
Libertarian Strategy Gazette

Welcome to the Libertarian Strategy Gazette

Greetings to Libertarians across the United States!

Welcome to the Inaugural Issue of *Libertarian Strategy Gazette*, published by the oldest local libertarian organization in Massachusetts, the Pioneer Valley Libertarian Association (John Brickner, Founder).

The *Libertarian Strategy Gazette* has one mission!

We are here to build a strong Libertarian movement across the United States. There is one road to the Libertarian Millennium, but only if we find it and take it. The *Libertarian Strategy Gazette* is here to help you find that road, to chart its shoals and obstacles, to show you how that road will lead to Libertarian victories in your town, your county, your school district, and finally in from sea to shining sea!

What is that road?

The one sure path to Libertarian victory is through *Local Organization*. It is *Local Organization* that will give us the network of candidates and staffers and volunteers and supporters, and finally the tens of millions of Americans who will choose to *Vote Libertarian!*, who will bring us the victories we so deeply desire.

It is *Local Organization* that will get us the tools we need for success. What are those tools? They are the *Alphabet*, the *Numbers*, and the *V's of Victory*.

The Alphabet A-B-C-D-E gives us:

- Activists
- Ballot Status
- Candidates
- Dollars
- Enrolled Libertarians.

A-B-C-D-E: Activists and Specialists do the party's heavy lifting. Ballot Status, different in each state, lets us run people for office. Running people for office requires Candidates (people who win elections) and Dollars for campaigning and party-building. Enrolled Libertarians are our supporters, the people who register Libertarian, join local, state, or national Libertarian Party organizations, or Stand Up for Liberty! by supporting Libertarian campaigns and special-interest groups.

Through the *Alphabet*, we'll get the *Numbers*.

(Continued on page 2)

Opinion

There is an alternative that we have not explored in an organized way. That alternative is to build a party from the ground up, training precinct-level and other local candidates to infiltrate local governments and win elections locally, building an army of trained and knowledgeable Libertarian activists, from and upon which our future will be built.

I do not mean this figuratively. If we do what Ralph Nader and Jesse Ventura are talking about doing (with other parties), we will attract more activists who will recognize that we are serious about politics, and not just telling other people "the way things ought to be".

We complain about the federal and even state governments, but now many of us know what is going on in our local government and school boards? If we don't follow them, who will? The other parties!

We have an enormous opportunity all across America, in localities dominated by one party, where the other for all intents and purposes doesn't even exist, and to create a second alternative for our neighbors at local elections. Maybe it's not as glamorous as national or even statewide politics. So you don't get to go on PCN and debate Tom Ridge. But you do get to make a huge difference in your community, where your voice still does count.

This is where GrassRoots Libertarians can make inroads and build the foundation that will make us be taken seriously for once in the political arena.

If we don't begin to act like a political party, other third parties will come along and fill the void. The opportunity is there if we will take it.

.....Lois Kaneshiki

[Lois Kaneshiki is State Chair of the Pennsylvania Libertarian Party and an at-large member of the Libertarian National Committee.]

Web Pages Coming Soon

Look for our web pages,
soon to appear at
<http://www.grassroots-libertarians.org>

(Continued from page 2) [Welcome, Libertarians of America!]

The *Numbers* are the bricks and mortar from which victory is built. Before we win, before we put Libertarian policies into effect, we need the numbers:

- hundreds of Libertarian campaign consultants
- thousands of Libertarian PACs and Libertarian-principled special interest groups.
- tens of thousands of Libertarians running for

Re-election.

- hundreds of thousands of new candidates
- millions of hours of donated volunteer time
- hundreds of millions of dollars of campaign donations, all to capture the
- billions of votes that Americans cast each election cycle.

The *Numbers* are the foundation of a modern party. There are half a million elective and appointive political offices in the United States. Before we can capture them, we need all the *Numbers*.

Through the *Numbers*, we'll get the *V's of Victory*.

The *V's of Victory* are

- Volunteers
- Voters
- Victories

The *V's of Victory*: Volunteers do the vital work of the party: getting out the vote, stuffing envelopes, collecting petition signatures, distributing signs, and going door-to-door. Voters are the people of all parties who finally choose to Vote Libertarian! and decide that we win. Victories are the token of success, something we need to accumulate as we go along to prove we can win and to keep our supporters with us.

George Phillies

Chair, Pioneer Valley Libertarian Association

Chair, Grassroots Libertarians

Who Are We?

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 about the PVLA and CMLC at <http://www.wmlp.org> and <http://www.cmlc.org>. The Pioneer Valley Libertarian Association meets the Second Wednesday of the month, 7 PM, at Bickfords Family Restaurant, Old Boston Road, Springfield.

Grassroots Libertarians is the National Libertarian Organization dedicated to bringing Libertarian Victory by building the Party up from the Grass Roots. The Grass Roots philosophy appears in George Phillies eBook "Stand Up for Liberty!" (<http://3mpub.com>).

The PVLA and CMLC web sites are hosted by Excell.net (<http://www.excell.net>) a locally-owned and operated internet service provider with solutions for people and businesses in the Pioneer Valley. Why not patronize a fellow Libertarian? www.excell.net for internet

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Libertarian Strategy Gazette is here to bring you articles on strategy for the Libertarian Party. Some of these are opinions we support. Some of these are opinions we believe to be mistaken. All of them are opinions that we think you will find to be worth considering.

Here courtesy of Gail Lightfoot is a new article by long-time libertarian activist Robert Bakhaus

Libertarian Strategy Proposals

Civics Lesson 2000

The End of Mandate (How Spoilers Gridlocked America)

Are you, like I, enjoying the spectacle of federal paralysis following Election 2000's photo finish horserace?

The ideal of "gridlock" has achieved new meaning as the country has gone without a president-elect. Whoever the president-elect may finally be, he finds himself without any possible mandate. Congress, likewise, finds itself without any viable partisan majority. The public finds itself insatiably gorged on procedural news seldom heard outside political science classes. Thus the title of this essay: Civics Lesson 2000, the end of mandate.

YOU DID IT !!!

Whether you like it or not, it is because of you a minor party activist that all this gridlock has happened. If it had not been for the 5% of the popular vote gained by the various minor parties, mostly by Nader's Greens, Gore would have been the clear winner in the electoral college as well as in the popular vote. The simple fact is that during prosperous times incumbency trumps challengers. Minor party politics did spoil Gore's coronation, but there could not be a safer time for such a "peaceful revolution" than during good economic times while the US is still an unchallenged superpower. Hopefully, if George W is the presidential incumbent in 2004, the economy will have continued prospering and his incumbency will trump any Democrat challengers until the LP "spoils" it for him. When the dust from Spoilage 2000 settles, the LP should start recruiting a celebrity presidential and multi-millionaire vice presidential candidate conceivably able to take 3 or 4% of the national vote away from George W in 2004!

WE CAN DO IT AGAIN

Which brings us to the topic of "spoilers" in federal elections.

Is spoiler politics what we as a minor political party really want to achieve?

Are we happy to see the presidential pendulum swing Republican to Democrat and back again every election cycle?

Do we really want to see permanent gridlock between the presidency and Congress, with Democrats and Republicans always holding separate branches?

Are we happiest when Congress is divided by razor thin majorities in the House and Senate such that nothing partisanly divisive can get done there?

Do we even relish boringly bloody pyrrhic (unaffordable) victories where both major parties fight unmercifully over trivial advantage?

ZERO BASED SELF CRITICISM

I very much believe we do. But each four year presidential cycle is an excellent time to review our options and constructively criticize our fondest assumptions with serious strategic thinking. As advocates of zero-based budgeting, let's practice what we preach with radically honest self criticism.

There are several perennial questions that can benefit from new Election 2000 empirical data:

Is the Libertarian Party an educational entity, or an electoral vehicle for gaining incumbency (at least at the local level in non-partisan races), or both, or what?

Is the LP, as currently constructed, sufficiently articulating an ideological message, communicating it effectively (when we can't even get into most debates), or being misunderstood (mistaken for radical Republicans), ignored (at least by most media), or rejected (even our own registered LPers don't vote LP)?

Are we being sufficiently unique (we alone oppose taxation on principle, including tax subsidies of parties such as our own), or are we being merely duplicative of other minor party efforts in what we have to say?

Lastly, are we happy with our current "spoiler" role, or are we still missing a broader "destiny"?

Happily, I can do better than just ask good questions. There are real answers available.

BEGINNING WITH AYN RAND

Since it usually begins with Ayn Rand, let us do so also. Rand had no theory of law and therefore no road map for political reform. Politics bored her. But she once said that minor party politics would be unwise because it would only lead to spoiler politics like the intractable fractiousness of European politics. I disagreed with her because I believe the fractiousness of European politics is due more to proportional representation than multi-party politics.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

Proportional representation awards and encourages everybody with a kookier-than-thou argument by NOT requiring real people spread throughout real territory to build a majority consensus throughout that territory. Proportional representation is true "one man, one vote" majoritarianism. The USA, thankfully, has far more elaborate contractual constraints on rulers. From a First Amendment that tolerates any viewpoint being stated, to a separation of powers policy that constrains most majoritarian squabbling to the legislative branch, to such non-majoritarian tie-breaker processes as the Electoral College (for presidential elections), to bi-cameralism's two senators from each state composing a senate independent of population density, to super-majority requirements for constitutional amendments and other important issues American political structure does not encourage fractiousness despite the various popular sovereignty exercises of periodic elections of officialdom that we LPers are currently so focused upon.

Having said that multi-party politics is not overly frac-

tious in the context of US politics, we do have to admit that minor parties can be spoilers. Indecision 2000 has amply demonstrated the point. So is being a "spoiler" such a bad thing? It really depends on what you're spoiling doesn't it? To spoil dictatorial power grabs, territorial invasions of conquest, illegal and immoral government secrecy, etc. are easy examples of good spoilage.

THE SPOILS OF SPOILAGE

Effective spoilage has its rewards. Although professional politicians like Hillary Clinton are now promoting abolition of the Electoral College, that is a non-starter since it would require a Constitutional amendment ratified by the small states that benefit most from it. But reviving the Electoral College might come to pass. The Electoral College was once a tie-breaker of first recourse in presidential elections that has now become a tie-maker only because almost all the states have passed corrupt "winner-take-all" laws that consign all their electoral votes to one candidate. The original intent (still practiced in two states) was allotting electoral college votes along congressional district lines. Whichever candidate took the congressional district, got the electoral vote, not the whole state's electoral bloc. Reforming that long standing corruption could be led by Libertarian Party efforts in each state, especially those with petition-initiative.

Other rewards of Spoilage 2000 could well be the end of the butterfly ballot, and a universal replacement of antiquated election machinery. Nader and crew might take out the Presidential Debate Commission with well deserved litigation. And the media may finally wake up to the importance of minor party margin-of-victory vote totals, especially now that they can push the "every vote counts" drill so much more easily.

THE DREAM TEAM

Another lesson learnable is the unfortunate importance of a celebrity candidate for president in a mass-media-dependent continental jurisdiction. Nader was not even a member of the Green Party, nor did he have much respect for its platform, but the media seldom touched on the subject. The LP will undoubtedly be wracking its network connections for such a 2004 recruit. Larry Elder anybody? This new celebrity for president lesson can be added to the 1976 lesson of vice presidential candidate David Koch funding Ed Clark's presidential campaign with over a million dollars from his own pocket. The optimum presidential campaign dream team pairs a celebrity president with a multi-millionaire vice presidential candidate.

FOLLOW THE MONEY

Which brings us to perhaps the most strategic question of all: funding a party that does not seek or accept matching funds from government (unless it immediately returns it to the tax victims).

TO BE CONTINUED

Libertarian Strategy Gazette believes that we should try to learn from the past. Sometimes, when we look at the past, we realize that the more things change, the more things remain the same. Sometimes we look and we see that 20 years after the fact the world has not changes, and many of the same points are being discussed.

In 1981, Kent Guida ran for National Chair of the Libertarian Party. Here are his actual proposals for what the party should do, taken from his open letter to delegates to the forthcoming Libertarian National Convention. You may find some of the issues are familiar.

Libertarian Strategy Proposals

Kent Guida for National Chair

August, 1981 <----- Note Bene

Dear Delegate:

This "Blueprint for Libertarian Activists" is a compilation of experiences of Libertarian party organizations at the state and local level, designed to show by example how our activities can be successful. I hope you will find it valuable, and that it will be one of many contributions I can make to the Libertarian Party over the next few years.

I'd be less than honest if I didn't acknowledge that my purpose in producing this booklet was twofold. First, I believe that a booklet like this one, which brings together our successful experiences into one format and shares them among Libertarian activists, has been needed for a long time. Second, I want to demonstrate through my actions, rather than just my words, the kind of National Chair I would be. Developing a "Blueprint" has been one of the eight major points of my program ever since I began campaigning for National Chair. In fact, this may be the first time in history that a candidate has fulfilled a campaign promise before the election!

Just as in society as a whole, the key element in the success of the Libertarian Party is the individual activist who is willing to devote his or her talents, at any level, to helping the party grow and succeed, thereby furthering the cause of liberty. Many of the experiences in this booklet relate the activities of one or a small handful of individuals who seized opportunities, or created them where none existed, and saw them through against long odds.

The important point, of course, is that any dedicated Libertarian activist is capable of duplicating and improving on the successes related here. The "Blueprint" is meant to be a tool to help Libertarians do just that. By capsulizing actual examples and outlining the basic principles behind these seemingly diverse efforts, I hope to help accelerate our overall growth and to minimize* the problem of reinventing the wheel which can occur when parallel organizations are developing over a wide geographical area. As committed Libertarians who are dedicated first and foremost to the implementation

of our principles in the real world, the challenge of building a libertarian society is formidable enough without the problem of inadequate communication to retard our progress. We need systematically to share our successes, and the reasons for them, with each other.

The "Blueprint" is designed to be used, added to, improved upon. I would hope that any activists who is faced with a specific task in a given area could use this booklet as a reference, to remind himself or herself of the kind of effort which has succeeded in the past. I would further hope that reading the experiences in the "Blueprint" will bolster and renew our confidence that our efforts for liberty can and will succeed. As National Chair, I will continue to compile and distribute experiences such as these, and the materials I will prepare will include actual samples of what was done, wherever they are appropriate. If you agree that continuing "Blueprint" material would be a valuable ongoing project of the Libertarian Party, then please take a few moments to complete the Survey at the back of this booklet.

The period between now and the 1984 presidential election is as critical to our party's development as any time in our history. I believe our next National Chair should be, like you, an effective, successful, principled activist. This "Blueprint" is a token of my belief that I'm best qualified to be your next National Chair, and I'd particularly like to thank the nearly 100 Libertarians whose financial contributions to my campaign have helped make the production of this booklet possible.

I hope I have earned your support.

In Liberty

Kent Guida

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the "Blueprint for Libertarian Activists" is to illustrate through actual examples how Libertarian Party activists at all levels can accomplish their goals successfully. It is designed to be used as a reference guide and includes an index of topics covered. At the user's option, it can be part of a loose-leaf notebook.

Although eight aspects of successful activism are discussed separately, it should be stressed that all of these subjects come together to form an integrated whole. No one subject is more important than the others, and many of the principles which apply to one apply equally to the rest. It should also be stressed that the experiences compiled in this booklet in no way are meant to

suggest a narrow "right" way to do things to the exclusion of other means. They were chosen on the basis of their general applicability to situations faced by Libertarian activists everywhere, every day. Ideally, the principles of successful activism illustrated here will be useful to any level of organization, from a small town to a large city to a state party to the national infrastructure of the Libertarian Party.

The authors of this booklet wish to acknowledge the hard work of thousands of Libertarians, past, present, and future, to build an effective political means of achieving our common goal: Liberty in our time.

PARTY DEVELOPMENT

Back when the Libertarian Party first started, party organizations consisted of one or two contact persons and a handful of names on a few mailing lists. We've grown a lot since then, as a result of election campaigns, publicity, and outreach efforts. The most important ingredient in any of these, of course, has been the individuals in each state and city who have been willing to make consistent and courageous outreach efforts of all kinds. These people had what it takes to break the party organization out of a tiny circle of "true believers" into a widening sphere of organized, purposeful effort.

"What it takes" is often hard to define, but there's no question that, today, Libertarian Party organizations in states, large cities, and small towns must constantly deal with the question of how to grow and develop. How does a small circle of Libertarians set down roots and grow into an effective political group? And, once established in a central area, how do they reach out and develop other organizations in other areas?

The experiences compiled in this-section are meant to help illustrate methods by which existing Libertarian Party organizations large and small can attract new members and activists to expand all of their efforts at every level.

The Minnesota Experience

In terms of population, the state of Minnesota is dominated by the Twin Cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul, and it's not surprising that most of the active Libertarians in Minnesota have been from that area. That is, until they decided to make a real effort to expand their base beyond the Twin Cities into the smaller outlying cities and towns, and thus develop a truly statewide Libertarian Party.

Minnesota Libertarians drew up a systematic plan to attract new activists, and their first step was to recruit volunteers to participate in the plan. Their key tool was their existing mailing list of party members. They looked for names of people who lived in outlying cities, then made telephone calls to those members -- most of whom they had rarely or never met -to enlist their aid in the project. A typical example came off something like this:

Party member John Jones in Lake City was contacted by a Twin Cities Libertarian and asked to arrange a public meeting room and to place some ads in the local paper. A carload of Twin Cities volunteers -- not neces-

sarily the same people -would drive back to Lake City to meet whoever showed up at the meeting. One of them was prepared to make an introductory talk on libertarianism, while others were assigned to handle specific questions about the party itself, or to deal with particular areas of questions, as well as to help run the meeting smoothly. After the talk and questions a sheet was passed around on which the attendees could sign up if they wanted further information about the party -- which of course was promptly sent to them. Within a week or two of the meeting, those who had expressed continued interest were contacted to participate in a campaign project -- doorbelling, stuffing envelopes, whatever was needed -and a later business meeting would be held to elect local party officers and create a party structure.

What were the results of these efforts? Greater than anyone imagined. The public meetings, advertised as they were through leafleting and newspaper ads, would attract anywhere from 20 to 40 people from the town, 80 or 90 per cent of whom would sign the "further information" sheet at the meeting, and thereby form the nucleus of the organization. In one outlying Minnesota city, there are now over 50 party members where there had previously been a tiny handful. And the real key, according to one of the leading Twin Cities-based organizers of the project, was to keep the new members active and involved -- and to find activities of different kinds, whether social or political, in which they could become immediately involved.

The Oregon Experience

Very recently -- spring and summer of 1981 -- Oregon Libertarians have independently started an outreach program similar to the Minnesota program. Details differ to some extent, and are worth recounting here as a supplement to the Minnesota example.

Oregon Libertarians rely heavily on news releases prepared ahead of an organizational event and sent to the local newspapers in outlying counties. Many of these papers have tiny circulation are starved for local news, and reprint the Libertarian releases verbatim. Thus, it's possible to read headlines like "Libertarians To Meet Regularly," in the Newburg Graphic (Circ: 5,300) with the accompanying story reading that the first meeting was so successful that regular monthly meetings are scheduled for the foreseeable future.

Oregon Libertarians also make use of their party officers, such as the State Chair, whose billing as a featured speaker at a local meeting adds a note of credibility to the publicity.

The California Experience

The following example almost qualifies as ancient history, since it occurred in 1975, but it still represents a valuable insight into party building. The essential element here was a political campaign.

In San Francisco that year, there were only about 20 known LP members, but one of them decided to run for Mayor, with the express goal of using his campaign to build the party. The campaign itself was a solid effort, earning considerable exposure for the party in the news-

REPRINT PERMISSION

Libertarian organizations across the United States and elsewhere in the world are hereby authorized to reproduce in their own state, county, and local newsletters articles and complete sections from the *Libertarian Strategy Gazette*.

Liberty Tricks

A compendium of small campaigns and educational ideas tried by Libertarians across America. This month from the PVLA:

Be A Secret Agent For Liberty

Why don't *you*, yes, *YOU*, do something for the Libertarian Movement? Why not take 30 seconds to *Stand Up for Liberty!* right here in the Commonwealth.

Be a Secret Agent for Liberty! gives you a way to do that! Our new recruitment—advertising program doesn't ask you to get conspicuous. It doesn't ask you to get in a political argument. All we are asking you to do is to take the enclosed trifold, find a thumbtack, and at a convenient moment put the trifold up on a bulletin board someplace.

The enclosed trifold has address and contact data. Put it out where people will see it: a library bulletin board, the coffee room at work,... Anyone who is ready to take another step for Liberty will find our address and contact information herein. Through the PVLA/CMLC secret agent program, you can do your bit for Liberty without risking per-

Who Are We?

The Grassroots Libertarians are organized into self-organizing caucuses:

Chair — George Phillies

Steering Caucus: Gene Cisewski]

Lorenzo Gaztenaga

Don Gorman

Lois Kaneshiki

Charles Wilhoit

Activist Caucus: (just be active) Led by

Gail Lightfoot

John Famularo

Public Officials Caucus (you must have been one to belong): Don Gorman — Chair pro tempore

Let Freedom Ring

CMLC Liberator

Libertarian Strategy Gazette

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