle. Walk down Fifth

Avenue with a leopard on a leash and you've got a better chance of getting electronic coverage than by issuing a thoughtful paper on the risks of allowing leashed wild animals in the city.

#### RULE 21

##### **Voters once conned (falsely charmed) by electronic images do not vote again for the same person—if they vote again at all.**

It is easy to get carried away in a campaign and to say the things the voters seem to want to hear. But if you get elected and do the opposite of what you promised, you'll have to face those same voters two or four years later. They'll remember.

Mayor Beame came a cropper the second time around after too many people remembered that he got elected the first time because he was supposed to be a fiscal whiz. Voter turnout was also down in the 1977 mayoral election from the level reached in 1973. So be careful.

#### RULE 22

##### **Most successful candidates tend to treat government as an extension of the electronic campaign that won them office.**

In this era of electronic politics, too many of our elected officials are proficient at only one thing: running for office. Their whole training is focused on how to be a candidate. Precious few learn much about government. Most of their advisers are also experts on how to get elected, not on how to govern. Once elected, the candidate turns to the same advisers and falls back on the same techniques that got him or her to office in the first place. Government then becomes an extension of the past campaign and a prelude to the next one. Good government suffers as a result.

#### RULE 23

##### **Only when the political risk of inaction outweighs the political risk of action will the campaign-oriented incumbent act.**

There is a difference between keeping one eye on the next election and keeping both eyes there. When both eyes are on the next election, governmental action is deferred because of the perceived political consequences of taking unpopular steps. Only when things get so bad that something must be done does the campaign-oriented public official move. For proof of this, take a look at the Nixon administration's imposition of price controls in the summer of 1971, and the Carter administration's belated conversion this year to the concept of a bal-

anced budget, now all but abandoned.

#### RULE 24

##### **Primaries are won by the candidate who gets the most votes from a minority of a minority of citizens. The earlier you get started finding your minority the better.**

President Carter's great victory in the 1976 Iowa primary saw him capturing 2.7 percent of the votes of Iowa Democrats. Governor Carey's 1978 primary victory saw him capturing the votes of 10 percent of New York's Democrats. Senator Moynihan's 1976 New York Democratic-primary victory saw him with about 10 percent of the enrolled Democrats. If you want to appeal to non-voters, and if you want to get them into the habit of voting, and voting for you, don't wait until the year in which the primary is to be held. Start at least a year ahead.

#### RULE 25

##### **Politicians at rest tend to remain at rest; those in motion tend to continue in motion.**

Once having been nominated and elected by a particular minority, a public official is inclined to go back to the same people the next time around. If the candidate is re-elected repeatedly, the tendency becomes even stronger. That is why, from time to time, an apparently invincible incumbent is defeated unexpectedly by a newcomer—usually with support from the potential voters never reached by the incumbent. That's how Liz Holtzman beat Manny Celler for Congress in 1972.

The 1980s are a particularly dangerous time for politicians at rest.

**S**O MUCH FOR COSTIKYAN'S rules. The most important rule of all remains John Stuart Mill's, quoted earlier. If the percentage of the electorate that votes continues to decline, our partyless, issueless, electronic political process will surely lead us into the tyranny of a government dominated by a handful of voters—a new special-interest group, the voters!—who will use government power to take care of themselves and not of the commonweal. It is already happening, with gays dominating the city of San Francisco and Protestant fundamentalists controlling the Alaska Republican party.

Ask yourself: Does your government represent you or some special interest with which you do not really agree? If the answer is what I suspect, you had better work like hell to raise the percentage of people who vote—including yourself and your children and your co-workers and your employees and your friends—before it's too late. ■

trate" for "administer" and "surveill"—no such English word exists—for "survey."

#### RULE 3

**"Hit 'em where they ain't" (Wee Willie Keeler explaining his success in the baseball of the 1890s).**

Most candidates try to appeal to the relatively small proportion of people who vote. Rather than scrambling with your fellow candidates to reach this minuscule portion of the population, campaign where the other candidates don't—among the non-voters.

#### RULE 4

**Trying to launch a political career in the 1980s through party activity is like learning to swim in a lead wet suit.**

Political parties contribute very little to the electoral process and even less to the advancement of the career of a would-be public official. If you waste your time in the clubhouses and in the party councils, you will end up a member of a private tea party.

#### RULE 5

**Don't give your opponent a hundred ideas; that will allow him to pick the ones to make into issues.**

Political campaigns should be focused. Once it was the conventional wisdom that three issues were all that anyone could focus on in a campaign. The number probably is higher than that, but not much. A candidate should pick the substantive positions that he or she wants to focus upon. Indiscriminate articulation of positions on dozens of substantive questions gives the advantage to your opponent. He will pick those of your positions with which he wants to disagree and make them into issues. They'll be the issues that help your adversary, not the ones that help you. George McGovern made this mistake in 1972: In response to pressures from his ideological supporters, he poured forth dozens of position papers. Richard Nixon picked the positions he wanted to dispute. Good ideas, if there were any, were lost. Questionable ones—like the negative income tax and the legalization of pot—became serious issues in the campaign.

#### RULE 6

**If you take an unconventional position, you will need at least a year to get your message across.**

In the middle of the 1956 presidential campaign, Adlai Stevenson suddenly started talking about strontium 90. Only a handful of people had heard of strontium 90 before, let alone heard that it was dangerous. If you want to make an issue out of such stuff, get started early, because you've

got a lot of educating of the public to do.

#### RULE 7

**The job of the pollster is to identify why non-voters don't vote and to help find ways to make them want to vote.**

Today, pollsters start their work by constructing a screen that will eliminate from the poll all non-voters. A good screen will eliminate two thirds of the voting population. You've got to persuade your pollster to change his approach to identify the non-voters and to help you learn how to make them voters—for you!

#### RULE 8

**It is more important to appear to know what you are talking about than to know.**

In this era of electronic campaigning, appearances are what count. You have 30 to 90 seconds on television to communicate. All you can communicate is appearance. A halting, stumbling assertion of something that is absolutely true just doesn't work.

As long as Ronald Reagan *appears* to know what he is talking about, he is effective. The only significant attack on Reagan so far in this campaign has been a charge that his numbers are all wrong. He rigidly persists in the use of those numbers because he understands that *appearing* to know is a more effective campaign technique than being right.

#### RULE 9

**In politics, a straight line is never the shortest distance between two points.**

The logic of politics is non-Euclidean. For example, a political traditionalist would never believe that the path to the Democratic nomination to the U.S. Senate from New York was to serve as domestic adviser to a Republican president who until then had never carried New York; teach at Harvard; go to India for that same president, who was about to be impeached; take the appointment of another Republican president as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations and there to challenge the assumptions that for years had governed the New York Democratic-party establishment.

That's the route followed by Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

#### RULE 10

**The first job of a candidate is grubbing for money! Money!! Money!!!**

#### RULE 11

**Today, money is the functional equivalent of the old machines.**

Years ago, the party machines provided the muscle and materials of cam-

paigns. Today the machines are and so are the parties, except as on the ballot. Access to the through the electronic media costs money. If you don't have money, nobody will believe you a serious candidate, just as once thought that you couldn't win the support of the machine.

#### RULE 12

**Obscure offices are usually won by the candidates of the traditional majority party.**

#### RULE 13

**If you are running for an obscure office against the majority party, your candidacy and the office outrun obscurity.**

If you are running for civic judge in Brooklyn in an off year, had better be on the Democratic line. If you're running on the Republican line for that same judgeship, it may be a good idea to demonstrate your opponent is a disbarred lawyer and get public attention focused on that fact.

#### RULE 14

**Only when there is no good reason to vote for one candidate over another is ethnicity important.**

Most candidates exaggerate the significance of ethnicity. If Percy had gotten 90 percent of the vote when he was running for mayor in the 1977 primaries, he would have won. He got 50 percent instead. If ethnicity were the key, Sutton would be mayor, Maine would never elect Senator Cohen, and Iowa would never have had a Congressman Meade.

#### RULE 15

**Charisma is image without substance. Image with substance is leadership.**

Since 1965, even as charisma has grown in importance as a political attribute, the percentage of people who vote has decreased. People are voting with charisma in political campaigns. People rightly suspect that charisma is the product of an expert media adviser. Charisma doesn't explain who wins and who loses. John Kennedy didn't. Lyndon Johnson didn't. Robert Kennedy didn't. Eugene McCarthy didn't. Neither Nixon nor Humphrey. Former Illinois Governor Dan Rostenkowski had it. His successor, James Thompson, doesn't. Former New York Mayor John Lindsay had it. His successor, Abraham Beame, didn't. Governor Rockefeller didn't have it. Rockefeller didn't. Ford didn't have it. Brown didn't have it but may have lost it. Carter didn't have it. John Connally and