

# Libertarian Strategy Gazette

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This Issue Electronic Supplement: Sean Haugh's Party Policy ideas. Phillies' Antiwar speech

## Letters on Libertarian Strategy The Iron Pentagon

Strategic Planning is not a new idea. Successful businessmen have been doing strategic planning for millennia. 25 years ago, it was understandable that the newly-founded Libertarian Party would have done little in the way of strategic planning. It is now 2005, not the 2002 when this was first written, and not 1972.

This letter presents an example of strategic planning and analysis. The analysis shows some of the things that we need to do for the future. The analysis also demonstrates what our national leadership should have been doing over the past half-decade to assist us in achieving the Libertarian future.

The strength of the Democratic-Republicans is based on a set of interlocking support structures, sometimes described as the "iron triangle". Support structures are not the voter base itself. Support structures are the things that let the Democratic-Republicans capture and retain adequate voter bases. I'm going to call those structures "The Iron Pentagon", but the need is the same. To compete with the Democratic-Republicans, to capture a voter base that will let us win major elections, we need the same interlocking institutions that the Democratic-Republicans presently have. What are the faces of "The Iron Pentagon"?

- **Money**
- --- PACs and fundraising supports **Ideas**
- --- Think Tanks and Special Interest Groups **Press**
- --- Friendly Media **People**
- --- Candidates and Incumbents **Patronage**
- Using Resources to Help your Friends

The book "Stand Up for Liberty" merged PACs and Special Interest Groups into one category. Special interest groups actually provide two very different types of support: financial, and intellectual/emotional. Here I treat these two sorts of support separately.

**PACs AND FUNDRAISING:** Money is the lifeblood of politics. The other national parties -- besides their national committee and state committees -- have a variety of Federal and state PACs to support their candidates. For example, the Democrats and Republicans each have House and Senate Campaign Committees. The corresponding Libertarian Congressional PAC was only formed in 1999. State after state has a long list of partisan PACs. Only in the past few years do we read of Libertarians forming PACs (under various names) at the state level.

[Strategic Planning] (Continued on page 2)

## Local Organization: The Path to Victory

From the Editor's book Stand Up for Liberty! Available at <http://www.3mpub.com/phillies>

Second, we could emulate other major parties. If you look carefully, the Democrats and Republicans each have several national groups competing for resources. (Is competition wasteful and therefore bad? Well, you would think so if you were a Libertarian Socialist.)

Third, we can attempt careful, rigorous, open examination of policy options. Many Libertarians have no idea what strategic analysis is, let alone why strategic analysis is desirable, useful, or even possible. Public analysis by proponents and opponents of each strategy will identify points of disagreement, and establish track records for possible future leaders. Public analysis allows rational comparison of national and large-state state organizing efforts, an imperfect comparison that may be as good as we can get. Setting goals in advance is mandatory if you want to tell if a program has worked. 'Being consistently wrong in predictions' is a good indication of bad leadership, no matter how clever the rationalizations that are given after the fact of failure.

Local Organization supports comparison of strategies, and limits the damage done by bad strategic decisions. Membership Recruitment enfeebles the groups that the national Party might be compared with. Membership Recruitment ensures that if the national organization drops the basket, almost all eggs will be in it. Moral Armament has most of the same advantages as Local Organization.

### Practical Issue: Financial diversion.

The more money the Libertarian Party piles up in one place, the greater the temptation we present to the unscrupulous. The treasury of the local supper club might be a few hundred or a thousand dollars, enough to support an embezzler for a week. That money is mostly safe. If the local treasurer does dip into the till, local methods are often good enough to get the money back. The financial resources of the national Libertarian Party, now that it has placed most of the party's donations under its central control, are in the millions of dollars. Even a modest diversion from an income pool of this size is enough to provide gainful employment to a slew of consultants, all of whom will demonstrably conscientiously perform the tasks that they contracted to perform.

I am not saying that we presently have a difficulty with embezzlement and fraud. I am saying that by concentrating our funds under a single roof we make ourselves a much more attractive target for embezzlers and nominal consultants. The consultants

[Local Organization] (Continued on page 3)

*(Continued from page 1)* [Strategic Planning]

Beyond overtly partisan PACs, each of the other major parties is supported by special interest groups speaking for specific issues and groups of people. Special interest groups do indeed respond to their constituencies, but many of them function primarily in the context of supporting one of the duopoly parties. The NRA and NARAL are not the National Republican Association and the National Anti-Republican Action League, but their entirely lawful activities tend to lean particular ways.

Democratic and Republican supporters of the 1st or 2nd amendments and other special interests can find special interest groups that speak for their causes while funding their Party. To be successful, the Libertarian party must create or capture corresponding special interest PACs that speak for causes while simultaneously aiding Libertarian candidates and state parties.

**THINK TANKS AND SPECIAL INTEREST GROUPS:**

To create a Libertarian future, we must be ready to govern when we win elections. We can mouth vague slogans that Democratic-Republican solutions are no good. Those slogans don't replace detailed proposals for transitions and sound-bite-length defenses of our proposals. The press adopts one tone when quoting politicians, and a different tone when quoting spokesmen of think tanks. We need think tanks to supply quotable answers -- and to be sure that reporters know which questions really count. A Libertarian victory will be built in part on a Libertarian spirit of the age, which requires that Libertarian ideas are seen to be coming from non-party institutions of Libertarian inclination, not just from the party headquarters.

Many Americans only care about a few political issues. A special interest group that talks about their topics, while giving answers with a Libertarian slant, can be the bridge that leads supporters of the duopoly party across to the Libertarian party. When we create Libertarian Think Tanks and Special Interest Groups, we will gain the benefits that follow from having them.

**LIBERTARIAN MEDIA:** Do we want editorial endorsements for our candidates? Do we want sympathetic (actually, do we want non-zero) coverage of our candidates and campaigns? Do we want the public to hear our think tanks giving Libertarian answers, someday even to Libertarian questions? Press outlets that are open to our directions will be significant for our success.

In the last century, many newspapers were funded by a particular Political Party or Faction. Today, many newspapers and television stations can be counted upon to support candidates of a particular bent. The Libertarian Party needs corresponding support of its activities and campaigns by sympathetic media outlets. To get sympathetic outlets, we need to create outlets or to convert existing outlets to our side. The Internet will pick up part of this burden, but print and broadcast media remain important. A young Libertarian who wishes to pursue an interesting career while at the same

time building her party could do worse than to enter journalism.

**CANDIDATES AND INCUMBENTS:** Elected politicians are a source of strength. Incumbents may spend half of their politicking time doing fundraising, and they are far more effective than most non-incumbents. Incumbents are heard, simply because they are incumbents. When one of the duopoly Parties wants to recruit a candidate for U.S. Senate, they have the President of the United States or the Speaker of the House available making recruiting telephone calls. An elected official who is willing to work hard for her party as well as herself, by serving as a spokesman, by inciting activism, and by raising money can make enormous contributions to her party's progress.

Never forget: the core purpose of a political party is to elect candidates to office. That purpose requires finding candidates, electing them to office, and re-electing them at later dates. A substantial task for all Libertarians at every level of the party is to incite activists to run for office and to support their fellow Libertarians in running for office. In the end, putting the Libertarian agenda into effect requires winning elections.

**PATRONAGE:** The concept Libertarian Patronage will make many Libertarians uncomfortable. After all, if we are the party of rather little government, there will be rather little patronage to distribute. However, some patronage is honorary or constructive. Civilian decorations such as the National Medal of Freedom can go to people who have championed the Libertarian freedom ideal. Appointments to advisory panels can go to competent persons who happen to support the entire Bill of Rights and who favor market solutions to complex problems.

Furthermore, it is unlikely that we will instantly win a total victory. It is highly likely that to govern at all we will have to accept fractions of loaves at a time, rather than getting the entire bakery on the first day. For example, we Libertarians have the objective of getting the Federal government out of its practice of hiring schoolteachers and building academic administration buildings. While we are a Congressional minority, we will make some progress in this direction, but by agreeing to make less progress in our desired direction, we can bargain to make other changes.

Patronage? For example, we could insist in exchange for our votes, e.g., that educational research funds will be preferentially focused toward "individually-designed curricula recognizing the cultural unicity of every child". In English translation, we could make sure that educational research money is spent in ways that benefit our home schooling constituents, as well as benefiting parents who think they can trust the government, rather than only being spent to benefit state schools. We always remember that our long term objective is to shrink government a great deal. However, when money would have been spent anyhow, patronage is arranging for that money to be spent in ways that benefits our side rather than their side.

I have now discussed the Iron Pentagon:

- MONEY (PACs and fundraising supports),
- IDEAS AND FRIENDS (Think Tanks and Special Interest Groups),

- PRESS (Libertarian-Friendly Media),
- PEOPLE (Candidates and Incumbents), and
- PATRONAGE (Using Resources to Help Our Friends).

The above analysis is an example of strategic planning. I looked at the issues confronting us, and worked out a piece of what we need to do to build a strong future for the Libertarian Party. A capable leadership of our party would have done this sort of analysis years ago, would have presented its analysis and underlying rationale to our Party's members as a strategic plan, and would have led by example in putting the Plan into effect.

The actions of the Libertarian National Committee are on the record. What have they been doing this past quarter century? Are they giving us the strategic planning that our party deserves and needs? Go to <http://www.lp.org>. Look up the answer for yourself.

*(Continued from page 1)* **[Local Organization]**

need not be dishonest. Consultants have the opportunity to recommend which projects we should pursue. If we invest heavily in useless projects that do little except generate income for consultants, contractors, and hangers-on, the Libertarian Party will be defeated. When much of our money passes through one choke point, a single group of well-paid incompetent could someday do great damage to the entire Libertarian Party from Key West to Point Barrow.

### **Practical Issue: Ideological diversion.**

We are trying to create a Libertarian society, based on the assertion that the sum of freely-chosen individual beliefs will give the best arrangement of human society. In a centrally-run organization, the risk arises that the people in the center will try to turn the Libertarian Party in political directions that other Libertarians will think are not very Libertarian. No suspicion of malice need be implied. Any group of Libertarians always has the privilege of proposing new directions for the party, directions that their fellow Libertarians may or may not choose to support. However, when resources including mailing lists, newsletter editorships, and committee chairmanships are all under central control, the ability of a secret inner circle to divert the party in non-Libertarian directions is greatly enhanced.

In addition to malice-free bad decisions, a central Party is also subject to deliberate attack. If you have a unitary national or state Party with hundreds of thousands of members, millions of dollars in dues, and enormous mailing lists, you have created a temptation. Anyone with a political agenda and an adequate supply of supporters will see an opportunity to join our Party, take it over, and divert our Party to their ends. This is the Capture option, being used against us by some other party, rather than by us against another major party.

In summary, the Membership Recruitment Strategy sends most of our resources to a single central office. In contrast, under Local Organization our resources are dispersed from

coast to coast under the control of smaller group. Membership Recruitment maximizes the damage that can be done by bad policies, maximizes the temptation of illicit financial diversion, and simplifies the task of ideological diversion of our Party by our opponents. Local Organization and Moral Armament minimize the harm that bad policies can inflict, and shield the libertarian movement from financial and ideological diversions.

### **Making the Choice**

On the level of principles, for a Libertarian there is no real competition between Membership Recruitment, Local Organization, and Moral Armament. There is no competition between party democratic centralism, party democracy, and party anarchist tendency.

Our principles are just as true within our own party as they are in the wider world. Libertarian economic principles apply equally to the marketplace for coal and to the marketplace for ideas. Socialist democratic centralism is a wasteful and inefficient way to run a national coal industry. Similarly, Libertarian democratic centralism is a wasteful and inefficient way to run a national libertarian movement.

A Libertarian Party that invests primarily in a single strong national organization is a contradiction in terms. A national organization based on voluntary participation of its members is acceptable to Libertarians. However, if you believe that a strong national organization will be wiser and more effective than state and local groups, you believe in democratic centralism. How can you tell taxpayers that sending their money to Washington is bad for them, and then turn around and send the bulk of your donations to our Washington Headquarters? Libertarians reject state socialism in the commercial market. We should equally reject party socialism in the marketplace of ideas. The democratic centralist approach of the Membership Recruitment strategy is incompatible with Libertarian principles. The principled approach to Libertarian victory is the Local Organization strategy.

On the substantial level, we have been trying variants of the Membership Recruitment strategy for the past quarter-century. Our Presidential candidate did little better or worse in 1996 than in any of the four prior Presidential elections. The national Party has more members than it did once upon a time, but the national Party does little for local and state electoral success. In accord with current national Party support for the Membership Recruitment strategy, the national Party spends only a trace of its budget on local campaigns. In contrast, local organization efficiently captures all available resources. Local organization has put thousands of Libertarians on the ballot and hundreds into office while using a trace of the resources that the national Libertarian Party has at its disposal. On the substantial level, Local Organization is clearly the most effective strategy our party has.

On the practical level, the Membership Recruitment strategy and a strong central party organization create unnecessary risks for the Libertarian movement. Local Organization avoids those dangers. Membership Recruitment makes it

difficult to compare the effectiveness of different strategies. Local Organization supports such comparisons. Membership Recruitment results in a national organization vulnerable to fiscal or ideological diversion. Local Organization creates a quiltwork of groups that effectively capture all resources and are largely immune to diversion. Someone may divert a group here or there, but the quilt remains intact. (I emphasize that I am not proposing to eliminate all national organization. The national Party has important positive roles to play within the Local Organization strategy.)

No matter whether you consider questions of principle, questions of substance, or practical issues, the answer is always the same:

Local Organization is the best way to advance our Party.

We've spent 20 years trying variations on Membership Recruitment. We've kept doing what we've always done, and we've kept getting what we've always gotten. That's not very much.

It's time for a change. It's time for the Libertarian Party to try a better strategy, the strategy of Local Organization.

Table:

Issue -- Membership Recruitment -- Local Organization -- Moral Armament

Market

Competition -- Inconsistent -- Consistent --- Consistent

Permits marketplace of ideas -- no --- yes ---- yes

Captures all resources -- Some --- All ----- Some

Contains Policy Disputes -- No --- Yes ----- Mixed

Allows comparison of strategies -- No -- Yes ----- Yes

Security vs

financial diversion -- weaker -- stronger ---- mixed

Security vs ideological

diversion -- weak -- strong --- very strong

## Chapter Four

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

Local Organization -- The Path to Libertarian Victory

I begin with the most fundamental issue

The Purpose of a Political Party is

\*to Advance Its Agenda,

\*to Run Candidates and Win Elections, and

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

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

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

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

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

Local Organization.

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

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

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

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

The Local Organization strategy does not oppose running candidates for Federal and statewide office. Quite the opposite, in fact! Candidates for higher office get publicity that more local candidates cannot. A candidate for President or

Governor or Senator can make local appearances, shedding light on Libertarian candidates who run in winnable local elections. A well-run state or national campaign can send the message Vote Libertarian! and spread the Libertarian message to millions of Americans who would otherwise miss it.

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

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

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

Nonetheless...

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

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Well, that's very nice to say.

It really is very nice to say that.

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

The rest of this book proposes the answer. Stand Up for Liberty! describes implementation steps for putting the Local Organization strategy into effect. I categorically deny that my list of steps is complete. I have tried to cover some of the more important issues. It is certainly the case that you

and your fellow readers will do a great deal to refine the implementation, add new steps and delete others. I claim only to offer a foundation for future discussion and progress.

What will you find in the rest of the book?

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

**\*Campaigns\*** The purpose of a political party is to run candidates for office. Political campaigns and their support should be the focus of our efforts. Chapter 7 discusses why we should run candidates for office. It considers how many candidates we should run, how we use campaigns to build a stronger Libertarian Party, and what sorts of races our candidates run. We can run umbrella campaigns, so every citizen can Vote Libertarian! We can run serious campaigns to win, and informational campaigns to bring out voters.

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

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

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

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

\*Information management\* Even in Massachusetts, many people would hesitate to drive the Mass Pike at rush hour while wearing a blindfold. Many Libertarians are far less hesitant to race down the political highway while wearing data blindfolds, not knowing what is going on, what has already been learned, and what might support fellow Libertarians. Chapter 14 discusses Information Management, the technical tool for removing Libertarian data blindfolds and multiplying the effectiveness of all Libertarian groups. To use information, you have to find it, analyze it, store it, and get it into the hands of the people who need it.

\*What Are We To Do?\*

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

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

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

I am not going to predict when we will elect a Libertarian government. However, there are a variety of symptoms. We will not win at large until we start seeing large-scale defections of members and activists from the Democratic and the Republican parties. When we are ready to elect a President of the United States, we will also have a serious chance of taking control of Congress, and vice versa: If our Congressional campaigns are

feeble, there is no possibility that our candidate will be elected President. Under current conditions, our candidates for Congress often get 2-5 percent of the vote, while our candidate for President gets a tenth that.

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

## Tim Crowley's Libertarian Campaign Plans

### #4 Your Campaign Plan

Once you have set the goals for your campaign, you must decide how best to implement them. A campaign plan answers the who, what, when, where, why, and how of what it will take to achieve your objectives. To be a plan it must be written, must be specific, must include definite budget figures, accountability for team members, and a time line for all activities.

In addition to serving as an internal blueprint for the campaign team to organize around, a good plan will serve as a marketing tool, both to the media and to potential supporters and contributors. You will develop much more support if you can show on paper exactly how and why your goals are achievable.

Your plan should include at least the following:

Goals - your specific objectives.

Message - the answer to the question "Why are you running?," along with your position on the two issues (no more than three!) that you will stress during your campaign. If you feel the need to have a written platform on many issues, produce that as a separate document to be given out on request.

Biography - and personal statement from the candidate. Never, never, never fudge even a little on the truth for your resume. You will be caught.

District and office history - a summary of the demographics of the district, description of major interest groups, analysis of the opponent and his voting record, and any relevant polling data available.

Personal and opposition research - a listing of the positives and negatives of all the candidates in the race.  
Strategy and Targeting - the methods you will use to get your message across to the people most likely to vote for you. Tells in detail how you will earn enough votes to win.  
Field plan - shows how you will identify your supporters and get them out to vote on E-day.

Media plan - shows how your campaign will earn press coverage.

Budget - how the money will be spent for all the items and actions necessary to reach your goal.

Fundraising plan - who contributes and how the money is raised.

Time line - plots all events and activities that the campaign intends to undertake. This should also detail all the steps leading up to each event or activity.

After the plan is written, prepare a summary of its main points. Use this as your introduction for the complete plan. The introduction is needed for the external people it will be given to: media, high-end donors, and PACs.

Once you have written your plan, stick to it. Campaigns tend to produce a euphoric insanity, or "electoral intoxication" come October, pushing you to change direction on impulse. If it was good enough to be put in the plan when you had lots of time to think about it, it probably should stay.

### The Budget

Your campaign budget should be based on two factors:

1. How much money will it take to achieve the campaign goals?
2. How much can you raise?.

If your goal is to win the election, it is fairly easy to get a rough estimate of the amount it will take to have a reasonable chance of success. You will need returns for the past 2 to 3 elections for the office you are seeking, and the campaign expense reports for each of the candidates who sought the office.

Let's say you have 10 thousand voters in the district. You've studied the election returns to find that there has been an average turn out of 60% or 6 thousand votes over the last three elections. You'll need a minimum of 3001 votes in a 2-way race or 2001 in a 3-way race to win.

Next compare the expense reports with the number of votes each candidate received and determine the most money spent per vote, whether or not the candidate won. Multiply the highest dollar amount spent per vote times the number of votes needed, and you will have an approximation of the amount needed to win as a major party candidate.

As a candidate for the LP, you'll need to add at least 50% to this figure, possibly double or triple it, in order to make up for the built-in party identification the Dems and Reps have. You may need further adjustments to accommodate changes in population, and for times when the incumbent has run unopposed.

Next, determine a realistic estimate of how much money you can expect to raise. Use all of the potential contributors lists you gathered in the groundwork phase, and fill in the minimum donation you can expect from each individual and group.

Cut the total amount in half to get an amount you should be able to count on raising. If the amount you can raise is much smaller than the amount needed to win, you may want to consider this campaign as a stepping stone toward running a winning campaign next time, and make your plans accordingly.

Now draw up a gross expenditure budget

Make a list of all the things you need and want for your campaign, and determine the costs. These will include:

1. Ballot drive expenses (if any)
2. Filing fee (if any)
3. Brochures
4. Postage for direct mail
5. Postage for press releases
6. Letterhead stationary, Envelopes
7. Reply cards, Reply envelopes
8. Photographs
9. Printing other than brochures (e.g. position papers)
10. Artwork or graphics
11. Equipment rental
12. Posters/billboards
13. Bumper stickers, Buttons
14. Paid Media, TV, Radio, Newspaper
15. Radio advertising
16. Salary or contract services
17. Office or headquarters rental
18. Telephone
19. Special events, rallies, etc.
20. Voter Files, registration records.

This does not mean that you should have all of the above items in your campaign, or that you should not have other items. List everything you can think of, even though you may ultimately write "Zero" in the budget next to some items.

When all the costs are assigned to each item in your "wish list," the total will probably be far in excess of both the dollar amount needed to win and the amount you can expect to raise. Now prioritize until the wish list is pared down to match the amount you need to win.

When setting your priorities for the budget, keep in mind the specific goals of the campaign. Ask yourself, "Would spending X amount of dollars in this manner produce the Y result that I need?" And since voter contact is essential to the achievement of any electoral goal, you should budget 75% or more of your budget to direct voter contact.

Once you have prepared the gross expenditure budget, use those figures and your campaign time line to plot out on a weekly basis how much money you will spend on each budget line item. This gives you a timed expenditure budget.

Next, formulate a timed income budget by placing on the time line week by week all the expected sources of income.

Having the three different forms of budget will give you a good sense of cash flow, and enable you to anticipate cash short-falls in time to do something about them. Good budgeting makes each expenditure the most effective.

To Be Continued

**Sean Haugh Recommends**

Policy Manual, Article IV, Section 1, paragraph C (Development Activities)

- 1. inquiry response
- 8. premium fulfillment
- 9. long-term renewals
- 10. major donor program
- 11. wills and bequests

Commentary: I'm getting very tired of receiving angry emails from people I've never heard of before because they made an inquiry and never received a response. It's because we never got the inquiry information from national in the first place. The greatest single screw up in the database conversion is when all the inquiry dates got changed to 9/10/04. In NC, we received a dump of 6,714 inquiries at once, which I'm guessing is the list of every single person who has made an inquiry from our state since the party was founded 1972. This is an unmitigated disaster in a Presidential election year. We have lost an incredible opportunity with this lost data.

The current LNC has been implementing a policy of discouraging long-term renewals and fixing membership records to reflect this. Premium fulfillment, a major donor program, and solicitations for wills and bequests are currently done in a haphazard fashion, if at all.

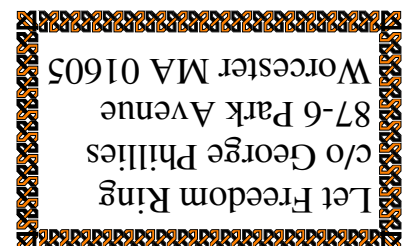
**I Recommend:** These are some of the most basic activities national staff must do. While there are some glimmers of hope, we need an LNC that will enable staff to do these things and hold them accountable.

Policy Manual, Article IV, Section 1, paragraph F (Political Action) The purpose of LPHQ is to provide full-time, professional support for the on-going political activities of the Party. The activities of LPHQ include.... 1. ballot access 2. campus support 3. candidate recruitment and training

Commentary: Much has already been written about the lack of commitment to ballot access by the current LNC. Campus support is currently being led by an LNC member, Jim Lark, and volunteers, most notably Trevor Southerland of Tennessee. There is no national candidate recruitment or training being done by the party at the national level, not since Ron Crickenberger died. Many have argued that we need a Political Director again so that the party will actually be doing politics. I am beginning to agree with this view. It has been shown that high profile glamour type of political action can be done without a Political Director. But we still need someone doing the nuts and bolts of political action at the national level.

**I Recommend:** Hire a new Political Director, and charge that person with these tasks. Another potentially useful option is to shift these and other responsibilities to a committee structure, where anyone who is interested in these projects can do the work, as is already happening with campus support.

**For Sean's Other Recommendations, Read the Electronic Edition of the October Issue of Libertarian Strategy Gazette, now on the web at <http://cmlc.org/strategygazette.htm>**



**Reform the Rules**

**An Analysis of the Libertarian Party Bylaws and LNC Policy Manual by Sean Haugh**

In a series begun in the prior issue, Sean Haugh discusses issues relating to the National Party’s bylaws and how they may be fixed.

Policy Manual, Article IV, Section 1, paragraph C (Development Activities)

- 1. inquiry response
- 8. premium fulfillment
- 9. long-term renewals
- 10. major donor program
- 11. wills and bequests

Commentary: I’m getting very tired of receiving angry emails from people I’ve never heard of before because they made an inquiry and never received a response. It’s because we never got the inquiry information from national in the first place. The greatest single screw up in the database conversion is when all the inquiry dates got changed to 9/10/04. In NC, we received a dump of 6,714 inquiries at once, which I’m guessing is the list of every single person who has made an inquiry from our state since the party was founded 1972. This is an unmitigated disaster in a Presidential election year. We have lost an incredible opportunity with this lost data.

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person with these tasks. Another potentially useful option is to shift these and other responsibilities to a committee structure, where anyone who is interested in these projects can do the work, as is already happening with campus support.

Policy Manual, Article IV, Section 1, paragraph D (LNC and Affiliate Party Services)

- 2. activist newsletter (Libertarian Volunteer)
- 3. activist directory
- 5. lists of Libertarian office holders
- 7. state, local, and campus organizing
- 8. activist training and support

Commentary: The Libertarian Volunteer long ago was rolled into the LP News. I haven’t seen an activist directory in my time covering the LNC or on it. The list of Libertarian office holders has been spotty at best for at least two years. The national party does no state or local organizing, no activist training or support, and campus support is handled by a committee led by LNC member Jim Lark, as mentioned above. Most of these things are being done quite enthusiastically by all manner of people outside HQ or the LNC.

**I Recommend:** Repeal 2 and 3, as they are no longer need-ed. (Google is my activist directory.) As with the above, the rest should be either done by a new Political Director or carried out by authorized committees.

Policy Manual, Article IV, Section 2 (Position Description of Executive Director) A. The Director serves as the chief operating officer of the LPHQ, and in that capacity:

- 2. directs the development and preparation of short-term and long-term plans and budgets for the LPHQ

Policy Manual, Article V, Section 2 paragraph A.1 The Executive Committee, in consultation with the Executive Director, shall develop an annual operating budget and present it to the LNC for approval prior to the start of each fiscal year.

Commentary: These two rules conflict with each other. The second one is the rule actually followed. In the case of special projects, the project managers are responsible for budget development, not the Executive Director.

**I Recommend** Repeal IV.2.A.2 (the first one).

Policy Manual, Article IV, Section 2, paragraph B a (and b). By the 27th day of each month, the Executive Director shall distribute to the LNC by email the following reports based on information through the end of the immediate prior month:

[snip lengthy list of financial and membership reports]

Commentary: The financial reports are currently prepared by the Treasurer. There actually was a membership report sighting recently, hallelujah.

- c. By no later than 14 days prior to each regularly scheduled LNC meeting the Executive Director shall distribute to the Committee:
  - A report detailing staffing changes
  - A report showing the number of candidates currently recruited

A report showing the number of Libertarians serving in elected or appointed office

A report regarding ongoing ballot drives, including cumulative costs

A report when a direct mailing (other than a routine fundraising letter) is scheduled showing the scheduled drop date, estimated costs, and any other component of the project plan

A report showing when a direct mailing (other than a routine fundraising letter) is completed showing the costs, responses, and revenues associated with that direct mailing report of media contacts, interviews, op eds, and television appearances, tabulated monthly

Commentary: Now that we are in between Communications Directors, we may see the last of these reports fall by the wayside.

d. If the Executive Director is unable to distribute one or more of the reports enumerated immediately above in a timely manner by the 27th day of each month, the Executive Director shall distribute to the LNC by email a written explanation of why that report was not distributed to the LNC and the date by which it shall be distributed.

Commentary: Yeah right, like anybody noticed.

**Recommendation:** Hire staff that is competent enough to produce the financial and membership reports in paragraphs a and b. Repeal paragraphs c and d. Anyone in the Executive Director's position would see the value of honestly reporting on the activities of staff, positive or negative, to the LNC as news happens. We need to elect members of the LNC who will expect and look for such honest reporting.

Policy Manual, Article IV, Section 2, paragraph C

The Executive Director shall not change the LNC, Inc. Employee Manual without the written approval of the Chair.

Policy Manual, Article IV, Section 3 paragraph E

Except for job descriptions, no changes can be made to the employee manual without explicit LNC approval.

Policy Manual, Article IV, Section 2, paragraph A.8

[The Director] develops adequate and equitable personnel policies, including those dealing with employee compensation, and ensures that the interests of employees and volunteers as individuals are preserved and protected.

Commentary: Pop quiz: after reading this, who is responsible for changing employee policies, and whose permission is needed to implement them? I sure don't know.

These three rules are in direct conflict with each other, not to mention the explicit policy of this LNC that the Executive Director has ultimate discretion in these matters as long as he stays within his budget. If you give the responsibility for these matters to the Executive Director, then you should give him the authority to carry it out as well.

Recommendation: Repeal Section 2 paragraph C and Section 3 paragraph E in Article IV.

Policy Manual, Article IV, Section 2 paragraph F

The Executive Director shall notify affiliates, via the state chair email list, of drop dates for direct response fund raising a minimum of 30 days prior to the mailing schedule.

Commentary: Staff has only recently begun to follow this policy again. The world is moving faster than it used to, and this provision prevents staff from developing and executing a direct mail piece to take advantage of a timely situation.

The reason for this rule is the concern that there is a finite amount of money available to be raised and states need to be able to send their letters at times not in conflict with national's schedule. This is a discredited theory, as the amount of money available is not finite and there are numerous examples of Libertarian fundraising appeals that arrived around the same day in people's mailboxes with all of them turning a profit. But even if it were true, some advise that it is in national's interest to increase the frequency of direct mail as high as once every three weeks. If the states waited to only send their mailings in the windows between national letters, they would never get anything out.

Recommendation: Repeal this rule.

Policy Manual, Article V (Finances), Section 1 (Financial Procedures), paragraph B (Special Projects and Task Forces), subparagraph 2

Projects shall be self-funding and shall expend or obligate only money which has been received unless such expenditures or obligations are approved IN ADVANCE by the LNC.

Policy Manual, Article IX (Projects), Section 1 (Requirements for the Establishment of a Special Project or Task Force), Paragraph C (Budget)

A budget for the project or task force must be approved by the Chair. If previously unbudgeted funds in excess of the Chair's discretionary funds are needed, the approval of the LNC is required.

Commentary: Do you have to shout? This first rule was passed very recently. The use of ALL CAPS is a good indication of a new rule that restates an old one, passed only because nobody paid attention the first time. Instead of actually doing something to enforce the rules, elected officials want to be seen as doing something by passing new rules that say nothing new and thus offer no solutions. And here we see later in the manual, the old rule that was ignored does indeed exist.

Congress and our legislatures do this all the time. It's want of the things we want to change about government. But if we do this to ourselves, how can we be trusted to change this once we get control of government?

Recommendation: Repeal this first rule.

Policy Manual, Article V, Section 2 (Budget), paragraph A (Preparation), subparagraph 1

This budget shall include a statement of anticipated revenue and expenditures in sufficient detail to adequately outline specific activities and plans, including those for raising funds, and to outline the major categories of expense required to implement each activity or plan.

Commentary: This now only really applies to core administrative functions. Any 'specific activities or plans' are now conducted under the new project accounting model.

Recommendation: Repeal this rule.

Policy Manual, Article V Section 2, paragraph B (Amendment), subparagraph 2

Expense items within one budget area may be amended with the consent of the Executive Committee, as long as the total expense for that budget area is not increased.

Commentary: The policy the LNC has actually used in the last couple years is to let the Executive Director to make any such adjustments at his complete discretion, as long as he remains within budget. Chair Michael Dixon has stated this openly and repeatedly.

Recommendation: Repeal this rule.

Policy Manual, Article V, Section 2, paragraph B, subparagraph 4

An existing budget line may be increased by the Chair, with the consent of the Executive Committee, during the period between LNC meetings, provided that there is a corresponding reduction from the contingency fund.

Commentary: There is no more contingency fund, rendering this rule useless.

Recommendation: Either repeal this, or amend it to allow the Director and/or the LNC to amend the budget based on actual revenue.

Policy Manual, Article V, Section 2, paragraph C (Spending Limit), subparagraph 2.ii

The Chair shall be allowed \$1,000 in discretionary funds within any (rolling) three month period and not to exceed \$5,000 per term unless those expenditures are approved by the LNC. Penalty for violation of this shall be the same as listed in the Policy Manual V.2.C.3.

Policy Manual, Article V, Section 2, paragraph C (Spending Limit), subparagraph 3

The Treasurer is required to report any violations of this policy to the LNC.

Commentary: Some penalty.

Recommendation: Remove the penalty provisions.

\*

Policy Manual, Article V, Section 2, paragraph D (Revenue Shortfall Reporting)

At the end of each month within a fiscal year, the Executive Director must immediately report to the Executive Committee if cumulative revenue is less than 90% of the accepted budget and submit detailed plans for appropriate expense reductions for the remainder of the budget period.

Commentary: Gross profits in January and February were close to \$140,000 under budget, and there was no such report. To figure out how we are doing compared to budget, you have to comb the financial reports, which the majority of the LNC does not do.

Recommendation: Repeal this rule. Elect members to the LNC who will pay attention to the party's financial condition.

\*

Policy Manual, Article V, Section 2, paragraph E (Review)

The Executive Director shall provide monthly budgets for the next calendar year including when the proposed budget might use reserve funds for any purpose.

Commentary: This also makes far less sense now that the Executive Committee (mostly the Treasurer) prepares the budget.

Recommendation: Shift this responsibility to the Executive Committee.

\*

Policy Manual, Article V, Section 5 (Liquidity Requirements), paragraph A (Liquidity Requirement)

.... Also, no single account payable shall ever go beyond 60 days past due including revolving accounts where minimum payments are due each month.

Commentary: As of March 31, accounts payable over 60 days past due are to Blackbaud for our new database software and Rubino and McGeehin for an audit over two years ago. Both are in dispute. However, this rule does not make exceptions for disputed invoices.

Recommendation: Amend this rule to allow us to not pay invoices in dispute.

\*

Policy Manual, Article V, Section 5, paragraph B (Reserve Requirement)

The reserve for each month is calculated as the excess of all cash assets not including the special events account (federal checking,

non-federal checking, time deposits, and credit card balance) above accounts payable (not including accounts related to special events) measured at month-end, provided that no less than 90% of such excess is held in interest bearing CD deposits. The reserve should average 2.5% of budgeted revenue. In addition, the reserve at the end of each December should be no less than 2% of budgeted revenue. CD maturities must be no less than one month but longer term CD's may be purchased at the discretion of the Executive Director. Early withdrawal is not allowed except by explicit approval of the Treasurer. Not renewing a maturing CD requires consultation with the Treasurer.

Commentary: We haven't met the reserve requirement since before the financial crisis of two years ago. I'm not sure we ever did. To his credit, LNC Treasurer Mark Nelson reports this every quarter. It's become something of a long-standing joke, at least to those of us used to laughing to keep from crying.

Recommendation: Develop other fundraising sources to generate greater cash flow, and make maintaining the reserve a priority.

\*

Policy Manual, Article VII (LP News), Section 1 (LP News Editorial Policy), paragraph B (Market for LP News)

3. This leaves to other publications the areas of scholarly articles, in-depth analysis of current issues, regular coverage of the arts (book and film reviews), analysis of libertarian movement (as opposed to Party) tactics and strategy, in-depth debate of questions on which there is no libertarian consensus, critique of individuals within the libertarian movement, and reporting of routine state and local activities and personalities.

4. The proper tone for all articles is factual and even-handed. 'Mainstream' political rhetoric shall be used to present 'radical' libertarian ideas. 'Buzz words' and 'libertarian jargon' shall be avoided in order to make the LP News appealing to the broadest possible readership. Personal attacks on persons and institutions within the libertarian movement are to be avoided.

5. The articles in LP News shall, on the whole, represent the core ideas of agreement in the Party. No articles shall be published which contradict the Party Platform. Articles which address areas where the Platform is silent may be published provided that they are noted as representing the opinions of the author only and not those of the Party.

Commentary: This is utterly ridiculous micromanagement, and in no way reflects the current editorial policy of LP News. You can easily find book and film reviews, coverage of routine state and local activities, in-depth issue analysis and exploration of ideas and strategies at the fringes of Libertarian thought in every issue. Indeed, former LP News editor Bill Winter was lauded precisely for including the broadest spectrum of Libertarian thinking possible in the newsletter, a tradition which has been ably continued by current editor Daniel Cloud.

I believe that the vast majority of our members are well served by the real editorial policy of LP News. We need to challenge our

own ideas, discover how we can make theory practical, and look at what others are doing to advance the general cause of Liberty. We benefit from recognizing that Libertarianism is a cultural as well as a political movement. In short, we need to be as open as possible learning how we can improve our ideas and strategies, and how we can work with from other organizations or borrow tactics from them, while they may agree with us on only a limited portion of our platform.

Recommendation: Repeal paragraphs 3-5 of this section.

\*

Policy Manual, Article VII, Section 1, paragraph C (Editorial Policies)

2. The selection of articles, their layout and the graphics for LP News, the relative amount of space assigned to articles, advertisements, Party announcements, and regular features shall be the responsibility of the Chair except as detailed in this Policy Statement.

Commentary: Why do we need an editor if the Chair is supposed to do most of the work? When did this ever happen? As long as I have been aware of the LNC, the Chair has ceded all these responsibility to the editor, and for good reason.

Recommendation: Repeal this rule.

\*

Policy Manual, Article VII, Section 2 (Recommended Study)

Recommendations appearing in the LP News for the study of Internal Education material not produced by the Party shall be accompanied by a disclaimer to the effect that they may contain material inconsistent with the Platform. The only authoritative statement of Party positions is contained in the Platform.

Commentary: More silly micromanagement that has been ignored for years. If LP News is to explore issues from a variety of Libertarian perspectives, as it rightly does now, then certainly it will push the boundaries of the platform. It is common editorial practice to give proper attribution for all articles, which reveals their precise relationship to the party and its platform. Our members are generally very astute people who can tell the difference. If correction is needed, the first line of defense is for members to send in letters to the editor. Under current B and any sensible B policy, all thoughtful critical letters are published.

There used to be a corrective for articles which directly conflict with the platform, as opposed to simply pushing at the margins, which was the APRC. But this LNC abolished the APRC and then very pointedly disclaimed any responsibility itself for such matters. This is one of the main reasons why the LNC no longer retains the moral authority to lead this party in the eyes of many of our members.

Recommendation: Repeal this rule, and restore the APRC.

\*

Policy Manual, Article VIII (Campaigns), Section 2 (Duties of the Political Director)

Duties of the Political Director shall include recruitment of candidates for all levels of public office and public advocacy of support for all stages of their candidacy.

The Political Director shall not provide preferential treatment to any announced Libertarian Party candidate for public office over another announced Candidate for the same office unless done so with the express written permission of the state chair.

Commentary: What Political Director? It's impossible to follow these rules if there is no one in that position.

Recommendation: Hire a new Political Director.

\*

Policy Manual, Article VIII, Section 3 (Limitations on Party Support for Public Office)

Party resources shall not be used to provide information or services for any candidate for public office prior to the nomination unless: (a) such information or services are available and announced on an equal basis to all Libertarians who have declared they are seeking that nomination, (b) such information or services are generally available and announced to all party members, or (c) the service or candidate has been approved by the state chair.

Commentary: While the national party has followed this policy well since its inception, there's a new wrinkle on the horizon, the Libertarian National Congressional Committee (LNCC). As stated in my last meeting report, the LNCC is designed to mimic its Democratic and Republican counterparts by supporting all manner of Libertarian candidates across the country. These rules may or may not fit with the plans of this new committee. Frankly, if I were running this committee, I would want be free of such restrictions so strong Libertarian campaigns can be identified and supported early, according to the judgment of those donating the money or doing the work.

Recommendation: The LNC should pay close attention to the developing charter documents for the LNCC in light of this rule. If there arises any conflict between the two, this rule should be amended to allow the LNCC to do its thing.

\*

Policy Manual, Article IX (Projects), Section 2 (July 4 Adopted)

Independence Day (July 4th) is the holiday most exemplifying the principles of Libertarians. All Libertarians are encouraged to make a special effort to present programs, events, public advertising, and any other means available of bringing the Libertarian message to the public celebrating Libertarian principles and philosophy and strengthening intra-Libertarian ties.

Commentary: Probably the most ignored section in this entire

document. Indeed, some Libertarians say that holding our national convention traditionally on July 4th weekend seriously undermines this policy, by taking Libertarians away from their communities when they could be using local celebrations to do this important work. This presents a difficult choice for Libertarian candidates who really need to be both in an Independence Day parade and on the convention floor.

Besides, I kinda like Purim as my Libertarian holiday. Not only does it celebrate the death of tyrants and the liberation of the people, it has special cookies too. Independence Day offers nothing to compare to hamentaschen.

Recommendation: Hold the national convention on non-holiday weekends.

### George Phillies: Lecture for Ending the War on Iraq

I will begin where we should begin:

Sixty Nine Years Ago, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt in agreement with Congress proclaimed the last Sunday in September--that's today--to be National Gold Star Mothers day, to honor the women whose sons and daughters had died in patriotic service to our country.

He was referring to an American custom no longer followed: During war, when a family had a son or daughter serving in the military, they flew an American flag with large blue stars--one for each son or daughter--in the center. And when one of those sons or daughters died, they replaced the blue star with a gold star, flying the gold-star flag to mark their family's sacrifice.

Now, once again, our country has found itself in a war, a war that has cost the lives of almost 2000 Americans, thousands of allied--mostly Iraqi--soldiers and police, and tens and tens and tens of thousands of Iraqi civilians, most of whom died after we proclaimed victory. More than fourteen thousand American soldiers have been wounded, half very seriously.

The War on Iraq is a war like no other in our history, except in one respect: Americans are once again losing our sons and daughters, our grandsons and grand-daughters.

I begin not with oratorical flourishes but by offering proper respect to the hundreds and hundreds of Americans who cannot join us this day, hundreds and hundreds of Americans who cannot join us because their lives were taken by our War on Iraq. We cannot return those men and women to life. We cannot return them to their parents and grandparents and spouses and friends and children. We, can, however, do two things for them.

First, I ask that you join me in a moment of silence, a moment of silence for all those who died in our War on Iraq, and a moment of silence for all their relatives, who must carry on with life.

ONE MINUTE SPACE

## Thank you.

And now I come to the second thing we can do to honor the memories of all those people, American and Iraqis alike, who died as a result of the war on Iraq. We cannot bring them back to life, but we may strive to ensure that they are not pointlessly joined in the afterlife by additional thousands of Americans and tens of thousands of Iraqis. We cannot return them to their families. We can work to ensure that no more families are pointlessly torn asunder by the war on Iraq.

I'm a college professor I'm a long winded. It's my duty to be long winded. It's in my job description.

I'm going to start at the end. I'm going to start by describing how you, yes you, can work to end the War on Iraq, if that's what you want. I'll then come back to whether the War On Iraq is wrong, and whether it should be promptly ended.

But first I'll give you a chance to speak up, each one of you. First I'll ask for cheers from people who want to end the war. Then I'll ask for cheers from people who want to continue the war. And finally I'll ask everyone to cheer, to thank all their fellow Americans for speaking up for the cause in which they believe.

That's what I'm going to do.

So, first, cheers from people who want to end the war. Let's hear it!

Now, cheers from people who want to continue the war. Let's hear it!

Finally I'll ask everyone to cheer, to thank all their fellow Americans for speaking up for the cause in which they believe.

Note I said: you, what you can do to help. You includes everyone in earshot who agrees that the war on Iraq should end. The war on Iraq will not end because some old guy gave a long boring speech. It will end because you and you and you and you, and everyone else here who agrees that the war on Iraq is a mistake, does what is necessary to end it.

"What is necessary" is honest, legal, political activism. It's what was once called 'doing your patriotic duty for your country' by participating in elections and political campaigns.

There are a lot of political leaders in this country who support the war on Iraq. There are others who do not, but are unwilling to speak up on the matter in public. And then there are a few bright shining stars like Congressman Ron Paul of Texas and united states senator Russell Feingold of Wisconsin, people who are not afraid to speak their minds and call for an end to the War On Iraq. To end the war, we need more bright shining stars.

How do you do politics? How do you get more bright shining stars!

If you sit around and talk with a few friends, more or less no mat-

ter what you say, your words will have no effect. For you young people in the audience, if you want to have any effect at all you need to start by registering to vote. The Liberty for Massachusetts booth has a stock of voter registration forms, so you can do the right thing and register.

If you want to bring politicians to agree with your point of view, registering to vote is not enough. You need to convince politicians that your side is right, and that they should support what you believe. How do you do that?

In the end, there is only one thing that really matters to almost every politician, regardless of party or ideology. They all want to be re-elected. If you want to convince a politician to work to end the war-this works equally well for people on the other side of the issue-you need to convince them that they have two choices. The first choice is that they can work to end the war. The second choice is that they can enjoy early retirement to the welcoming arms of their loving families.

You should realize that some politicians cannot be convinced. For those politicians, you must resort to the American way of politics. You must work now, vigorously and effectively, to de-elect them, so that they no longer steer our national ship of state.

How do you do political activism? How can you send your message to the American people, to persuade them to agree with you? You can always resort to the traditional letter to the editor of the newspaper or magazine. If you're fond of the Internet, there are vast numbers of web sites and blogs where you can remain reasonably on topic, so you don't annoy people, and still set forth your views. For students, these are things you can do from the comfort and safety of your computer keyboard, without having to set foot outside of your home.

Those of you who are here have already shown that you're willing to do more. You came out on this beautiful fall day, when you could've been watching television, playing computer games, or doing homework. You came here. You have already made a difference. I'd like to thank you for doing that. By showing up today, you have already sent a message to Washington: Many Americans do not support Washington's foreign policy.

You can do more of the same. You can take back to your home towns and campuses a simple possibility: Exercise your constitutional rights of free assembly. Assemble and demonstrate against the War On Iraq. And when you do, pay attention to how Massachusetts' successful elected politicians manage a street demonstration. They don't go to the town board for their parade permit and then march up and down streets, blocking traffic and annoying possible supporters. They assemble their friends, give them signs, and have them line up on street corners, waving and smiling at motorists.

And they get elected.

What else can you do?

How do you get that message across to Washington? In the end, what determines how Washington thinks is electoral politics.

What will determine whether we end the war on Iraq, or whether we keep sending our men and women to the Iraq quagmire for another twenty years, is the voice of the voters.

Most voters will not speak up spontaneously. They speak out by supporting candidates. If you want voters to support your candidates, you must take three steps:

You must put your candidates on the ballot.  
 You must tell the voters where your candidates stand.  
 You must persuade the voters to support your candidates.

That's three simple steps. Ballot access. Candidate Awareness. Candidate support.

Those three steps are where real activism comes in. If you want to make a difference, on either side, you have to get involved in politics enough to make that difference. You have to join and support political parties and political campaigns that support your point of view. You have to be sure that candidates who support your point of view are on the ballot and are elected by the voters. That's hard work, sweat and tears and money. If you don't try to make a difference, you surely won't.

So who do you support? I'll be nonpartisan here. George Washington said we should have many foreign friends and few foreign entanglements. That was George Washington's foreign policy recommendation, and he was right.

As a practical matter, if you want to continue the war, you can support the Republican party or considerable parts of the Democratic party. They'll be glad of your donations.

If you want to end the war, you can support some excellent parts of the Democratic party or a few equally excellent but very different Republicans

If you want a political party that as a party actively opposes the war on Iraq, your choice is a bit limited. If you want a party whose Presidential candidate at least tries to get votes in almost every state, you are down to one choice. You can support the Libertarian party, the party of Freedom.

I came here with liberty for Massachusetts and the pioneer valley libertarian association. We are not political parties. We do not run candidates for office under our names. We support patriotic political activism, including activism by members and friends, people like you, who run for office. If you want to get involved in politics, as all patriotic Americans should, we are delighted to give you advice. For more information, reach our web site: [libertyformassachusetts.org](http://libertyformassachusetts.org).

I said I would work through my speech backwards. I've just given you the ending. If you want to make a difference, you need to do the different by doing politics.

Now I'll do the opening.

I'll talk about the War on Iraq, why it was wrong, and why it should be ended. Now.

My core message:

Before we started the War on Iraq, we the American people were fed a vast number of reasons, rationales, and threats to justify that war. Those reasons were false. The threats were imaginary.

There is a painful contrast with history. America was built on the blinding-bright fundamental honesty of the founding fathers. We should not soil our wonderful record by basing a war on a tissue of fabrications and fairy tales. Basing a war on fables was UnAmerican. We should return to the American Way by ending the war. Now!

We started the War on Iraq. We attacked Iraq, not the other way around. Iraq had no plans to attack us. Iraq was no threat to us. The only provocation they offered was refusing to kowtow before an American President. Attacking them when they did not threaten us was UnAmerican. We should return to the American Way by ending the war on Iraq. Now!

Our original war aims were built on those fabrications and fairy tales.

Nonetheless, we achieved the war aims set out by Congress and President Bush. We relieved Saddam Hussein of his nonexistent stocks of chemical weapons, his nonexistent stocks of biological weapons, and his nonexistent nuclear weapons program. Continuing to bomb and shell and raid a country that lies prostrate before us, after they have done what we demanded, is UnAmerican. We should return to the American Way by ceasing to bomb, shell, and devastate Iraq. Now!

And we should end the war now, not on some obscure day in the far future. We should bring our men and women home before more of them pay the ultimate sacrifice.

Was it right to go to war?

So why did we go to war?

If you asked why we actually went to war, you could try reading the Congressional Resolution authorizing that War. It's on the Internet. A search on 'Congress resolution war Iraq' finds it immediately. Read it. You'll find it an educational experience.

Donning my professor hat, I can assure the students in the audience that, if you give me a term paper as incoherently written, as poorly reasoned, and as ill-supported as that resolution, you will be receiving an "F" in very short order, and you will be receiving that "F" only because I don't have a lower grade to give you.

Consider as a reason for going to war just one of its clauses: "Whereas it is in the national security of the United States to restore international peace and security to the Persian Gulf region;" I ask you: Restore peace? In 2002, where in the Persian Gulf Region was there a war? In Afghanistan, yes. In Palestine, yes. But a war involving Iraq? Nowhere. There wasn't one. How can you restore peace where there is no war? You can't, and the 296 Congressmen and 77 Senators who claimed you could, by

voting for the resolution, showed nothing but their unfitness for office.

Of course, you could also fault those Congressman and Senators for failing to read our country's own Constitution. Our Constitution makes clear that only Congress can declare war. However, modern Congressmen are afraid of doing their job. They'd rather pass the buck off to the President. And that's what the resolution did. It passed the buck to George Bush.

Our country was founded by brave men, who knew that if they lost they would be hung by the neck. When John F Kennedy wrote his book about American leadership, it was titled 'Profiles in Courage', not 'Profiles in Cowardice'. Now we have bipartisan Congressional scaredycats, who would rather duck their responsibilities to our Republic. That's UnAmerican, and the result of their cowardice was an UnAmerican War. We should end that war. Now!

If you want to end the war, if you want a foreign policy based on The American Way, you have to find political leaders and political parties that are not afraid of their own shadows. That's a few fine Republicans. It's a respectable number of fine Democrats. And it's the Libertarian Party. You have to make that last call for yourself.

Most Americans focused entirely on the claims that Iraq possesses weapons of mass destruction. After all, an Iraq armed to the teeth with nerve gas, smallpox, and hydrogen bombs at least sounds dangerous. That was most of what the Bush Administration said before the war. That claim appears in the War Resolution, too, where it is claimed "Whereas Iraq...poses a continuing threat to the national security of the United States..." for a list of reasons, reasons including "continuing to possess and develop a significant chemical and biological weapons capability" not to mention "actively seeking a nuclear weapons capability". That's what we claimed.

So let us look at those claims, and the truth--or lack of truth--behind them.

Fortunately, I didn't have to dig through old newspapers to find what was actually said. We have excellent speeches from Congressman Ron Paul. We have the thoroughgoing coverage of reliable libertarian internet sites like antiwar dot com. As time advances, we have serious investigative reporting of the major press, like Charles Hanley's September 2 report in USA Today on 'The Weapons That Weren't'. And for those of you who remember why we college professors talk about footnotes and sourcing, there is downingstreetmemo.com, that's downingstreet-memo.com, with its enormous list of quotations and links to full reports.

So what do we find?

Before the War, the Administration claimed there were the ties between Iraq and Al Qaeda, Osama Bin Laden's organization. That's very frightening. Unlike Saddam Hussein, Al Qaeda threatened and attacked the United States. On September 27, 2002, Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld claimed the link be-

tween al Qaeda terrorists and Iraq is "accurate and not debatable." Within that week, President Bush claimed "And there are al Qaeda terrorists inside Iraq" while Condoleezza Rice claimed "there's a relationship here (Iraq and Al Qaeda)".

This whole story should be suspect from the beginning. Osama Bin Laden is an Islamic purist who believes that women should only go outside while wearing in a tent. Saddam Hussein is a secular socialist. If you watched Iraqi television before the war, you saw female newscasters whose dress would not be out of place on your evening news program right here in America. Hussein was the sort of Arab leader that bin Laden wanted overthrown: Hussein was secular, corrupt, and did not believe that Islamic law should be made pre-eminent. Bin Laden was the sort of Islamic Religious leader that Hussein knew how to greet: with a few bullets in the back of the head. Between these two men, there was absolutely no love lost.

On October 10, 2002, the day the House voted to authorize an attack on Iraq, the White House abandoned claims of Iraq-Al Qaeda links. As reported by the Washington Post "...the CIA has yet to find convincing evidence despite having combed its files and redoubled its efforts to collect and analyze information related to Iraq, according to senior intelligence officials..." Vincent M. Cannistraro, former head of the CIA's counterterrorism office, was quoted by the Washington Post "Is there any confirmed evidence of Iraq's links to terrorism? No."

Most of the American people remember the early administration statements, that there were ties between Iraq and Al Qaeda, and never noticed the later reports that no ties ever existed. Well after the war, a large fraction of the American public continued to believe that Saddam Hussein supported bin Laden and Al Qaeda. Those claims have now completely disappeared.

There is a basic issue here. When you are the national leadership, as Rumsfeld, Rice, and Bush are, and you have led many citizens to have totally false beliefs about why we should go to war, basic honesty dictates that you make some effort to correct those beliefs. No corrective effort was ever made. A significant part of the American people were brought to support the war because they were induced to believe fairy tales about Al Qaeda. That's not political action based on honest facts. It's quite the opposite.

The American Way is the way of honesty. We should seek to restore honesty to our political dealings. We should end deeds based on dishonesty, notably the War on Iraq. Now!

Before the war, there were vast numbers of Administration claims that the Iraqis had biological, chemical, or nuclear weapons, or were very close to getting them. A few examples include: Vice President Cheney, addressing the 2003 VFW convention, saying "Simply stated, there is no doubt that Saddam Hussein now has weapons of mass destruction. There is no doubt he is amassing them to use against our friends, against our allies, and against us." Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld said at the start of the war "We know where the Iraqi WMDs are. They're in the area around Tikrit and Baghdad and east, west, south and north somewhat. There is Under Secretary of Defense Feith, saying "the Saddam Hussein regime is continuing to pursue weapons of mass

destruction and missile capabilities."

As was shown by the Duelfer report, those claims were all wrong. The Iraqis had no weapons of mass destruction. They were not working on gaining any. They had had them, in 1991, but they had since destroyed them.

That's actually good news. 'Iraq has no weapons of Mass Destruction' means that the mission actually was accomplished. Of course, it could also have been accomplished by staying home, but it was accomplished. There are no Iraqi WMDs to pursue, and therefore there is no excuse for continuing our war on Iraq. The Mission actually was accomplished. Bombing an enemy after you have won and occupied his country is UnAmerican. It's time to follow the American path to war's end. It's time to End the War on Iraq. Now!

Large numbers of Americans still believe that Saddam Hussein not only had weapons of mass destruction, he used them during the war. They had good reasons for believing this. In October 2002, at a Senate Reception. George Bush asserted of Saddam Hussein "This is a man who told the world he would not have weapons of mass destruction -- your chemical, your biological or nuclear weapons. For eleven years he has lied. ....When the inspectors were able to go into the country and have unfettered access, it was discovered that he was a short period away from owning a nuclear weapon." Bush neglected to mention that the inspectors in question went in at the end of the first Iraq war, a decade previously, and were referring to a nuclear program that ended in the early 1990s.

An honest administration would have clarified matters, so Americans could come to political decisions based on the American way, the way of truth and honor. It's time for the Administration to tell the truth to the Americans it confused. It's time to speak out for the truth, and to End the War on Iraq. Now!

The American way is the way of truth and honesty. The UnAmerican way is politicians who tell whatever lie is momentarily convenient. Where are we on that spectrum?

Consider the famous aluminum tubes. In September, 2002, Vice President Cheney claimed that Saddam was trying to acquire equipment needed to enrich uranium. Specifically, aluminum tubes, the kinds of tubes that are necessary to build a centrifuge. That's what Vice President Cheney said. The same month, Condoleezza Rice repeated on CNN *Late Edition* that the aluminum tubes "are only really suited for nuclear weapons programs, centrifuge programs." Our country's experts on isotope separation, many of them, were far less impressed. Now the truth is known. Those tubes were intended as the outer shells for bombardment rockets, and were extremely close in design and composition to similar Italian rockets. On the basis of completely wrong intelligence analysis, we started the War On Iraq. Launching unjustified wars is UnAmerican. It's time to end the UnAmerican war on Iraq. It's time to end the War! Now!

As a very different sort of honesty, consider the 2.4 billion dollars in large, unmarked bills. They weigh 78 tons. One fine Sunday several years ago, the United States government rolled up to the

Federal Reserve Bank in New York, withdrew 2.4 billion, and sent it to Iraq air freight, to accompany the other 10 billion in cash we have shipped to Iraq, to pay Iraqis who receive our contracts. Or so the tale went. It's cash. There was no accounting worthy of the name.

Wait a moment here. In Iraq two years ago, per capita income was \$500 or so a year, the Korea Times reports. If you are an Iraqi, and I give you a nice, shiny \$100 bill, I am giving you more than two months per capita income. We are in a country whose banking system was demolished. What did the Iraqi worker do with the money? It's as useful as a \$5000 bill is here in America. And if Iraqi workers couldn't use the money, what was actually done with it? It is not unfair to suppose that a large part of that money had a common trail: it was disbursed to someone, and promptly dispersed to private bank accounts in places where banking secrecy is taken very seriously. As long as the War on Iraq continues, that sort of spending will continue. Your wallet will continue to be looted in favor of Iraq-based kleptocrats, some of whom are probably your fellow Americans. That's UnAmerican, and outcome of the UnAmerican war on Iraq. It's time to end that War. Now!

Finally, Many Americans are deeply puzzled that the Bush administration launched its war on Iraq without having in mind a clear strategy for exiting at the end of the war. Secretary of State Colin Powell has sometimes been viewed as having said that in any war the United States launches, it should be clear how we will win the war, and it should be clear how we will depart the scene thereafter. There is absolutely no indication that the Bush administration had any exit strategy at all. Indeed the bush administration appears to have assumed that at the end of the war, the Iraqis would greet us with rose petals, so they did not even have an occupation strategy. Why was there no exit strategy? Lack of forethought?

There is one reason why you would have no exit strategy, namely that you would have no exit strategy if you had no intent of exiting. The Air Force chief of staff talks of flying combat missions against Iraq more or less indefinitely. There appear to be published plans to build very large permanent bases in Iraq, or perhaps in neighboring Kuwait, bases is sufficient to hold 50,000 or so troops indefinitely. These troops might be like the Garrison forces we deposited in Japan and Germany at the end of World War Two, somewhat before I was born. A foreign empire is un-American to the core. We should end all those little empires, and bring all our troops home. Now.

By the way, Those garrison bases in many cases are still there, 60 years after the end of those wars. They're still there, soaking up tax dollars that therefore were not available to reinforce the New Orleans levies, not available to hire someone more competent than presidential political cronies to run FEMA, not available to... Actually, those dollars were not available at all, because we had to borrow them from China and Japan. We have a huge budget deficit, so we just borrowed that money. Everyone here will be repaying that debt with interest until you die of old age. You'll be paying for the War on Iraq until you die of old age, too.

Alternatively, you'll be paying until Liberty for Massachusetts--

and everyone else who thinks you should not send your grandkids the bill for your government spending--elects fiscally responsible Congressmen.

Do you want our men and women to be left in Iraq and Kuwait, in places that are already increasingly hostile to our presence, for decades and decades? A policy of perpetual war guarantees that our troops will remain in Iraq until most of us pass away of old age. Is that what you want? There is a choice. End the War on Iraq! Now!

In conclusion, what should we do for the future.

**There are political choices. The choice is up to you. I'm just going to list some alternatives.**

**If you like what's going on, George Bush would welcome your support.**

**If you prefer Democratic supporters of the war, consider the like of Senators Biden, Lieberman, and Clinton. Lieberman and Clinton just called for increasing the size of the army by 80,000 soldiers--about 10 billion dollars a year--so we can do more in Iraq.**

**If you want Democrats and Republicans who do oppose the war, remember Ron Paul of Texas and Russell Feingold of Wisconsin could always use company.**

**But if you want a political party that opposes the war, you have only one choice. The Libertarian Choice.**

**I'm George Phillies, and it's the truth: The Choice is up to you.**

**Thank you all for coming.!**