

# DOWNLOAD PDF HOW A BLOGGER AND THE DEAN CAMPAIGN DISCOVERED EACH OTHER JEROME ARMSTRONG

## Chapter 1 : Jerome Armstrong's Oral History of the Dean and Clark Movements | Ian Welsh

*Howard Dean's campaign for president changed the way in which campaigns are run today. With an unlikely collection of highly talented and motivated staffers drawn from a variety of backgrounds, the Dean campaign transformed the way in which money was raised and supporters galvanized by using the Internet.*

This is one way to narrow the field of viable Democratic candidates. If this is true—that the Edwards campaign has caved to pressure from the right wing—he has lost my vote. The right-wing blogosphere has gotten its scalps -- John Edwards has fired the two controversial bloggers he recently hired to do liberal blogger outreach, Salon has learned. But you can see here and re-posted here what scum of the Earth resides on the political Right in this country. This is a good time to read this again. And please find time to read all ten parts of this series on eliminationism in America. Sensing Freethinker Sunday Sermonette: Before I get to a detailed discussion of the NY Times article about the whole blogger kerfuffle, I have a very simple question. What if Amanda and Shakes, rather than being campaign bloggers, had? At the most generous interpretation, abortion can be viewed as morally neutral medical procedure. A potentially life saving procedure is morally neutral? Is tumor resection also morally neutral? By Dianne not verified on 26 Feb permalink Watching all this as an outsider to American culture and politics, it amazes me that rabid vermin like Donohue and Malkin are at all effective. I like to believe that in Denmark, such attack mice would not even be accorded the dignity of a response from any real politician. In short, I suppose that my question is: Allowing cross-ownership of ether-media? Failure to politically castrate resident religions? Failure to educate the public? Something else entirely that I have completely missed? Not because he hired Marcotte, but because he did not support her when she was under attack by right wing idiots. He certainly lost the support of people like PZ Myers, who is a major blogger with some influence. No big deal in itself, but a possible sign of trouble: I am, arguably, the sort of person the candidates hope to impress in the early stages: As it happens, Marcotte actually still supports Edwards and is calling for people to play nice in the primaries, as the Republicans will undoubtedly put up the worst candidate they can find and fight as dirty as possible. While I respect that position, I actually think that she is wrong on this. This means doing everything possible to make sure that someone else besides Edwards is nominated. Who is Edwards anyway? And who is Kerry? What else needs to be said against him? By Dianne not verified on 26 Feb permalink A potentially life saving procedure is morally neutral? How often is abortion a "life-saving procedure," as opposed to a form of birth control? Pointing out that in relatively uncommon cases it does not outweigh the vast majority of times when it is not, and it comes at a price that resecting a tumor does not. By Orac not verified on 26 Feb permalink Oh, come on. Did you have to include as one of your reasons that she uses profanity? In fact, Donohue and Malkin really blew it. Would have been much more effective. I read his science posts with great enjoyment and I learn a lot from them. In any event, I have a strong suspicion that the blogosphere overestimates its visibility and influence considerably to begin with. The taboo exists in politics, and it is strong, particularly in older voters, you know, the ones who are the most reliable voters. Having someone who cusses a lot in such a visible role could only hurt a candidate, aside from the other rants that Amanda likes to go off on. In fact, I consider gratuitous cussing as Amanda does to be a sign of sloppy writing. The only exception--I think--was my post about September. It makes her sound like a high-schooler who is using "dirty words" in a pathetic attempt to sound cool and grown-up. I agree with Orac too re: Surely there are more moderate, level-headed liberal female bloggers out there? By Adrienne not verified on 26 Feb permalink Orac, I think you mean that most abortions are done for convenience, not birth control. There are some situations into which it would be better not to be born. By RP not verified on 26 Feb permalink And to quote approximately the late Michael Flanders I am very much against this trend toward four-letter words. The thought has occurred to me - what does Amanda or any one of a number of others say when she drops something on her big toe? The strong-stomached can observe the prodigious amounts of feigned outrage produced by the Catholic League at [http:](http://) Why was the campaign explicitly looking to hire

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controversial feminist blogger? To court that huge demographic that enjoys graphic mocking of Catholic pieties? There is nothing inherently wrong with it on a moral level, but abstaining from it is one of the ways you signal that you want to be taken seriously in mainstream political discourse. I was a choirboy myself, once I sure heard a lot of dirty jokes up there on the balcony. I think that rings false; if profanity is such a crime, how did the foul-mouthed Cheney and finger-flipping Bush get elected? This is one of those principles that is selectively and hypocritically applied. We are in an unjust war, with no end in sight, with young people dying and being horribly wounded, with an entire country gutted and devastated by civil war. And, apparently, we are so enervated by this tedious catastrophe, that we can rebuke people for their language in addressing it. Nothing to be ticked off about here! By PZ Myers not verified on 26 Feb permalink The thought has occurred to me - what does Amanda or any one of a number of others say when she drops something on her big toe? I think that this is actually the point. To say that politics is unreal is quite an understatement. Politics is a pile of putrid slime, a game where honesty and integrity is simply not to be expected. Being our own open-source equivalent of the right-wing noise machine will likely be much more successful than working directly for candidates. Politics is a pile of putrid slime, a game where honesty and integrity are simply not to be expected. By Tyler DiPietro not verified on 26 Feb permalink Politics is a pile of putrid slime, a game where honesty and integrity is simply not to be expected. This sort of silly comment is about as pointless as it gets. And the alternative is? By Scott Belyea not verified on 26 Feb permalink This sort of silly comment is about as pointless as it gets. Orac could never support Mr. Edwards made his fortune suing physicians for malpractice. By SLC not verified on 26 Feb permalink "the foul-mouthed Cheney and finger-flipping Bush" And we are aware of said indiscretions because they caused their own little tempests in teapots at the time. Profoundly silly as it is, coarse language is considered a valid political target in Washington, and that particular bipartisan fount of outrage will not soon run dry in the city that gave us the PMRC. What the heck are you talking about? How did you get to those questions assumptions, really based on what I posted? Just because I said most abortions are done for convenience? Well, they are in the US and other nations where they are legal. I read enough Pandagon before this Edwards fiasco happened to discern that Marcotte is typically anything but rational. She repeats a lot of the same overblown feminist rhetoric that I used to see spewed on the late, not-so-great Ms. By Adrienne not verified on 26 Feb permalink How often is abortion a "life-saving procedure," Surely you remember embryology. The majority of abortions occur during the embryonic phase, when there are essentially no functioning neurons. And later abortions are nearly always about major fetal defects, often incompatible with life or Tumors have unique DNA, just like fetuses do. Teratomas are essentially totipotent cells, much like blastulocytes, only a bit less organized. Yet I doubt that many people would argue that resection of a tumor is NOT a moral good. Well, not unless it was lymphoma or small cell lung cancer or something similar. By Dianne not verified on 26 Feb permalink This sort of silly comment is about as pointless as it gets. I read well, thanks. By Scott Belyea not verified on 26 Feb permalink Ah, yes. Those nice boys at Duke. Only some raving overblown feminazi would take offense at the talk of "killing the bitches as soon as the walk in and proceeding to cut their skin off while cumming in my duke issue spandex. Oh, so much worse. Orac, Lindsay has called abortion a "moral good" countless times -- certainly far more often and more vocally than even Amanda. Which, you know, is fine, since the availability and accessibility of abortion clearly is a moral good, given that state-enforced unwanted pregnancies are extremely bad for everyone concerned. The creep who wrote that e-mail was not one of the accused rapists. Sexist pig does NOT equal rapist, which is something that Marcotte and her ilk have failed to grasp By Adrienne not verified on 26 Feb permalink I read well, thanks. What exactly was I whining about?

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### Chapter 2 : Armando (blogger) - The Full Wiki

*4 How a Blogger and the Dean Campaign Discovered Each Other, Jerome Armstrong 39 5 Something Much Bigger Than a Candidate, Zephyr Teachout 55 6 Swept up in "The Perfect Storm," Bobby Clark*

This Sunday, Suellentrop had somewhat ironically a pay-per-view piece in the NYT which notes that the practice has gotten more sophisticated. Which, interestingly, is precisely what the Securities and Exchange Commission, in court documents filed last August, alleges that Jerome Armstrong did in In a subsequent filing, the S. Without admitting or denying anything, Armstrong has agreed to a permanent injunction that forbids him from touting stocks in the future. It appears that he has found another way to do essentially the same thing. In other words, it appears that Warner may be using Armstrong for essentially the same function that ran Armstrong afoul of the law in the first place. Tom Maguire links more documents in the BluePoint matter. Especially coming at the tail end of YearlyKos, one would think this newsworthy. On the other hand, since the Dean mini-scandal broke, Armstrong has essentially retired from blogging and become a full-time consultant, selling his expertise in marketing to the netroots a term he coined to candidates. Whether he really believes in said candidates is really irrelevant in the consulting game; pay-per-play is the above board nature of that business. That Corzine was given a DailyKos diary is hardly evidence of anything sinister; there are thousands of diarists, few of whom are multi-millionaires. The seemingly odd touting by Kos at every opportunity of Mark Warner is really the only red flag but there could be a non-financial explanation. Regardless, the Kos angle is the one that bears watching. Don Surber sees more guilt by association: Glenn Reynolds is not particularly impressed with the brouhaha. Is this a big deal? Blogs are a low-trust environment, and readers should be judging bloggers by what they say and how well they back it up, not by their credentials. Am I wrong here? I think so, yes. The original version of the story incorrectly referenced Matt Stoler, the other prominent myDD blogger, rather than Jerome Armstrong in the opening sentence. Thanks to the email tipster who pointed out my error. Mickey Kaus responds to the last line of the previous update: Why would I consult when I have the sweetest gig in the world? I mean, I get paid to blog and write! Why would I mess with that formula? My only sources of revenue are this site advertising and subscriptions , some freelance writings in places like the American Prospect, and CTG eventually. It takes publishers ages to send out royalty checks. No politician, campaign, issue group, nor any other organization has directly or indirectly paid me for anything. He in fact shut down myDD "at the time, more popular than DailyKos" during the entire period. Views expressed here are his own.

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## Chapter 3 : Kos " Armstrong Blogola Scandal

*Introduction: redefining the possible / Thomas Streeter --How the Internet taught me that you have the power: interview with Howard Dean --Theories: technology, the grassroots, and network generativity / Thomas Streeter and Zephyr Teachout --How a blogger and the Dean campaign discovered each other / Jerome Armstrong --Something much bigger.*

It is written by Jerome Armstrong, not by me. And it had revolution written throughout. Fundraising, organizing, communicating, the whole thing. Nothing short of revolutionary. I was also on those boards for better or worse" or much worse , so we were both of similar mind when Joe got the opportunity to take over managing the campaign, on the possibilities. We also saw what McCain did after New Hampshire, with online fundraising, in It was quite fantastic. But the point is that it was all revolutionary for the campaign, especially so being the primary for Democratic President. The electricity of the netroots movement emerged right alongside Howard Dean message that was anti-Bush, anti-war, and full-bore partisanship. Dean, for the most part, knew the message to use. The campaign knew exactly what tools to use to grow. Trippi had always worked on separate presidential campaigns against Paul Maslin. They put together a campaign strategy that made sense. In short, rely on the internet-based strategy to grow the campaign up to the caucuses and primaries. Dean would lose to Gephardt in Iowa, placing second. This plan went awry by the Fall though, when public polls came out showing Dean way ahead in Iowa too. Iowa all of a sudden meant everything. Trippi, Markos, Zephyr, Matt Gross and a few others and myself sat out on the front lawn early into the next morning, drinking and talking about what we were in the middle of transpiring. Finally, around 2 am, the staff comes to shut us up for the night, as the other guests are complaining. Fast forward about 6 months, I get onto the campaign elevator in the morning, arriving late as usual, same time as Trippi and his wife Kathy Lash. Well, what came next first is that Dean tried to become the establishment candidate. By November and December , the formal endorsements. Tom Harkin in Iowa. The fundraising numbers went through the roof, but a funny thing was happening with grassroots internet support. It was coming to a standstill around , I was running all of the online advertising for the campaign, so I firsthand saw the efficacy and resulting metrics for every ad we put out there. What Happens Next So, when the insurgent becomes the frontrunner, Dean tries to become the establishment and win it all, starting in Iowa. Clark Sometimes I wonder if the division is just a feature of the whole thing. The Clark movement is complex. The problem was that Markos and I wanted to work together as political consultants. That made the dilemma easy, or so it seemed at the time. In the meantime, Maslin revs up a focus group to run the possibility of a Dean-Clark ticket. One night, as the campaign is shutting shop, Trippi asks me to stay on in his office and watch the 3 hours of tapes. Once Dean gets the gist of the focus group results, he decides that he will break convention and, months prior to the voting, ask Clark to be his VP. Markos and I buy DeanClark. It goes back and forth but the meeting is on. But when Dean is set on something, I am pretty sure it went down with Dean asking, and Clark not committing. Only those two were in the meeting. Later, Clark would claim Dean asked him. In the fall of , Armstrong-Zuniga, as our nascent firm was called, got a call from Patti Solis Doyle, about interviewing for Clinton. WTF, I thought, if this lunatic is a Democratic rep, we are doomed. Damn, naivety strikes again. And Clark was supplied with plenty of former Clinton-Gore staffers and Arkansas funding to make it a go. Not all, mind you, as there were definitely grassroots operations leading the way. Without that, Clark was nothing. It was just as electric at times for Clark as for Dean. But without a doubt, coming about for whatever reasons, the division of the netroots here had succeeded. They were on the opposite side of Dean in , and so they learned the revolution the hard way. And no doubt hated it, for that matter. The Gephardt campaign went nuclear on Dean in Iowa. Totally committing suicide with heinous and suicidal accusations to bait the Dean campaign into a fight. Those items are well documented. I noticed something else though too, which happened late in the Iowa campaign, and deserves mention. This was the makeover that Axelrod performed on Edwards campaign.

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I would wear the orange beanie and meet deaniacs from all over the country in Iowa for the caucus, hang out with Matt Stoller, Annatopia and other bloggers, attend the other candidates events, and break bread with all the DC gravy train consultants and reporters hanging out in Des Moines. Three things were clear to me. First, the Dean campaign was in glorious shambles on the ground. Third, Dean was not very fun to listen too, being way too hot on stage. Seeing the public poll numbers for Dean slip from a month prior, everything was tense. Trippi had been freaking out over all the mismanagement happening at the organizational level, so a few weeks out hired as many old hands as he could to try and salvage the caucus operation. As far as I was concerned, Edwards nailed it, just too late. The campaign organizational leadership for Clinton. Right after the Iowa caucus, I went and spent a week in DC. I had planned it being an event of transitioning to something great. Not that this was my take, I saw right through it and believed that Dean would transition to win NH and be right back in it. The plug playing the music was pulled. The moment had arrived, and the candidate did not become the establishment.

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### Chapter 4 : Video: Howard Dean in Denver May 10, long interview with local station. - Democratic Undergr

*So, we invited Dean, Trippi (his campaign manager), Armstrong and Moulitsas to our offices to chat about that seminal campaign and the challenges the Democratic Party faces going forward.*

Trapper John Jake McIntyre Guest bloggers Beginning in , as his blog expanded to a community, Kos appointed four or five "guest bloggers" also called "front page diarists," "contributing editors," "front-pagers," and simply "FPers" who are selected from the community and tasked with regular contributions on the front page without needing to have their articles recommended or promoted. Steve Singiser Additionally, while on the promotional tour for *Crashing the Gate* , Kos turned over much of the day-to-day management to the guest bloggers. Emeritus guest bloggers have frequently retained some privileges depending on circumstances, but are not expected to post as often. He also had his own political blogging website, called *Swords Crossed*, and was a guest political commentator in a wide variety of media outlets, including *The Majority Report* and *Talking Points Memo Cafe*. After his identity and details of his legal career were made widely known, he announced his departure from *Daily Kos* in June , citing loss of anonymity. Armando "Big Tent Democrat" then left the *Daily Kos* site again in March , citing "differences with the management. He is best known as a science writer with specific attention paid to biology, astronomy, and political issues such as creationism or climate change. They are included in a collection of science articles in the e-book *Kosmos: You Are Here*, co-written with science fiction novelist Mark Sumner and illustrated by paleowildlife artist Carl Buell. All the contributors to *Kosmos* donated the proceeds to fund the *YearlyKos* convention. He lives with his partner Michael known as "Common Sense Mainer" , a cat named Vegas, and his beloved chocolate lab , Molly.

Campaign fundraising During the U. All of these candidates lost. However, Moulitsas had stated that he was deliberately selecting candidates who were not receiving significant financial support from other sources; candidates who were expected to win "or even be competitive" were, by and large, already being funded by the DNC , DCCC , and other national and regional organizations. At least two of his candidates came exceptionally close to winning what would have been significant upsets. This time around, they raised over 1. Several other Kos-endorsed candidates came within 3 percentage points of winning: The success of these candidates can be simultaneously considered a cause and effect of the Democratic wave in the election: *YearlyKos* convention Main article: C-Span also carried portions of the convention. *YearlyKos* took place in Chicago in August , at which time it was announced that future conventions would be known as *Netroots Nation*. The conference was held in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania from August Pittsburgh was chosen in part due to its environmental merits, as the city is a leader in green building, with more square footage than any other city in the country. We paid them over twice as much as we paid two staffers of similar backgrounds, and they had several other clients. While they ended up also providing useful advice, the initial reason for our outreach was explicitly to buy their airtime. To be very clear, they never committed to supporting Dean for the payment but it was very clearly, internally, our goal. The Journal reporters have been criticized for equating the two events Moulitsas and Armstrong were not journalists and for "burying" deep in the article the information that Moulitsas had promptly and prominently disclosed the payment, and that Armstrong had stopped blogging entirely while working for Dean. Fallujah comments *Daily Kos* attracted some controversy in April by publishing comments written by Moulitsas about the killings of four private military contractors in Fallujah , Iraq that many considered to be insensitive: Let the people see what war is like. That said, I feel nothing over the death of mercenaries. They are there to wage war for profit. Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton. Clinton and her supporters on the blog, the diarist called for a "writers [ sic ] strike. This is how ugly things have gotten between supporters of Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama -- Clinton supporters are staging what they call a "strike" at the influential liberal website *DailyKos*. Moulitsas noted that if bloggers were dissatisfied, there were plenty of other websites at which to blog. Daniel Schultz known by his username "pastordan" , a United Church of Christ minister from Wisconsin. The three mom bloggers, Elisa Batista, Erika Chavez and

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Gloria Riesgo, share their take on modern motherhood and the relevant news that affects parents everywhere. In April , Daily Kos started dKosopedia. Some of its conventions are copied from Wikipedia and other projects in the GFDL corpus, including article names for neutral or non-controversial concepts like the names of elections. As of February , dKosopedia had 13, articles. Notable DailyKos diaries are often adapted into dKosopedia articles. Compilation of timelines and profiles on political rivals are other major projects. Another site created is Congress Matters. Congress Matters is dedicated to "watching, learning, analyzing and discussing the daily activities of the Congress.

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### Chapter 5 : Mousepads, Shoe Leather, and Hope : Zephyr Teachout :

*Democratic National Committee chairman Howard Dean said Thursday the days of the \$60 million political convention coronations are numbered and he's studying ways to make them more relevant to average people.*

Dan H [permalink](#) October 28, I agree with Ian that this is enlightening, in that is an excellent example of how stupid we are as a society, and probably as a species. How is the libertarian stance any different from what the average American has ever believed? But oh, now TPTB are scared because its revolutionary and going to change things!? LMFAO, can you really be this naive? From a dog eat dog outlook to a dog eat dog outlook, but theres synergy this time! TPTB are afraid that they will have to compete! And we liberals know a bit better but hey, this time well be able to take this energy and meld with it! Progressives and libertarians are united in their delusional idiocy. Dan Kervick [permalink](#) October 28, These people are still living in They really have no progressive agenda apart from the most half-baked impulses, since they are fundamentally hostile to government. That is why they are falling apart as a potential source of progressive development and change. There are some people who are willing the heart Ron and Rand Paul and other far right laissez faire types, because all they really care about is whether the NSA is inserting electrodes in their brains or reading their emails, and because every issue for them is rapidly turned into some kind of highly emotional conspiracy theory based on a co-dependent blogospheric ranting. There is no real foundation for progress here. This is available right now. The main obstacle is mental. Can you change your mind to see something different? There were way more libertarians showing up on the mall than there were progressives. Get beyond being a Democrat or a Republican. Imagine that of us got together of these different stripes but want much of the same thing and figured out 5 concrete things that form an agenda of the alliance. Make it as much online as offline. What the common legislative agenda, right now. And then make the individuals politicians, Democrats and Republicans, pledge which ones they will back. It would give us a benchmark for knowing who to work on, who to pressure, and who to replace in both parties, on these issues. Although we are on the same page with civil liberties, they disdain everything we FDR type Lefties hold dear. We love government programs like SS, Medicare etc. I have no answers. I too left the Dem Party after the debacle and do not see any alternative rising. It would be like an alliance with police informers. Nothing tainted by Koch money should be touched. The Koch brothers are trying to destabilize the country. Libertarians do not accept the idea of a social compact, which is the basis of all modern liberalism. I am all for dumping the Democrats, but from the Democrats to the Libertarians is like from the frying pan to the fire. They see such weakness among the Democrats that many of them have seen that Dem extinction is nigh and have strenuously advocated for it. But the way the political pendulum is swinging, we may see the extinction of the Rs first. As the Democratic Party becomes more firmly conservative, the Rs become more radical and reactionary. A libertarian alternative to to Democrats would likely be even more reactionary than the current R Party under TP dominance. Some of them still exist! Junipero [permalink](#) October 28, I see three basic failures that the progressive Netroots made. First was to go all in on electing Democrats without being more selective about that support. Losing the Lamont and Halter races were a big blow. This eroded their credibility and power just as much as their failed primary challenges. The electoral failures in Wisconsin in and also loom large. Second and third were their failure to build an infrastructure that could sustain the blogs, or something like it, as a media force, and the failure to broaden their base. These are distinct but related failures. The crash of destroyed the blogosphere as many proprietors were unable to continue writing without finding a way to pay the bills. Many closed shop and left politics to ensure they kept a roof over their heads. Others had to go get political jobs which compromised their ability to speak openly and honestly. Part of the reason why they dried up was their failure to reach out beyond their base. The blogs never really broke out into the masses, never were able to reach a bigger audience. Obama was able to do so using the tools that the blogs and Netroots had built. Between and too much time was spent on internecine arguments within the Netroots rather than building the base. The path

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forward will not look the same as it did from to Netroots Nation has become bland and tiresome, lacking innovation, a strategy, or a sense of purpose and mission. The Netroots orgs that grew out of the first decade are ossified, with stale email lists that have been burned to a crisp through repeated asks for money. They are ineffective paper tigers, reduced to meekly defending a terrible Rube Goldberg contraption that is being passed off as health care reform rather than going populist and using the failures of Obamacare to revive the movement for single-payer. The mobilization in Wisconsin would have achieved something had it not wandered into the same cul-de-sac of blindly supporting Democrats that the Netroots had. Occupy Wall Street might have had some lasting effect had it not been organized as an anarchist project. The Chicago Teachers Union victory was hugely significant, and the mobilizations around the country for a higher wage could be the spark of a true mass movement to challenge inequality. None of these alone signify a movement at all, but they could well be the raw materials that we use to create one in the coming years. The Netroots are letting people like Rand Paul and Justin Amash get away with owning issues that progressives ought to own, like opposition to NSA surveillance. In my view, the US needs to move in the direction of greater solidarity, social commitment and national purpose behind an economically pro-active government, pursuing an agenda of strategic economic transformation, state-financed full employment, egalitarian income redistribution and mission-driven public investment. The libertarian camp with its radical individualism, laissez faire economic agenda and all-embracing hostility to government is nearly degrees from where I am. Add in that Jerome admits working for Gary Johnson, and barf. At least Johnson is a purer libertarian, and a person of more integrity, than Paul fils or pere. Again, no effing way. SocraticGadfly [permalink](#) October 28, Oh, and I never bought into that Netroots crap and Markos suspended my Kos account got booted in all but name for being too progressive and too Green. The Netroots rushed into Minnesota gleefully shoveling money to Al who was, easily, the third most liberal candidate in the DFL primary. Liberals could have had Jack Nelson-Pallmeyer, a very liberal college professor who would have continued the Wellstone tradition, or Mike Ciresi, a successful businessman, pro-choice Catholic and hard-nosed negotiator. Thanks to Netroots money, Franken was a shoo-in even after Ciresi bowed out to give Nelson-Pallmeyer a better shot. For those prone to memory lapses, the Franken-Coleman election was so close the Republicans were able to keep Franken from being seated until June 30 of the next year. Thanks to Ted Kennedy dying earlier in the year, the Democrats never had a veto-proof majority in the Senate. Franken was a visibly flawed candidate. But the Franken campaign made many more mistakes that kept the sleazy Norm Coleman in the race to the bitter end. And, obviously, Franken has not voted as a progressive, giving support to the copyright monopolists and the surveillance state. If you want a Democratic party that will accomplish platform goals, you need to let each state pick their candidates. Write it off and focus on creating a base. Out-of-state money should stay the hell out of state primaries unless the choices are stark, or at least Liebermanesque.

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### Chapter 6 : Jerome Armstrong on the Failure of the Netroots | Ian Welsh

*The Howard Dean campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination is often heralded as the prototypical example of peer-driven politics. Building from an emerging body of literature on the Dean campaign, through interviews with key staffers and a survey of public documents I complicate.*

These can be moments of both disquieting vertigo and unusual hope; so much becomes uncertain, and so much becomes conceivable. The Dean campaign, we believe, was such a moment. The chapters that follow are in a sense stories of life at a moment when old certainties dissolved and new possibilities opened up—stories of life inside a paradigm shift. It is important that the Dean campaign, at least on the inside, was not itself organized around a belief in technological determinism. As the following chapters make clear, the campaign focus was on human interconnection, by any means: Within the campaign, Internet technology was seen as a tool, as one tool among many, not as a cause, and certainly not as something whose effects could be taken for granted. Broadly, we find it useful to think of the role of the Internet in the campaign not as a strictly technological issue, but as something more like architecture or urban design. The capacity to build with concrete, brick, and glass is one thing; the specific design of buildings and neighborhoods is another. The technological capacity to communicate via computers using websites, discussion lists, and e-mail was already more than a decade old by the time of the Dean campaign. Meetups, blogs, and so forth were a design innovation more than a technology, in a class with public parks or row houses. What was new in and was the adoption of new architectures for campaigning at a time of political crisis, and the social integration of these into political discourse and organization. Already, even though Dean was stuck at 1 percent in national polls, something entirely different was happening within the blogging community. Gore 41 percent; Dean 35 percent; Kerry 48 12 percent; Edwards 39 10 percent; Gephardt 9 2 percent. Could it be that we are seeing signs amongst early adopters when informed of his candidacy, positions, and persona? There was a linkage between mainstream coverage of Howard Dean in television interviews and the spike in traffic that it would create on the MyDD pages supporting Dean for President, as people wanted to learn more about Dean. In the middle of July, Howard Dean had ventured onto Meet the Press, and hundreds of new visitors arrived on the website. It was early February I sat at a table across from consultant Joe Trippi and proudly showed him a proposal for managing the volunteers in the seventeen states for which I was responsible as a new deputy field director. I started talking him through a plan involving three volunteer groupings in each state, communication charts built like Amway or Tupperware. Trippi looked at my charts blankly for a moment and then started staring over my shoulder and shaking his head. In the morning the men woke and saw they had no escape. So they fought with the fury of people who have nothing to lose. Many of the computers had been purchased from UVM surplus. The only server was also being used as the desktop computer for the reception desk, and it was riddled with viruses. So I spent most of my time trying to play substitute for a real IT staff. I was in between putting out technical fires one afternoon when Rick Ridder emerged from a meeting with Governor Dean and informed me that I would get a shot at designing the site. That was the good news. The bad news was that I would have very little time to propose something. In two days Governor Dean would compare whatever design I proposed with the other alternative that was already in progress and then make a decision. A design process is supposed to be thoughtful and thorough, and, realistically, should involve multiple iterations. But in the hyper-condensed timeline of a campaign, you rarely have the luxury of fretting about how things are supposed to work—you just have to get it done. With no time to do anything else, that demo site would now have to become my proposal to Governor Dean. There was just one problem. When we created that demo, we had no images or other content to work with. So we had created the demo site using images from various West Wing sites. The Bartletts had stood in as the Deans. So we did the best we could with very little content to modify the demo site and turn it a Dean for America design, using the real Howard Dean instead of Jed Bartlett. How do you manage your e-mail? No one seemed to know. The only thing that seemed clear was that

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e-mail mattered to everybody: Somehow, I would have to streamline e-mail with the rest of the campaign. In coming years, Dean-inspired politicians will have substantial political power in the United States. The historical legacy of the campaign is often spoken about in indirect terms: It showed what was possible; it opened the doors to technology. But the direct legacy of those who were involved is also a critical part of the story. A nontrivial number of the people who commented on blogs, attended events, and suggested strategies were fundamentally reoriented by these experiences. The campaign was open to genuine voice, distributed political authority, and strategic ideas from the edges, so that people experienced being taken seriously and having impact. Hundreds of thousands of people who had never previously been engaged in politics became authors and found a political voice and political authority. Before, they had not imagined themselves as political actors and political strategists, but their interaction with the campaign led them to understand themselves and their role in U. Even Amanda Michel, Michael Silberman, Nicco Mele, and Bobby Clark—who, though political novices, entered as paid campaign professionals—were transformed by their experiences, and speak about democracy in a language that is unlikely to have come from any of them five or six years ago. The direct legacy of the, people who were on the Dean e-mail list, the over 1, people who led local meetups, the over 1, people who managed listservs on local and constituency topics, and the people who collectively organized over 3, events a month for several months in late should not be underestimated. Over communities created their own post-campaign political organizations—or active chapters of national groups—that comment on policy, send out press releases, endorse candidates, and perform public service. Many of these are incorporated nonprofits with strong structure and funding. Latinos for Texas, for example—a Texas group with thousands of members and over 25 events a year—is managed by Mario Champion, a technology educator who involved himself in politics because of the Dean campaign.

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### Chapter 7 : Bullet dodged (not by me) | ScienceBlogs

*AlterNet met with Armstrong in Washington, D.C. to talk about how he started his MyDD blog, got involved in the Dean campaign, and why he sees political bloggers as a growing force within the.*

We gathered newsmakers who took part in pivotal Washington events over the past 30 years and asked them to talk about those experiences and possibly unearth new lessons and new ways of looking at the present. As part of this exercise, we sat down with former Vermont governor Howard Dean, political consultant Joe Trippi and blogger Markos Moulitsas to revisit what many consider the first Internet campaign: In , Dean was an obscure ex-governor of a small state when he confounded Beltway pundits by mounting a serious primary challenge to John Kerry, the front-runner for the Democratic presidential nomination. The last presidential contest featured Russian Twitter bots, hacked emails and a frog meme hijacked by white supremacists. So, we invited Dean, Trippi his campaign manager , Armstrong and Moulitsas to our offices to chat about that seminal campaign and the challenges the Democratic Party faces going forward. Armstrong could not make it. Then about four hours before it was to start, Dean emailed that his plane was delayed in Burlington, Vt. When he finally arrived in our lobby, unsmiling, and was told Dean still had not arrived, he griped: Jones won on Dec. Some of that anger was directed at the 29 Senate Democrats who voted to authorize military force, including Kerry. There were only one or two people in the party who had the guts [in ] to get up and say how crazy this was: In June , Dean formally joined a crowded primary field that included Kerry, Sen. John Edwards of North Carolina, Rep. Richard Gephardt of Missouri, Sen. Joseph Lieberman of Connecticut, the Rev. Al Sharpton, former U. The party establishment was not impressed. Bob Graham of Florida, even though he dropped out of the race before the primaries. When Dean finally called into our discussion, he said he was somewhat oblivious to the high-tech goings-on. Tim Russert grilled him about his medical deferment during the Vietnam War, among other subjects. Meanwhile, the dashboard kept spinning. Trippi said one of his favorite moments during the campaign was the first time Dean participated in a live blog. Deanie-Babies, they were called. They hate being wrong. I was from a small state. It is a problem we have to solve.