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# **POLITICAL ACTION MANUAL**

**TANSTAAFL™**





## INTRODUCTION

Until now, the “libertarian movement” has been without a comprehensive “how-to” manual, detailing the procedures whereby its members can work together effectively, in some kind of organizational framework, to accomplish their mutual goals.

There are literally hundreds of items available on various aspects of libertarian theory; elaborate expositions on fine points of epistemology, ethics, philosophy, psychology, and history—but almost nothing on how to actually go about changing the world for the better.

This booklet is designed to fill that gap. In it, you will find little or no “theology.” Instead, the compilers of the material that lies within have assumed that readers are already in basic agreement with libertarian tenets, and have left metaphysical questions to those who are better qualified—by training, and by temperament—to handle them.

There are no stunning new revelations contained herein, and no mind-boggling phraseology. This is a guide to effective activism, presented in simple words. The emphasis throughout is on practicality. If you are a libertarian looking for a concise source of information on the “nuts and bolts” of practical politics, including such points as fund-raising and public relations, then this is the book for you. If not, then you can more profitably invest your money elsewhere.

One point is perhaps worth noting. The material that follows was prepared for the specific purpose of providing assistance to members of the Libertarian Party. Thus, the techniques and guidelines presented herein are described in terms of a political party organization. Most or all of them, however, are equally applicable to any action-oriented organization . . . and the information presented here is offered to all who wish to use it in the battle for freedom in our time.



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# I.

## WHY A LIBERTARIAN PARTY?

There exists within the libertarian camp some disagreement concerning the value of launching a political party at this time (1972). Some of those who argue against this venture do so on philosophical grounds, saying that any participation in the political system is inherently immoral, or coercive. Others, who disbelieve in the concept of government *per se*, simply feel that the idea of a libertarian (by which *they* mean *anarchist*) political party is a contradiction in terms.

Still others are against the idea because they feel that libertarians would have to compromise their various beliefs, in order to work together in a political framework. And yet others are opposed because they feel that libertarians could accomplish more through other means . . . at least, for the time being.

Some of the arguments advanced by those who oppose the formation of a libertarian party are at least partially valid, at least insofar as they apply to participation in such an effort by individuals who are philosophically indisposed; certainly, there is nothing immoral in refusing to participate in politics.

Nonetheless, the fact remains that we live in a society whose shape is largely determined by political processes, and libertarians who choose to abstain from participation therein must resign themselves to increasing encroachments on their lives by the State if they do nothing to reverse present political trends.

If one accepts this fact, one is next faced with the decision of *how* to most effectively participate in the political process. And the choices available are few. One possibility is infiltration of the major parties, Republican and Democratic. A second possibility is affiliation with an existing "third" party (American Independent, Peoples, etc.). A third possibility is "non-political" participation—working to educate the public in libertarian principles, in the hope that they will eventually demand political changes. And the fourth is the establishment of a political party founded specifically for the purpose of promoting libertarian principles and ideas.

Of these four choices, the first two have obvious drawbacks. The major parties are dominated almost entirely by men whose



sole obsession is with winning elections—and hang the principles. The chances of a libertarian advancing very far in the GOP or the Democratic Party are therefore miniscule; if there's anything the professional politicians hate, it's someone who'd rather be right than get elected by promising the voters more "free" services. Furthermore, the very concept of the two-party system is inimical to libertarianism. In a two-party system, one party or the other is always the majority—which is just what we don't want. Far better to have a lot of small parties that can rarely get together on anything. Thus, anything we can do to undermine the sanctity of the two-party system is to our advantage.

Which brings us to the possibility of affiliating with an existing splinter party . . . a possibility that has some appeal, on superficial consideration. A deeper examination shows this to be an unwise course, however. After all, the only thing the existing splinter parties really do is exert pressure on the major parties . . . so what is to be gained by joining with a non-libertarian party for this purpose? We want to exert pressure for our own goals, not theirs. In cases where an existing third party has a fairly high degree of stature, *and* is at least somewhat libertarian in its goals, we might be well advised to cooperate with that party—but we can accomplish more as an independent ally than as a part of a big coalition. By *not* being part of the N. Y. Conservative Party, for example, libertarians can exert pressure on the Conservatives to stay fairly "hard-line"—by threatening to run someone against their candidates if they become too centrist. *Within* the Conservative Party, the most they can do is vote against a prospective nominee at the state convention.

By forming our own party, we gain far more leverage than by either of the two strategies previously discussed. We always have the option of endorsing the candidate of another party (Republican, Democrat, or whatever), but still maintain the flexibility of going our own way. And it is this option that gives us our greatest leverage, for the one thing politicians really fear is losing votes . . . even a few votes. The vast majority of elections are decided by a vote-differential of less than 15%, and so even a few thousand votes can often make the difference between victory and defeat.



But what of the “non-political” strategy mentioned earlier? Why participate directly in the political process at all? Why not just work to educate people?

Why not, indeed? Educating the public is without a doubt the most important thing we can do, at the moment, and any expenditure of time, money and energy that detracts from this effort is assuredly an unwise allocation of our resources. If the choice must be made between political action and education, then undoubtedly we should choose education.

Fortunately, such a choice need not be made. On the contrary, political activism offers us a greater opportunity for reaching the public than any other single form of activity. We can get more people—and, especially, more mass-media representatives—to pay attention to the “libertarian movement” by forming a political party than by any other means. The reason for this phenomenon is simply the fact that the American people are politically oriented.

If you doubt this, consider the relative amount of attention given a Congressional candidate—even a splinter-party candidate—and a representative of some “Committee to Abolish Something.” Who will find it easier to get speaking engagements? Radio and TV appearances? Newspaper coverage? We all know the answer; the Congressional candidate, by a factor of ten. In other words, we can reach more people, with less effort, via a libertarian party, than through any other vehicle—and we have the ability to put pressure on politicians, as well! In sum, *there is no conflict between education and political activism.*

One other point is also worth remembering, in this context. And that is since our goals are basically obstructionary (in the sense of wanting to obstruct “progress” towards totalitarianism), we can accomplish wonders by electing even a tiny handful of libertarians to various posts. It only takes one or two individuals in a legislature (for instance) to gum things up horribly—via filibusters, refusals to “unanimous consent” in procedural matters, and so forth!

Other advantages to the Libertarian Party approach to activism are the fact that, unlike “one-shot” projects, the LP provides a continuing “focal point” for activity, and the fact that by joining together under a common umbrella, the “leftist” and “rightist” libertarians who now usually vote so as to cancel each



other out (when they vote at all), will now be able to work together, and gain recognition as a factor separate and distinct from liberals and conservatives.

The foregoing analysis should serve to convince all libertarians except the extreme purists that the Libertarian Party can be a viable vehicle for libertarian activism. There are three false arguments which are sometimes raised against participation in the LP that deserve special attention, however.

The first of these bromides is the “boycott” argument. According to the few naive souls who expound this view, all we have to do is convince everyone to refrain from participation in politics, and eventually the State will wither away. This is sheer fantasy; those whose interests are served by expanding the role of the State will never just “give up”—and would be only too pleased if we were to do so. The idea that we can protest effectively by not voting is sophomoric; nobody will know *why* we didn’t vote—or even *that* we didn’t vote, unless we can dissuade something like 10 million people from doing so. In the same vein, pious statements to the effect that we shouldn’t vote unless given the option to vote “none of the candidates are acceptable” are entertaining, but the only way we will ever get such an option is through political action—which brings us back to our starting point.

Fallacious argument number two is the plaint that “We can’t win.” This is both irrelevant and untrue. Irrelevant because winning is not our primary purpose, and untrue because third-party candidates can and do win, especially in local or non-partisan elections. Even on the national level, they win occasionally; third-party candidates have been elected to Congress more than 100 times in the twentieth century, and there are two “third-party” Senators (Buckley and Byrd) in office at this very moment.

The third and feeblest of the popular false arguments against working to build up the Libertarian Party is that “We’re not ready yet.” There is simply no way to tell whether or not this is true, except by making the attempt. And even if the time *isn’t* yet ripe for the emergence of the LP as a significant force on the political scene, this is no reason to delay the preliminary efforts; when the time *is* ripe, a party will not simply materialize out of thin air.



It is certainly true that the Libertarian Party will probably remain a minor-league operation for several years to come—and that, by its very nature, it is not a suitable vehicle for bringing about the final stages of transition to the ideal libertarian society. But it can be a valuable instrument in slowing down, halting, and even reversing some of the more ominous trends in today's America.

At the very least, it provides a mechanism whereby libertarians can say "No More!" to those who seek to deprive us further of our freedoms, and to forcefully demand back at least a portion of those we have already lost.

There are those who say that the choice between two evils is no choice at all—that the lesser of two evils is still evil. And we concur; a vote for someone who simply wishes to enslave us at a slower pace than his opponent advocates is nothing more than an endorsement of evil. The choice between More Government and Much More Government is no choice at all. The Libertarian Party will offer voters a true alternative—Less Government. This may not be entirely satisfactory to those who advocate No Government, but we believe that there is nothing wrong with demanding our freedom back one piece at a time. The following information is intended for those individuals who want to make that demand as forcefully as possible.

## Summary

1. Our society's shape is largely determined by political processes—we must take part.
2. The two-party system is inimical to libertarianism.
3. We can gain nothing by joining with a non-libertarian third party.
4. Our first goal—education—can best be served by a libertarian political party.
5. We can accomplish wonders with even a tiny handful of libertarian office holders.
6. The Libertarian Party is our best means to say "No More!"



## II.

### FORMULAS FOR FAILURE . . . AND SUCCESS

The history of third-party efforts in the United States is not an auspicious one; with very few exceptions, such efforts have been utter failures, or have achieved only minor successes. Before setting out on our journey to a Rendezvous with Destiny, we should therefore first pause to examine the lessons of history—to see if we can spot the pitfalls which sent previous third-party attempts on a one-way journey to the graveyard of broken dreams.

A quick survey shows that practically all previous third-party efforts have fallen prey to one or more of the four following hazards . . .

1) *The Single-Issue Syndrome*. More than once, a new party has been launched as a means of mobilizing support for one specific goal (land reform, tax reform, abolition of slavery, war, peace, etc.). The issue lacks broad appeal, or the public loses interest, and the party collapses. Occasionally, the sought-after change is made, and the party disbands, or merges into another party.

2) *The One-Man Band*. A party is formed to further the aspirations (usually Presidential) of one man—Teddy Roosevelt, Robert LaFollette, George Wallace, etc.—and lasts only as long as “the hero” keeps his followers fired up. This may be quite some time (as in the case of Norman Thomas), but the party never really achieves an identity distinct from its leader’s and eventually collapses.

3) *Nationalism*. The party concentrates its efforts almost entirely on Presidential elections, and never makes any effort to develop strong state and local organizations; in some cases, autonomous lower-level organizations are specifically discouraged. All decisions are made at the top, and members get fed up or bored. End of party.

4) *The Sherwin-Williams Syndrome*. The party spreads its efforts too thin, motivated by a compulsion to “cover the earth.” Instead of concentrating its efforts in areas where it has a reasonable chance of accomplishing something, it squanders a



**major portion of its resources on futile attempts to cultivate barren ground. Not necessarily fatal, but conducive to political anemia.**

**The first two pitfalls are not likely to cause the Libertarian Party much grief; the remaining two must be guarded against. With this in mind, we can formulate some guidelines for organizational efforts.**

**First, and most important, the role of the national organization must be defined. As envisioned by the LP's founders, that role is as follows:**

**1) The national organization's primary purpose is one of fostering the development of state organizations; to this end, it will provide recruiting material, locate "self-starters" to get things going in the various states, and provide the leaders of the various state organizations with advice, material, and names of individuals who contact the national headquarters for information about the Party.**

**2) The national organization will publish a monthly newsletter, and will otherwise facilitate communications between Party members in the various states.**

**3) The national organization will arrange for national conventions, for the purpose of drafting the national platform and choosing Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates. It will also arrange for twice-yearly meetings of the Party's Executive Committee and State Chairmen, at which these individuals will make such national policy decisions as are required, and confer with each other on such matters as they deem necessary.**

**4) The national organization will be responsible for raising funds to pay for advertising in national publications, and will set up the mechanisms whereby the campaigns of the Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates will be handled.**

**This is all the national organization will do. Period.**

**The national organization will make no effort to raise funds for state and local organizations, state and local campaigns, or other activities. It will make no attempt to tell any state organization how to conduct its affairs, except for making sure that all organizations and candidates which use the name Libertarian Party support the national platform and national candidates.**



Each state organization will be completely autonomous, except for the requirement that it support the national platform and national candidates. It will handle its own finances, set its own dues, choose its own candidates, and run its own campaigns.

This arrangement may seem to place an undue burden on the state organizations. It assures, however, that there will be none of the red tape and in-fighting that plague most organizations . . . and is in keeping with the libertarian philosophy of decentralization of power.

The net result may be that for several years, there will be viable LP organizations in only a dozen states. But it is the firm conviction of the LP's founders that more can be accomplished by ten well-organized state organizations with 1,000 members each than by a cumbersome, disorganized national organization with 25,000 members. Experience has shown that organizations which are overly dependent on national leadership are usually grossly inefficient.

To sum up, it is the state organizations which will provide the bulk of the Libertarian Party's strength. Except during the quadrennial Presidential Derby, the national organization will serve only as a co-ordinating body.

And this brings up a point which many people are bound to raise—namely, the question of why anyone should spend \$4, \$6, or \$12 to maintain membership in the national organization. Since each state organization will also have dues, the cost of maintaining dual membership may discourage people from joining the national organization . . . and, to some extent, this will be a problem.

Naturally, we hope that those who can afford to maintain dual membership will do so. There *are* benefits to membership in the national organization. It includes a subscription to the national *LP Newsletter*, and assures that you will receive all items (such as this booklet) issued to members by the national organization. In addition, membership in the national organization provides a means of participation in the Party for those libertarians who live in states where there is no LP organization. And finally, if you can afford it, a membership in the national organization is a means of contributing to the LP's national efforts.



However, if you live in a state where there is a going LP organization, and you cannot afford membership in both the state and national organizations—by all means, join the state organization first. A national membership can always be taken out later. If at all possible, though, you should at least subscribe to the national *LP Newsletter* (\$3 per year), in order to keep posted on what the national organization is doing.

### **Summary**

1. Third parties fail due to . . .
  - a. The Single-Issue Syndrome
  - b. The One-Man Band
  - c. Nationalism
  - d. The Sherwin-Williams Syndrome
2. The national Libertarian Party organization will . . .
  - a. Foster development of state organizations by providing material, contacts, information and by locating “self-starters”.
  - b. Publish a monthly newsletter and facilitate inter-Party communications.
  - c. Arrange national conventions and twice-yearly Executive Committee / State Chairmen meetings.
  - d. Raise funds for national advertising.
  - e. Set up the mechanisms for conducting national campaigns.
3. Each state organization will . . .
  - a. Be entirely autonomous except for the requirement to support the national platform and candidates.
  - b. Handle its own finances.
  - c. Determine its own dues structure.
  - d. Select its own candidates and conduct its own campaigns.
4. If dual membership is not possible, join the state organization first.



# III.

## STARTING A STATE PARTY

Everything has to start somewhere, and a state LP organization starts with the national LP appointing a Temporary State Chairman. This will be someone who has contacted national headquarters, and volunteered his services. This appointment is usually made after consultation with the Executive Committee member responsible for the region concerned. The Temporary Chairman will have been sent the names of all national LP members in his state, plus the names of other individuals who have shown an interest in the Libertarian Party.

The Temporary Chairman should contact the individuals whose names he has been given, as soon as possible, and decide, with them, when to hold an organizing meeting. The date should be agreed upon two to four weeks in advance, in order to give everyone time to contact everyone *they* know who might be interested. (For ideas on potential sources of recruits, see the next section of this booklet.) Each individual can also probably think of a few personal acquaintances who are good prospects.

If, upon making a diligent effort, the Temporary Chairman and his initial contacts supplied by national HQ cannot come up with a minimum of one dozen prospects for the organizational meeting, the meeting probably should be postponed. There is nothing more depressing than having six forlorn libertarians staring at each other wondering what to do next. If a postponement is necessary, the meeting should be re-scheduled for a definite time, rather than left hanging; deadlines tend to motivate people.

Assuming you've got a minimum of 12 people scheduled to meet, what do you do next? Well, the first step is to make sure that when everyone *does* get together, you have material on the Libertarian Party ready to give them. Most important is an ample supply of copies of the national platform, and of a state or national membership application. If at all possible, get the platforms out to the attendees *before* the meeting.

A key point to remember is that unless you're simply dripping with money, all material (except membership applications) should be *sold*, rather than given away, whenever



possible. The reason for this is twofold. First, it keeps you from going broke; in fact, you should make a profit, as bulk costs are well below single-copy prices. And second, by requiring payment, you weed out freeloaders, and solidify the interest of those who "buy in." People tend to place a higher value on something they've paid for than on something they got free.

But back to the organizational meeting. When the people arrive, have them "sign in." Get names, addresses, and phone numbers; that way you can follow up on people if they don't get back to you.

Once the meeting is called to order, the Temporary Chairman should introduce himself, and should ask everyone else to do likewise. He should then give a brief rundown on the virtues of establishing a state LP organization (see the first two sections of this booklet), and should ask for comments and suggestions.

After everyone has had his say (within reasonable limits), the Temporary Chairman should ask for volunteers to serve as Temporary Vice-Chairman, Temporary Secretary, and Temporary Treasurer, and should also urge everyone to join the state LP organization.

At this point, a tentative dues schedule should be decided upon. If no better alternative comes to mind, the schedule used by the national organization can be adopted (students \$4, regular members \$6, sustaining members \$12). Another possibility is \$3, \$5 and \$10—which makes it a bit easier for members of the state organization to afford the \$3 for a subscription to the national *LP Newsletter* (subscriptions should be encouraged). If anyone asks what purpose is served by having sustaining memberships, explain that they are necessary to make it possible to have a lower membership fee for students.

If you are fortunate enough to have some fairly wealthy individuals present, try to get them to make a larger contribution, or at least a loan. One way of doing this is by having higher levels of membership—e.g. "Life" and "Life Sustaining." Those who make substantial financial contributions can be given some token of appreciation (the national organization uses gold Libersign pins, available for \$4.95 from Frantonia Specialties, Warren, Rhode Island, 02885).

After money matters are settled, move on to organizational matters. In addition to the four temporary officers, the new



organization will need temporary chairmen for four standing committees, these being the Membership Committee, the Finances Committee, the Public Relations Committee, and the Candidate Selection Committee. And finally, it is desirable to obtain the services of a Legal Counsel (preferably on a volunteer basis).

The nine people named thus far (temporary officers, temporary committee chairmen, and Legal Counsel), should serve as the state organization's steering committee, until such time as permanent officers, committee chairmen, and Legal Counsel are selected. Thus, it is important that these be people who are willing to spend a fair amount of time on the organization. For this reason, if it is necessary to wait until a subsequent meeting to fill some of these posts, in order to get the right people, do not hesitate to do so.

In the early stages of setting up your state organization, it is not necessary to adopt a formal Constitution and By-Laws. It is advisable, however, to set up a checking account for the organization as soon as possible; this can even be done before the organizational meeting, and creates a good impression (people are more likely to make out a check to *Libertarian Party of Virginia* than to an individual).

At the end of the organizational meeting, set a date for a second meeting, and tell everyone to be sure to bring at least one new prospect to the next meeting. Set the second meeting for as soon as possible; two or three weeks, at the most.

At the second meeting, get volunteers for Temporary District Chairmen. These will be people who will set up organizational meetings in their home areas. Each state organization can set up its internal divisions on whatever basis it chooses, of course, but the most logical choices are Congressional or Legislative Districts. Also at the second meeting, fill any of the nine posts not filled at the first meeting, if possible, and again admonish everyone to bring at least one new member or prospective member to the next meeting. This latter should be done at every meeting, and the time and place of the following meeting should be set; if possible, set up meetings on a regular basis (every Friday, or every second Saturday, or the first Monday of every month, or whatever).



These figures strongly indicate that the best prospecting areas are college campuses, and organizations catering to the interests of young, educated, managerial and professional people. This is not to say that older people should be ignored; on the contrary, they are vitally necessary, as they have experience—and often financial resources—which younger individuals usually lack. But when it comes to recruiting the people who will do most of the work, and provide most of the energy, primary emphasis should be placed on the under-30 age group.

How can these prospects best be reached? In the preliminary stages of organization, we can draw on personal contacts, and mailing lists of existing libertarian or semi-libertarian outfits. These sources cannot provide the bulk of the membership, however. Within a few months, they will have yielded virtually all their potential support . . . perhaps 25 members per Congressional District. From that point on, we must break new ground, for if we are to eventually build the Party's national membership to approximately 50,000 (100+ members per Congressional District), we will need to go far beyond the boundaries of the present "libertarian movement." And there are basically only two ways to reach new prospects—on a face-to-face basis, and through mass dissemination of information.

Of these two, the former is the more productive. It is far easier to "convert" someone when you can talk to him personally, than when you must rely on an impersonal leaflet, poster or advertisement. In addition, it is less expensive. Thus, in any recruiting drive, the major emphasis should be placed on person-to-person efforts.

Students, in particular, can accomplish a lot via efforts of this type. Almost every college and university has a mall, courtyard, or activity center of some sort, where various groups are permitted to set up literature tables. One or two libertarians can set up such a table for a few days, to sell LP literature and answer questions raised by interested passers-by. Leaflets should be posted on various bulletin-boards or in other public places, urging people to stop by the information table. These can be procured from the national or state LP organization, or can be produced locally. If you produce them yourself, slant them to appeal to your audience; good points to emphasize in appealing



assign responsibilities and make sure that people follow up on any responsibilities they've accepted.

### **Summary**

1. A Temporary State Chairman will be appointed by national HQ.
2. He will be provided with names of members and contacts in his state.
3. The organizational meeting should be held as soon as possible after twelve attendees are located.
4. Party material should be available at the meeting and preferably sold, rather than given away.
5. At the organizational meeting . . .
  - a. Everyone should sign in and be introduced.
  - b. The arguments in favor of establishing a state LP should be presented.
  - c. The Temporary Vice-Chairman, Temporary Secretary, and Temporary Treasurer should be chosen.
  - d. The dues schedule should be decided and dues collected.
  - e. Four Committee Chairmen (Membership, Finances, PR, and Candidate Selection) and Legal Counsel should be appointed, if possible.
  - f. A checking account, if not already opened, should be authorized.
  - g. The date and place of the second meeting should be set.
6. For each subsequent meeting, each person should be urged to bring one new prospective member.
7. Temporary District Chairmen should be selected at the second meeting.
8. Meetings should be set on a regular basis.
9. In conducting meetings . . .
  - a. Have a written agenda and stick to it.
  - b. Limit the time allowed for the business meeting—schedule a “social” hour to follow if desired.



- 10. When membership is approximately ten times the number of your state's Congressional Districts, a state convention should be held.**
- 11. At the state convention . . .**
  - a. Adopt a formal Constitution and By-Laws.**
  - b. Elect permanent officers.**
  - c. Establish official organizational structure.**
  - d. Adopt official dues structure.**
- 12. District and local organizations should also follow the above procedures.**



# IV.

## BUILDING MEMBERSHIP

If the Libertarian Party is to have any significant effect on the course of events in the United States, it must have enough members to conduct effective campaigns, reach the public with libertarian ideas, and command respect from the major-party politicians.

How many is "enough"? Well, many authorities have stated that if you can get three percent of the members of a given group to actively support a cause, you can achieve your goals. And, since the LP must influence at least 10% of the total population if it is to become a significant factor in the political arena, this would indicate that we need to enlist about 0.3% of the voters in a given area as active supporters.

In a typical Congressional election, there are about 150,000 to 175,000 ballots cast. This would indicate that we need about 500 active supporters per Congressional District. Of course all 500 need not be actual LP members; if they'll turn out for campaign work, this will be sufficient. But in order to be able to mobilize 500 supporters, we will need a minimum of 100 members. Thus, a figure of 100 actual dues-paying members per Congressional District should be regarded as a rock-bottom minimum for an effective organization.

Where do we get these 100? Anywhere we can find them, of course, but experience to date has shown that some recruiting grounds are definitely more fertile than others.

First, it is a widely observed fact that libertarianism has its greatest appeal in the lower age brackets; the LP's current membership can be broken down roughly as follows: 5% under 20; 50% in their 20's; 30% in their 30's; and 15% in their 40's or older. The average age of LP members is 30 (as of Aug., 1972), and it is this high only because one person 50 years old balances out two 20-year-olds. About 1/4 of the members of the national organization are students, and the bulk of the remainder are young people who earn their living in business or a professional occupation (teachers, doctors, lawyers, engineers, computer programmers, publishing, advertising, etc.).



These figures strongly indicate that the best prospecting areas are college campuses, and organizations catering to the interests of young, educated, managerial and professional people. This is not to say that older people should be ignored; on the contrary, they are vitally necessary, as they have experience—and often financial resources—which younger individuals usually lack. But when it comes to recruiting the people who will do most of the work, and provide most of the energy, primary emphasis should be placed on the under-30 age group.

How can these prospects best be reached? In the preliminary stages of organization, we can draw on personal contacts, and mailing lists of existing libertarian or semi-libertarian outfits. These sources cannot provide the bulk of the membership, however. Within a few months, they will have yielded virtually all their potential support . . . perhaps 25 members per Congressional District. From that point on, we must break new ground, for if we are to eventually build the Party's national membership to approximately 50,000 (100+ members per Congressional District), we will need to go far beyond the boundaries of the present "libertarian movement." And there are basically only two ways to reach new prospects—on a face-to-face basis, and through mass dissemination of information.

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to college students are the LP's stands against the draft, "crimes without victims," and foreign involvements.

When you've gotten the names of approximately 12 people who have shown an interest in the Libertarian Party, hold an organizational meeting to establish an LP group on campus. Send an announcement of this meeting to the school paper, and post some more leaflets. *Whenever you post a bill, or distribute a leaflet of any type, be sure that it contains information on how to get hold of a local LP representative or member!*

For non-students, opportunities for person-to-person recruiting efforts will be a bit harder to come by. Best bet is to wangle invitations to speak before groups whose members are good prospects. Taxpayers groups and the Junior Chamber of Commerce are especially good, and crusty old ultraconservative businessmen's groups can also be good hunting grounds—especially for locating financial backers. In addressing these groups, the best points to stress are the LP's opposition to taxes and strangulation-by-regulation.

Two other good sources of potential converts are the local Republican and Democratic organizations, especially YRs and YDs. With these groups, it will not be possible to get a speaking engagement, of course—but many YR and YD clubs hold cocktail parties which are open to the public. By attending such events, you can locate dissatisfied members who are already inclined toward political action, and lure them away from their present party.

Our very best sources of members, however, are organizations made up specifically of individuals who are fed up with one aspect or another of Big Brother government. There are numerous groups which fit this description, on both the "left" and the "right," and while none of them are 100% libertarian in their orientation, six of the most promising are the following:



## **"LEFTIST" GROUPS**

**American Civil Liberties Union**  
**156 Fifth Avenue**  
**New York, New York 10010**

**Institute for the Study of**  
**Non-Violence**

**Box 1001**  
**Palo Alto, California 94302**

**War Resisters League**  
**339 Lafayette Street**  
**New York, New York 10012**

## **"RIGHTIST" GROUPS**

**The John Birch Society**  
**Belmont, Massachusetts 02178**

**Liberty Amendment Committee**  
**6413 Franklin Avenue**  
**Los Angeles, California 90028**

**New Right Coalition**  
**330 Dartmouth Street**  
**Boston, Massachusetts 02116**

The best approach to take in trying to arrange a speaking engagement with any of these groups is to write to their national office, requesting information on the organization, and also asking for the name of the group's state or local representative. When the material arrives, study it carefully, and then approach the individual whose name you have been given. Having read the material from the national office, you will know which aspects of the LP platform to stress.

Explain to the local representative that you would like to talk to his group about the Libertarian Party, and that the LP strongly desires to have his group's views represented in the state and local LP organization. Two times out of three, you will receive an invitation to speak, or, at the very least, the local representative will be willing to take some LP literature to distribute to his members.

When you speak to one of the "leftist" groups, place your major emphasis on the LP's strong stand in favor of increased civil liberties, and opposition to the draft, and to foreign involvements. Talk about the relation between the non-interventionist philosophy and *peace*. The fact that LP members are required to sign a pledge repudiating the initiation of force also makes a good impression with these groups.

In discussing economics, use the terms "voluntarism" and "voluntary exchange," rather than "capitalism" and "free trade." These latter terms have different connotations to "leftists"—even libertarian "leftists"—than they do to conservatives, Objectivists, and anarcho-capitalists. Explain that it is the *alliance* between big business and government that is responsible for the things they attribute to "business," and that the LP wants to put an end to this alliance.



Since many “leftists” are strongly community-oriented, stress the concept of decentralization of power, and point out that in the type of system we advocate, individuals could set up their communities on whatever basis they choose, without outside interference by the State.

In talking to “rightist” groups, stress our opposition to taxes and regulation, and the fact that we are in favor of abolition of the Federal Reserve System. In the area of defense, stress our stand in favor of a strong domestic defense system. Point out our advocacy of withdrawal from the United Nations. Use the terms “capitalism” and “free enterprise” as often as possible. Stress our desire to return to the republican, limited-government type of system established by the Constitution, and our strong support for the Bill of Rights, with special emphasis on Articles IX and X thereof. It is *not* necessary to point out that we would like to go even further towards abolition of the State than they would.

Stress our opposition to Communism, and our belief that the best way to fight Communism is to simply cut off all foreign aid. If the subject of “The Conspiracy” comes up, point out that whether or not it actually exists, we would still advocate the same things we now advocate—so what difference does it make?

Lest we overlook the obvious, it should be noted that in addition to the aforementioned “leftist” and “rightist” groups, there are a number of *explicitly libertarian* organizations and publications whose members are prime prospects for membership in the Libertarian Party. The only such group that is truly national in scope is the Society for Individual Liberty (304 Empire Building, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19107), but there are numerous statewide and local groups that are well worth contacting.

Since there are far too many of these to list here, we will not attempt to do so. Instead, we urge all LP members to get hold of copies of the following four directories of libertarian organizations and publications, and look through them to find the names of potential contacts in their respective areas.

*A is A Directory* (\$3.00), published by MEGA, 9730 Hyne Road, Brighton, Michigan 48116.

*Libertarian Handbook* (\$2.00), published by Mark Frazier, 15 Yale Street, Winchester, Massachusetts 01890.



***Libertarian Yearbook*** (\$3.95), published by Open Campus Publications, P.O. Box 44011, Panorama City, California 91214.

***SIL Directory*** (\$2.00), published by the National Services Office of SIL, 400 Bonifant Road, Silver Spring, Maryland 20904.

In talking to libertarian groups, the only difficulty you are likely to encounter is the hostility of anti-activists. The arguments they will raise can be effectively countered by citing the points covered in the first section of this booklet.

A few final points to bear in mind when making "in-person" presentations. First, when you talk to *any* group—civic or political, "left" or "right"—*be sure to have an ample supply of LP literature*, and make sure that your name, address, and phone number (or those of the local LP organization) are on every piece. Have some free material—even if it's just an inexpensive single-sheet leaflet outlining the platform—to give out. More expensive items can either be given away or sold, as you deem appropriate.

When you are speaking before a group by invitation, always be calm and polite. Keep your cool; don't get into fights. Do your best to avoid being stereotyped as either "leftist" or "rightist." Also avoid using the words "communist" and "fascist," unless you're talking about Mao or Mussolini. And do *not* use the word "anarchist" in describing the Libertarian Party; the LP is *not* an anarchist organization, even though some *members* (a decided minority) are anarchists.

### **Summary**

1. The Libertarian Party, to be significant, must enlist a minimum of 100 dues-paying members per Congressional District.
2. Our biggest effort should be towards young, educated, managerial and professional people.
3. Libertarian and semi-libertarian outfits can yield only about 25 members per Congressional District.
4. Our best recruiting tool is face-to-face contact.



5. In approaching students . . .
  - a. Set up campus information tables.
  - b. When 12 people are located, a campus organization should be set up.
  - c. Always give a local contact on all campus recruiting material.
  - d. *Stress*: draft, crimes without victims, foreign involvement.
6. Attempt to obtain as many speaking engagements before local groups as possible.
7. Hunt for dissatisfied Republicans and Democrats who are already committed activists.
8. In approaching "leftist" groups . . .
  - a. *Stress*: civil liberties, crimes without victims, draft, foreign involvement, peace, LP's membership pledge, "voluntarism", "voluntary exchange", decentralization.
  - b. *Avoid*: "capitalism", "free trade".
9. In approaching "rightist" groups . . .
  - a. *Stress*: taxes and regulation, The Federal Reserve System, domestic defense, United Nations, "capitalism", "free enterprise", republican form of government, opposition to Communism, foreign aid.
  - b. *Avoid*: "The Conspiracy"
10. In approaching libertarian groups cite the points covered in the first section of this booklet.
11. Always be sure to have enough LP literature available with the name of a local contact included.
12. Before speaking to any group, study their material in order to judge which LP stands to stress.
13. Always be calm and polite.
14. Avoid being stereotyped as "leftist" or "rightist".
15. Avoid the terms "communist", "fascist", and "anarchist".



# V.

## SPREADING THE WORD

In the previous section, we noted that “person-to-person” recruiting is far more effective, in terms of results produced for each dollar or hour invested, than “impersonal” methods. But this certainly does not mean that advertising and public-relations efforts should be neglected, by any means. On the contrary, they can be very productive, and it is for this reason that every state LP organization should have a Public Relations Committee—preferably headed by someone with experience in advertising, PR or publishing.

This committee should be responsible for getting as much information about the LP out to the general public as is possible, within the limitations imposed by the amount of resources that can be allocated to this purpose.

And, while there are no absolute, iron-clad rules that must be observed in pursuing this goal, a lot of headaches and frustration can be avoided if a few general guidelines are followed.

First, and most important, *never pay for anything if you can get it at no cost to the party organization*. For example, a *writeup* in the local paper is greatly preferable to an ad. Ads in general-circulation publications are almost worthless, in fact; people tend to ignore political advertising, especially when it is aimed only at persuading them to join some organization. If you’re going to run an ad, it should be for some *specific* purpose—e.g. announcing a rally, or promoting a candidate. Ads saying “Join the Libertarian Party” will not generate enough return to pay for themselves, as a rule, and every ad should do at least that.

Of course, there are exceptions to this rule. If you can get someone to *donate* ad space, then, by all means, take it. And ads in publications that are specifically aimed at a group with a high percentage of good prospects may well be worthwhile. But paying for ads in random publications is a good way to go broke fast.

In general, “advertising” money should be channeled almost entirely into the production and distribution of leaflets,



posters, buttons, bumperstickers, and so forth. These items can be distributed *selectively*, and, in many cases, can even be a source of financial profit. A few basic rules to keep in mind when producing and distributing items of this type are the following:

1) *Do a first-class job*; professional-quality material costs very little more, in the long run, than second-rate or third-rate material . . . and is far more effective in persuading people to do whatever it is you want them to do. In line with this point, we *strongly* recommend that every state LP organization get hold of a copy of the following book; it costs \$15, but it is well worth the price, for not only can it save you immense amounts of money, but it will enable you to avoid turning out material that looks like it was produced by a crew of spastic chimpanzees, using a potato-block press.

*Printing and Promotion Handbook*  
by Daniel Melcher and Nancy Larrick  
McGraw-Hill, 1967

This invaluable guide is virtually encyclopedic in its coverage of its field, providing "instant expertise" in all aspects of promotional work, from cost analyses to mailing tips.

If you plan to have a monthly newsletter or bulletin to keep your members informed of LP activities—and this is generally a good idea—make every effort to have it look as professional as possible. In its early stages (until circulation reaches 250 or so), mimeographing is your best bet; just be sure your typewriter keys are clean, and use an electric if you are going to type the stencils directly. For copy to be reproduced by an electrostatic stencil, or by photo-offset (advisable if more than 250 copies are to be made), use a new ribbon, preferably a Mylar one. In setting up a newsletter, allow for plenty of white space; crammed-in copy looks terrible, and paper is cheap.\*

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\* While your organization is small, you may not wish to take on the publication of your own newsletter. The national newsletter may be purchased in bulk for distribution to your own mailing list. Write to HQ prior to each newsletter publication to advise them as to how many copies you'll need and to ascertain the cost in bulk. You may then insert a one-page supplement before distributing to your list.



As soon as possible following the establishment of your state or local LP organization, get some official stationery printed up. It looks far more impressive when you're writing to a newspaper, or a prospective big contributor; rubber stamps or mimeographed stationery look fly-by-night. Good (although unimaginative) stationery is available at very reasonable rates from the American Stationery Company, Peru, Indiana 46970; they will send you a brochure, describing their offerings, free on request.

In cases where you want to create the very best impression possible, have copy set in type; if you're going to be running off several thousand copies, this will add very little to your per-unit cost. If you can't find a good local printer who charges reasonable prices, and you're not in a big hurry, we would recommend Pine Hill Printery, Freeman, South Dakota 57029. They will print up a booklet like this one for \$6.50 per page for the first 1,000 copies, with additional thousands costing \$4.00 per page. These prices include typesetting and shipping.

2) *Be succinct*; an ad or leaflet should not try to explain the fine points of libertarian philosophy, or tell the whole story behind the LP's reason for being. Material for mass distribution should be aimed at getting people to inquire further, and not at selling them on the spot. Boil your message down to a short, catchy headline and 200 or 300 words of copy (at most); that way, people won't give up halfway through it. And be sure to include an address or phone number in every piece. *Bumpersticker* messages should be aimed at "instant persuasion," but again, keep your message short; six or seven words is the most people can easily read on a bumpersticker, and a two-word or three-word slogan is best (e.g. "Freeze Nixon," or "Legalize Gold," or "Vote Libertarian"). *Buttons* should be aimed more at creating interest—getting people to strike up a conversation, so that they can be given some idea of what the LP is all about. No more than six words on a button, however.

3) *Distribute selectively*; material should not be handed out on a willy-nilly basis (e.g. at a shopping center). It should be given—or, in the case of all but the most inexpensive leaflets, *sold*—only to people who show some interest.

These three points pretty much "cover the waterfront," as far as producing and distributing your own material is concerned. Of far greater importance, however, is the potential for



“free” publicity via the mass media. A good writeup in a local (or even national) publication, or free air time on a radio or TV station, can do more for your LP organization—and for the advancement of libertarianism in general—than the distribution of 10,000 leaflets.

One of the best ways to get the word out to a large number of people is via the “talk shows” on local radio stations. If you can, get one of the talk-show hosts to have an LP representative on his show as a guest. If you can’t manage this, call in on the phone. Usually, by listening to shows of this type for an hour or so, you can find an opportunity to relate one of the topics under discussion to some plank in the national or state LP platform. *Whenever possible, give an address or phone number through which interested listeners can reach a local LP contact.* And, if you can get enough party members to call in to a given station, you will probably be able to wangle an invitation to appear on one of the interview shows.

Radio talk shows are only the beginning, however. With a little bit of effort, you should be able to get substantial media coverage for your activities. Some guidelines to adhere to in getting decent coverage are the following. Remember, like anyone else, reporters and editors appreciate courtesy and cooperation; the easier we make their job, the better they’ll treat us.

1. Do not badger the media unnecessarily; send out news releases and/or hold news conferences only when you have something newsworthy to reveal—e.g. when you’re announcing the formation of the Libertarian Party in your state or city, a candidacy, or a special meeting.

2. Prepare all news releases as neatly as possible; typographical errors and sloppy reproduction turn people off. Make sure the release covers the *who, what, when, where* and *why* of whatever you’re announcing, in the first few sentences. Use understandable grammar and simple language—don’t confuse the public with “movement” jargon. A headline covering the key points is also advisable (e.g. “John Galt to Seek Senate Seat”). Some guidelines to follow in preparing the release are: A) Use a typewriter set on double or triple spacing; b) Use 8½ x 11 white paper—one side only; c) Number all pages and type “MORE” at the bottom of each page to be continued.



**Remember, in using the standard format, you will be making the media's job easier.**

**3. Keep your release brief (under 500 words), but enclose relevant backup data (platform, photos, campaign literature, etc). Be sure photos are captioned.**

**4. Get your news release out about five days before you want your story to break (ten days for weekly newspapers), and mark it "For Release on such-and-such day." Be sure your name and phone number are given on the first page of the release; reporters like to verify stories, and get background data, before they publish an item. If possible, present your release *in person*. Getting to know the people who work in the newrooms can be invaluable. If you mail the releases, be sure to mark the envelope "CITY DESK" for papers and "NEWSROOM" for TV and radio stations.**

**5. If you're having a news conference, schedule it for a weekday afternoon around 1:30 to 2:30 p.m., if possible; avoid Fridays and weekends. Best location is a well-known downtown hotel; you can get a nice news conference room for less than \$20. Reserve the room *before* you announce your conference.**

**6. On the morning of the day of the conference, phone all the people you sent news releases, to remind them of the conference.**

**7. Start all conferences *on time*; most reporters are on a very tight schedule. And keep it brief; 15 minutes for your announcement and 45 minutes for questions and answers. When your hour is up, thank everyone for coming; this is their signal that the conference is over. If a reporter wants more information, he'll stay on afterwards.**

**8. Have plenty of copies of your news release, speeches, platform, etc., on hand.**

**9. Do not lose your temper, or say things which can easily be misinterpreted or distorted. When criticizing the GOP and the Democrats, hit both equally. Avoid name-calling and wild charges.**

**10. When answering questions, ask the inquirer to identify himself; this lets you know which papers and stations to watch for coverage. And, don't forget, a reporter will feel great if you call him with your thanks after his story is published.**



**You have some news, you've scheduled a conference and prepared your written material—now, who do you tell? Below is a check-list of media to contact (use your judgement as to how many you contact according to the appeal of the story):**

**The national wire services**

**Local daily papers**

**Local weekly papers**

**Local bureaus of the national press (*The New York Times, Washington Post, Chicago Tribune, etc.*)**

**Area college and university press**

**Local and national business press (Dow Jones Publications, etc.)**

**Local TV stations (if your news is of national import, they will supply clips to the national networks)**

**Local radio stations**

### **Summary**

- 1. Each state organization should have a Public Relations Committee, preferably headed by an experienced person.**
- 2. The first rule to follow is: Never pay for anything you can get free.**
- 3. Ads in general-circulation publications are almost worthless, except when run for a *specific* purpose.**
- 4. Most “ad” money should go toward preparation and distribution of leaflets, posters, buttons, etc.**
- 5. On all material produced, do a first class job—or don't bother.**
- 6. Each LP organization should have official stationery to make the best impression possible.**
- 7. All material should be as succinct as possible.**
- 8. LP material has the greatest effect when distributed selectively.**



- 9. "Free" publicity via the mass media is the best way to promote the Party.**
- 10. Utilize local "talk shows" as much as possible.**
- 11. In holding press conferences and preparing press releases, be sure to follow points 1-10 in this chapter for best results.**



# VI.

## FUND-RAISING

There are really only two ways to raise a given amount of money. One is to get a small amount from each of a large number of people; the other is to get a large amount from each of a small number of people. Obviously, in any fund-raising effort, both of these methods can be attempted simultaneously; indeed, both avenues *should* be explored.

Of the two approaches, the former is the more important, for two reasons. First, despite the pipe-dreams of various visionaries, there are very few people who are willing or able to plunk down \$100, \$500 or \$1,000 in one chunk—and if you pin your hopes on locating a “sugar daddy,” you’ll probably still be waiting for that big break when the secret police come to haul us all off to a concentration camp. Big contributions should not be counted on to provide more than 25% of your total funds. The second, and more important, reason for placing primary emphasis on getting small amounts of money from many people is that if you can get someone to contribute *any* amount of money—even a dollar—you’ve gotten him involved in the Libertarian Party. Having invested that dollar, he will feel compelled to justify that contribution, if only to himself; as a result, he will often take it upon himself to proselytize for the LP.

There are many ways to get money out of people in amounts ranging from 10¢ to \$10. The first, and most obvious, is simply to ask for an outright donation. There is nothing wrong with this, but it is generally one of the *least* effective methods you can use, for several reasons. For one thing, it minimizes the contributor’s commitment to the LP. For another, it does little to help spread the word about the Party. And, for a third, just asking for money does very little to inspire people to contribute. Thus, it is better by far to offer your prospective contributor something in return for his money—anything, as long as there is an exchange of values.

Obviously, the best thing you can do is get your prospect to take out a membership in the Libertarian Party; that way, you get not only his money, but a fairly strong commitment as well.



And, since any membership should include a subscription to some LP publication—local, state or national—you will be making sure that he is continually reminded of the LP's existence, and the fact that its goals and achievements are his. If you can't convince someone to become a member, try to get him to at least subscribe to some LP publication (which should be priced \$1 below the least-expensive type of membership); this gives him the option of becoming a member later, by investing only one more dollar—and most people *will* eventually exercise this option.

Next to a membership or newsletter subscription, the best thing to give someone in return for his money is some item of LP promotional material (button, sticker, brochure, poster, etc.) By doing so, you not only raise money, but also help disseminate information about the Party.

Material can either be purchased from the national organization, or produced locally. In either case, items should be priced at approximately *300% of production cost* for single-unit purchases, with a sliding scale of quantity discounts set up so as to bring large-volume purchase price down to about 50% of the single-unit price (150% of production cost). This may seem like a high markup, but it isn't really; buttons cost about 7¢ each in lots of 1,000 for instance, and a price of 20¢ for one button and \$10 for 100 is not unreasonable. And, after all, you *are* trying to raise money.

In deciding between buying an item from the national organization and producing it yourself, bear in mind that production costs drop considerably as volume rises. 150% of *our* production cost for an item in quantities of 5,000 or 10,000 may well be lower than the per-unit price *you'll* have to pay for 500 similar items if you produce them locally. Production costs vary from one area to another, so check out the costs in your area, and then go the most economical route.

A third way to raise money that is less desirable than either of the two described above, but nonetheless worthy of consideration, is the "event." The GOP and the Democrats have been using cocktail parties, theatre parties, barbecues, auctions, raffles and the like to raise funds for years, and there is no reason why we cannot use these same techniques. If you *do* elect to go this route—and it is especially useful when you've got a candidate you want people to meet—have your event *open to the*



*public*, and advertise it well. Contrary to the general rules about mass publicity, it is worthwhile handling out leaflets to the general, non-libertarian public promoting an event of this type. LP members should be admitted at a discount price, with people encouraged to join on the spot, to get the lower admission price. If you are going to be using your members to do most of the work at the event, you might even admit LP members free of charge.

One final method of raising funds that deserves mentioning is the *popularity poll*. This method works particularly well on college campuses, or at county fairs and such. A booth should be set up, with a sign announcing that passers-by are invited to cast their votes for some dubious honor—e.g. the person they would most (or least) like to see as President of the United States, or the person they most admire (or despise). The choices can be restricted to a few likely candidates, or left open. Ballots can either be sold (for 25¢ , 50¢ , or \$1, depending on the affluence of the prospects), or people can simply be permitted to vote with their pocketbooks, in whatever amount they choose. The “winner,” obviously, is the person who receives the most votes, or the most money. To stimulate interest, current standings in the poll should be posted periodically. And by all means, have LP material available at your booth!

In appealing for larger contributions (\$25 and up), you should use an approach slightly different from that used to reach the dime-and-dollar contributors.

The first step is to locate someone of considerable financial substance who is sympathetic to the Libertarian Party (this is the hard part). This person should then be approached, and told that the LP is engaged in a fund-raising drive, and that his assistance would be greatly appreciated. He should *not* be asked to make a contribution himself—although, of course, if he offers one, it should not be refused. Instead, he should be asked to serve as the LP’s contact in the moneyed set—to set up appointments for LP representatives to meet with *other* wealthy individuals (or groups of individuals). If possible, he should be persuaded to allow the LP to use his name on a letter soliciting contributions from his fellow fatcats; he may even be willing to supply a list of people to whom the letter should be sent. Any such letter that is sent out should of course first be approved by



your benefactor; if he'd like to, have him draft the letter personally, or in collaboration with your PR Chairman or Finance Chairman.

If you do manage to get an invitation to speak before a group of wealthy individuals, *give* them any material you take along; when dealing with individuals of this type, you don't want to appear cheap. After you've made your presentation, come right out and ask for financial contributions (provided your host has given you the OK to do so). Then, if possible, follow up by sending a personally-typed letter to each member of the group, on high-quality LP stationery—or, better still, have the person who got you the invitation do so, on his personal stationery. If you go the latter route, have your sponsor request that contributions be sent *directly to him*; this will allay any qualms his compatriots may have.

Three final points. First, be sure to send a personal letter of thanks to anyone who contributes \$25 or more—and place their name on your mailing list, so that they will receive continuing reminders of the good work their contribution is helping to make possible. And second, *whenever* you are soliciting contributions—large or small—give people a specific reason *why* you need the money. People are more likely to contribute toward a specific project—hiring a hall for a convention, paying for a billboard, buying a printing press, or whatever—than they are to hand over money for an amorphous “cause.” And finally, don't overlook the possibility of getting contributions in the form of goods or services—a used typewriter, office space, printing, creative services, and so forth.



## **Summary**

1. There are two ways to raise money—get a small amount from each of a large number of people or get a large amount from each of a small number of people. The former is more important and effective.
2. In raising small amounts from large numbers of people you can . . .
  - a. Ask for donations.
  - b. Get them to join the LP.
  - c. Sell subscriptions to LP publications.
  - d. Sell miscellaneous items such as buttons, brochures, etc.
3. Material for sale should be priced at 300% of production cost for single-unit purchases, with quantity discounts available.
4. Investigate producing items locally and purchasing from national HQ—use the cheapest way.
5. Funds can also be raised by holding a variety of “events”. Especially effective are “popularity polls”.
6. In appealing for large contributions, it is helpful to have a benefactor who will aid you in approaching “the moneyed set”.
7. Always send a personal thank-you letter to contributors of \$25 or more, and place their names on your mailing list.
8. It is always best to ask for money for a specific goal.
9. Don’t overlook contributions of goods and / or services.



# VII.

## LEGAL CONSIDERATIONS

However much we might wish it to be otherwise, there are numerous bureaucratic regulations concerning the operation of political parties, and particularly, concerning the conduct of campaigns for national office. We would therefore strongly suggest that every state LP organization obtain the services of an attorney, to make sure that we do not run afoul of the law.

If there is a libertarian attorney in your state willing to contribute legal services, or if your state has a very simple non-profit corporation statute (requiring simply the filing of a certificate together with certain information), then you should incorporate your state party as a non-profit corporation.

The advantages of incorporation are that there is no personal liability and that the Party, as a corporation, is a separate legal entity. It can contract, own or lease property, borrow, lend, sue, etc. in its own right. An unincorporated association has no separate identity apart from the persons who comprise it. Individual members, then, must accept responsibility and liability for the Party's obligations.

It may be, however, that your state, like Colorado, has a fairly complicated non-profit corporation statute. In this case, outside legal services for incorporating the Party can be quite expensive. You may decide that your limited funds can be better used elsewhere—such as advertising or brochures, recruiting, etc.

If you do not incorporate, you should finance your organization and spend only on a pay-as-you-go basis. Do not commit the Party to any obligations for which you do not already have funds unless one or more members are willing to accept financial responsibility. (This does not mean you cannot have a checking account in the name of the Party. You can and should.)

In any event, you should draw up a Constitution and By-Laws. They will have no effect on your legal relations with anyone outside the Party, but they will define and commit the reciprocal rights and duties among the various members of the Party.



If you do incorporate, it will not be necessary to incorporate anything other than the state party itself. Any committees, local organizations, and the like, can operate within the framework of the state organization. Just be careful to keep good records regarding the source and purpose of any funds and to segregate them accordingly.

The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1972, effective April 7 of this year, promises headaches both for us and the two major parties. It provides, in brief:

1. Any political committee (or *party*) formed to support candidates for federal office, which expects to receive or spend more than \$1000 on any candidate, must register and report its finances in detail to:

- a. for President and Vice-President: Comptroller General, U. S. General Accounting Office, Washington, DC.
- b. for Senatorial Candidates: Office of the Secretary of the Senate, U. S. Senate, Washington, DC.
- c. for House Candidates: Office of the Clerk, U. S. House of Representatives, Washington, DC.

The necessary reporting forms are available from these respective sources and should be ordered and filed promptly.

2. Any contribution over \$10 must be *recorded*, with the full name, address, occupation or business of the donor, and the date and amount of the contribution.

3. The committee must *report* contributions or expenditures in an aggregate amount of more than \$100, with full identification of the donor and recipient, including sale of tickets to fund-raising events, collections at rallies, sale of campaign paraphernalia, cash balances, and any loans, debts, or other obligations, on a cumulative basis. These reports are due six times in an election year: on the 10th of March, June and September; on the 15th and 5th days before an election, and on January 31 after an election. Any contribution over \$5,000 during the last 5 days before an election must be reported within 48 hours.

4. Every political committee is required to have a President and a Treasurer.



The law uses the word “committee”, but it is clear that the word applies to any organization which solicits and expends money on behalf of a candidate for federal office—whatever it is called.

Since we are not involved in any primaries or the like, we will not have to make our first reports until the first “periodic” reporting date—June 10, 1972. The Act does not take effect until April 7, 1972, so none of our financial transactions taking place before that date need be reported. We will have to show cash on hand, less any obligations, as a lump sum as of April 7, however. After April 7, 1972, record everything.

No less than with money, time and manpower are limited commodities for the Libertarian Party. There is simply no way we can form a large number of different committees, provide a President and Treasurer for each, and file all the reports for each committee. Each state should have only one reporting organization with one centralized set of books and records. We’ll just destroy ourselves with red tape if we have a proliferation of committees like the Republicans and Democrats. It is also clear that political parties are “committees” under the act, so we might as well use the parties themselves as the registered organizations. Keep one set of records. Just make sure that you segregate the funds solicited and expended for each candidate and report them accordingly, and there should be no trouble in complying with the law.

(Out of what, we are sure, is purely academic interest, you may be interested in knowing that the new law places a limit on advertising spending of 10¢ for each citizen of voting age in the nation, state, or congressional district, whichever is applicable. Of the 10¢, not more than 6¢ may be spent on broadcast advertising.)

For more detailed information on the campaign spending laws, see two articles which appeared in *U.S. News & World Report*—pages 42-45 of the February 21, 1972 issue, and pages 81-83 of the April 3, 1972 issue.

In addition, be sure to investigate and comply with all of your *state* election laws.



## **Summary**

1. Obtain the services of an attorney—preferably, a libertarian volunteer.
2. If your state's incorporation statutes are reasonably simple, your state LP organization should be incorporated, as a nonprofit corporation.
3. Do not go into debt; pay as you go.
4. Keep records of all receipts and expenditures, and report campaign contributions to the proper authorities.
5. Be sure that all LP organizations in your state have a President and Treasurer.
6. Investigate and comply with all *state* election laws.



# VIII.

## CAMPAIGN STRATEGY

In a booklet of this size, it would be impossible to cover in depth every aspect of campaign strategy and tactics. Many full-length books have been written on this subject, and it would be pointless to duplicate their contents here. Nonetheless, a few pointers are in order.

First, and most important, until the LP reaches something approaching major-party status, it will be the sheerest folly for us to field candidates in more than a handful of races. The surest way to make sure that we accomplish nothing is to try to do too much, too soon (the Sherwin-Williams Syndrome).

Instead, every LP organization should select a few "target districts" where it will concentrate its efforts, and simply let the other districts go their merry way. A good rule-of-thumb is that candidates should not be fielded in more than 10% of any state's Congressional and Legislative Districts; in addition, *one* candidate might be fielded in some statewide race (Governor, Senator, etc.) simply for the purpose of getting statewide publicity. And, in odd-numbered years, efforts can be concentrated on local races, especially in situations where elections are conducted on a non-partisan basis (no party affiliation is given on the ballot).

This strategy, of course, raises the question "But *which* 10% of the contests should we concentrate our efforts on?" And, unfortunately, there is no cut-and-dried answer to this question. There are, however, some indicators to look for in selecting a "target district."

First, it should be a "swing" district—a district where the margin of victory of the winning major-party candidate is usually less than 10%, or, preferably, 5%, and where neither major party wins consistently. In a district of this type, a Libertarian Party candidate can strike terror into the hearts of both major-party candidates—causing them to make all kinds of concessions on key issues, and making it impossible for them to ignore our presence. The more they talk about us, the better off we are, as this causes people to start listening seriously to what we have to say.



The second key indicator that a given district is a good one on which to concentrate efforts is a high concentration of young voters—students, and young professional people, particularly.

And the third point to bear in mind in selecting your “target districts” is that you should not jeopardize the tenure of those rare office-holders who are reasonably acceptable by libertarian standards; if the incumbent is about as libertarian as can reasonably be expected to win, there is no point in wasting our scarce resources by entering a candidate of our own, who will probably just draw off votes from the “good guy,” with the result that someone far worse will take his place. Likewise, if the incumbent is exceptionally bad, and his major opponent appears to offer some hope of a significant change for the better, there is no point in fielding our own candidate.

And this brings up a whole new point—namely, “What should our policy be, concerning LP endorsement of and support for candidates of other parties?”

The answer to this question will obviously have to be determined by each state LP organization. In some states, especially where there is already a third-party effort with reasonably similar goals, collaboration may be desirable. And there are a few (very few) Republicans and Democrats who are deserving of LP support. These cases are the exception, rather than the rule, however; any such “joining of efforts” should be approached with the utmost caution, and every LP organization should always be on guard against becoming nothing more than the tail of some political mongrel.

In deciding whether or not to endorse or support a particular candidate of another party, there are, unfortunately, few reliable yardsticks to use. In the case of local and state candidates, or non-incumbent candidates for national office, you will have to “play it by ear” almost entirely. And even in the case of incumbent Congressmen and Senators, any evaluation based on prior voting record should be supplemented, whenever possible, with a personal interview. In fact, it is generally a good idea to require a personal interview of some sort, before endorsing any candidate—even a candidate who wishes to run using the LP label. This is the reason every LP organization should have a Candidate Selection Committee. Remember—any



candidate who isn't willing to sit down with an LP representative to discuss his ideas is almost certainly not going to give you any satisfaction once he's in office.

For preliminary evaluation purposes, however, there are a number of fairly reliable "voting record evaluations" that you can consult—at least in the case of incumbent Senators and Congressmen. None of these is 100% satisfactory, from a libertarian point of view, and when using any of them, you should be sure to obtain a copy of the complete report on which the final rating was based, in order to see how the individual in question actually voted; in some cases, *our* idea of how he should have voted will be different from that of the outfit which issued the rating.

There are over a dozen organizations which issue ratings of this type, but the three most useful ratings are those issued by the *Americans for Democratic Action* (1424 16th Street NW, Washington, DC 20036) the *Americans for Constitutional Action* (955 L'Enfant Plaza North, Suite 1000, Washington, DC 20024), and *The Review Of The News* (Belmont, Massachusetts 02178). These ratings, which are available from the respective sources for a nominal sum, are based almost entirely on votes on *economic* issues (appropriations, etc.), and are therefore not very comprehensive; they do not reveal whether someone is a raving militarist or an abject advocate of surrender, and tell little if anything about an individual's voting record on civil-liberties issues. Nonetheless, they are valuable as a preliminary screening device; if someone does very poorly on these ratings, he can be crossed off the list of people that might be worth supporting, without further ado. If, on the contrary, he does well here, he might be worth investigating further.

In using these three rating services; bear in mind that someone who is in favor of economic freedom will score *high* on *ACA* and *Review Of The News* ratings, and *low* on the *ADA* rating. A good rule-of-thumb to use in evaluating someone's economic ideology is to *add together* his *ACA* and *RN* ratings, and then *subtract* his *ADA* rating. Using this procedure, you will arrive at a total between +200 and -100.

Having done this, you can then make your decision as to whether you should support the individual in question, support his opponent, or run your own man against both of them, by the



following procedure . . . after taking into account the individual's stand on non-economic issues, of course.

1) If he scores *above 150*, he's worth investigating further, as a possibility for endorsement and support.

2) If he scores between *100 and 150*, he might be worth endorsing, but probably not worth supporting actively. If he doesn't even merit an endorsement, he's probably at least good enough that he shouldn't be actively opposed—either by running someone against him, or by working for his opponent.

3) If he scores between *50 and 100*, it's a tossup. He's certainly not good enough to actively support, or even to endorse, but if his opponent is a real horror, you probably shouldn't field anyone against him, either. Better to spend your resources elsewhere.

4) If he scores *below 50*, he's no friend of ours. If his opponent seems to offer some hope for substantial improvement, you might support the opponent. If they're both rotten (and this will be the case at least 75% of the time), then there is no reason not to run someone against both of them, assuming that the district in question meets the "target district" criteria set forth above.

To sum up, you should concentrate your efforts in *10% or less* of your state's districts, choosing districts where *elections are usually close* (55%-45% or closer), there is a *high concentration of younger voters*, and *neither major-party candidate is acceptable to libertarians*. In cases where a major-party candidate is exceptionally good, or there is a good third-party candidate running, you might consider channeling part of your efforts into support for this candidate.

Having decided where you're going to concentrate your efforts, your next step is to choose a candidate. The primary responsibility for locating good candidates belongs to the Candidate Selection Committee, but they should be given as much help as possible. Anyone who wants to run for an office as an LP candidate or knows of a likely prospect should contact this committee. The committee members should then sit down with the prospective candidate, and sound him out in depth. If they are favorably impressed, the chairman of the Candidate Selection Committee should report to the other members of the state Executive Committee, and the prospective candidate



should be invited to meet with the Executive Committee for further evaluation. Then, depending on how your state's organization is set up, the prospective candidate can either be endorsed by the Executive Committee, or a convention or meeting of some sort can be held to let the general membership vote on whether or not to endorse all prospective candidates for office—choosing, if necessary, between rival hopefuls for the same office.

One word of caution. Every candidate should have a *campaign manager*; do-it-yourself campaigns are almost always disastrous. And the State LP Chairman should *not* be either a candidate or a campaign manager, if you can possibly avoid it; he has more than enough to do without taking on any more major responsibilities. Whenever possible, get someone with previous campaign-management experience to serve as your candidate's campaign manager.

### Summary

1. Do not try to run candidates everywhere.
2. Select “target districts”—about 10% of the state's congressional or legislative districts only.
3. Run *one* statewide candidate.
4. In odd-numbered years, concentrate on local, non-partisan elections.
5. Your “target districts” should . . .
  - a. Be “swing” districts.
  - b. Have a high concentration of young voters.
  - c. Not have an acceptable candidate of another party already.
6. Be very cautious in supporting candidates of other parties.
7. Carefully investigate all prospective candidates as to philosophy and prior voting record.
8. Utilize the Candidate Selection Committee for screening hopefuls.
9. Every candidate needs a campaign manager—preferably experienced, and not the state's LP chairman.



# IX.

## TACTICAL TIPS

Once you have selected your “target districts” and chosen your candidates, you are ready to start the actual campaign effort. And the first strategic decision you will face will be whether to try to get on the ballot, or to rely on write-in votes.

As with other such decisions, each state LP organization will have to go its own way. In the opinion of the national organization, however, it is *always* worthwhile to at least *try* to get on the ballot, for two reasons. First, because a candidate who is on the ballot will almost always get far more votes than one who is not, all other things being equal. And second, because circulating ballot petitions is one of the best ways to make people aware of the fact that the LP exists and is running a candidate; asking someone to sign a ballot petition is a marvelous excuse for giving him some LP material, and, as a result, you will locate supporters you might not otherwise reach.

(An aside to those who still deprecate the educational value of political action: Have you ever considered the fact that when you ask someone to sign a ballot petition, he will almost invariably ask what the candidate stands for—giving you an opportunity to give him a leaflet which he ordinarily would not accept?)

In many cases, it will be surprisingly easy to get the required number of signatures; this will be especially true in local, non-partisan elections. And in any event, you have nothing to lose by trying. Just be sure to get at least 150% of the number of signatures required in each district; some will be disqualified for one reason or another.

As far as getting the name of the LP's Presidential candidate on the ballot is concerned—again, it's worth a try, in all but a few states. The chances of actually getting on the ballot in more than a quarter of the states are miniscule, but it's a good exercise, and a good way to get publicity. Ballot requirements vary widely from state to state—ranging from ridiculous (Hawaii, 25 signatures) to impossible (North Carolina, 25 percent of all eligible voters). Deadlines for submitting petitions



also vary widely, ranging from a year in advance of the election, to a week in advance; in most states, the deadline is sometime in August or September.

Before you embark on a signature-collecting drive, have your Legal Counsel find out *exactly* what the requirements are. While he's at it, he should also check to see whether your state allows write-ins by sticker; if this is allowed, you can boost your write-ins considerably, by distributing stickers bearing the name of your candidate, for voters to stick on the ballot. You will also prevent the election commissioners from disqualifying LP votes on the grounds that the candidate's name was misspelled, or that some required piece of information was omitted.

Assuming that you have candidates set to run, and you've gotten them on the ballot (or you've laid your plans for a write-in effort), what next? A million and one things must be done, if you are to produce any significant results, and it would be impossible to discuss them all here. Thus, we suggest that for details on the nuts and bolts of running a campaign, you consult one or all of the following sources:

*Ten-Step Course in Practical Politics*

35 ¢, from *Human Events*

422 First Street SE, Washington, DC 20003

(Very elementary, but worth the price)

*Campaign Technique Manual*

\$3, from the National Association of Manufacturers

918 16th Street NW, Washington, DC 20006

(The best guide we know of; a "must")

*You Can Make the Difference*

by Lee and Ann Edwards

\$6.95, from Arlington House

New Rochelle, N. Y. 10801

(Lots of extraneous material; borrow it from the library and take notes)

*The Election Game and How to Win It*

by Joseph Napolitan

\$6.95 from Doubleday & Company, Inc.

Garden City, N. Y.

(Excellent on media usage)



One important point that is not covered in any of these guides is the use of *public opinion polls*. Perhaps this is because such polls are not of great importance to major-party candidates, although this seems doubtful. They can be of great value to us, however, for two reasons.

Their main value is in helping us locate districts where libertarian candidates will be well-received, and in finding out which aspects of the LP Platform have the greatest support among the populace at large. A well-constructed questionnaire can yield a great deal of information that will aid LP candidates in deciding where to spend most of their efforts, and which issues to place the most emphasis on.

The second major reason for conducting public opinion polls is to find out what effect the LP is having on public opinion, as your campaign progresses. Thus, whenever possible, you should conduct a minimum of three surveys—one *before* the campaign, one about halfway through, and one about a week before Election Day.

Two points should be borne in mind in conducting a public opinion survey. First, the purpose of a survey is *not* to *influence* opinion, but to *measure* it. Thus, questions should be framed in as neutral a manner as possible, and interviewers should not exhibit any form of bias, no matter how delighted or horrified they may be by an individual's responses.

Questionnaires should be kept as short and simple as possible — ten easy-to-understand, multiple-choice-answer questions, at most. People don't want to be bothered with a lot of details.

There are many ways of administering questionnaires, but the one which yields the most information for the least expense is the telephone survey. An equal number of men and women should be interviewed from each and every telephone exchange in the area being surveyed. A minimum of 100 interviews with each sex should be obtained; thus, if you're interested in an area that has 100 different exchanges, you should get one interview with each sex in each exchange, and if your area has only four exchanges, you'll need 25 of each sex from each exchange.

When your interviewers call the interviewees, they should read the questions verbatim; that way, you eliminate individual biases. The form used to record responses should include spaces to note each respondent's phone number, age, sex, income,



education, party affiliation, and (if desired) race and religion. (A sample questionnaire is available from the national LP organization.) To avoid “turning off” interviewees, or influencing their responses, interviewers should *not* identify themselves as being with the Libertarian Party; instead, use a made-up name (e.g. “Public Research Corporation”) or the name of the local college or university (assuming someone in the Party is actually affiliated with the institution in question).

Results should be carefully analyzed, to find out which age-groups, income-groups, geographical areas, and so forth have the highest concentration of individuals who are libertarian-inclined, and to determine on which issues people seem to agree with the LP stand most frequently. This information can then be used to plot campaign strategy.

Along the same lines, be sure to get a precinct-by-precinct breakdown of each LP candidate’s performance as soon as possible *after* each election, and subject it to the same type of analysis. This can be invaluable in planning future campaigns.

## Summary

1. It is worthwhile to at least *try* to get your candidates on the ballot.
2. Circulating ballot petitions is a good way to reach potential supporters.
3. Always secure 150% of the required signatures.
4. Have your Legal Counsel determine ballot requirements.
5. If you are conducting a write-in effort, use ballot stickers if they are legal in your state.
6. If you are a novice, consult a text on the nuts and bolts of running a campaign.



7. Use a public opinion poll to . . .
  - a. Locate areas where LP candidates will be well received.
  - b. Determine which aspects of the platform will find the greatest support.
  - c. Obtain in-progress reports on the effects of your campaign.
8. A survey is not to *influence* opinion, but *measure* it.
9. In conducting a telephone survey . . .
  - a. Obtain responses from at least 100 males and 100 females.
  - b. Read questions verbatim.
  - c. Use a “front”.
10. All survey results should be carefully and completely analyzed.
11. After all elections, analyze the precinct-by-precinct returns of all candidates.



# **X.**

## **REFERENCES**

Throughout the preceding pages, we have referred to various organizations, publications, and sources of material which state and local LP organizations might find helpful. For your convenience, they are listed again below.

### **ORGANIZATIONS**

#### ***“Leftist” Groups***

American Civil Liberties Union  
156 Fifth Avenue  
New York, N. Y. 10010

Institute for the Study  
of Non-Violence  
Box 1001  
Palo Alto, California 94302

War Resisters League  
339 Lafayette Street  
New York, N. Y. 10012

#### ***“Rightist” Groups***

The John Birch Society  
Belmont, Massachusetts 02178

Liberty Amendment Committee  
6413 Franklin Avenue  
Los Angeles, California 90028

New Right Coalition  
330 Dartmouth Street  
Boston, Massachusetts 02116

#### ***Libertarian***

Society for Individual Liberty  
304 Empire Building  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19107



## **SOURCES OF INFORMATION**

### ***Printing & Promotion***

*Printing & Promotion Handbook*  
by Daniel Melcher & Nancy Larrick  
McGraw-Hill, 1967 (\$15.00)

### ***Voting Records of Senators & Congressmen***

Americans for Democratic Action  
1424 16th Street NW  
Washington, D.C. 20036

Americans for Constitutional Action  
955 L'Enfant Plaza North, Suite 1000  
Washington, D.C. 20024

*Review Of The News*  
Belmont, Massachusetts 02178

### ***Campaign Techniques***

*Ten-Step Course in Practical Politics* (35 ¢ )  
*Human Events*, 422 First Street SE, Washington D.C. 20003

*Campaign Technique Manual* (\$3.00)  
National Association of Manufacturers  
918 16th Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20006

*You Can Make the Difference* (\$6.95)  
by Lee and Anne Edwards  
Arlington House, New Rochelle, N. Y. 10801

*The Election Game and How to Win It* (\$6.95)  
by Joseph Napolitan  
Doubleday & Company, Inc., Garden City, N. Y.

### ***Federal Election Laws***

*U.S. News & World Report*  
February 21, 1972 and April 3, 1972



### ***Directories of Libertarian Groups***

***A is A Directory*** (\$3.00)

MEGA, 9730 Hyne Road, Brighton, Michigan 48116

***Libertarian Handbook*** (\$2.00)

Mark Frazier, 15 Yale Street, Winchester, Massachusetts 01890

***Libertarian Yearbook*** (\$3.95)

Open Campus Publications, P.O. Box 44011, Panorama City, Ca. 91214

***SIL Directory*** (\$2.00)

SIL Services, 400 Bonifant Road, Silver Spring, Maryland 20904

### **MATERIAL AND SERVICES**

#### ***Stationery***

American Stationery Company

Peru, Indiana 46970

#### ***Printing***

Pine Hill Printery

Freeman, South Dakota 57029

#### ***Libertarian Jewelry***

Frantonia Specialties

Warren, Rhode Island 02885



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