

Libertarian Strategy Gazette

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Letters on Libertarian Strategy Money -- What Should We Do With It?

We should invest in the things that work. We should not invest in things that fail. We should also invest in things that we have not tried, things that we will need to build the Libertarian future of peace, freedom, and prosperity.

Spending by the national committee on national activities:

First, the core activities of the National Committee lead to unavoidable core expenses. Each LPUS member gets issues of LP News. If we have members, we must have membership records, renewal notices if we have dues, and other activities. This is all back office work. Many states have not been maintaining separate membership lists. It was more important than ever that national back-office work be done accurately and efficiently, not to be confused with Raiser's Edge as implemented.

Second, the National Committee does do fundraising for its causes. Fundraising costs money. If we want to raise money for legitimate National Committee activities, we have to spend the money that the fundraising requires.

[In my opinion, potential resources are not totally limitless. Yes, some money is only available to a presidential campaign or an Operation Politically Homeless booth. Yes, to some extent a cleverly-designed campaign can reach out to non-Libertarian supporters and raise money that other campaigns would never see. However, to some extent the National party and state party and local parties compete for the same resources, the same donations from the same donors. A National Party that drains dry every accessible donor leaves less for other groups. A National Party that believes that it can spend every dollar more effectively than state or local groups is being nearsightedly greedy in a way that hurts the Libertarian political movement.]

Third, some activities really are specific tasks for the national party, such as assuring 50-state-ballot-access for our Presidential candidate. My book *Stand Up for Liberty!* discusses a variety of these activities. The exact cost ballot access depends on our state parties. Allowing for increases in the cost of living, a repeat of the 2004 effort might -- come 2008 -- cost a half-million dollars, or perhaps \$125,000 per year amortized over the four-year election cycle. We are now a bit late for this, and \$250,000 a year allocated to ballot access is likely needed. A competent national committee will notice before December 2007 that there is a Presidential election in 2008. A competent National Committee will make sure that the requisite funds are in place when they are

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The campaign staff and getting volunteers

Campaign Staff

It's never a good idea for the candidate to be his or her own campaign manager, or treasurer. The functions are very different, and the candidate's highest and best use is to be the candidate, rather than to be forced to make decisions about where to speak, what colors to use in the brochure, how to raise money, or how much to pay for a headquarters.

Of course, the ultimate decision in any dispute will be the candidate's, and there's no reason for the candidate not to participate in important decisions so long as they're not taking time away from campaigning. But he or she should feel equally free not to participate in campaign affairs, because there's already a trustworthy campaign manager and staff in place doing their jobs.

Individual roles in the campaign should be divided up by function, and should include the Campaign Manager, the Media Coordinator, the Headquarters Manager, a Volunteer Coordinator, the Research Director, the Ballot Drive Coordinator, etc., etc.

Remember, these are functions, not necessarily separate and distinct people. You may not have enough volunteers to staff such positions. In a very small campaign, for example, the Campaign Manager may agree to take on all of the other roles as well. But it is important to outline each function which needs to be performed in your campaign, and to assign responsibility for performing them.

How do you get people to take responsibility for certain functions? First, of course, you have to ask them to -- but there's more to it than that. Most volunteers, even the most eager, are inexperienced or uncertain about what you need.

Your job is to give each one the tools needed to get the job done, and that means a specific job description and an estimate of the time needed. For example, you could approach a potential Media Coordinator and ask, "Will you be the Media Coordinator for the campaign?" and leave it at that.

Or you could say, "I'd like you to be my Media Coordinator. I'd like to send out two news releases per week, hold three news conferences, and appear on five talk shows. I figure this will take about ten hours per week - will you do that?"

Obviously, the second approach makes it much easier for the prospective Media Coordinator to accept because you've given

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From George Phillies' book **Stand Up for Liberty! Now available from <http://www.amazon.com>** .

him, in two short sentences, a specific idea of what you need. The first approach doesn't give any idea at all.

A campaign in which all the roles are clearly defined and assigned, and in which everyone concerned knows what he or she is expected to do, is a far smoother campaign than one in which everyone is spending half their time just figuring out what they're supposed to be doing - and ending up leaving the important decisions to the candidate.

Getting People Involved

Much of the foregoing assumes that the candidate already has a respectable number of people willing to be involved in the campaign in some way.

But what if you don't? What if your campaign is a "pioneer" effort, where you seem to be virtually the only active Libertarian in your area, and where your main goal is simply to build up the size and abilities of the Libertarian Party? Or, what if all the familiar faces in the party -- the "old timers" -- think it's great that you're running and might even give you a check, but say they're "too busy" or are "too burned out" to really do anything?

Unless you're determined to do absolutely everything yourself -- which won't build the party and won't work very well, either -- you must find a way to involve new people in your campaign. And the most important tool you have to do this is a mailing list of members, contributors, and interested people which your state party has compiled over the years.

Take a look at the list. Chances are you won't recognize a lot of the names, and in many cases it won't be because they're people who don't want to do anything. Most Libertarian Party mailing lists are full of people who have never been contacted personally and have never been asked to get involved.

A reasonably high percentage of them can become active in your campaign if you're willing to put in some initial hard work (which will be easier than to try to activate old-timers who don't have any time to give you). From the total list, cull the names of those who live near your city. Don't worry if they're members or merely inquiries.

Now carefully plan an event. Typically, this is a "Campaign Kick-Off" or similar affair. Take the names on the mailing list from your area and send them an attractive invitation to the event, then plan to follow up by telephone.

Remember, you're not looking for scores and scores of people. Chances are you'd settle for 5 or 10 good new activists.

So if your net list contains 100 names, be pleased if 20 agree to show up and half of them agree to work for you. Later, you can call those who couldn't attend, to see if they're interested in another event or project

Hold the event preferably in a convenient semi-public place,

such as a small room in a large hotel. Make the room small enough so that if only 20 people show up, they won't feel lost in a giant cavern. Have a planned program for the event, perhaps a Libertarian film, plus three or four speakers, including the candidate, who will speak for 5 or 10 minutes apiece.

Have wine and cheese, or cocktails and hors d'oeuvres. If you charge admission at all, make it nominal, no more than \$5.00. Have a sign-in sheet at the door for the names, addresses, and phone numbers of the people who show up. And be sure to have a "volunteer form" distributed to whomever shows up which will allow them to volunteer for your campaign.

You have a specific message to convey at this event: To introduce and talk about the Libertarian Party, to show how your campaign fits into the purpose of the party, and to demonstrate a concrete accomplishment that your campaign will achieve if it has help. Then you must directly and specifically ask for the help of the people in attendance.

Keep in mind that most people become active for psychological reasons - they want to become part of an effort to accomplish something good and worthwhile. That's the appeal you have to make at this event.

To restate in the form of a checklist:

- 1) arrange for a suitable meeting place;
- 2) prepare a simple, informative, attractive invitation and mail it to your list (roughly three weeks before the event);
- 3) call the entire list and ask them to attend (roughly two weeks before the event);
- 4) call the people who have agreed to attend and remind them about the event (roughly the week before);
- 5) maintain the schedule and purpose of the event by making it brief, enjoyable, interesting, and directed toward the goal of developing new activists.

Doing this is going to cost you something in terms of time and money; renting the room, furnishing the refreshments, mailing the invitations, making the calls. You'll probably be able to enlist the physical or financial aid of one or two of the old-timers. If you're truly unable to handle such an event as this, the key thing is to establish personal contact with the people on your mailing list and to ask them to get involved.

If all you can do is get on the phone and ask people to come to an envelope-stuffing party, that's better than not making the effort at all.

One last point about old and new activists: Once you've recruited

a few new faces to help you, some of the old-timers who were previously "too busy" will miraculously find that they have some time and will get reinvolved. And, as for new activists, never get bogged down in worrying about whether or not they're "real" libertarians. A lot of them won't be.

But remember that most Libertarians developed their political beliefs through exposure to other Libertarians. So let the new people get active and involved, and they'll find that their understanding of libertarianism gets progressively stronger by interacting with you and your campaign.

...Timothy Crowley

Fundraising

Almost no one likes asking for money.

When candidates decide to run for office, their vision is on the glamour aspect, making speeches, ripping the opponent to shreds in debates, and cutting TV commercials. But money is what wins elections. While financial underdogs do occasionally pull off upsets, money is the single most dominating factor in the vast majority of campaigns. In virtually every race that Libertarians have won, they have outspent their opponents.

Money gives you communication with the voters. Time spent on fundraising will enable you to reach more voters more often than the same amount of time spent in other methods of campaigning. Fifty to sixty percent of the campaigns and the candidate's time should be spent raising money. Unlike scheduling and other detail work, fundraising is not something left up to a manager or committee. The candidate must be involved in a major way. After all, that's who the people are supporting.

Contributors are more likely to give money to a good person with a good idea than they are to a good idea alone. Candidates must have enough belief in themselves to ask for financial demonstrations of personal support, and in the Libertarian philosophy to ask people to make generous investments in their own personal freedom. You are not begging for a handout. If you can't ask for money to advance what you believe in, does it mean you don't really believe that Liberty is worth supporting?

The only real impediment to your raising the money you need is overcoming the fear of personal embarrassment. But it's extremely difficult to offend a person by asking him or her for money.

This is not to say that the people you ask will necessarily say yes, but in virtually all cases, the worst they will do is say no. A surprisingly high percentage will say yes if asked and asked correctly.

Fundraising, like sales, is essentially a numbers game. Ask a certain number of people to contribute, and a certain percentage will say yes and the remainder will say no ("I'll think about it" or "Maybe later" qualify as "no" answers).

Therefore, the ideal way to raise money successfully is not to worry about people who have already said no, but to concentrate on finding others who will say yes.

Why People Donate

People give money, in descending order, for shared relationships, fear of pain, or shared values. Your shared relationship donor list should include, in roughly descending order, relatives, friends, business associates, your Christmas card list, neighbors, members of organizations you are active in, candidates you have contributed to, your high school and college classmates, owners of stores you patronize, and everyone you have written a check to in the last several years. In other words, you are going to ask everyone you know or have known.

For these people you will stress the relationship, not the philosophy, in your pitch to solicit dollars.

Fear is a wonderful motivator. Al Capone is rumored to have said, "You can get a lot more with a kind word and a gun, than you can with a kind word alone." If you can make potential donors feel a gun is pointed at them to take away their property, reproductive, gun or other rights, and that their life and the future of humanity depend on their making a contribution now, you will have donations. If this sounds like overkill, think for a moment about how much money TV preachers take in and why.

Letting people know that you share and are actively promoting their values will also translate into funds. Single-issue organizations are where many of your long term donors will come from. This type of appeal does stress philosophy, but in an active, demonstrable way. If you can combine all three motivators, you have a sure bet.

Other Key Points

An integral part of your fundraising program is a "Thank You" mechanism. Every contributor, no matter how small, should receive a thank-you note as soon as possible. If the number of contributors is too large, prepare a form thank-you letter (sign it personally) to be sent to small contributors, but maintain a personal response for large ones.

The most likely contributors are those who have already given, and the higher the original contribution, the higher the next one is likely to be. If you can show your prospect that his contribution has already made a significant difference, it is relatively easy to ask for another: "Your \$100 really helped get us on the ballot. Now that we're on, we need to open a headquarters and start the campaign. Would you be willing to double your earlier contribution?"

Always ask for specific amounts of money, and don't be afraid to shoot high. A good place to start is with your estimate of 3% of the person's income. If you know a prospect has already given \$50, chances are he's likely to be able to give \$100, so ask him for it. If he can't he'll tell you, but he won't be offended. Conversely, if you don't ask for a specific

amount, the prospect will never give as much as he can afford; he'll give the least possible amount. Publicly recognize your contributors whenever possible. If your campaign has a newsletter, run a list of contributors. Read off the names of your contributors at events. It's not necessary to mention the amounts, although it's not bad to do so with generous contributors so long as you have their permission in advance.

Use specific expenses which need to be paid for: "We need money for the campaign" is far less persuasive than "We need \$400 for brochures" or "We need \$1000 for yard signs." Make contributors feel that they have made the difference in purchasing key items or services: "Your \$25 contribution will buy us one radio ad on WZYX." Donors prefer to contribute toward visible action items, such as TV ads, or to file a lawsuit fighting discrimination against an LP candidate. Asking for money for overhead items such as a headquarters or phone bill is less "sexy" and is usually a mistake.

The more personal an appeal is, or appears to be, the more likely it is to succeed. The ways of raising money, in order of their effectiveness, are:

- 1.Face to face solicitation by the candidate.
- 2.Telephone solicitation by the candidate.
- 3.Face to face solicitation by finance committee members.
- 4.Telephone solicitation by committee members.
- 5.Group appeals at events.
- 6.Group event sales.
- 7.Hand addressed, hand signed direct mail.
- 8.Obviously bulk rate direct mail.

Personal Solicitation

"Money comes in direct proportion to the amount of time the candidate spends fundraising. The candidate should fund-raise 3 hours a day five days a week. Fundraising comes before the chicken and the egg!"

Cathy Allen

President of *Campaign Connection*, and consultant on over 80 winning campaigns.

Facing someone, explaining why the money is needed, and asking him directly for it will, in the long run, yield the highest contributions from the greatest percentage of people. If it is possible to identify every potential contributor to your campaign and approach that person for money on a one-on-one basis, you should do so.

You will need to develop two distinctly different pitches, one for relationship donors, and the other for shared value donors.

Of course for some people you will combine elements of both. The themes from these pitches should also be used in phone and mail fundraising, and, in the case of shared value donors, should relate to your over-all campaign message.

With relationship donors, you are not out to convert them to Libertarianism. Play up the relationship instead. Your script should go something like: "Dad, good news. You've always

encouraged me to get involved, to try to make a difference. Well, I'm running for the state legislature, and I need my family's backing. I want you to give me (3-5% of their gross income, or double the highest donation you know of that they have ever given to another candidate or charity)."

A pitch for a businessman you spend money with might go like: John, you've been my doctor for 8 years now, and I've spent hundreds of dollars with you. I want you to know it's been worth every penny for your good service. You know I'm running for state representative. I'd like to ask you to spend some money with me. Will you write me a contribution of (2-3% of gross income) for my campaign?"

After you ask for a specific amount, SHUT UP. It is the donor's turn to respond. The next 15 seconds while you are waiting for an answer will seem like an eternity, but keep quiet. If you talk first after the specific request, you'll lose dollars. DON'T say "please give \$500.00 or whatever you can afford." This gives the prospect an out, and is a big mistake.

If (when) you get excuses or objections, listen to the donor's reasons, and repeat them back to the prospect, if possible with a sympathetic anecdote: "Yeah, I know how hard it is to send kids to college. I've got two youngsters in private schools myself." Then answer their objection: "But just think how much more affordable it would be for both of us if we could get the government out of the education business. That's exactly why you should contribute to my campaign." You have answered their objection in a way that steers the conversation back to areas of agreement. Be a good listener, and don't interrupt.

Ask at least three times. Use a different hook each request. And don't go down too quickly on the amount you ask for. Let them know what others are giving to the campaign. If they say no three times, ask once more for an amount that anyone can give. If they can't give anything, ask for their advice, for their time, and if it is all right to call back at a later date.

Get the check now. Don't settle for a pledge, settle for a contribution. Try to remove any excuses they have for delaying the donation. If they don't have their checkbook with them, ask, "what time tomorrow can I send someone by to pick it up." Thank them profusely. And send them a written thank you also, as soon as possible.

Telemarketing

Most of the advice for face to face solicitation also applies to telephone appeals. While you can't look your prospect in the eyeballs, you're still conveying a very personalized request. A small number of people can contact a large number of prospects this way; generally speaking, a list of 20 or 25 names is not an excessive demand for a telephone fundraiser, which means that four people can contact a list of 100 prospects in one or two evenings of calling.

The candidate should concentrate on calling family, friends,

high end donors, and previous donors. Use peers or other volunteers to call lists that are "colder." One good trick is to use two or three assistants to the candidate during phoning sessions. The assistants give the scripted message to the prospects, then the candidate gets on the phone to close the sale. Never let the candidate call alone. The peer pressure of a group is needed for successful volunteer telefundraising.

Here's a hot tip to combine your telemarketing efforts with your mail fundraising into a dynamic, coordinated, and highly personalized program.

1. Personalizing each letter with the prospect's name in the greeting and again in the P.S. is best.
2. The P.S. will read, "I'll be calling you next Thursday between 5:00 and 9:00 P.M. to get your input and advice on my campaign."
3. Mail your letters out 50 at a time to be called in one 3 to 4 hour time slot.

This sets up the prospect to expect to give, and really impresses them with your level of organization, also prompting a donation. Most importantly, it locks the candidate into doing the calls that are so critical to a successful fundraising plan.

The candidate should be able to call 16 prospects per hour, connect with 7, and get money from 4. With a \$40.00 average donation you should raise \$500.00 per shift from your prime list.

Special Events

Group solicitations are the third most powerful. By this is meant situations such as banquets, cocktail parties, etc., where a group request is made. These can be tremendous successes or total failures depending upon the kind of pitch that is made and the advance preparation and follow-up. Absolute minimum requirements include a skilled "pitch" person, response cards and/or envelopes distributed to everyone in attendance before the pitch is made, and collectors to circulate around the room picking up checks and pledges immediately after the pitch.

Special events which involve the selling of goods or services, such as garage sales, bake sales, car washes, etc. can be successful once people have been drawn to the event and understand that they're not there just to buy the cute little lamp but to contribute to a political campaign.

Banquets or parties which have an admission price far above the cost of the food or beverages fall generally into this category; again, the trick is to get people there. In general, you will make more money for the campaign for the amount of time invested with other forms of fundraising.

...Timothy Crowley

(Continued from page 1) [Spending Money]

needed, without disrupting other operations because no one acted on the well-known fact that 2008 is an election year.

The above costs reflect necessary activities of the National Committee. We must service our members. We must raise money. We must maintain our 50-state ballot access. We can change our tactics for carrying out these activities, but the strategy that demands these activities is locked into place. The membership will rightly not tolerate a National Committee that fails to publish a regular newsletter, fails to honor commitments to state committees, fails to get us 50-state ballot access without a rational explanation, or fails to raise the money it needs to carry out its missions.

I'm not saying the above list includes everything we must do, but everything on the above list must be done.

George Phillies

**Stand Up for Liberty!
Chapter Eight**

Our Most Important Resource is Our People

What are our resources? How can they be employed? Why will Local Organization make most effective use of them? Resources are the people, the material goods, and the events we have available when we Stand Up for Liberty! Resources are the tools we will use to Make Liberty Happen! in our lifetimes. Resources are the strengths we deploy to elect Libertarians to office, to pass Libertarian laws, and to gain new resources for the Libertarian Party.

What are our resources? Above all, we have people, American citizens working individually to build a Libertarian America. We have material resources: newsletters, Email lists, databases. We have the financial support of our many donors, amplifying the efforts of those Libertarians who give their time as a gift in kind. We do things; we have events that build the Libertarian Party. We have associated groups: local, statewide, national, special interest...

This chapter discusses only one resource, the human resource. After all,

Our Most Important Resource is Our People

The most important resource that the Libertarian Party has is the people who support our Libertarian cause. We do not have the hundreds of millions of dollars raised -- and largely wasted -- by the Democratic-Republican duopoly and its trains of PACs and sycophants. We do have human beings, every bit as intelligent, hard-working, and motivated as the people who support our opponents. It is our people who are ready to *Stand Up for Liberty!* and work for liberty in our lifetime. It is through the Local Organization Strategy -- and only through the Local Organization strategy -- that the Libertarian Party can mobilize and use these people effectively.

What sorts of people do we have? A traditional answer of

the other parties is that party members are young and old, white and black, male and female, union members and veterans and war heroes. Now, it does happen that the Massachusetts Libertarian Party has a female majority (As of 2002, 58%, up to 2/3 in some towns, with an electorate that is 53-54% female), but I'm not going to dwell on that number. Libertarians prefer to honor the uniqueness of each human being.

Most Libertarians give a non-traditional answer. Most Libertarians say every American is an individual, different from every other American, and as entitled to his or her constitutional freedoms as every other American. Other parties may ask a newcomer "What's your special interest group? Who are you with?" Most Libertarians follow me in saying "Hi! I'm George Phillies. Welcome to our Libertarian meeting." and hope to learn the newcomer's name and why she has chosen to Stand Up for Liberty!

I'm going to talk about sorts of people who work for our party. I'm going to talk about what individual people choose to do, not how many votes their friends have, or what color eyes they were born with. I could say we have three sorts of people, more or less. We have members, we have specialists, and we have activists. I could also talk about political campaigns, and say that we have four sorts of people. We have candidates, we have staffers, we have volunteers, and we have voters.

All these people are important. Members are the bedrock on which the Libertarian movement rests. Specialists and activists are the workers who toil to construct the Libertarian movement. Candidates run for office. Except in the most local of elections, a candidate without a staff is not going to do well. Volunteers are the people who amplify the efforts of the staff, turning a few thin voices into the great shout of Libertarian voters demanding low taxes, small government, and personal freedom!

Members, Specialists, and Activists

Libertarians have a wide range of commitments to Libertarian action. Members made a limited commitment to the Libertarian movement. They read a newsletter, come to an occasional meeting, register Libertarian, or usually vote for Libertarian on the ballot. Specialists are people prepared to work for the party, but only in certain ways that they have chosen. A specialist's activity may be a simple task. Some specialist activities are so challenging that most of us could not imagine doing them. Activists do not necessarily work harder than specialists. However, activists are willing to do many different things to Stand Up for Liberty!: They run for office, collect signatures, hold up signs at street corners, and make telephone contacts, depending on the party's needs.

Who are the members?

The members are the masses of people who have discovered that they are Libertarian at heart. They may look for Libertarian candidates on the November ballot. 28 states register voters by political Party. In many of these states, members may have checked a box on the voter registration form and registered Libertarian. Members may show up occasionally at a local supper club, have dinner, and listen to a Libertarian speaker. They may pay their dues to a state party, or may send their dues to Washington, D.C. Alternatively, they may belong to a special interest group that takes Libertarian stands, a friend of liberty such as Jews for the

Preservation of Firearms Ownership, Separation of School and State, or National Organization for the Reform of Marijuana Laws. All these people are members of the Libertarian movement, one way or another.

Many members want to hear what the Libertarian Party is doing. They want to know who we are running for office and how our last campaign did. A membership newsletter, outreach telephone call, web page, or a local newspaper may satisfy this interest. Members are not activists. Their interest in campaigns generally ends with the voting booth and the vote totals.

More or less by definition, a member has no overriding interest in Standing Up for Liberty! by working for his party. Some members believe there is a free lunch at the ballot box, so they can show up and vote Libertarian without doing anything to put Libertarians on the ballot. Other members don't believe there's a free lunch at the ballot box. They know there are real costs to getting Libertarians on the ballot. However, those costs are more than they are willing to pay for the chance to vote Libertarian. These are member attitudes: these are the positions of people who will buy tickets, sit in the bleachers, and cheer on their Libertarian team if one happens to take the field.

From the standpoint of Local Organization, it does not matter a great deal which group a member joins. All libertarian groups need Libertarian members. All groups -- when well run -- expose members to the greater Libertarian movement. Every group creates some likelihood that their members will choose to Stand Up for Liberty! and become more committed to our cause.

Who are the specialists and the activists?

The specialists and the activists are the people who do the Libertarian party's work. Specialists and activists do the tasks that advance the Libertarian movement. Specialists perform a single activity for their party. Activists are more prepared to do what the situation demands of them.

The distinction between activists and specialists has not historically been emphasized. Activists are people willing to do a range of things, some tedious, dull, or simply unpleasant. Activists are people who show at meetings regularly and sometimes get things done. Activists will collect signatures, hold signs in front of polling places, stuff envelopes, phone members to get out the vote, or -- within their broad zone of comfort -- do whatever else is necessary to support the Party. In contrast, specialists are people who support the party by doing the particular tasks that they have chosen. Donors are specialists. People who give outreach lectures to outside groups are specialists. The party member who stays at home and writes letters to the editor is a specialist. The html guru who debugs the party web page is a specialist. Petitioners are sometimes specialists. Specialists differ from activists; they have defined what they are willing to do for the party.

It is often possible to persuade a specialist to do something outside their specialty, e.g., collect signatures for a nominating petition. However, 'something else' is not what the specialist

wants to do. If the specialist is too often put into what *he* finds uncomfortable as a task, he is likely to cease performing his specialist activity, too.

In many cases, specialists and activists first became libertarian members, and then decided to Stand Up for Liberty! by working for the cause. In some cases standing up is easy. The information systems guru who is a key member of a Fortune 500 company has no real trouble tracking three dozen mailing labels for the local newsletter. The professional voice who records ads and messages all day knows exactly how to prepare and place a one-minute radio spot, complete with extra voices and theme music. In other cases activation is much more difficult. The shy young person who commits to collecting signatures at a mall faces a personal as well as a political challenge.

Here in Massachusetts, for several years we had started to see defections from other political parties' activists, notably long-time members of the duopoly Party's city, town, and state committees. These people already know how to be active in politics. They have committed to our platform by changing parties, abandoning the duopoly for the Libertarian party. A challenge for Libertarian groups across America is to recruit more of these people, learn from their knowledge, and employ their talents.

How Are Members Turned into Specialists and Activists? Why?

We want to turn members into specialists and activists, because specialists and activists do the hard work needed to turn the Libertarian Party into America's Majority Party.

How do you persuade people to become more active? You can create a supportive atmosphere for activism by running positive articles in newsletters, publicly praising the deeds of new activists and specialists, and setting the standard: People who Stand Up for Liberty! are congratulated and rewarded.

A supportive atmosphere is basically shallow. A supportive atmosphere encourages people to become more active after they start to become active. By itself, a friendly environment is not very effective at moving members off ground zero into activism. To pull people out of their shells and onto their feet, there is no substitute for personal contact. There is no substitute for asking and persuading and cajoling members who have become your friends to help you with your challenges. Of course, before you can ask a friend for help, they must become your friend. Before you can have personal contact, you have to meet people personally. To make Libertarian friends and have personal contacts who have Libertarian inclinations, there is no substitute for local organization.

The much-maligned Libertarian Supper club is a fine way to meet locally. The key to activist success in a supper club environment is simple. Activists must remember that they have a supper club, but the purpose of the supper club is not supper. For activists, the purpose of the supper club is to befriend new people of Libertarian inclination and to start your friends along the road toward activism. The much-praised 8-page fund-raising/recruiting letter can't substitute for local groups, friendship, and personal contact. The much-praised 8-page fund-raising letter can't replace local people setting an example when they person-

ally Stand Up for Liberty! The much-praised 8-page fund-raising letter can't replace local campaigns and events that get people involved with their own party.

Membership Recruitment and the Members

How can you recruit members? You can try to move people from one membership activity to another, from reading web pages to joining the JPFO, the ACLU, or their local Libertarian club. All member groups are valid parts of the Libertarian movement. Persuading people to join one more libertarian group does strengthen that group a bit. Persuading people to join one more Libertarian group makes it more likely they'll hear about about Libertarian efforts to change laws and put Libertarians into office.

Bringing a person into contact with one more group makes it one bit more likely that he will hear the one message that persuades him to Stand Up for Liberty! When the correct logical appeal (perhaps the cry that sets fire to the member's heart or the right reminder of our Republic's glorious heritage and national patrimony) reaches the right member, that member will become an activist.

However, shuffling members from Libertarian group to Libertarian group by itself has only secondary effects on the Libertarian cause as a whole. If all you do is to move Libertarians from one group to another, there are no more Libertarians than there were before. Recruiting Libertarians to join your group *may* help your part of the Libertarian movement. However, unless your new member becomes more active because he joined your group, your group is stronger only because you weakened another part of the movement.

Members are a burden as well as a strength. They must be reached. They must be reminded to renew their memberships. Their votes must be counted in any internal election. If you have enough members, these burdens require dedicating additional activists to servicing the members, hiring part- or full-time staff, or perhaps using professional mailing and outsourcing services.

No matter what your size, additional members are an additional burden on your limited corps of activists. No matter your group's size, there are costs to having extra members. Members consume resources, resources that would not be consumed if membership were smaller. Careful planning can overcome many of these costs. Dues can be set to compensate for the expense of servicing additional members. Careful attention to marginal costs will ensure that extra members are a net benefit rather than a net burden.

Adding members to your group does not strengthen your group where it is probably weakest. Adding members does not give your group more specialists and activists, the people every Libertarian group needs to compete with the millions of activists of the duopoly parties. Adding members -- the Membership Recruitment strategy -- is by itself a feeble reed on which to build a Libertarian majority.

Of course, every member of a group might become a specialist or an activist, and contribute directly to the creation of the Lib-

ertarian future. You can always hope that members will be activated by chance. That's a pure recruitment strategy. You build up a membership club, and hope the members become activists. Alternatively, you can use the strategy that makes membership activation a fundamental objective. That strategy is Local Organization.

Candidates, Staffers, Volunteers, and Voters

I return to a theme of Chapter 4:

The Purpose of a Political Party is

- to Advance Its Agenda,
- to Run Candidates and Win Elections, and
- to Use Electoral Victory to Put Its Program into Effect.

If we fulfill this purpose, we are the Libertarian Party. If we do not run candidates for office, we are not a political party at all, just a group of party-goers.

Recruiting candidates is critical to Libertarian victory. We need 400,000 candidates, give or take, to contest the 400,000 political offices that exist across the country. (We may get by with a few less, because we may be able to abolish some of those offices before we elect our people to them. We can't count on that advantage.)

Why do we run people for office? We run people for office because we want to elect them, so they can move the United States in a Libertarian direction. However, we also run people for office because every political campaign has benefits beyond winning elections.

Candidates are not enough for victory. Each candidate needs a campaign staff. Staffers are the people who do the hard work needed to elect our

candidates to office. Until our candidates have campaign staffs, they will run for office but rarely win.

In a successful theater company, for every star performer there is a technical company behind the curtain. In electoral terms, the star is the candidate, and the company is her campaign staff. We do need to develop our star actors. Just as important, we need to develop our technical companies. A successful party develops campaign staffs as well as candidates.

To get a Libertarian electoral majority, we need the Alphabet, the Numbers, and the V's of Chapter One. To get a Libertarian electoral majority we need campaign advisors, donors, petitioners, leafletters, and every other sort of campaign staff member. The staffers are the people who stand behind the candidate, doing the hard work of getting her on the ballot, raising money, advertising her stands, and turning out the vote. Except in very local races, a candidate without a staff is going to have to work very hard to win.

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