

# Let Freedom Ring!

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February 2003

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## Israel Resigns As Mass State Chair, Leaves State Committee

Massachusetts LP State Chair Eli Israel unexpectedly announced his resignations, not only as LPMA State Chair but as an elected member of the State Committee. Israel's resignations from state party office came less than seven months after his campaign for election as National Chair came to an unsuccessful end. LPMA Vice Chair Kamal Jain became acting LPMA Chair pending election of a new State Chair by the LPMA State Committee.

The State Committee has set strategy for the next year. At its January meeting, a longish list of possible priority items was accumulated. In addition to odd ideas like fund raising, UMP, local organization, and get out the vote, which had limited support, the three priority issues that were identified were Membership Recruitment, Strategy, and Voter Registration. Under the primary objective Membership recruitment, the target is to increase dues paying membership to 1000 from the current 666 by the end of the year. This will be done via postcards and phone calling.

[LPMA Events](Continued on page 3)

## LPUS Treasurer Martin Resigns

National Party Treasurer Deryl Martin has resigned. National Chair Geoff Neale has appointed Bill Redpath of Virginia as temporary acting Treasurer. In a widely circulated note, Martin wrote in part:

It is with much sadness that I must announce my resignation as Treasurer of the Libertarian National Committee, effective immediately.

Due to an increasingly demanding professional schedule involving more hours, more travel, and more responsibility, I find it impossible to properly fulfill my duties as your Treasurer in what has proven to be a most trying time for our Party. From March through July of last year, I worked at least 16 hours per day to honor my professional commitments. Since then, my professional situation has changed in an unforeseen

[Martin Resigns](Continued on page 2)

## National Finances Deteriorate UMP Default Now Total

The end-of-year FEC filings are now in. The LNCs finances remain challenging. For 11/26-12/31/2002 the National Party received only \$126,000 in donations, leaving it at year's end with \$9024 cash on hand, and \$259,941 in debts. Informed sources indicate that the debts do not include accrued time due employees and former employees, believed to be in the vicinity of \$92,000, or future UMP payments, for which current obligations apparently exceed a quarter of a million dollars.

Faced with overwhelming debt, the National Committee had to decide who not to pay. In line for no money were the 40+ states that still belong to the UMP system and trust the National Committee to collect their dues for them. In November, only a half-payment of UMP funds was made. The promised half-month payment in December did not materialize. In all of December, the only state to receive money from the National Committee was Colorado, which on December 1 received \$976. It appears that in mid-January states received a half month payment: *the second half of their November*

[UMP Default Now Total](Continued on page 4)

## Arizona Elects New Officers; Hancock To Host Radio Free Arizona

On January 25, 2003 Arizona Libertarian Party delegates from Pima, Maricopa, and Mohave counties met in Phoenix to elect a new state party committee. The victorious candidates were

Chair: Jason Auvenshine

Secretary: Michael Kielsky

Treasurer: Warren Severin

1st Vice Chair: David Owens

2nd Vice Chair: Barry Hess

Asst. Secretary: Jim Iannuzo

Asst. Treasurer: David Euchner

This represents a complete turnover in Party Officers. Jason Auvenshine is widely noted for having maintained civil relations with members of both Party factions during Arizona's recent travails.

Long time Arizona activist Ernie Hancock is now a radio talk show star. He will now host **Radio Free Arizona**, 50,000 watts from Phoenix plus syndication during morning drive time.

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(Continued from page 1) [Martin Resigns]

way; I've relocated temporarily and am now living in two different cities in two different time zones, working more hours, and I simply cannot give the Party the attention it deserves.

My sincerest regret is that I am unable to complete the term of office our Party members entrusted to me last year and hope you will accept my humble apology. An equally heart-felt regret is that I will not be at the financial helm when we emerge from our current financial malaise, though I have all faith that we will indeed emerge a stronger, more vibrant force for liberty.

I still believe in the Party and its mission and will continue to support it financially. I ask everyone to give Chairman Geoff Neale the support he needs to continue laying the groundwork for our recovery. If the pace of my professional life settles down, I will return with renewed vigor, possibly as a candidate for public office in 2004.

...Deryl W. Martin, Ph.D.

National Chair Geoffrey Neale has appointed Bill Redpath of Virginia to act as Treasurer until the LNC can appoint a replacement. Redpath is a former National Treasurer, who has recently been active in supporting the National Party Staff. During National Chair Jim Lark's investigation of the Browne nomination scandal he ably assisted Lark in his investigations.

### Run Locally

#### The Soft Underbelly of American Politics

James Maynard

It is nearly impossible to influence the Presidential election. The Democrats and Republicans are each likely to spend over \$100 million dollars, largely taxpayer funded, to win the contest. The Commission for Presidential Debates is now the only organization which sponsors presidential debates which the Democrats and Republicans will appear in, and their standards for inclusion make it nearly impossible for any third-party candidate to compete.

Federal and State elections are being gagged in "election reform", and tax-payer funded campaigns and mailings. This makes it nearly impossible to elect a Senator or Congressman, unless said candidate were willing to donate several million dollars to his or her own campaign.

Voters are also unlikely to vote for candidates for high office, unless that person has experience at a lower, yet still significant, office. The two old parties train and groom their candidates through smaller offices and appointments before allowing them to run for Governor, much less Senator or President.

The Libertarian Party now has dozens of City Council members, and over a dozen mayors currently in office. This shows we can win smaller, but significant offices. However,

we need to elect a lot more people at these levels before we can expect to win higher office.

The door is still open for us to do so. Most local elections are held in odd-numbered years, and for local elections, BCRA and other campaign reform and laws do not apply. These are also the elections where a liberty-loving candidate can go out and meet the voters s/he will be representing, and it is usually possible to run successful campaigns at this level for very little money. These elections are the best place for Libertarians to become known, gain valuable election experience, and win local office. Off-year elections are the soft underbelly of American politics.

Even state laws often do not apply to local elections. This is not meant to mean that one should run a "dirty campaign" during these years, but what it does mean is that financial reporting requirements may be nil to non-existent, petitioning may be just a few signatures, or not required at all, and candidates are usually free to raise money from any source, in any amount, across the country.

Unlike state offices, these local campaigns are rarely expensive, with most winning candidates having to spend only a few hundred to a few thousand dollars. It is relatively easy to raise this amount of money in a fairly short period of time.

And local offices are where many of the decisions are made which can effect people's lives on a day-to-day basis. This is where decisions are made about school budgets, local property taxes, and zoning ordinances. Although one is unlikely to make decisions which seem to be the most interesting (foreign policy, income taxes, Social Security), pro-liberty, low-tax candidates can do a great deal of good for their communities.

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In addition, this can be a "proving ground" for candidates vying for later, larger offices. Nothing succeeds like success, and if Libertarians prove themselves en masse at city and county levels throughout the nation, we are far more likely to be asked to occupy higher offices.

If a computer technician, say, were to run for Governor, it would be likely that the state media would not take the candidate seriously, unless s/he was backed by several million dollars. However, a Mayor of a decent sized city in the state **would** be taken seriously by media and voters alike. After all, s/he has political experience, an experienced campaign staff, and a political record to stand on (notice that the LP's best result for Governor was Ed Thompson in Wisconsin, and he was the Mayor of Tomah before running for the state's highest office).

The office of Mayor (in most cities) is a winnable office, even for a neophyte. Just a few activists in most cities and towns would be enough to lower town and city budgets, create bold tax relief, and build the party for future success.

If one wishes to compete with the Yankees on a Montreal Expos Budget (\$40 Million as opposed to \$170 Million for you non-baseball fans), there is no way to do it right away. **but** it is possible to expend that money and time developing future players. Those players, in time, can learn to compete with the "big boys". The Libertarian Party needs its own AAA team (one step below the major leagues, where potential major league players train), and we have it. The off-year elections.

The Democrats and Republicans are so concerned with planning for Presidential and Congressional races, that they have begun to lose sight of local elections. This is where we need to be our strongest. There is little "incumbent protection" in the off-year elections, and the two old parties are no longer giving many resources to their candidates in these races. This means we have a far greater chance of winning these elections, and winning local offices gives us a greater, more experienced, better known slate of candidates to win higher office in future elections. Towards this end, I have recently established a discussion group on Yahoo!, Local\_Libs. The group may be found at: [http://groups.yahoo.com/group/Local\\_Libs](http://groups.yahoo.com/group/Local_Libs).

Some states require that candidates running for local office file a declaration of intent with the city hall or state SOS as early as late January. You should call your local election office, and see what the requirements are. Even if you have no intention of winning, it is possible to use your candidacy to promote pro-liberty viewpoints in debates, forums and in interviews. We need to begin work now to win dozens of local offices this November. We have seen the soft underbelly of American politics, and it is the off-year elections.

James G Maynard <http://www.jmaynard.org>

In Massachusetts, selling a condom to an unmarried woman is a crime, the penalty being three years in jail. Massachusetts has laws that prohibit "embellishing" the national anthem (fine: \$100), premarital sex (three months in jail), purchasing a rabbit as a family pet (\$100), going to a bar for the purpose of seeking sex (one year in jail), spitting on a steamboat (\$20), committing blasphemy against the Christian God (one year).

(Continued from page 1) [LPMA Events]

The second issue was strategy. The Party's strategy is to attempt to move public policy in a Libertarian Direction. There was some discussion of how this should be carried out, for example by electing Libertarians to office, but some Board members did not support this approach; there was no consensus.

The third issue was registered voters. It is highly likely that if the LPMA cannot recruit another 20,000 or so voters who register "Libertarian" by February 2004, then after November 2004 the LPMA will lose major party status, and the State Party will become an unimportant PAC. It was observed that Major Party Status makes it harder to put people on the ballot. A board member claimed that 'we've solved that', a pronunciation that will come as some surprise to supporters of Jim Fredrickson, whose Congressional campaign failed to get their candidate on the ballot. After some hemming and hawing, the state committee agreed that they could get 20,000 registered voters for \$100,000 by bringing in professional registrars, which required raising the \$100,000 and hiring a coordinator. This in turn requires having someone raise the \$100,000, which requires hiring a fundraiser, but the state party does not have enough money for this. It is noteworthy that Committee sentiment opposed raising money other than for specific projects. It was proposed that the State Committee would take its augmented (by a mail house, with phone numbers and fiscal demographics) list of members and registered voters, go after the most affluent of these, and ask them to pony up the estimated \$3,000 needed for the first step. After a substantial back and forth, six of 17 board members present volunteered to make calls, and Mr. Israel volunteered to coordinate the effort.

Israel's resignation followed a series of interesting events at the January State Committee Meeting, held in scenic Worcester, the second largest city in Massachusetts. Your humble correspondent spent Saturday attending a meeting of the LPMA State Board. It was a rather interesting experience, though not entirely in ways I would have expected. I arrived modestly before the meeting began, sat in the rear of the room, and waited for events. By and by, State Party Chair Eli Israel announced the meeting should start and gave himself the floor. He then launched into a prolonged tirade against your humble editor and his newsletter, **Let Freedom Ring!**, a tirade pointed criticisms and sharp language, ending in the demand that I get the ---- out of the meeting. Copies of **Let Freedom Ring!** had been distributed by Alvin See to State Committee before it met, so Israel had a copy. He closed his remarks by throwing the newsletter into the wastebasket, and asking the remainder of the State Committee to do the same. They vast majority did not emulate his example.

LPMA Board Member Richard Freedman, who was as angry as I have seen a man become short of resorting to blows or having an attack of apoplexy, pointed out that Board meetings are open to Party members, I am a dues paying member of the National Party, and therefore I was entitled to be present. I believe I Richard did not mention that I am also registered in

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Massachusetts as a Libertarian. Freedman discussed the tone of Israel's remarks. I believe the phrase he used was 'outrageous'. His other half, former Libertarian Congressional candidate Ilana Freedman, defended **Let Freedom Ring!**, noting that we are the party dedicated to human liberty, and I have exercised my first amendment rights to inform my fellow Libertarians as to what is happening.

Israel first agreed that I was entitled to stay if I was not disruptive, and then launched into a second tirade, focusing on his campaign for National Chair. He claimed that he had been subject to anti-Semitic attacks by unspecified persons, and then tried to interrogate me. He demanded that I explain something, or that he would. After I sat silently for a while, it was noted by a member of the Board that I had been threatened with being expelled from the meeting if I said anything, and that it seemed unprincipled to question me when I was unable to answer.

One of Israel's firm supporters then denounced **Let Freedom Ring!** for its 'scurrilous and insulting' attack on the State Board. She even read the offending sentence, which appears as the last sentence on page 4 at <http://www.cmlc.org/cmlc/pubs.htm/lfr0103.pdf>. That sentence reads:

*"A State Party Leadership more focused on doing politics might have given better advice to Cloud's campaign."*

Said supporter--I didn't have line of sight to see who it was--then emulated Israel in trashing the newsletter. The remainder of the State Board did not follow this example.

All things considered, it was a somewhat odd way for a State Chair to treat a Party member and former State Committee member and State Executive Director appearing to listen to a Board meeting.

In the course of the first tirade, Israel noted an amplification of our report in the latest issue of LFR that, in November, the large spending by the party was \$750 for 'candidate support', paid to the Hilton Dedham Place for the election eve party. Israel noted that this money had actually been given to three candidates, but that because the payments were so late the checks could not have cleared in time, so that State Party spent the money directly in the manner that the candidates had directed. The three statewide candidates who thought that the most effective spending of their donors' money was to spend it on a party after the election was over were apparently Carla Howell (Governor), Rich Aucoin (Lieutenant Governor), and Kamal Jain (Auditor). If you gave the State Party money late in the campaign, you now know how it may have been spent.

It was noted that the Chair had been supposed to appoint Budget and Rules Committees, and have them meet, but they had not met. Israel noted that he had spent a year and a half with his company shut down, and in the past six months (since Nat-Con) he had been working ten or twelve hours a day trying to restart it. He thus hadn't had time for politics.

It was noted that the National has not been sending state parties the UMP money that National owes. LPMA is therefore taking all donations it receives along with membership renewals, and keeping them rather than forwarding them to DC, on an escrow basis, against the money that National owes and is not paying. Israel emphasized that he had taken this decision, but he was forwarding the \$25 that covers the basic membership, because he did not want the dispute taken out on the member. Everyone in the room seemed to support the policy. The meeting lasted a bit over 3 hours. After the meeting, the State Committee was asked by a Town Committee, a recognized Party affiliate, and a libertarian political organization not affiliated with LPMA for lists of local members. The requests were rejected by state-chair Israel.

*(Continued from page 1) [UMP Default Now Total]*

*payment.* As of the start of February states have yet to receive their December or January payments. Eight states, with Virginia the largest, have agreed to defer their UMP payments. Several states have indicated that they face imminent financial disaster if the LNC does not pay the money it owes.

While the state organizations that do the real political work of the party are not receiving their dues money, former LNC staff members continue to receive their golden parachutes from the LNC. The parachutes arose because LNC staff received remarkably generous amounts of vacation time, they did not take the time, they were allowed to accumulate this time without limit, and no money was set aside to cover the accumulated time. When a staff member ceases to work for the LNC, that accumulated vacation time is nominally payable immediately, leading to a large debt payable by the LNC. Unfortunately, internal audit practices did not identify the accrued vacation time as debts against which a cash reserve might be desirable.

One of the former staffers now on his golden parachute is former National Steve Dasbach, who has become campaign chair of the Gary Nolan for President campaign ([www.garynolan.com](http://www.garynolan.com)). While he left the LNC some months ago, the December LNC filings show him receiving \$2312 every two weeks. This arrangement reminds one of the prior National Director, Perry Willis, whose generous golden parachute supported him in 1997-1998 while he worked for the Browne 2000 campaign.

It is perhaps noteworthy that the Nolan campaign rollout received extremely prominent coverage from LP News, which is still edited by Bill Winter months after his nominal departure from the staff. Politically aware libertarians will recall multiple complaints in past years that LP News coverage of LP candidates has been less than balanced. LNC Members have expressed to me great surprise to learn that the LNC has for some months had applications from named, highly-qualified editor candidates, and tell me that the LNC has not been advised of these applications.

National Party Federal receipts for 2002 were 1.72 million dollars; 12/31/2002 organized membership is down to 22871. Based on the December income, it appears that the National Party will fail to reduce its debt during 2003.

## Letters

**Editor:** So -- can Libertarians win any state legislative seats? 2004 will be our year to prove whether or not we can. Maybe someone on this list wants to run for State Representative.

...Aaron Biterman

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

Believe me -- our focus **must** be on winning more and more non-partisan races, and not wasting our resources on un-winnable races.

For liberty -- still in our lifetime,

...Bonnie Flickinger

City Councilmember (4th term)

**Editor:** Having received both the LP's annual report, and 'Let Freedom Ring' in the past few days, it's amazing how different the versions of reality are.

The annual report is largely about the accomplishments of state and local LP groups and candidates, stuff that cannot be attributed to HQ. Throughout last year's campaign season, with the exception of October, LP national membership continued its steady decline. The report's charts are highly deceptive: "membership" and "revenue" are shown with only 10 bars representing 19 years; each is designed to make it appear that the decrease it shows is a one-year aberration. The truth is far different: LP membership has now declined for three consecutive years; revenue at LP HQ has dropped for two.

The annual report's statement about spending "more than \$626,000 in direct support of our state parties and candidates" includes a cruel joke: The \$350,000 in United Membership Program (UMP) payments to state parties. UMP is a contractual obligation sought by the LNC itself; that money is *never* the LNC's. That the HQ staff commingled the money to pay the LNC's UMP obligations with its general funds, spent it for other purposes, then failed to make UMP payments in a timely manner last fall cannot be construed as "aid" to state parties - or their candidates.

Former LP national director Steve Dasbach resisted the business principle of allocating staff and fixed costs to projects: the "More than \$100,000 in staff time" is a WAG, and ought to be treated as such. When the LP HQ staff and LNC's officers make a compelling case for renewing contributions, perhaps the LP will regain both members and donors. They did not do so in this annual report.

Ken Sturzenacker

### General Letter from Donald Gorman

*If we don't change the direction we're going,  
we're likely to end up where we're headed.*

- - Ancient Chinese Proverb

**Greetings to all!**

It has been three weeks since our LNC meeting in Washington. Since then, I have read most if not all LNC correspondence. I have come to the conclusion that most (not all) of the correspondence is missing the major point of how we got into this mess. Therefore I, who hate email, will be sending a rather long two-part email for your consideration.

It is customary after a collision at sea that the Coast Guard convene a Board of Inquiry into the circumstances causing the collision. Since we have no such mechanism, I have spent a lot of time thinking about how this disaster occurred and what needs to be done to make sure that it never happens again.

I am going to start with a statement and a request.

The statement: Under no circumstances am I laying blame on any individual or group of individuals in my analysis. However, I must put names, dates and times to certain individuals as they were the people on watch. Please do not take offence, as none is offered.

The request: Upon reading the first part of this message, please do not reply by email until two days after receiving the second part. What is needed here, my friends, is quiet reflection and deep thought, as my comments go to the very existence of the LP. I repeat, I am trying to address the systemic failures and not the acts of individuals.

#### Part 1.

#### **It is apparent that every single system and safeguard failed.**

Over the last several years, it was apparent to some and ignored by others that the financial reports coming out of National were late or non-existent and that this was a continuous trend. Let us begin with the resignation of Mark Tuniewicz as Treasurer of the LP. (I'll set aside his Life Membership, as that was a personal decision.) He made it quite clear that his major reason for resigning was that he could not do his job, as he was not getting the proper financial reports in a timely manner. He had made these complaints several times in the months before he left.

We now come to the first two glaring failures of our present structure. The first was that Mark could not get the appropriate information to do his job (setting aside for the moment that the numbers came straight out of Disneyland). The second failure, more glaring than the first, was that he could not get

the support of the Chair or of the E.C. (of which he was a member) to demand that these financial reports be provided forthwith - or else! As an extension of that failure, the entire LNC could not or would not demand that those responsible provide those figures - or else! - which eventually led to Mark's resignation out of anger and frustration.

In my opinion, the **system** failed.

Enter into the system a new Chair, Jim Lark, and a new Treasurer, Deryl Martin. (New Hope!) And the third glaring failure, although not immediately apparent: no change! There is no question that my good friend Dr. Lark poured much too much energy and self-sacrifice into the "Willis affair", trying to get to the bottom of that nasty little situation - and was probably distracted from his proper role as Chair. However, in the final analysis, Dr. Lark would not fire the Executive Director. It should be noted that there were more than sufficient grounds for asking for Mr. Dasbach's resignation. Did the system fail again? No member of the E.C. or the LNC voted to direct Dr. Lark to fire Mr. Dasbach.

Note: IMO here is one of the weakest links in the system. ONLY the Chair can fire the E.D. Think for a little while about how easy it would be to hijack this Party, either from outside or inside, IF you controlled the Chair.

I would now like to speak about the Treasurer, specifically my good friend Dr. Martin. To start with, when Deryl took over as Treasurer he was certainly handed a "can of worms". As near as I can figure as a layman, he received a shoe-box with money, receipts, IOUs and other "stuff" to decipher. Again, the system failed. What system? The financial functions of this Party should never have been reduced to a shoe-box full of stuff! Here is one of the weakest links in our structure. The "inside" auditor did not catch this; the "outside" auditor didn't catch this. The budget process (LNC level) did not catch this either. What failed?

We all know that Dr. Martin has performed yeoman service, far above and beyond the call. However, we must be mindful of the fact that he is one individual putting proper procedures in place, and that the backup system failed. A lot more attention needs to be paid to this critical weak link if future financial disasters are to be averted.

It was obvious to the most casual observer that the continuing drop in membership (\$ dues) would cause serious financial consequences in the near future. The alarm was sounded from many different sources about the approaching danger and what was being done to stop the hemorrhage of membership (\$ \$ \$). Even though the slippage was steady and dramatic from the end of 2000 to the present, the Chair,

E.C. and LNC were incapable of halting the exodus. This group did not have the tools - or the resolve? - to step in and make the necessary refinements to the budget and to oversee and enforce austere fiscal policy and procedure to prevent a financial crash. The overriding concern not to micro-manage, even in the face of impending doom, and \_ the lack of any alternative method to prevent the disaster\_ illustrate once more that this system is broken.

Surely someone, if not everyone, will say "but Don, all of these people (Chair and LNC) are elected by the members at the National Convention."

So let's take an in-depth look at what part the National Convention plays in this broken system (besides losing our shirts!) I offer you the following premise: given the present structure, California, Texas and Indiana could combine on an issue or personality and bulldoze it through the convention. It would take a combination of Florida, North Carolina, Georgia, Michigan and Pennsylvania to put the issue/ personality in doubt. Conversely, FL, NC, GA, MI and PA, with Indiana sitting on the sideline, not participating on the issue, could be stopped by CA and TX combined.

Alternatively, a coalition made up of New England, Alabama, Arkansas and the Dakotas would have very little impact on any issue. In summary, the convention is pretty much ruled by the top ten. If they pick good people for the Chair and LNC, then all is well. If they pick weak people, then the Party can easily be controlled / usurped by mischievous scallywags who have their own agenda.

I know I will get a lot of arguments on the above paragraph, but be mindful of one thing: this is the system that is in place now. It has brought us to the brink of disaster. It's broken and needs to be changed.

This will be my first contribution of 2003. Again, a gentle reminder: this needs quiet reflection and deep thought. Please do not email until after reading Part II: Suggested Corrections (Subtitle: Gorman puts his neck on the line), which I will send shortly.

I wish all of you a prosperous and healthy New Year. Hopefully, the tensions in the world can be resolved without war. I am sure that this LNC can and will bring the Libertarian Party to its rightful place in US politics. It's a pleasure and an honor working with all of you.