# Libertarian Strategy Gazette

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# Libertarian Party State Chairs Conference Summary Report

February 23-24, 2002; Nashville, Tennessee Written and Supplied to Libertarian Strategy Gazette by Bob Sullentrup (Missouri).

Reviewed and Enhanced by Jacqueline Bartels (Washington), Sara Chambers (Alaska), Richard Pearl (Tennessee)

## **Part Three**

In addition, Indiana provides a "county chairs meeting" as mentioned in another context.

Indiana has discovered they have more candidates where they are organized. In addition, it drives up vote totals tremendously. The Libertarian Party polls  $1-2\,\%$  in unorganized areas versus up to 18-19% in organized areas. In addition, membership holds steady or grows in organized, active counties.

Donna Mancini of KY reported it has lots of university affiliates. KY regularly brings in politicians and government officials to speak at their meetings. Politicians have to face Libertarians.

Donna recommended we mingle with other third parties and collaborate on common issues.

Helmut Fossel of GA decried the dinner meeting model saying "There has got to be a better way."

What Helmut sparked was a discussion of social versus political meetings, and supper clubs versus election-winning machines. In what followed, various states noted the need for a social component of party activity.

OR addressed this by creating two kinds of organizations and meetings:

- Meetings of affiliated county organizations to win elections and
- Affiliated interest groups for gun rights, supper clubs and so on.

These helped OR go from three to 18 affiliates. Richard Burke of OR noted affiliates need an early success. Letters to the editor are helpful to get the group in the paper. Starting with that, they can then do more.

WA gets the "social stuff" out of the way before the meet-

[State Chairs Meeting] (Continued on page 5)

## **Editorials**

#### **Paradigm Shift**

Paradigm. A paradigm is a pattern for organizing how we think about a topic. Thoughts lead to actions; a paradigm becomes a pattern for organizing work.

Four years ago, the Libertarian Party adopted as its strategy the membership recruitment paradigm of Harry Browne, Perry Willis, and David Bergland, a paradigm explained at length by Willis and given solid form as Project Archimedes.

Project Archimedes envisioned using exponential growth to expand our Party until we achieved political power. Members would donate money. The money would be used in a direct mail recruitment campaign. We would rent friendly mailing lists and mail their members long recruiting letters. The letters would recruit new members. The new recruits and continuing members would donate still more money, which would be used for more direct mail campaigns to recruit more members and raise more money. In the end, the positive cycle would build the Libertarian Party to a size where it would be politically effective.

Project Archimedes failed. Four years into the plan, LPUS membership is substantially lower than when we started. The May membership total is not a one-month fluke. Membership reached 33,000 in late 1999. Despite the Browne 2000 Presidential campaign, there was almost no change in membership during 2000. In March 2001 membership began a rapid decline, plummeting to 25,997 as of May 31, 2002. (Table Two, Below)

The LNC made a maximum effort to pour the Party's resources into making Project Archimedes a success. No expenditure was stinted. No one should accuse the LNC of not trying. It exhausted its resources by trying to make Project Archimedes work. Indeed, on April 30 this year, the Party had only \$5,501 net cash on hand. A month later, May 31, our National Party was in debt, with \$10,821 more in Accounts Payable than in Cash on Hand to pay those bills. The Cash on Hand included \$28,685 being held for the National Convention and over \$25,000 in the CD program established by Mark Tuniewicz. To his great credit, Jim Lark recently launched an emergency fundraising drive to pay off the Party's debt before his term ends. (Table Three, Below) You can debate the fine details of the Party's finances. We certainly do not have any substantial reserves that could have been spent this Spring to do more membership recruiting. The LNC tried as hard as it was able to make a go of Project Archimedes. The Project went and died.

And the bimonthly fundraising letters to members? My

[Editorial] (Continued on page 2)

friends on the LNC have forwarded to me the report for the most recent letter, mailed on April 5. The report indicates "Returns have been disappointing. As of May 31, the letter had grossed \$28,665 with \$12,896 in expenses." Is this a sign of general times? During my campaign I have spoken to several State Chairs. They all say that their fundraising has done well (your state's mileage may have varied). Two reported that they had recently set all time records for raising money via Direct Mail.

The handwriting is on the wall, its meaning clearly visible. The membership has gotten tired of being asked to open its checkbook to no particular electoral avail. No matter what we thought in 1998 about Direct Mail membership recruitment, as of 2002 Direct Mail recruiting is in practice ending. We don't have cash on hand to do it more. We don't appear to be able to raise the cash needed to do it again.

Like the travelers unable to reach the top of a snowbound pass, we must change directions, because we have no alternative. The Membership Recruitment Strategy of Project Archimedes cannot be pursued further without driving the National Party hopelessly into debt, because the membership has tired of paying for it.

I've spent the last years putting forth an alternative strategy for the Libertarian Party. I'm on the record. I support a strategy based on local organization and grassroots growth. I support focussing the National Party concrete acts that incite and support activists, recruit and assist candidates, and expand our circle of friends. That's a completely different strategy from Membership Recruitment.

As important as a change in direction is a change in our fundraising methods. No matter what projects we want to pursue, if the projects require people to volunteer their time, energy, or money we need to succeed at inciting them to volunteer. In my opinion, there are a serious of modest steps that will take us in the desired directions:

- 1) Remind the membership that we are a membership organization, by ensuring that names and contact information of LNC members appears every month in LP News.
- 2) Remind the membership that we are based on state and local organization, by including state contact information every month.

The above information can be given in a space-econom-ical yet attractive format, and certainly should not consume several pages of LP News. The historical formats used for these were more space intensive than is really desirable.

3) Reassure members that we are spending their money frugally and effectively. Return to monthly FEC filings, so our members see us on record all the time (not twice a year as in 2001) what we are doing with their donations. Consider reporting substantial expenditures in LP News, again to re-

assure the membership that we are not wasting their money. When we do a fundraiser, make clear how money will be spent--and the necessary months later, report how the funds raised were spent, so members can see they have not been given a bait and switch.

4) With the consent of the states, change the UMP Plan so that more money raised under UMP is sent back to the states. For example, greatly increase the fraction of donations above dues at time of renewal that goes back to the states rather than being kept by National.

Sometimes you have to notice indirect clues.

### Table One National Party Membership Statistics, May 2002

Change since four years ago (31 May 1998)	-470
Change since record high (30 Nov 1999)	-7738
Change since last convention (30 Jun 2000)	-6498
Change since 2000 election (31 Oct 2000)	-7014
Change since beginning of year (31 Dec 2001)	-1974

#### Table Two Complete Membership Data

Was May 31, 2002 a fluke for membership statistics? Here's the entire record since the LPUS elected David Bergland National Chair and launched Project Archimedes. Our memberships went up from 26,279 to 33,419. Then it came down again, all the way. Down it continued to go.

#### Month-End Mem- bership

T 00	26.270		
Jun-98	26,279	Jun-00	33,419
Jul-98	27,938	Jul-00	32,327
Aug-98	28,757	Aug-00	32,317
Sep-98	28,743	Sep-00	32,776
Oct-98	28,845	Oct-00	32,193
Nov-98	29,489	Nov-00	32,830
Dec-98	30,110	Dec-00	33,261
Jan-99	30,065	Jan-01	
Feb-99	30,603		32,982
Mar-99	31,581	Feb-01	33,252
Apr-99	31,734	Mar-01	33,028
May-99	31,242	Apr-01	32,118
Jun-99	31,772	May-01	31,850
Jul-99	32,377	Jun-01	31,490
		Jul-01	30,692
Aug-99	32,157	Aug-01	30,334
Sep-99	32,058	Sep-01	30,132
Oct-99	33,189	Oct-01	29,720
Nov-99	33,112	Nov-01	28,574
Dec-99	33,149	Dec-01	27,754
Jan-00	33,083	Jan-02	27,770
Feb-00	32,241	Feb-02	27,370
Mar-00	32,334	Mar-02	26,626
Apr-00	33,135	Apr-02	26,162
May-00	33,372	-	
,	,	May-02	25,997

## Table Three LNC Cash Situation

End of April:

Cash (including reserve CD): \$ 61,527 Accounts payable: \$ 56,026

Net Cash: \$ 5,501

End of May:

Cash (including reserve CD): \$60,060.67 Accounts payable: \$70,881.55

Net Cash: -\$ 10.820.88

...George Phillies

# A Realistic Vision of Victory

Carl Milsted

Let us start with some crude assumptions.

That our presidential vote totals are roughly proportional to our membership size. That we recover enough to get 0.5% of the presidential vote totals in 2004. That we master direct mail and advertising to the point that we can sustain ~20% membership growth annually, which is a doubling of membership every presidential cycle.

Under these conditions we can maybe affect public policy in a libertarian direction via the presidential election in 2028. That is, we need roughly a factor of 64 to get about a third of the presidential vote, which is a minimum for victory unless another "third" party seriously splits the authoritarian vote. A factor of 64 requires 6 doublings or 24 years from 2004 according to the assumptions above.

If we use our presidential campaigns as our showcase, as our main vision of victory, we are left with recruiting people who have a quarter-century time horizon. Not only that, but they have to have a quarter-century time horizon under some very optimistic projections, since we have no proven technique of consistently producing 20% annual growth.

Most freedom lovers are less optimistic. Indeed, many would argue that if we do not focus on defensive actions in the near term, there will not be a presidential race in 2028 to run in. Considering that the recent campaign finance reform law theoretically has repealed the first amendment to the Constitution and has declared the existing congresscritters as a new aristocracy, excessive optimism is not warranted.

With such an unrealistic vision of victory, is it any wonder that the Libertarian Party has such difficulty recruiting and retaining members? With such a vision, a Libertarian has to be someone who is so radical that he cannot tell the differ-

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ence between the two legacy parties, is willing to wait a quarter century for real results, is extremely pessimistic that either of the legacy parties can be reformed, and is optimistic that the Libertarian Party can sustain 20% growth despite a history to the contrary. With such a narrow filter for members, I doubt the LP can grow large enough to win a presidential contest-at least not without a rich celebrity candidate walking in to save the day-ever.

Recall the premise of my first column: to attain new members, we must turn the LP into a viable tool for increasing liberty now - using existing resources.

In general, when faced with the need to improve your success rate at any task in which your resources are fixed, you have a combination of three options:

- Work harder.
- Work more efficiently (work smarter).
- Scrub requirements (eliminate non-critical tasks).

It is best to start with scrubbing requirements, since there is no reason to work harder or smarter at tasks it turns out you do not need to do. So let us ask the question: what is the minimum electoral success necessary to start moving laws in a libertarian direction?

Let us consider a legislative body of 100 members. We place each member on a special directional Nolan chart which is centered on the status quo and has no centrist region. Thus, anyone who wants more economic freedom than the status quo but less personal freedom than the status quo is effectively a conservative. Anyone who wants more personal and economic freedom than we currently have is effectively a libertarian, and so on.

Suppose we have 49 liberals, 49 conservatives and 2 authoritarians. Under this scenario, public policy moves in an authoritarian direction.

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49 liberals + 2 authoritarians = 51 for less economic freedom

49 conservatives + 2 authoritarians = 51 for less personal freedom

To move public policy in a libertarian direction we need merely replace the two authoritarians with libertarians.

- 49 liberals + 2 libertarians = 51 for more personal freedom
- 49 conservatives + 2 libertarians = 51 for more economic freedom

Or, we could replace 2 conservatives and 2 liberals with 4 libertarians.

47 liberals + 4 libertarians = 51 for more personal freedom 47 conservatives + 4 libertarians = 51 for more economic freedom

To win a legislative seat in a small to medium state requires around 50 to 100 thousand dollars. Contrast this to the 100 to 200 million dollars needed to win at the presidential level. Suppose we need 6 Libertarian victories to cause a shift in our first takeover state. We then need around 300 to 600 thousand dollars; this is less than we already spend on hopeless presidential campaigns. To be more realistic, we should expect so lose some of our signature state house races, so let us round up to a cool 1 million dollars. We are still within what Harry Browne was able to raise running for president.

By scrubbing our requirements, we have found a vision of victory that is at least 100 times easier than winning a U.S. presidential contest. We can theoretically start moving public policy in a libertarian direction right now, using our exist ing fundraising base. And if we do so, we may well achieve that 20% annual membership growth needed to change the balance of power in more states as well as run that viable presidential campaign in 2028.

#### **How to Get There**

A major problem with the Libertarian Party is that its current membership base was recruited through presidential campaigns and mass mailings talking about presidential campaigns (Project Archimedes). Transferring the enthusiasm and dollars from hopeless presidential contests to real winnable races will not be easy. I have been told by members of the national staff that fundraising letters trying to raise money for focused assistance of winnable campaigns have not brought in nearly as much money as fundraising letters for 50-state ballot access and other such presidential race overhead. Indeed, in the year 2000 more Virginia Libertarians showed up for a Harry Browne fundraiser in Nor-thern Virginia than showed up in the state convention that year.

Here are some possible tactics to focus at least some of the current membership's funds toward productive ends:

Change the LP News editorial policy. Current LP News policy appears to emphasize races that can get the most press hit eyeballs; that is, the sum of press mentions times the circula-

tion of each mention. This biases the coverage towards the bigger (and usually less winnable) races. This bias applies even when the image projected for the LP is goofball (Kenny Kramer!?). This is not just bad electoral strategy; it is bad advertising. Everything I have read on the subject of advertising indicates that it is better to hit 100,000 eyeballs 10 times than 1,000,000 eyeballs once.

Support the Libertarian Victory Fund and related PACs. They provide the concentration of resources needed to win. Those of you reading this can take this action regardless of policy at LPHQ.

Recruit LP celebrities to run for state house. Image Harry Browne, Michael Cloud, Perry Willis and Jacob Hornberger running for state house. Think they could raise \$50K each? OK, so maybe this is just a pipe dream of mine. I have personally tried to recruit two of the above to run at the state house level without success. But if enough other Libertarians back up my nagging...

Sell this vision to some of our big donors. A thousand dollars goes a lot further at the state house level than at the presidential level. Not only that, many states have higher individual campaign finance limits than the FEC permits for federal candidates. Virginia is unlimited, for example. It is time to stop whining about the FEC and time to make use of existing gaping loopholes.

#### Conclusion

There you have it. By scrubbing requirements we have our first factor of 100. Later essays will cover some other factors of 2-5 in efficiency and level of effort. We already have the resources to start moving public policy in a libertarian direction by winning elections. And if we prove we have a viable strategy, we might just convince some former big-L Libertarians to jump back on the bandwagon. Imagine if some of that Cato donor base was to throw money in our direction...

...Carl Milsted

You may contact Dr. Milsted at cmilsted@earthlink.net (From Liberty for All, www.libertyforall.net)

## From the Press

Stuart Rothenberg's June 24 column at www.rollcall.com reports that the Republican National Committee is concerned by a "growing disparity in voter turnout" to be solved by a novel get-out-the-vote plan that it wants state

# Let Freedom Ring! Libertarian Strategy Gazette

Subscriptions \$13 per year. Send your money to Carol McMahon, 221 Bumstead Road, Monson MA 01057. parties to implement. The plan uses additional manpower, preferably volunteer, and more carefully targeted customized ads. The Republicans began with the collapse in Bush's lead during the week before elections. They went out and looked at what happened, and on experimental methods for increasing Republican turnout. These were legitimate experiments with scientific controls. Experiments included extra television, radio and mail advertising, campaign workers in the district for "get-out-the-vote efforts" and phone banking to find and energize likely supporters.

Vote increases of 2-4% were found for near-election-day efforts to get voters to the polls. One precinct worker for one month was worth a similar vote percentage. Increases above 5% in turnout were found when volunteers were used to phone potential voters. It has dawned on the Republicans that Democratic affinity groups are more vigorous than Republicans in their efforts, which are not subject to campaign law spending restrictions.

Experiments to change the situation included multiple mail pieces, multiple phone calls, radio ads, door-to-door voter identification, palm cards. and Election Day turnout efforts. The efforts worked to an extent, even with groups usually hostile to the Republican Party. In New Jersey, radio ads to the African American Community—a relatively inexpensive approach—raised the vote to 8%, relative to 2% in the control area. Personal contact by volunteers and targeted messages were especially effective. It should be emphasized that these are measures for moving votes a few points, not for working miracles. However, Republican conservatism may block change, regardless of inconvenient facts.

# **Victory--At Last**

Bill Woolsey <a href="www.awwoolsey@comcast.net">www.awwoolsey@comcast.net</a>
I came in first. There were 12 candidates for four town council seats. I received over 1500 votes in the nonpartisan race. The top four vote getters won seats. The next three had about 1200.

I knocked on about 1000 doors during the last two weeks. I spent all of today waving at traffic and shaking the hands of voters as they came to the polling place. I spent about \$800-for 100 yard signs and lots of literature.

# Street Theater

The Arizona Alliance for Peaceful Justice co-sponsored a Protest at the local FBI office. They meet at a Friends (Quaker) meeting house. The occasion was Bush/Ashcroft action ending limits on domestic spying instituted by President Ford in 1976 in response to abuses by FBI agents during Cointelpro. Attendees were asked to bring an umbrella for StreetTheater. Umbrelle? "We're taping a letter on the top of each umbrella to create a message to the helicopter that may well be flying above (presumption based on many of our personal experiences). Something along the lines of "don't spy on me" "

(Continued from page 1) [State Chairs Summary]

ing, but is keeping the supper club framework. Sociability, they say, goes a long way. Moreover, friends are more willing give one another the benefit of the doubt while strangers may take offense at some questionable remark. Social clubs promoting simple connections make enormous headway.

MA separates the social matters from working groups. They also hold monthly social meetings.

Donna Mancini of KY reported Louisville and Jefferson County are the strongest groups in the state. They meet in a private room at the Executive Inn with about 30 people, and not in a restaurant. That way members can order their food the way they like it – bourbon and dry baked potato – without risking other restaurant goers looking askance. KY has evolved from the supper club model to political activist meetings.

Dianne Pilcher requested states exchange County Chair's manuals.

#### **Media Relations**

BetteRose Ryan of CO asked the group "why are there newspapers"? The answer is "to sell newspapers"! So the trick to media relations is to give the media something to help them sell.

For example, if a \$600 tax refund is on the table, get a market basket of goods and show what \$600 can buy. Makes good TV.

Not surprisingly, Don Gorman of NH knows how to do that. That pepper pot who graced MO with his candidates school in Aug 2001, went to crack houses in East Philly to illustrate the failure of the War on Drugs. A reporter was taking notes furiously and a big article appeared in the paper.

One in the group learned a lot by watching a long time activist in the city. He arranged for pickets one weekend on some issue. Then he got on his cell phone and called a TV station. "What's going on here?" he asked, "there are people carrying signs, and Channel 2 is here." Of course, Channel 2 was not there, but the ploy managed to get a TV crew to materialize.

Austin Hough of IL recommended we become friends with the "letters to the editors" editors. The Chicago Tribune gets 600-800 letters per day. Calling them up relieves them of some of the drudgery of having to read all those letters. All of the editors know Austin, the state chair of the ILP, by name! Austin says he is great at building relationships, and plans on moving up the food chain along with his contacts in the years to come.

Libertarians can improve our chances of getting published if we focus on what **they** are reporting or editorializing about. Dovetailing provides positive strokes for them by letting them know we think their issues are relevant.

Send your press releases to many newspapers, and sign your name with "Libertarian Party" as a suffix. Titles work! If you are the only Libertarian in Dexter County, then clearly you are the "Chair of the Libertarian Party Organizing Committee, Dexter County." And don't forget to use "Libertarian" in the body.

Another good point – rewrite national press releases and ship them for local consumption.

Sometimes, unintended consequences will arise. One day an editor asked Austin, "Hey, what about this"? Austin then got to write something about it. As I recall, it appeared as an Op-Ed piece.

Other times, your pieces will be edited. Sean Haugh of NC displayed remarkable restraint when what he had written got "butchered." He called the editor, but instead of complaining, asked what he could have done differently to avoid the problem. The answer was straightforward – write more simply, use shorter words, shorter sentences, and target to the fifth grade level.

Send your work to the proper individual. News and opinions are different. News goes to the news editor. Opinions go to the contact for letters to the editor. Op-Ed pieces should be 300-400 words. Letters to the editor should be 100-200.

Andrew Horning, former LP candidate for mayor of Indianapolis and governor of Indiana, of IN has worked his way into becoming a bi-weekly columnist for Indianapolis Star, and he is paid for what he does. Brad Klopfenstein, Indiana's Exec. Director, also belongs to the Press Club of Indianapolis and is on its board. This started with a lunch, and then snowballed. Brad advises getting a tie, not being afraid to be a weasely, yet be appropriate and reasonable.

Colorado has found the Denver news market to be a tough nut to crack. Smaller markets such as Grand Junction appreciate the attention the Libertarian Party devotes to it. For TV, be brazen and just ask. Announce, "I'm coming down for an interview." Perhaps surprisingly – perhaps not, actually – that works.

Donna Mancini of KY also knows how to get on TV. As a candidate she was never invited to debates and events. So, she just showed up and started introducing herself as the Libertarian candidate whom the others won't let in. At one event, she was being interviewed for TV as the discussion carried on inside.

Richard Pearl of TN recommended we court the street reporters. While the editors of the paper may give you pause, feed the street reporters stories. It puts food on their plate and makes their jobs easier (see above).

Or try courting county newspapers, because nobody pays at-

tention to them. They will print virtually everything. And don't be afraid to make reporters think they're special as in "we loved the way you covered that last time, can we give this to you first"?

When you meet TV people and others, add them to your database of contacts. Show up at awards dinners for the press. Schmooze and collect business cards. Get to know the reporters by name and put bacon on their table.

Nevada is even doing its own TV via a public access cable channel. (Libertarian Party On, Wayne!)

By far and away the most extensive yet cost effective media campaign is one Oregon orchestrated. This may well have been the highlight of the state chair's conference.

Richard Burke of OR described its statewide media tour, which proved effective and cheap (\$700).

Richard said the prerequisites included

- 1. Having a big issue
- 2. Being newsworthy
- 3. And being politically relevant, in Oregon's case by being a potential spoiler

The governor wanting to raise taxes was the big issue. The "No New Taxes" tour in progress was a newsworthy event. And with Oregon's legislatures split almost 50-50, the Libertarian Party was primed for the spoiler role.

They announced the tour prior to the start – they staged a picture of them planning the tour pouring over a large state map.

Portland and Eugene are Oregon's population centers both in the northwest corner. But they did not start there. Instead, the first, southern, loop headed toward Klamath Falls near the CA border on a Friday. Along the way they attracted TV and other media attention. The southern loop required two nights in motels, and only one vacation day.

Meanwhile, a sympathetic talk show host visited on the eastern loop and broadcast all over the state kept tabs on the progress with periodic updates.

Certain county chairs did similar interviews in places off the tour route. Then the eastern tour commenced, and a buzz was beginning to build. Finally, they hit the big places including Eugene and Portland. By this time the tour had established itself, and the media in the population centers took notice.

Although the tour solidified Republican opposition to new taxes, and the measure was defeated, the Libertarians got the credit. Two legislators originally opposed to the taxes wrote the Oregon Libertarian Party confirming that and thanking them for their help.

Now the governor is calling another special session to raise taxes, and the Libertarians are sitting pretty.

If taxes pass, the Libertarians can go on a "See I told you so, you can't count on the Republicans" tour. If taxes fail, Oregon citizens win.

Bottom line of media relations: Do something! Make news and play smart. For example:

- Show up at events, protests, rallies, and so on, and chat up reporters
- Ask reporters: "Do you need a comment on this from the opposition?"
- Treat reporters as being the special people they are; note that you are giving them exclusive or a scoop on an issue
- Aim for getting columns instead of letters to the editor
- Get many people to write lots of letters from every angle

Trust is vital. At an initial lunch meeting with an Indy reporter, Brad did not discuss politics. It was important to first reassure the press you're a reasonable person. Being appropriate is vital. Gents should invest in a tie if appropriate to the situation, i.e. if others are dressed accordingly—perhaps not if meeting with farmers or fishermen.

Don Gorman of NH reiterated we show up at press awards nights. There we should be sure to meet everyone and collect business cards. After that, create news and put food on table for reporters. Get to know them by name and take them out to coffee or meal.

#### **Strategy Items**

How to replace conflict with cooperation

Steve Dasbach recalled a Libertarian Party meeting on a particular issue which would have passed as stated by 75-25%. Instead, the group decided to take another half hour to air the concerns of the 25%. The discussion achieved a broad consensus, and the amended resolution passed with only one dissenting vote. The Libertarian Party respected the minority.

Colorado reduces conflict by granting autonomy. BetteRose Ryan reported a fundraising director, for example, is authorized to spend \$150 without going to the board. This sidesteps the approval process and any impediments that may rise.

Geoffrey Neale, the chair of TX, readily accepts blame even for matters that are not his fault. This is much, much easier than having to prove he or one of his associates is "right." A state chair needs to make peace.

Another ploy to dealing with opposition is to put the ball back into the complainer's court. Remind him/her that in a convention of 63 delegates, only 31 others need to agree in order for to prevail. The problem then becomes his in persuading 31 others, rather than for you to participate in the debate.

An excellent suggestion that comes from Texas (that the MO chair plans to take to heart) is to be less direct. When presenting issues and options, describe pros and cons of each alternative. Then let the members decide the issue. Chances are good they will arrive at the same conclusion.

Sara Chambers of Alaska makes liberal use of e-mail's delete key, and has unsubscribe from a large number of list servers.

Whenever an e-mail conflict is arising, use the **telephone** to resolve the conflict!

Barbara Goushaw of MI has a rule: Unless you have donated \$100 or 100 hours to a project, you have not earned the right to render your opinion about it. If you're not playing the game, don't holler from the stands.

A final strategy: If everyone wants the same results and is bickering about process, consensus is possible. If there is fundamental disagreement about goals, then recruit like-minded folk until dissenters make up small percentage and give up.

Finally, keep 'em busy! Busy people don't have time to fight.

#### How can we reduce burnout?

Burnout occurs when people give positive effort but get negative returns. Accordingly, keep it fun. Set realistic goals that can be met, especially for candidates, rather than ones that are unlikely.

Invite volunteers to take some time off, not in a way that says their efforts are not valuable. Give them permission to take time off.

Get people to focus on the tasks they love doing and that energize them. The Jan 2002 LP News, page 27, listed this:

If you are—You can, for the Party or a campaign:

An artist or graphic designer—Do the layout of posters, ads, brochures, flyers and newsletters

A photographer—Take pictures for posters, websites, brochures and newsletters

*In the printing business*—Donate printing services, or find reliable, low-cost printing

*In print or broadcast media*—Provide the names and addresses of contacts for press releases

*In the clothing or fashion industry*—Advise the candidates on appearance

*In marketing*—Design surveys to find out voters' major interests and concerns in elections

In advertising—Recommend cost effective ways of making candidates better known

Belong to an organization—Invite candidates to speak to your organization

Own a video recorder—Videotape candidates' appearances at various events and meetings

In sales—Raise funds

An accountant—Keep financial records for the Party and campaigns

A lawyer—Provide legal advice to the Party and campaigns

A secretary or administrative assistant—Design and maintain a filing system for campaign records

A computer programmer or software expert—Design and maintain a database or website

In computer hardware—Donate or lend computer equipment

A scheduler or coordinator—Arrange the candidates appearances and coordinate campaign staff meetings

Own a car—Transport the candidate and campaign materials to events

Have extra space in your house or apartment—Provide a meeting or storage space for campaign staff meetings, parties or ma-

terials To Be Continued

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# **Alternative Pledge of Allegiance**

From Mary Lou Seymour:

I'm a flag collector as well as a big fan of flag flying, and every year I look forward eagerly to the various occasions when flag fans display their banner of choice at their home. There's July 4, Memorial Day, Confederate Memorial Day, Patriots Day, and, of course, June 14, Flag Day. (Well, actually, I fly flags for other occasions too, including "when I feel like it," but the "flag days" are kinda special -- other folks fly flags then too, not just us "flag nuts.")

Flag Day was first celebrated in 1877, the centennial of the U.S. flag's existence. After that many citizens and organizations advocated the adoption of a national day of commemoration for the U.S. flag. It was not until 1949 that President Harry Truman digned legislation making Flag Day a day of national observance.

In a Joint Resolution on June 9, 1966, the Congress requested that the President issue annually a proclamation designating the week in which June 14 occurs as National Flag Week and calling upon citizens of the United States to display the flag during that week.

I've been thinking a lot about the flag this year. Due to 9/11, and to our glorious leaders advising us to show our "patriotism" by flying the flag and shopping, the thought of just flying the Stars and Stripes on Flag Day this year has left me cold. I was going to protest by the time-honored method of "voting with my feet" and not flying a flag at all this June 14, but an article by Strike the Root's Don Hull -- "The True Flag of Freedom" -- set me thinking ...

In my flag collection, I have the three most familiar "Colonial Rattlesnake Flags:" the Gadsden Flag (the familiar yellow one with curled rattler and the "Don't Tread on Me" slogan), Culpepper (the white one with curled snake and Liberty or Death slogan as well as DTOM), and the First Navy Jack (striking snake). This year, for Flag Day, I'm going to fly one of my Rattlesnake Flags ... the "true flag of freedom." Or maybe all three. And I'd like to propose, as this week's action, that we all do the same. Fly the flag of FREEDOM this year on June 14!

If you don't have, and can't acquire, an alternative flag, another way of registering your feelings is to copy an old sea tradition: a flag flown upside down is the international symbol for "ship in distress." If you only have the Stars and Stripes, invert them.

But wait ... there's more.

On June 20, 1985, the Ninety-Ninth Congress passed and President Reagan signed Public Law 99-54 recognizing the PAUSE FOR THE PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE as part of National Flag Day activities. The National Flag Day Foundation says "No matter where you are on Flag Day June 14th at 7:00 p.m. please stand and face an American Flag and say just thirty one words -- The Pledge of Allegiance."

Well, it just so happens that Aaron Zelman and Claire Wolfe (of Jews for the Preservation of Firearms Ownership) have written a marvelous NEW pledge ... the Freedom Pledge. Here it is ...

"I pledge my honor to the Bill of Rights, our precious national treasure.

"As the Bill is a fortress against tyranny, I will battle all tyrants.

"As the Bill protects liberty, I will live free.

"As the Bill guards rights born within all humanity, I will defend the freedoms of future generations.

"With my life, my words, and my daily deeds, with a vision of what can be, I honor all of the Bill of Rights for all mankind."

Aaron and Claire say the Freedom Pledge is **not** supposed to "replace the Pledge of Allegiance."











