

Libertarian Strategy Gazette

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For Our Electronic Supplement See Page 9

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Laughter—The Friendly Protest

The late science fiction author Mack Reynolds described a future America divided between two identical political parties, and the political movement—a political party deliberately established as a for-profit organization, complete with pyramid-structured membership recruitment incentives, party clothing ('ultrasuede'), and actual candidates—that built a better future for the Republic. Buried in political machinations, a perhaps excessive faith in the ability of experts to solve problems, and the usual romantic plot thread was a highly ingenious proposal. Instead of heckling people, waving picket signs,...one goes to their speeches, listens politely, and breaks into laughter.

After all, when the last two Presidential Administrations have work hard to ignore every single Amendment of the Bill of Rights, including the Third, you could get upset, run in circles, scream and shout, but sometimes laughter at the absurdity of the other side's positions is more to the point.

An expansion of this approach comes from Carol Schiffler <http://falloutshelternews.com/LaughingTailor.html>, who under the title *The Laughing Tailor's Society* presents more details. To quote themes from her more work:

"George Bush The Lesser is not the first emperor-wannabe to come down the pike...Now aside from a decided predisposition toward self-aggrandizement, these aspiring petty tyrants share a few other striking characteristics...But often overlooked in this hurtling freight train of adjectives are the very weaknesses that motivate the global bullies in the first place...The most notable of these weaknesses is an ego the size of Toledo.

"This kind of self-delusion takes a lot of effort to maintain. ... (Appealing to reason or public outrage) are not without merit, in some ways they simply feed the same sense of self-importance that created the monster in the first place...For the moment, let us focus on changing our perspective...Let us not, then, refer to that ugly combination of hubris and narcissism as an ego...Instead, let's call it an Achilles Heel, and as such, let us go forth and exploit it.

"How, then, shall we exploit the Heel? ... Let us pause for a moment to contemplate public ridicule. All you have to do is laugh. ... We think that the next Bush rally is as good a time as any, and of course the tactic would be most effective if it were done by a group of intrepid souls in the audience, as opposed to a group of protestors laughing in a First Amendment Zone six blocks away where passers-by would merely presume that someone must have taken the loonies on holiday...How, I wonder, would the Bushistas handle a snicker-in instead of a sit-in?"

A Reality-Based Model for the Libertarian Party

A Draft Document for the Libertarian Strategic Planning Caucus

By John D. Famularo

Executive Summary

The events of September 11th have profoundly affected American life and public attitude. Now more than ever is it important to demonstrate through actions rather than rhetoric, our commitment to the American ideal of freedom, individual liberty, and responsibility.

How are we to succeed?

For the Libertarian Party to succeed, we must first define success. The mission of any political party is to elect people who will implement their political philosophy as public policy. The mission of the LP should be:

"To elect public officials in sufficient numbers to effectively minimize the size and scope of government while maintaining its effectiveness in its essential roles of protecting individual life, liberty and property and expanding individual personal and economic liberty."

There are many organizations in the general Libertarian Movement, each with its own mission and each working towards the ultimate general goal of achieving a "Libertarian Society".

For 30 years, we have been trying to "sell the party" and "promote Libertarianism" by running candidates at the national and statewide level. We have run thousands of candidates at those levels without a single win or even a close loss. At the state legislative level we have had a handful of wins but almost none have been successful at getting re-elected. Our lack of success has been blamed on a number of firmly held but false beliefs, some of which are:

- * Ballot access is too difficult.
- * We don't get fair Media coverage
- * We don't have enough money.
- * Winning will compromise principle
- * We will need many more members.
- * We need a large paid staff.
- * Low level offices are unimportant.

None of the above are true. The reasons why are discussed in the full plan located at WWW.LP2000.COM/2002, and appearing soon on these pages.

[A Reality-based Model] (Continued on page 2)

Short Notes

In response to:

So -- can Libertarians win any state legislative seats?
2004 will be our year to prove whether or not we can.

- Aaron Biterman

We receive:

This Libertarian already tried that, in 2000, and lost miserably -- in spite of having excellent name recognition in the largest city in the district and an established voter base of support. We proved that the Libertarian label is not yet acceptable to enough high-propensity voters. Even long-time supporters of mine at the non-partisan level reluctantly abandoned me because a member of their party was running against me. Believe me -- our focus **MUST** be on winning more and more non-partisan races, and not wasting our resources on unwinnable races.

...Bonnie Flickinger

City Councilmember (4th term)

Outreach, Not Employees

\$3000 a month for an office!!! ACK!!!!

Seems that money would be much better spent on outreach and advertising. I am going to the LNC meeting next weekend to present a proposal for the LP to be the major sponsor on Patriot Racing's Ducati 748RS for the WERA National Endurance Series and limited AMA Pro dates for \$2000 a month. Of course any state LP or any Region or other group of state LP's can have the same deal... Any one that has looked into advertising on a national scale must realize that this is an unbeatable deal for any national ad campaign. Then to include the added benefits of being in motorsport, [GP: here, motorcycle racing] reaching people that understand making things work and things that don't, can get us new "members", and more importantly **new voters**.

97% of race fans, regardless of the level or type of racing, have made purchase decisions based on racing sponsorship. I found in the 2002 season, sponsored by LPNC, that while at the track I observed a much higher rate of interest among other racers and fans when I would hand out LP lit with an added line...." here's a little something from our sponsor..." Lots stopped to ask how I'd done this...then ended up asking for even more info on the LP...

Best story from 2002... I was sitting on the pre-grid at Jennings FL in October, waiting to go out for the warm up lap for my race. The rider to my left points at the sticker on my sidecover saying "Libertarian Party of North Carolina" and asks me where he could get the "Ladies of Liberty" calendar! Then after the race he found LPNC Racing in the paddock, and stood there asking me all sorts of questions when we both should have been getting ready for the next day's race.

I also discovered there already are a surprising number of

Libertarians among my fellow racers. I had many come up to me and tell me how excited they were the LP was sponsoring a race bike, that they were Libertarians already and had great hopes for this as outreach to racers/race fans.

All this was with limited involvement by one state LP, for the latter third of one season in a relatively low attendance series. Involvement in a seriously competitive National professional series that is very well attended as is the WERA National Endurance Series will dramatically increase the public awareness of the LP, and in a way not done by other parties... all for 66% of the price a fellow state party is paying for an office.

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Notes on Politics

On December 16, 2002 the US Supreme Court refused to hear Browne v Bayless, the lawsuit over the independent petition deadline. Richard Winger notes that this is the 20th time the US Supreme Court has refused to hear a Libertarian Party ballot access appeal.

Dave Hollist <Constitution@compuserve.com> is collecting names and contact information for Libertarians and others appropriate to serve as Cabinet Secretaries under a Libertarian President. He will maintain the list and forward it to interested Libertarians. Hollist notes that our Presidential candidate could use election of an administration as a campaign theme. Also, the prospective cabinet nominees could function as surrogate campaigners for the Presidential candidate during the campaign.

The Washington Post reports <http://www.unitedforpeace.org/new/> for anti-war events.

(Continued from page 1) [A Reality-Based Model...]

We do know that Libertarians can get elected to public office and have done so since 1978. Most have been local town, city and county offices. Most recently the LP of Pennsylvania has again proven this with only a minimum effort.

Not only is the focus on local offices the only way that the LP will ever be in a position to elect people to higher office, it is the only way that **any** political party has and will ever win high office **and** be in a position to implement public policy reforms.

We will achieve our mission when we have sufficient numbers of people in positions of authority and respect in all three branches of government (Executive, Legislative and Judicial) to enact and/or repeal legislation while maintaining support from the media, the business community, and the general public.

No candidate for public official can get elected, get re-

elected, and advance to higher office without a support team. We call this a Political Action Team (PAT) as differentiated from a Political Action Committee (PAC). PACs are for raising resources (mostly money) for PATs. An effective political movement consists of a coalition of PATs, or in other terms the lowest level operational unit of a political party is a PAT. The mission of each PAT is the same as the mission of the organization, that is, getting elected to implement public policy reforms. The laws of nature and politics dictate that the faster and more radical the change the more power is required. Whether you are a council member of the smallest borough or a US Senator, you can not implement your entire program overnight. Neither can you do this if you are the Mayor of the smallest town or the President of the United States.

The candidate/office holder is the front man/woman of each PAT. The job of the PAT is to continually advance the candidate/office holder.

When considering various strategies, tactics, plans, projects, and subordinate goals, each must be evaluated as to its effect on the mission. Any activity may be employed to achieve the mission, but no subordinate activity can replace that mission. Intermediate goals may be identified in order to work towards the ultimate goal.

The smallest PAT may just consist of a few people sharing the support duties of Communications, Research, Volunteer recruitment and training, Accounting and Advance work.

There are no activities or expertise that is required at the county, state, or national level that does not have its counterpart within the basic precinct level PAT. Any experienced PAT member should be able to step into the same function at the County, State, or National level. Every team member should know the basics of every other team member's job.

We Libertarians are always telling the rest of the country that government should be decentralized and closer to the people and that that too much is mandated and controlled from the county seat, the state house and capitol hill. Since the only organization totally controlled by "Libertarians" that carries that designation is the "Libertarian P"arty, why don't we demonstrate to the rest of the world how we can achieve national goals through local action and control?

We don't need to win the Presidency or a Governorship in order to demonstrate the efficacy of our proposals.

We currently have hundreds of Libertarians in Office throughout the nation. Each could become the nucleus of a PAT and if we were to design our strategies toward the initial goal of increasing the number of PATs tenfold at the precinct and local municipality level, we could use that base to achieve the next goal of developing credible competitive candidates for the Executive, Legislative and Judicial offices at the town, borough, township and city level. Picture a pyramid with a base consisting of precinct level PATs supporting a higher level of municipal PAT's, supporting a higher level of county PATs until we have a 51 state PATs supporting a national PAT. Only when we achieve this structure will we be able to field competitive national candidates. However, we don't have to wait until then to be effective, since the process of building the bottom up structure delivers incremental and substantive reforms.

The image of the LP should be that of a dedicated group of individuals working within the community, not a group of outsiders. With the proper public image, we will not only be more successful but we will attract more potential candidates from the general community.

Does all this mean that those whose talents and interests are focused on protests, education, declarations of freedom from societal norms, or a myriad of other strategies and tactics have no place within the LP? No, every strategy and tactic that does not violate Libertarian principles may be employed effectively within the LP, but they must be used in concert with and under the management of those responsible for the achievement of the LP's mission.

Everything that is done in the name of the Party reflects on all our Libertarian public figures. Since they have their names and political careers at stake, and since they retain our collective expertise concerning what reforms the public will accept and how fast we can present, implement and maintain those reforms, our public figures should have a significant say in what, when, where and how we employ specific strategies and tactics. This deference to experience and personal commitment cannot be effectively enforced by written bylaws and rules of procedure. It must be understood and instinctive throughout the organization or we will be ineffective in achieving our mission.

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some Libertarians will advance to higher levels of office and attain wider and more attentive audiences and others will provide the base of support to assure fair elections at the precinct level. We need to demonstrate the Libertarian principles espoused by America's founders.

We have to go further than merely proposing a devolution of power from the center to the periphery. We must lead by example in our communities and especially in those institution that we currently totally control such as the Libertarian Party. Should we not at least reflect upon the possibility of reorganizing the LP around the bottom up principle? Is the top down organizational model adopted 30 years ago inviolate?

We will be discuss these issues at [HTTP://WWW.LP2000.COM](http://WWW.LP2000.COM)

Full Text of Plan

Why do we need a strategic plan?

Any major endeavor should have a plan and should review and revise that plan on a regular basis. The very act of planning can have value regardless of whether a particular resulting plan is optimum. Of course, strategic planning is a tool, and like any tool can be misused and/or result in a poor result.

Will a strategic plan guarantee success?

Nothing will guarantee success, but a good plan will enhance the chances of success.

Who are "we" and what is our mission?

Many people confuse Libertarian Party (LP) with the larger Libertarian Movement (LM). The LP is an integral part of the LM. Most organizations within the Libertarian Movement are public policy institutes or academic organizations such as CATO, The Institute for Humane Studies, the Foundation for Economic Education, and The Advocates for Self Government. The LP is different from these LM organizations.

This strategic plan is designed as a plan for the Libertarian Party (LP) and not a general plan for the Libertarian Movement (LM). However, since the LP is part of the LM and

since many LP members are also members and officers of many other Libertarian organizations, it is not possible to consider a strategy for the LP without considering the other organizations.

For the purpose of getting started, we can say that it is generally accepted that "Libertarians want to see the achievement of a Libertarian society". The exact definition of what that means exactly has been the subject of much debate over the years and we will not try to further define that for the Libertarian Movement.

It is our intention to define, as best we can, the specific mission of the Libertarian Party within the mission or ultimate goal of the Libertarian Movement. The mission of any political party is to elect people who will implement their political philosophy as public policy. The mission of the LP should be:

"To elect public officials in sufficient numbers to effectively minimize the size and scope of government while maintaining its effectiveness in its essential roles of protecting individual life, liberty and property and expanding individual personal and economic liberty."

Where do we begin?

The LP has been in existence since 1972 and has had many plans and projects adopted and executed over the last 30 years. Any strategic planning process must include an investigation and analysis of the past. There is some material available to perform some analysis.

The Libertarian Party is a political party that is totally controlled by self described "Libertarians". We should begin with the premise that the LP should organize and conduct itself according to Libertarian theories of governance. After all, if Libertarian theories of governance cannot be made to work well within our Party, they are likely to do less well when applied to groups that include non-Libertarians.

The meaning of the word "Libertarian" is by no means a settled issue among self identified "Libertarians". If we assume that the ultimate goal of the Libertarian Movement is to achieve a Libertarian society, then where is the unambiguous definition of that society? How will we know it when we get there? How will it be maintained? Are we speaking of a society in the "libertarian quadrant" of the Nolan Chart? Are we speaking of a majority of the American voting public being 100-100 Libertarians? The worldwide voting public? Are we speaking of a Libertarian enclave within a non-libertarian world?

Unfortunately there is no comprehensive strategic discussion going on within the Libertarian Movement as a whole. This makes it harder to determine where the LP really fits within the LM.

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How do we define success?

Before we can begin to change the world we must accept it without illusion. We don't want Libertarian success to be a fleeting illusion—perpetually perused but never attained.

This strategic vision for the LP was developed by a number of participants in the Libertarian Strategic Planning Caucus (LSPC). Among them were former LP—PA state chairman Tim Moir, who had commissioned the strategic planning project of the LP of Pennsylvania in 1995.

This document refers to several other previously- published strategic plans for the Libertarian Party. Many of these were based upon differing assumptions concerning the mission and function of the LP. These assumptions can be generally grouped into categories of "models". Throughout this document we will refer to various conceptual models for the LP. The Political Model (PM) will be contrasted to the Membership Model (MM).

One previous LP strategic proposal began with these two questions: "Does the Libertarian Party deserve to be the 'Invisible Man' of American politics? Do the ideas which gave birth to this country deserve to be ignored or even ridiculed as they often have been by the mainstream media?" That proposal concluded that the Libertarian Party will gain respect and become competitive with the older parties when it has the same number of "members" and "donors" that they do. It suggests that the LP recruit a large number "members" and "donors".

This is the same strategic direction that the LP has been roughly following since its inception. Its basic flaw is the assumption that all "members" are equal. Its proponents are fond of quotes such as "God is on the side of big battles".

The development of a workable strategy for the success of the Libertarian party has been inhibited by several factors. Among these is a lack of a understanding of how the Libertarian Party's (LP's) mission should differ from that of the Libertarian movement (LM).

The LP's Mission

Again, as a working assumption, we are saying that the LP mission is to change public policy in the "Libertarian" direction by electing and re-electing Libertarians to public office. The definition of "Libertarian direction" is lesser and lesser government involvement in regulating the economy or civil liberties. Furthermore, whatever governmental power remains should be exercised from the most local level possible.

Most objectively rational persons would agree that the probability that the LP will achieve its goal is very low at

the federal and state level without first demonstrating its ability at the county level and below. Many circumstances beyond the control of the LP and its members mitigate against achieving the political power to roll back and decentralize the federal and state governments. Are there other reasons to make the attempt? Or will we just pretend to have a political party as a basis for a membership club and/or a protest group?

One reason to continue the LP's mission may be to establish a viable shell political party mechanism. This would be ready to be put to use if and when one of the other LM organizations made a breakthrough. Another reason would be to develop an effective political cadre which would provide credible and responsible spokespeople who would influence the general population. Third, we could provide a model for a national organization to achieve national, regional and local goals while operating from a local control base. We can be a "role model" for the empowerment of the individual, at the local level.

"The Government" in America is very large, with a lot of local elected and appointed positions. There are many agencies, boards, commissions and authorities throughout every county. These are stepping stones for higher level elective offices. Also, many government expansion ideas are hatched at the county level. It is much easier to kill these things locally, before they get established and develop momentum.

A successful strategy for the LP does not require **all** libertarians to participate in the LP or support its candidates. There are many opportunities to participate in other LM organizations. Some individuals might decide to "do their own thing" and not be part of any specific organization at all.

Many preliminary steps that must be taken before an effective strategic planning process can be accomplished. A planner must have some idea of an objective, then evaluate various mechanisms to achieve that goal. The grander your ultimate goal, the more complex the ultimate strategy must be. Many options must be tested before an optimum strategy can be found.

Three Considerations:

Three basic things must be considered throughout the strategic planning process:

- * Our past experience.
- * Our current status.
- * Our future plans and visions.

Studying our past experience is a large task. We must review our own actions, the actions of former LP operatives and the historical experience of similar organizations. We also must factor in general historical events, since today's headlines are already a part of history.

The planning process is continuous. It evaluates previously

implemented strategies, tactics, and projects. We must perform our analysis as objectively as possible or we will fall into the trap of excusing or ignoring past failures in order to keep up morale. This will only delay the eventual discarding of failed projects. If we ignore the past, we run the risk of putting the entire LP organization into a false world that recedes further from the real world each day.

We must reevaluate our strategy at regular intervals because history, and our current status, changes every single day. Of course, we can't spend all our scarce resources tinkering with the strategic plan, because we will have no resources left over to implement any plan at all. Still, some resources must be set aside for the strategic planning process. There are many ways to do this.

The standard way is to segment the strategic planning process into Long Range, Intermediate and Short Range plans. The Short Range plan is then divided into projects and tasks. The projects that are planned for the next year are cumulatively called the "budget". In our context we are including all of the available resources in the concept of "budget".

How can the LP succeed in its mission?

To Be Continued

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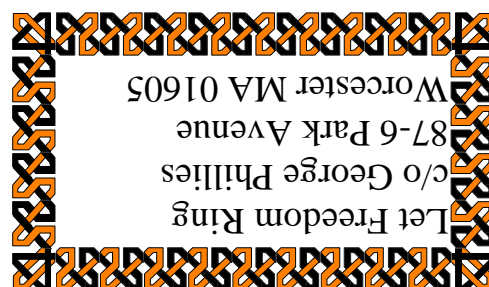
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Political Inclinations of Journalists

About 5-ish years ago, there was a survey of reporters, editors and others involved in major TV and newspapers, asking them how they voted in the previous election. That survey was done in 1994 or '95, and it revealed 89% voted for Clinton in '92.

Some data : Lichter, Rothman and Lichter, 1986:
(more data on this further below)

Self Described political leanings:

Journalists 3 to 1 liberal -vs-conservative.

American public: 3 to 2 conservative -vs- liberal.

Voting records, 1964-1976. Journalists voted:

McGovern: 81%

Carter: 81%

Humphrey: 87%

Johnson: 94%

Study of Columbia University's Graduate School for Journalism:

Self Described Liberals 85%

Self Described Conservatives 11%

1985 Los Angeles Times Survey of 2703 reporters and editors at 621 newspapers (more data from this study is further below):

Self Described Liberals 55%

Self Described Conservatives 17%

1988 American Society of Newspaper Editors - 1200 reporters of 72 randomly selected newspapers:

"Democrat or Liberal" 62%

"Republican or Conservative" 22%

Poll of 1410 journalists by Weaver and Wilhoit (Indiana University):

	1971	1992
Democrats	35.5	44.1
Republicans	25.7	16.3

From June 25, 1997 Media Research Center Cyberalert:

Newspaper staffs have become even less conservative over the past eight years, a poll for the American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE) found. Last fall, ASNE polled 1,037 journalists at 61 papers of all sizes. Released in April, The Newspaper Journal of the 90s report discovered:

-- "In 1996 only 15 percent of the newsroom labeled itself conservative/Republican or leaning in that direction, down from 22 percent in 1988" when the ASNE last conducted a comprehensive survey. Those identifying themselves as independent jumped from 17 to 24 percent while the percent calling themselves "liberal/Democrat" or "lean" that way held steady, down one point to 61 percent.

-- The bigger the paper, the more liberal the staff: "On papers of at least 50,000 circulation, 65 percent of the staffs are

liberal/Democrat or lean that way. The split at papers of less than 50,000 is less pronounced: still predominantly liberal, but 51-23 percent."

-- "Women are more likely than men to fall into one of the liberal/Democrat categories," as just 11 percent said they were conservative or leaned that way. Minorities "tend to be more liberal/Democrat," with a piddling 3 percent of blacks and 8 percent of Asians and Hispanics putting themselves on the right. The least liberal: 20 percent of those 50-plus in age were conservative or leaned that way.

Ideological imbalance isn't a concern, however, to ASNE which believes skin color and sex has the most impact on reporting. The poll plugged in three groups as responders were asked "How would you describe your newspaper's commitment to...." The three: "ethnic and race diversity," "gender diversity," and "fairness on sexual orientation."

The following are excerpts from a poll taken by the "Los Angeles Times" in Feb, 1985. 2703 newspaper journalist and editorialists (top editors included) from 621 newspapers were polled.

	Journalists	Public
	-----	-----
Consider Self:		
Liberal 55%	23%	
Conserv. 17	29	

President Reagan:

Favor 30	56
Oppose 60	27

Govmnt Regulation of business:

Favor 49	22
Oppose 41	50

US withdraw investments from South Africa

Favor 62	31
Oppose 29	27

Abortion:

Favor 82	49
Oppose 14	44

Prayer in public schools:

Favor 25	74
Oppose 67	19

Affirmative Action

Favor 81	56
Oppose 14	21

Death Penalty for murder:

Favor 47	75
Oppose 47	17

Stricter handgun control

Favor 78	50
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Hardly your representative sample of the American public...

Another was taken of graduate journalism students at Columbia. {Taken by Lichter, Lichter, (George Washington Univ., and Rothman Smith College)}. Granted, only one school, and there is surely another school (somewhere) with an opposite make-up. But after looking at the above figures, it's pretty easy to generalize these stats to *most* schools. (For sure the University of Washington, where I went to school.)

85% believed they were liberal.

90% of those who voted in 1972 voted for George McGovern.

4% voted for Reagan in 1980.

63% believed the government should guarantee jobs for everyone