

# Let Freedom Ring

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## Keep Your Money At Home! — A Texas View

[Dr. Lance Flores is Finance Director of the Libertarian Party of Dallas County. In 1992 the Dallas County LP ran the largest LP slate in the country, getting an average of 34% of the vote (range 16-51%), pushed the Democratic Party into third place, and received the public confession of the Dallas County Republican Chair that his party didn't care about the Democrats but should be seriously afraid of a well-funded Libertarian county party.]

We have been continually sent e-mail and letters as well as confronted at meetings and public places as to why we're not doing more on the political front: recruiting candidates, more newsletters, promotion, etc. The answer, friends, is simple. Money. It is what makes the world turn; especially the political world where we have an advantage in Dallas County because it costs us \$0.018 per vote during the political season and Republicans about \$1.10 per vote (statistics from 1992 election). Few places in the country have been granted a position like ours, and we have let it slip through our fingers.

It is your support and volunteers which pushed the Democrats to third position in average votes per candi-

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## Stand Up for Liberty!

[George Phillies is Chair of the Pioneer Valley Libertarian Association and of the Central Massachusetts Liberty Coalition. He was the candidate of the Massachusetts Libertarian Party for US Senate in 1996 and for US Congress in 1998. Liberty Magazine reported that he was a possible Libertarian candidate for President in 2000. To advance the PVLA, Let Freedom Ring is presenting chapters from his new book Stand Up for Liberty! This month, we present Chapter Four:]

### What Are We Going to Do?\*

Local Organization -- The Path to Libertarian Victory I begin with the most fundamental issue.

The Purpose of a Political Party is

\*to Advance Its Agenda,

\*to Run Candidates and Win Elections, and

(Continued on page 2)

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## Liberty Tree PAC

Liberty Tree, The Small-Government Low-Taxes Political Action Committee, has been organized by PVLA and CMLC members, with PVLA Libertarian Party member (and long-time former Holyoke Republican Committee Chair) Sally Howes as PAC chair, and PVLA/CMLC Chair George Phillies as Treasurer.

Liberty Tree, an organization legally independent of the PVLA and the CMLC, exists to support pro-liberty candidates for non-Federal office. We have already had \$300 in contributions, and more are expected. Jerry-Horton's near-miss loss (page 8) shows how a few dollars could go a long way to advance liberty.

Why not support a pro-liberty PAC? Donations may be sent to Professor George Phillies, 87-6 Park Avenue, Worcester MA 01605. Please make checks payable to Liberty Tree PAC.

Contributions are legally limited to \$100 per person per calendar year. Please include your name, address, occupation, and employer along with your donation.

## Libertarian News

A Libertarian group has formed at U Mass Amherst. The contact is reportedly Michael Froimowitz, 704 Washington, University of Massachusetts, Amherst MA 01003 (mfroimow@cs.umass.edu).

The Libertarian Party of New Hampshire held its state convention in late October in Nashua, NH. The LPNH has adopted the policy of running large numbers of candidates, rather than running a few candidates with

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**Election and Political News**

In Worcester, Massachusetts, long-time Libertarian supporter and registered Independent Jerry Horton is running actively for the City Council. Worcester is the second largest city in New England. Horton's district has close to 20,000 registered voters.

The Horton campaign has included radio and television interviews, debates, mailings, and a systematic distribution of push cards to registered voters. A PERL script that accesses the Internet was used to download the telephone number of more-or-less every voter in Horton's district That's close to 20,000 voters. A well-arranged telephone bank will have called 80% of all voters before election day. Horton is endorsed strongly by the city's newspaper; his opponent received a weak endorsement from the city's weekly newsletter.

Worcester Municipal elections are non-partisan. While it is often well known which party a candidate supports, the party identification does not appear on the election ballot. Horton has chosen to run as an independent. He did ask for support from the State Libertarian organization, but as we have reported previously that group had no money to support candidates. The election is 11/2/99.



**Late Breaking News**

We have just been informed that Libertarian Steven Drury of Templeton is running for State Representative in the special election in that district. More News when available.

Jerry Horton scored a near-miss in the Worcester First Council District, losing to Steve Patten 3405-2882 in a hard-fought race against an incumbent.

**Be A Secret Agent For Liberty**

The enclosed trifold has our address and contact data. Put it out where people will see it: a library bulletin board, the coffee room at work,... Do your bit for Liberty without risking personal confrontation.

The Pioneer Valley Libertarian Association is Massachusetts' oldest local Libertarian organization, with regular meetings since 1995. The PVLA and its sister Central Massachusetts Liberty Coalition work to advance freedom across Massachusetts' 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Congressional Districts, stretching from Williamstown to Dartmouth. Read more about the PVLA and CMLC on their web sites, <http://www.wmlp.org> and <http://www.cmlc.org>. The PVLA and CMLC web sites are hosted by Excell.net (<http://www.excell.net>) a locally-owned, locally operated internet service provider offering solutions to people and businesses in the Pioneer Valley. Why not patronize a fellow Libertarian? See [www.excell.net](http://www.excell.net) for internet service.

First Class Mail

date in '92, when we had the largest Libertarian candidate slate for any county in the country, with the lowest vote received 16% [with an average per candidate election return of] 34%.

In the past two years support has dropped [off] dramatically. When we talked with people who are concerned that the LPDC is not doing enough, they were invariably dismayed when we told them we do not receive a penny either from the National LP or from the State LP.

The next question is: where are all my contributions going? The answer is the National LP and the State LP.

The predictable next question is: how about the glowing speech by the Texas State chair in the nomination speeches at the '98 conference? Didn't he say if he were elected that we would get more attention from National, and more funding, if we would go to the Unified Membership program?

Well this is true, but the fact is we haven't seen a dime since these promises were made. And when we ask people if Unified Membership was why they don't give us direct support the answer one hundred per cent of the time is yes.

There are many like Steve May—who contributes hundreds of dollars to National LP, National LP projects, Ron Paul's campaigns and projects, and to the State party—who are outraged. Even our new Treasurer, who makes direct monthly payments in a similar manner, didn't realize we weren't receiving anything from State and National until he assumed the duties of treasurer.

You will probably be receiving a letter from National asking for support to get four other states on the ballot and have already received a solicitation from the Texas LP to support Campaign 2000. Remember, we've never received a dime from these folks and look at what we've accomplished.

Our candidates have set records for vote accumulation and average votes per candidate in a single county. Our candidates have set records in total state-wide votes received. (John Hawley received more votes in Texas alone than did Harry Browne across the 50 states.) [John Hawley also set a record for any Libertarian judicial candidate] We have run the largest slate of candidates for the past ten years, and there is much more that we have accomplished.

But we can't keep this up without your support.

We are asking for your help. We are asking you to suspend any contributions sent to National and State parties.

We will try to get this letter out to at least six-hundred members and contributors but are asking you to get it to as many Dallas County libertarians as possible many whom are not on any mailing or Internet list.

The time is late and we must help our selves in Dallas County if we expect to remain a viable force. This should have been the year for a Libertarian breakthrough.

Lance Flores, Finance Director  
Libertarian Party of Dallas County  
<http://lpdallas.org>

\*to Use Electoral Victory to Put Its Program into Effect.

Our objective is to create a Libertarian Party that achieves its purpose in our lifetimes. Our objective is to use democratic practices to put into practice our political agenda, the agenda of freedom, small government, low taxes, and the entire Bill of Rights. Our objective is to elect Libertarians who will put Libertarian policies into effect everywhere. Our objective is Libertarian control of town halls, statehouses, the Federal Congress, and executive branches across the Republic. Our objective is political victory.

We can talk all we want about a libertarian world, but to attain a libertarian world we must first create a Libertarian electoral majority. To create that majority, we need to create a major political party that is as strong as the other major political parties.

How are we going to win elections? We're in 1999. This year, the election of a second Libertarian state legislator to join Neil Randall of Vermont would be a triumph. How do we reach the future in which strong Libertarian majorities control Congress, state houses, and town halls from sea to shining sea?

We choose our path to the future by choosing a political strategy. The last chapter discussed different strategies. One and only one of those strategies is consistent with libertarian principles, promises effective use of all of our resources, and minimizes practical hazards arising from human weakness. That strategy is Local Organization.

The Path to Libertarian Victory is through Local Organization. Local Organization will build the Libertarian movement in every county, every town, every ward and precinct. Local Organization will give us the strength to nominate and elect candidates to local political office. Local Organization will identify and develop local libertarian political figures, giving us more, more credible, high-quality candidates for higher office. Local Organization will create the political apparatus that elects Libertarians to state and Federal office.

Most important, Local Organization leads to Local Victory. Local victories install Libertarians in town, city, and district offices. Local victories let our friends and neighbors see who we really are and what causes we support. Local Victory lets our fellow Americans see Libertarian politicians put into effect successful Libertarian solutions to community problems. Local Victory prepares the foundation for victories at higher levels.

When strong Libertarian organizations are found in every city and town, higher political offices will inevitably fall into our hands. Until the Libertarian Party has widespread local success, victories at higher levels will be scattered.

Without Local Organization and local victories, isolated victories at higher levels will in any event be meaningless, because isolated Libertarian office-holders cannot put Libertarian policies into effect. As Richard Nixon discovered in 1968, a Republican President without a Republican Con-gress, Republican think tanks and pundits, and Republican bureaucrats in the Senior Executive Service is a man pushing on a rope: he can wave his hands as fast as he wants, but no real work gets done. If we elected a Libertarian President in 2000, he would be in the same boat as Nixon.

The Local Organization strategy does not oppose running candidates for Federal and statewide office. Quite the opposite, in fact! Candidates for higher office get publicity that more local candidates cannot. A candidate for President or Governor or Senator can make local appearances, shedding light on Libertarian candidates who run in winnable local elections. A well-run state or national campaign can send the message Vote Libertarian! and spread the Libertarian message to millions of Americans who would otherwise miss it.

Federal candidates aid the Party's credibility in other ways. When we run a full slate of Congressional candidates, we prove we're not the one-man show of Ross Perot's Reform Party. Right now, our chance of taking control of Congress is as good as the chance that the Republican Party had in the mid-1960s. Besides, some Libertarians have the credentials to be believable candidates for Federal office, but lack the credentials to be believable candidates for local office. Either we run these people for Federal office, or their talents go to waste.

At the other extreme from Federal campaigning, Stand Up for Liberty! recognizes that many Libertarians are not interested in political activism. There's nothing wrong with the Libertarian Supper club that meets once a month to debate the finer points of Libertarian doctrine. If you want to do something other than partisan political activity, Stand Up for Liberty! has plenty of room for you. Political Parties do not live in a vacuum. They succeed because they surround themselves with social, community, and special-interest organizations, each having its own non-political purposes, each supporting Libertarian politicians on election day.

Local Organization relies in the first instance on Lib-

ertarians running for local and district office. We also salute those brave Libertarians who offer themselves and run for Federal and statewide offices. We equally honor those dedicated libertarians who work to deepen our collective understanding of libertarianism through camaraderie and mutual support.

Nonetheless...

The Path to Libertarian Victory is through Local Organization and Local Victory.

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Well, that's very nice to say.

It really is very nice to say that.

Now, how do we actually do it? How do we put the Local Organization strategy into effect? How do we advance from local organization and local victories to the Libertarian future?

The rest of my book proposes the answer. Stand Up for Liberty! describes implementation steps for putting the Local Organization strategy into effect. I categorically deny that my list of steps is complete. I have tried to cover some of the more important issues. It is certainly the case that you and your fellow readers will do a great deal to refine the implementation, add new steps and delete others. I claim only to offer a foundation for future discussion and progress.

What will you find in the rest of the book?

\*Activities for Local, State, and Federal Organizations\* The Local Organization strategy calls for Libertarian activities on the local, state, and national levels. Each level has its special role to play. Local organizations will do much of the critical work in building a Libertarian future. However, state and national groups also have important, well-defined tasks. Chapter 5 considers activities that every Party group should perform, including developing the Libertarian voter base, inciting members to activism, and external and internal outreach. Chapter 6 discusses roles that are more appropriate for one party group or another, from Libertarian supper clubs to the Presidential Ballot Access effort.

\*Campaigns\* The purpose of a political party is to run candidates for office. Political campaigns and their support should be the focus of our efforts. Chapter 7 discusses why we should run candidates for office. It considers how

many candidates we should run, how we use campaigns to build a stronger Libertarian Party, and what sorts of races our candidates run. We can run umbrella campaigns, so every citizen can Vote Libertarian! We can run serious campaigns to win, and informational campaigns to bring out voters.

\*Human Resources\* We have local and Federal and special-interest groups to develop and apply our resources. Chapter 8 discusses our most important resource, our activists and specialists and members. Chapter 8 also discusses human resources within political campaigns, the candidates and staffers and volunteers and voters who eventually get Libertarians into office.

\*Electronic Resources\* The Libertarian Party is the party of the future. Chapter 9 discusses how Libertarian activists can exploit the Internet, the electronic resource of the future, to develop local organizations and run stronger political campaigns.

\*PACs, Support Networks, and Special Interest Groups. The other major parties have strengths beyond their own internal organization. They surround themselves with swarms of political action committees, special interest groups, and cabals of specialist spokesmen, all seemingly independent from the party but all actually working to support their party's programs. We need go no further than the Abortion Rights group that supports pro-life Democrats and ignores pro-choice Libertarians in the same race. We need go no further than the Second Amendment group that supports anti-RKBA Republicans and attacks pro-RKBA Libertarians in the same race, as if the organization were actually the National Republican Association. A successful political party has its army of support groups and one-issue vote siphoners. Chapter 10 shows how to Make Liberty Happen! by creating Libertarian political action committees and special interest groups.

\*Implementing the Marketplace of Ideas\* In his 1983 pamphlet "Hierarchy or Market?" Jorge Amador advocated the superiority of Market Decentralism as a Libertarian Party strategy. Amador emphasized the costs of Libertarian Party internal politics. Amador proposed to replace a central party with market relationships. Chapters 11-13 discuss supplementing a centralist political organization with the Marketplace of Ideas. Chapter 11 presents some of Amador's ideas. Chapter 12 discusses how we could implement the marketplace of ideas. Chapter 13 considers educating Libertarian investors: an informed investor is a good investor.

\*Information management\* Even in Massachusetts, many people would hesitate to drive the Mass Pike at rush hour while wearing a blindfold. Many Libertarians are far less hesitant to race down the political highway while wearing data blindfolds, not knowing what is going on, what has already been learned, and what might

support fellow Libertarians. Chapter 14 discusses Information Management, the technical tool for removing Libertarian data blindfolds and multiplying the effectiveness of all Libertarian groups. To use information, you have to find it, analyze it, store it, and get it into the hands of the people who need it.

\*What Are We To Do?\*

How do we, the advocates of the Local Organization strategy, put our plans into effect within the Libertarian Party? Chapter 15 deals with this important question. Chapter 15 answers such questions as: How do we deal with present Party structures? What should our relationships be with advocates of Membership Recruitment? Where do we invest our resources to put Local Organization into effect?

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\*Once upon a time, the late unlamented gangster V. I. Lenin wrote a book under the title "What is to be done?" Note the highly appropriate difference in syntax between his title and mine. Lenin, a democratic centralist, assumed that he the Executive Secretary would decree what actions were to be taken by his Communist Party, and the party apparatchiki would leap to carry out the will of their central committee before the secret police came to their door. In contrast, I propose voluntary acts that individual Libertarians may choose to perform. I encourage spontaneous self-organization to advance the libertarian movement. I note interesting places and topics for self-organization. We shall have victory if we choose to organize. We shall have defeat if we do not. However, unlike Lenin's party faithful, Libertarians need not fear a midnight knock on their front doors from the Party's secret police.

The same Lenin displayed his precognitive skills by predicting when the Tsar would fall. He predicted a time seven decades in the future. The Tsar actually abdicated after seven weeks.

I am not going to predict when we will elect a Libertarian government. However, there are a variety of symptoms. We will not win at large until we start seeing large-scale defections of members and activists from the Democratic and the Republican parties. When we are ready to elect a President of the United States, we will also have a serious chance of taking control of Congress, and vice versa: If our Congressional campaigns are feeble, there is no possibility that our candidate will be elected President. Under current conditions, our candidates for Congress often get 2-5 percent of the vote, while our candidate for President gets a tenth that.

We've got a ways to go. Local Organization will get us there.

## Au Revoir!

[Michael Serafin is a long-time Libertarian Activist and PVLA Member. He writes here to discuss why he switched over to the Republican Liberty Caucus.]

One can only play a fantasy role-playing game for so long. Some people get out of it with their sense of reality intact. Others start to believe that they are the fantasy roles they are playing. The former is what I am attempting to do. The latter is The Libertarian Party. The LP has had going on 30 years to make themselves be taken seriously. They have not done it. Every election cycle, they believe electoral nirvana will strike them this time. And every time, they get their 0.1 percent, call it a "moral" victory, and move on to the next delusion. So Donald Trump or Warren Beatty may declare themselves candidates for the Reform Party. Where any of you walking tall as Libertarians when Howard Stern was going to run as a Libertarian? Is it gratifying to you to open up the latest LP NEWS and read the screaming headline Libertarian Elected to Sewer Commissioner in Broken Nose, Nevada. Exclusive interview with photographs inside!) Or something similar? I exaggerate only slightly. If Carla Howell handily defeats Ted Kennedy in a stunning upset next year, I will gladly eat.....something. When State and National LP conventions are held, and internecine arguments erupt and points of order are called for with bluster, the LP acts as if these actually matter to the rest of the country. I guess that's why their conventions get full front-page spreads in newspapers and gavel-to-gavel coverage on television. Oh, you mean they don't?

Please turn to the Classified section of your newspaper for the 3-line exclusive on this year's convention. You can't implement change unless you win. If the LP were smart, they would dissolve their organization and assimilate into the GOP and fight for Party control from the social conservatives. Ron Paul got elected running as a Republican. He is still a libertarian at heart, has not diluted any of his libertarian beliefs. But he could never get elected running as a Libertarian. He has been asked by LP stalwarts when he is going to come to his senses and come back to "the Party"? His answer always has been, "I never left it". And so it is with me. Till we meet again.

...Michael Serafin

## Stand Up for Liberty!

5

### Chapter Five

#### Activities For Every Libertarian Political Group

The strategy that will take us to political victory is Local Organization. Local activism and local groups will be the centerpiece of our final success in enacting the Libertarian agenda. In putting local organizations at the forefront of the Local Organization strategy, I am not saying that we should only have local organizations. That would be silly. National, state, and special-interest groups all have well-defined, mission-critical roles within the Local Organization Strategy.

Some actions should be performed by every Libertarian party organization, national, state, and local. Other activities are especially appropriate at one of these levels. Within this Chapter, I'll consider things that we should all be doing.

Our ultimate objective is political victory. To get to victory, we must develop a large voter base and strong party organization, so that we can elect and re-elect huge numbers of Libertarians to political office. On the road toward these objectives, we have intermediate goals:

- \* Build a Party that grows because people want to join it. This strategy works for the Congressional Republicans, and it will work for us. People spontaneously join an active party that offers product quality, not a party of glitz, hype, and spin.

- \* Foster activism. The Libertarian Party persuades people to Stand Up for Liberty! and donate their time and energy.

- \* Develop Local Organization and local activity. We must greatly increase the number of local and special-interest groups. We should promote a spirit of healthy positive competition between them.

- \* Greatly increase the number of elected Libertarians. "Elected libertarians" are office-holders who do libertarian deeds and tell the public and the press that they are Libertarians, no matter the party line on their ballot.

#### ACTIVITIES FOR EVERY LEVEL

This chapter presents activities that should be performed by Libertarian political groups at every level, from the national party to the block committee. I'll talk about Developing the Voter Base, Incitement, Information Management, Outreach, The Importance of Keeping Promises, and Fund-Raising. I'll even mention some activities that every group should avoid. Each group performs these activities in different ways, but every activity discussed below is important to Libertarians working anywhere in our party structure.

#### \*\*DEVELOPING THE VOTER BASE

A fundamental objective of every Libertarian party organization is to develop a strong Libertarian voter base. Until a strong voter base is obtained, political victory will not happen. The path to a strong voter base is Local Organization.

Why do we need a voter base? Every political party faces three groups of voters. Your voter base is the people who

will support your party no matter what. People in the middle can be persuaded to vote for you. Some people will never vote for your party. The first group is your voter base. The last group is the other guy's voter base. Money only changes the votes of the people in the middle.

These groups are soft at the edges. With two strong, well-supported candidates, the middle shrinks way down. Between Carter and Reagan, the Anderson and Clark campaigns only had a few percent of the electorate to work with. A really weak candidate, a Bob Dole or a Walter Mondale, still holds 30% or 40% of the electorate. Reform Party Governor Jesse Ventura faced two extremely weak opponents and took full advantage of Minnesota election laws to register new Reform Party voters. Ventura captured an extremely wide middle, brought many new voters with him, and in winning only captured a modest fraction of the vote.

Advertising takes the Party beyond its base vote to capture uncommitted voters. Only voters not committed to a party are moved by advertising. A great success of Libertarian advertising (he still lost) was Jon Coon's State Representative campaign, which spent \$160,000 -- twice what the Democrat spent -- to capture 16% of the vote to the Democrat's 68%. That's a Libertarian capturing the complete middle, every vote accessible to advertising, against a strong (incumbent) opponent. The Republican also captured 16% of the vote, while spending not a penny, purely on the strength of having run in the district before. That 16% is the Republican voter base that will stay loyal to its party in a heavily Democratic district.

Note a basic principle: Dollars per vote formulas refer to the margin. Applying dollars per vote formulas to the entire voting population is mystic nonsense. Your Democratic opponent may have spent \$10 a vote, but that was primarily to capture the last 5 or 10% of his voters. Your Democratic opponent got 40% or so of the total vote simply because he was a Democrat.

The Coon campaign demonstrates what every competent political strategist recognizes: Building a solid voter base is mandatory for political victory. Our voter base is the people who Vote Libertarian! simply because there is a Libertarian on the ballot. Without a large, solid Libertarian voter base, regular victories will be few and far between.

The Libertarian Party must gain a large voter base before it wins consistently. You can't buy a voter base. You can earn one. The Libertarian Party will earn a voter base when it:

- \* consistently runs good candidates at every level,
- \* markets candidates as product, not just personality,
- \* gives its candidates solid support in every town, ward, and precinct,
- \* sells to the electorate the Libertarian view \*on issues voters care about\*, and
- \* delivers excellent performance whenever and wherever elected.

In no more than 28 states representing about half the country, development of a voter base will be reflected by increases in how many voters have registered Libertarian. (22 states do not register by party; "Libertarian" is not available in all of the 28.) Registering Libertarian is a sign that someone has joined our voter base. Persuading people to register Libertarian -- as opposed to welcoming people who choose to register as Libertarians -- is basically meaningless except in states that link ballot status to the number of registered Libertarian voters. Persuading people to register Libertarian does not cause them to vote Libertarian. To paraphrase the tuna, we need people who vote Libertarian, not people who have Libertarian voter registration.

How do local, state, and national Libertarian organizations build the voter base the Libertarian party needs? How do we create the tools we need to assemble our voter base and campaign organizations? At the moment, the key process is

#### \*\*INCITEMENT

Incitement is the art of persuading people to do things that they had not planned on doing. Incitement is persuading people to organize, run for office, carry petitions, handle a campaign treasury, and stuff envelopes.

Why do we need to incite people? Except for the highest offices, people usually do not offer themselves as candidates. They run because they were asked to run, perhaps by being told they would do a better job than the incumbent. Other major parties view candidate recruitment as a major task. There are people who appeared to be prospective Democratic Senate candidates who have had the President of the United States himself telephone them, asking them to run. At the state level, people have run for State Representative because the Governor or Speaker of the State House called and asked them to run.

The Libertarian Party doesn't have a President to do calling. Yet. We do have national, state, and local Party groups. We have people with titles, people who have promised to spend their time helping the party. All these people should view candidate recruitment --- incitement to run --- as one of their most important duties.

Incitement is equally important to develop candidate staffs and to find more activists. A candidate without a staff is in a challenging position. Every Libertarian group could use more activist support. Persuading casual members to become more active in the party should be recognized as a mission for every activist.

How do we incite people? Incitement is based on personal contact. Incitement demands active local and regional groups, so Libertarian activists can meet potential Libertarian activists and incite them: Move beyond passive membership and Stand Up for Liberty!

How do we incite people to become active? You can preach all you want in the party newsletter about the merit of carrying signs, doing telephone banking, or stuffing en-

velopes. If you actually want someone to carry a sign, man a telephone, or stuff an envelope, there is no substitute for asking them personally. There is no substitute for putting them in a group in which everyone else announces that they will Stand Up For Liberty! and do some work.

Personal contact and group bonding are equally important at every level, not just the most local. On one hand, a national officer could telephone a state chair for the first time in the three years the state chair has been in office, and ask at the last possible moment if the state chair could possibly run a few more people for Congress. That's a very difficult request, from a person from whom the state chair has rarely heard and to whom the state chair owes no debts.

It is a very different situation if the national officer (i) had regularly talked with the state chair, (ii) had systematically persuaded state parties to unite in supporting a plan to run people for Congress, (iii) is suddenly in a predicament because a state party couldn't come through with promised candidates, and most important (iv) had previously given material support to the state party for the state's choice of projects, so that the state party is in the national officer's moral debt. In the first case, we have a phone call between near-strangers. In the second case, we have people who have worked together and done favors for each other, and now one of them needs one more favor. Extended personal contact and favor bonds open doors that would otherwise be closed.

What activities do we incite? A fundamental task of every group is to help activists organize, form local groups, and do better the things they are already doing. The National Party helps state organizations. State organizations help local groups. Every group helps people run for office.

What can go wrong with incitement? Note I said "help", not "persuade". Preaching is cheap. Providing concrete support is challenging. You can preach at people until they print up stationary and call themselves a Town Committee. You can preach at people who have never been active, never held petitions, and never run for office, until finally they get active, take out petitions, and try to run for office.

However, if you don't tell your newly-found candidates and staffers what they need to do, supply them with contacts to local activists, and give them meaningful support, you've prepared them to fail. You've prepared them to throw up their hands in disgust and quit. And then, when someone competent finally comes along with a serious plan to get people to run and a serious plan to give them the support they need along the way, the competent person has a little problem. The guy who persuaded people to run and then abandoned them has burned out the pool of potential candidates.

Preaching at people to get active and then abandoning them, leaving them to shift for themselves, is unethical and unwise. TO BE CONTINUED

*(Continued from page 1) (Libertarian News)*

extremely expensive campaigns. Close to 3 dozen Libertarians indicated that they plan to run for office. A single petition and around 10,000 signatures will be sufficient to get all of their candidates on the ballot—would that Massachusetts Libertarians were so lucky.

Also at the convention was the Libertarian Party's declared Presidential candidate, Larry Hines, and rumored Presidential candidate Harry Browne. There was no debate. Each candidate spoke separately and took questions. Browne showed the polish of experience. He talked about the notion that a Libertarian Presidential candidate would get 10% of the vote next year. However, he did not appear to be promising that he would do so if he were the candidate, and he was not at all clear as to why he thought he could improve his performance over the 0.5% of the vote and fifth place finish he attained in 1996. Hines has an excellent professional speech writer, was a bit less specific on issues, and was not completely satisfactory in discussing policy questions. Of course, appearing before a basically friendly audience is one way to find weaknesses in one's approach without getting hurt with the voters in general.

With an attendance of approximately 100, the fundraising event cleared more than \$5000, which is enough to solve ballot access problems for the LPNH.

Your chair attended, spoke with participants, and distributed copies of Stand Up for Liberty! Support for the local organization path to Libertarian victory was close to universal. Many LPNH members are firmly convinced that they can generate new activists and new support most effectively when they run for local and state office. Next year, John Babiarsz will be the LPNH candidate for Governor of the state.

Babiarsz' career, as I understood it, is a model of the virtue of the Local Organization approach. He was first elected Cemetery Commissioner, and I am told by Don Gorman did an excellent job. He was then elected as Selectman, and again did an excellent job. Now he is running for Governor, with a record of performance under his belt and with residents of New Hampshire over a fair area who have heard of him and believe that he can deliver when given a political office.

A visible contingent from eastern Massachusetts, including the state chair, Senate candidate Carla Howell, and LNC Regional Representative Muni Savyon, were also present. I also met representatives from the Maine and Vermont parties.