

Let Freedom Ring!

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July 2003

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Where Your Money Went The American Liberty Foundation

As some PVLA members may well have contributed to Harry Browne's Foundations, one way or the other, the following may be of personal interest. Our friends have provided us with a copy of the public-record IRS Form 990 for the non-profit organization *American Liberty Foundation*.

As reported in 2001, according to their filings the ALF did indeed spend \$38,669 to produce television ads, and \$5,156 to produce radio ads. To do this, they raised a total of \$336,063, and spent considerably more: \$396,821. They started with \$17,365, and ended with a net negative fund balance of \$43,393.

Where did the rest of the money go? The form 990 lists other major expenses including

- Internet—design and produce a website and internet commentaries—\$72,182
- Media Outreach—\$56,715 for the VP and PR Director to do appearances
- Events—\$7,734
- Research and Development—\$77,338

[ALF Spending] (Continued on page 2)

Just Say Hi! on Hold!

In our last issue, we reported that the Worcester County Libertarian Association was preparing its **Just Say Hi!** campaign to contact libertarians in Worcester County. In order to do that, the WCLA—which is an official affiliate of the Libertarian Party of Massachusetts—asked the LPMA for contact lists of current LPMA members (meaning, via the Unified Membership Plan, the LPUS dues-paying members in Worcester County), the LPUS members whose dues are no longer current, and people who have contacted the LPUS or LPMA asking for information. Similar requests were made by the Pioneer Valley Libertarian Association (the State Party withdrew its affiliation with the PVLA several years ago) and by Richard Warras, who is trying to form a Town Committee and Activist Group in Easthampton.

The initial request was made to David Roscoe, who is the Party's Membership Secretary and keeps the records. Under LPMA rules, Roscoe forwarded the requested to the LPMA Executive Director, Kay Pirrello, who subject to appeal gets to approve or reject all requests of this sort. To the surprise of some WCLA members and others, the requests

[LPUS Financial Issues](Continued on page 3)

Financial Challenges

LPUS Shows Little Change; State Party is Substantially in Debt

Massachusetts Libertarians find substantial challenges facing both the Federal and State Party organizations. The May FEC filings of the National Party show UMP debts to be deeper than ever, with the two largest State Parties receiving no payments this month.

For the month of May, the National Party brought in 90,168 (much less than last month's actual \$128,510, with thanks to readers who saw our wrong number last month), spent \$92,315, and had \$3960 on hand and \$176,849 in debt. The debt total is larger than at the end of either of the past two months (\$174,000, \$169,000). For all the talk and cuts, National Party debt is proving highly refractory to being discharged. Indeed, relative to two months ago the debt has

[Financial Challenges] (Continued on page 2)

Parties and Events

The next two PVLA Outreach Events, PVLA Tent and all, will be in Monson on the 4th of July in their street fair, and Boston at the Boston Freedom Rally on September 20. Terry Franklin <terryfranklin@yahoo.com> reminds us of the Sept. 26 Vigil outside the DEA office in Springfield, MA.

Carol and Dan McMahon hosted the June LPMA Social Hour, held at their home in rural Monson, Massachusetts. About two dozen libertarians, including not only members from Western Massachusetts but those from as far away as the North Shore, attended. The weather was for once entirely favorable. The heavy rains and cold that Massachusetts has had most of the summer were absent. The PVLA Tent had its third outing of the year, providing cover for the buffet table.

Your correspondent traveled up to remote Lan-

[Parties and Events](Continued on page 3)

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(Continued from page 1) **[Party Financial Challenges]**

increased. Of somewhat greater concern to many readers, the fundraising letter of several months ago has left the National Party with less than \$3960 cash on hand at the end of the month. Unfortunately, signs that any of the money raised from that letter was spent on the causes mentioned in that letter are inapparent. Potentially more seriously, monthly income is now at a 1.1 million dollar yearly rate, not enough to cover even the constrained budget that was set this year. National Party Membership is also falling, if anything more rapidly than previously.

Payments in May covered internet service, mailing services, bank charges of various sorts, printing, payroll and benefits, telephone, copier charges, insurance, web site design, various mailing charges, telemarketing, accounting services, a meeting room in Atlanta, Georgia, an exhibit booth with the National Taxpayers Union, direct mail consulting, accounting consulting, payroll service and taxes, office supplies, graphic design, shipping, phone services, transfers to state parties, \$3670 in editorial services, and \$220 more in travel expenses to David Bergland. Most of the vendors are familiar figures. The list of debts is very long, and no smaller than two months ago.

Last month, we published a letter from Richard Winger, lamenting that the National Party appeared to have a significant electoral opportunity that it was ignoring, namely the number of third parties that have fallen by the wayside for next year. Libertarians will have an opportunity to put out their message without competition from other third parties. To exploit that opportunity, we needed to be on the ballot. Relative to the last election cycle, we were falling far behind on collecting signatures on ballot access petitions.

The National Party did fundraising for ballot access. The letter opened "Will the LP be on 50 state ballots in 2004?" and closed "Will you send your best possible donation for ballot access today." That was what the letter said. There does yet not appear to have been any spending to match the fundraising effort.

LPMA Fiscal Challenges

To make a long story short, the Massachusetts State Party has financial challenges. Your editor attended the State Executive Committee meeting in June. While the State Party has been chipping away at the debts that it inherited, so that the remaining debt was I gather mostly incurred this year, there is much left to go. The State Newsletter has been published since the state of the year only through the great generosity of State Chair Kamal Jain, to whom the State Party owes something in the range of \$5000 for printing and mailing expenses. The State Party owes large sums for the legal counsel that it has received. If I understood correctly, we are behind on paying the Party's webmasters for the appearance of the www.lpma.org site. All told, debts were \$7500 or more, while the National Party owes the State Party for the

postponed UMP payments around \$1500 in UMP payments. The plans we reported on January, to raise money for registering voters so as to secure major party status, are apparently on hold. I gather that there is not a lot of fundraising. The money that does appear is given over to old expenses. Very little money is left in the State Treasury, or so I thought I heard.

The State Party does have a moderate income. For the current calendar year, that income has gone into paying off debts that came into being under the party leadership that was in place prior to this January. The State Party has at last paid off these old debts, more or less, but at the cost of being burdened with substantial new debt. It would appear that there is no working plan in operation to conduct a large scale voter registration drive, let alone a drive adequate to persuade another 20,000 registered voters of the Commonwealth to enroll as Libertarians in the next 2/3 of a year. There are volunteers working on this challenge but they are the same volunteers that we have always had. Therefore, it is unlikely that the State Party will protect its Major Party Status by enrolling, by the end of the next winter, 1% of the State's registered voters.

(Continued from page 1) **[ALF Spending]**

The ALF also spent \$54,643 on management and general expenses, and \$84,384 on fundraising.

The officers and directors, and their compensations, are separately reported. The compensations, which are included in the above totals, are

Perry Willis (President) \$28,613
 Jim Babka (Vice President) \$46,719
 Stephen Willis (Secretary) \$19,588
 Stephanie Yanik (Treasurer) \$7,300
 Harry Browne (Director for Public Relations) \$60,976

The unpaid Board Members for 2001 were David Bergland, Jack Dean, and Jack Williams.

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(Continued from page 1) [Just Say Hi! on Hold!]

were rejected. The response as forwarded to the requesters was the same in all cases. The response as forwarded to Rich Watras was

"Dave,
Thank you for forwarding this request from Rich Watras. This request is being denied on the basis of lack of trustworthiness of and/or confidence in the requesting individual.

Thank you,
Kay Pirrello
Executive Director
Libertarian Party of Massachusetts"

As WCLA Chair, I was entitled to appeal the decision to the State Committee, and promptly did so. I appealed only the WCLA decision, because it is unambiguous that the WCLA is at present a recognized affiliate of the State Party. My appeal read simply

"I request that the State Committee overturn the decision of the Party's Executive Director and supply the WCLA with the requested data.

The ground for the appeal is that there is no rational basis for the State Director's assertion that the requester is untrustworthy or not deserving of the confidence of the State Party.

I remind the State Committee that I was one of seven members in 1996-1997 of the LAMA State Committee and was in that year appointed by State Chair John Brickner as the Party's Executive Director.

George Phillies
Chair, Worcester County Libertarian Association'

My appeal has since been supported by former State Chair John Brickner, who wrote:

"Honorable State Committee Members
Libertarian Party of Massachusetts:

While my own activism within the Party has diminished considerably since my son's diagnosis over two years ago, Mr. Phillies continues to lead admirably.

I humbly ask the Committee to find favor with Mr. Phillies appeal for the benefit of the Party at all levels. If our Party is to grow, it needs continued organization and activism at the local and regional levels, not to mention running candidates to winnable offices. Mr. Phillies has been active in these areas, in Massachusetts, since before I became involved with the State Party in 1996.

In fact, before I founded the Western Massachusetts Libertarian Party (now Pioneer Valley Libertarian Association,) Mr. Phillies already had an established organization with regular

meetings in Worcester. I dare to say there is no other person in our Party who has done as much activism for as long as Mr. Phillies has from Worcester County to the western border of our state. This would make him the longest term, continuously active, both libertarian and Libertarian Party activist in over half the state. Please, prove me wrong.

Also, allow me to verify Mr. Phillies was appointed by me as Executive Director during my tenure as State Chair and we both served on the State Committee after. During my time in leadership of the State organization, I understood the most important activity I could do to promote Liberty in Massachusetts was to do everything possible to facilitate the **activists** who are doing what needs be done. Reference Carla, Muni and others involved in bringing Harry Brown to Boston for (which was at that time and possibly still is) the LPs largest single day fundraiser in LP history.

I have total confidence and trust in Mr. Phillies to act in the greatest possible manner on behalf of the Libertarian Party.

On request, I will make myself available to the Committee for questions or further clarification as may need or require.
Most sincerely,

John C. Brickner
Town of Wales,
Commissioner to the Pioneer Valley Planning Commission

We'll have more when as this develops.

(Continued from page 1) [Parties and Events]

caster, New Hampshire (about 220 miles each way) to attend the Sunday Escape to New Hampshire event sponsored by New Hampshire supporters of the Free State Project. Presentations were made on goals and plans of the Free State Project. The two active Presidential candidates, Mike Badnarik and Gary Nolan, were both present and gave speeches on the Free State Project and how it might interact with their campaigns. Amanda Phillips gave a demonstration—with voters walking between corners of the room—as to how the Condorcet voting method works. The author has seen Condorcet extensively used where he works, as part of the Faculty Governance system, and can report it is very tedious to count, often gives a good resolution on choosing one best choice out of many, and sometimes has odd consequences. The Presidential candidates spent much time interacting with individual Libertarians.

The Boston Freedom Rally is one of the largest libertarian events in the United States, with speakers, bands, vendors, and political displays from Massachusetts political parties. No matter how many volunteers we have at the Rally, we can always use more. We need people to hand out literature, people to hand out palm cards, people to run OPH events, and people to sit in the back and keep our clipboards loaded. The event is at the Boston Common. Contact George Phillies 508 754 1859 phillies@4liberty.net if you may be attending. Remember, the PVLA Tent allows exhibitions with handouts even when there is heavy rain or high wind.

What to do

Editor:

It is difficult to envision how anyone expects to win anything, other than the establishment of a personality cult, by hoarding the LPMA membership list. Thought I had problems with Mathias's views on gun control, those who objected to it should have addressed the issue openly.

In the past people have told me that local races should stand or fall on their own merits. They do not see the state party as "missionaries." Yet, I agree that Michael Cloud and Carla Howell do seem to get recycled. They get a small percentage of the vote, but the lions share of the state party financial support. In some cases increased support for some local candidates might have pushed them to victory. 30%-46% is much closer to victory than 2%.

The state committee will simply work its way toward irrelevancy. I cannot believe that they cannot see that either.

No one wants to admit it, but we have the same problem as the major parties. We have a few well bankrolled candidates that are able to make a loud sound that does not appeal to the voters. The stark reality is that the anti-tax proposal was more popular than the candidate, except in a few Western Mass races.

I see another trend. Some may call it racist, but I think it is a trend, which in part seems to be based on ethnicity. I am just judging from the names, but I would guess that Browne, Howell, and Cloud are probably at least fourth generation Americans, probably more. Most of the Libertarians I know are mostly 3rd generation.

Part of the problem is like the Warden in "Cool Hand Luke," says, "what we have here is obviously a failure to communicate." The resources are going into preaching to the choir. And the way the message is being delivered will only be understood by the choir.

Robert Joseph Underwood 83 Cherrelyn St. Springfield, MA 01104-2441

More on a Dues Increase

The Michigan Libertarian Party state committee reportedly discussed the current proposal to increase national membership dues. A motion to support the national party's dues increase reportedly failed overwhelmingly but not unanimously, with perhaps two members speaking in favor and perhaps five against. The Michigan State Chair stated on the State Chairs email list that '...Additionally, we did not vote, but had some brief discussion on pulling out of the UMP plan entirely if it [the dues increase] is where National goes...' The Michigan State Chair continued '...I encourage every state to reduce the costs for our national office by promoting early renewal. It isn't the only thing we need to do....but it will help....Instead of sending out renewal letters, let's recruit new members. We

need a little cash flow..... Perhaps we can get the resources we need without raising the cost of participation -- let's get our base of activists to renew as soon as possible!"

According to well placed sources on the same list, the Delaware State Board also considered the proposal. The board was unanimously opposed. Apparently the Delaware State Board felt that we needed to keep as many members as possible, and that keeping costs low was a step toward promoting higher membership.

By report on the State Chairs list, the Libertarian Party of California overwhelmingly passed a resolution supporting a dues increase. They note that twelve years ago we had dues of \$25 per year and no split with the state affiliates. With UMP II, the national party will often get only \$7 per membership because \$18 goes to the state affiliate, and estimate that the National Party needs another \$18.

Outbound New Mexico Chair Joseph Knight is quoted as saying that the LPNM Amended its bylaws to require a special convention to reconsider UMP if LNC raises dues.

The topic of increased dues was introduced to the South Carolina Party Executive Committee. By report some members showed vocal opposition and others were indifferent. The State Party created a new and more expensive state membership level. Sentiment from South Carolina was expressed for a bargain rate National Membership with limited benefits, and dedicated fundraising for major projects. It was noted that The Nature Conservancy has a \$20 minimum rate but requires \$200 before funds can be earmarked.

Small Business Initiative

According to our correspondents, the Libertarian Party of Wisconsin Executive Committee passed 10-0 (1 abstention) a resolution on the Small Business Initiative Resolution, saying

"Whereas a political party focused on constituents is more united than one divided by issues, and

Whereas the experience of the 2002 Ed Thompson campaign has shown that small business owners are drawn to Libertarian politics, and

Whereas the marketing research undertaken by Mr. Mark Schreiber has clearly identified small business owners as a constituency that will benefit the Libertarian Party,

The Libertarian Party of Wisconsin hereby resolves to

- focus its efforts on recruiting small business owners into the party

- promote issues which will create jobs and rid small business of excessive regulations and taxation in Wisconsin, and
- call upon the Libertarian National Committee to focus on the small business constituency as a means to grow the Libertarian Party and achieve electoral success."

Virginia News

Reports reaching us from Virginia show that former National Chair (and current Gary Nolan for President State Chair) has temporarily become interim chair of the Libertarian Party of Virginia, resulting on a motion made at the LPVA State Central Committee meeting by Marc Montoni. The appointment is temporary, pending a special state convention to choose a new state chair. (We are sparing readers the details of the titles and parliamentary paths behind the phrase 'interim chair'.)

The full Minutes of the LPVA governing board are on their web pages in .PDF format. In our last issue, one of the resigning members of the LPVA State Board had noted issues relating to a computer. The Draft June 14 minutes report that the LPVA governing board accepted \$1300 as payment for 'an identical notebook computer, new and with factory warranty, as the one purchased in May 2002'. The Minutes appear to indicate that the computer purchased in May 2002 had in fact been sold to a resident of Illinois.

Sometimes the Good Guys Win

Aaron Biterman advises us that Libertarian election victories in 2003 include

:

California: Scott Lieberman (San Jose Advisory Commission on Rents Chair)

Illinois: Jerry Kohn (Acorn Public Library Board), David Kelley (Rockford School Board), Kathy Kelley (Rock Valley Community College Trustee), Jeff Glaser (Batavia School Board), Alma Read (Elk Grove Township Elementary Board District 59), Jeff Trigg (HAVA State Planning Committee)

Indiana: Christa Klopfenstein Adkins (HAVA State Planning Team)

Massachusetts: Chuck Ormsby (North Andover School Committee), Arthur Torrey (Billerica Selectman)

Montana: Christian Hur (State Board of Regents Vice Chair)

New Hampshire: Howard Wilson (Andover Budget Committee), Charles E. Carroll, Jr. (Rindge Town Planning Commission), John Babiarz (Governor's Efficiency Committee)

North Carolina: Barbara Howe (HAVA Implementation Board)

Oregon: Richard Burke (Tualatin Valley Water District Board), Don McDaniel (Port of Astoria Board of Commissioners), Marc Delphine (Tigard Water District Board, District 4), Tom Love (Hiteon Local School Committee)

Texas: Marshall Phillips (Buffalo Springs Twp. Council)

Wisconsin: Paul Kitzmann (Burns Town Chairman), Glen-

ford Logan (Cornell City Municipal Judge), Nick Piergrossi (Neenah City Council), Steve Scheunemann (Kewaskum Village Board), Patricia Stanislawski (Dexter Town Board), Craig Mohn (Woodville Village Board), Bob Bowman (Cross Plains Village Trustee).

Opportunities to Strengthen the Libertarian Party of Massachusetts

The Massachusetts State Party faces a wide variety of challenges and opportunities. Some challenges will be more difficult to overcome than others. For example, for all of the hoopla, other political parties get more votes. For all of the discussion about building a party, many of our prominent and successful activists are leaving and taking up with other parties and activities.

I'm going to consider a few other issues that appear to be holding back the State party. Some of these will have echoes in other states.

You cannot win elections with State Party Bylaws, but Bylaws certainly can keep a State Party from being effective. As has been said before, there are two ways to look at rules. One can say that rules are descriptions about how things should in general be done. One can say that rules are about power, and who gets to have it.

Organizations that actually want to be effective have rules that let people know how things are usually done. If you want to do things, you can examine the rules and learn from past experience. Organizations that are about gameplaying and empire-building have rules that make sure that nothing can be done except by the leave of the powerful. If you want to do things, you determine who will give you permission, and what price they demand for their beneficence.

Rules explaining how things are usually done are guides for people who want to get things done. They are a mark of a Party that bases itself on individual libertarians who take the initiative to advance the Party and the Libertarian movement.

Rules about power are dangerous traps for people who want to build their own estimates of themselves. They give to the people who want to improve their self-esteem illusory estimates of their own achievements. They are a mark of a Party that has gone a bit astray and is focusing more on giving people titles and honors than on doing real politics.

Real organizations do have rules, and they are usually someplace between these two bounds. Nonetheless, by seeing how the rules work, you can see how the rules have consequences that may not be the ones that are immediately obvious.

The LPMA By-Laws have a number of interesting features that have over past years not been entirely successful in advancing the Party's interests. As is reasonably well known the By-Laws were substantially borrowed from those of the Massachusetts Republican Party, an organization whose electoral

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successes leave something—from the point of view of its supporters—to be desired. One cannot be entirely sure what the Republicans saw in them, but from the Libertarian standpoint the results have been rather odd.

A notable issue is that the Bylaws as written hand almost all authority whatsoever over to the State Chair, who makes appointments, approves all expenditures,...in short, has rather few limitations on his authority. Now, the Founding Fathers knew one of the difficulties of this approach, which is why the Constitution divides power in as many ways as it does, and why Mr Bin Laden and his airplane hijackers are far less dangerous to the Republic than Speaker of the House Hastert and his position that the power to declare war is obsolete and should be handed over to the President.

As it turned out, the LPMA got to see the other danger of the approach, namely that if you give enormous power to one person, and that person does not carry out his tasks, you have a problem. And when the main committees of the State Committee went unappointed for months—or perhaps years—there was indeed a problem. When the State Chair is too busy to do all the things that he is tasked with doing, the organization falls apart.

The lack of budgetary control from the lack of a budget committee or adequate set of fiscal controls—and I am not faulting the Party Treasurer here, as his reports seem always to have been accurate and complete—has left the State Party thousands of dollars in debt. This situation was not assisted by the grandeur with which the State Party has conducted its affairs. You will look in vain, for example, for another state party that spent its money on full page ads in LP News for its state convention. One might propose that this grandiosity was incited in some part by certain out of state interests, for purposes more related to National than State Party politics, in which case one might propose that these out of state interests have a moral obligation to repay the damage they incited to our Treasury. You do not hear me holding my breath waiting for repayment.

Some of the other features of the State Party Bylaws also lead to a certain narrowing of view. For example, the Associate Members of the State Party are elected at the state convention, held on a Saturday. When I traveled across America last year, running for National Chair, many Libertarians were astonished to learn we charged for the business meeting, thus shutting out the poor. Less obviously, scheduling the election on a Saturday closes the door to many Americans who view Saturday as the Sabbath and politics as work.

Even less obviously, the approach used by the State Party to elect its “at-large” members is in essence a gerrymandering technique. The people from the immediate vicinity of the state convention are known to more people who are likely to attend, so when the ‘at large’ candidates are elected the ‘at large’ candidates come from the area of the state convention, not halfway across the state. A few years ago, 2/3 of the State Committee came from an area that has 1/4 of the state’s voters.

Editorial

I had the opportunity to attend the June meeting of the Massachusetts State Party Executive Committee, held at Carol McMahan's house this past Saturday.

On one hand, the State Party has substantially mended its ways on spending. Last year, I condemned the state party for a biennium of profligacy. Since then, matters have changed a great deal. Spending has been brought substantially under control.

Unfortunately, new State Chair Kamal Jain seems to have inherited a great deal of debt. Our State Committee is paying it down as rapidly as it can. That's rather slowly, because donations have imploded, and National is months behind on forwarding dues. In the meantime, our state news letter is being printed and mailed because Kamal is covering it on his credit card, our General Counsel is owed substantial sums for his wise legal guidance, and the National Party is greatly in default on the so-called UMP plan.

How much debt? If I understood matters correctly, reported debt and expected near-term bills came to rather over \$8000, the National Party owes us under \$2000, so the State Party is the better part of \$7000 in the hole. That's a year's dues income, a debt far larger than the LNC's.

It is really unreasonable to ask our State Chair, a man who has recently gone through the ups and downs of the computer industry, to cover the operations of the State Party out of his own pocket. I urge Massachusetts Libertarians to send a contribution to their State Party, to remove from the backs of the current State Committee the monkeys planted there by Mr. Jain's predecessor and various friends no longer active in the state party.

Also, if you were going to send money to the National Party, I urge you to keep it in Massachusetts. The National Party is advertising for 50 state ballot access donations, but they are not spending money on collecting signatures. They promise that they share their donations and dues with state parties, but they are months in arrears. If you keep your money here in Massachusetts, you can at least chat up the people who spent it.

Massachusetts libertarian organizations that take donations--each with its own set of legal restrictions on how it may be spent--include:

- **LPMA**, c/o Kamal Jain, 26 Cedar Road, Littleton MA 01460
- **PVLA**, c/o Carol McMahan, 221 Bumstead Road, Monson, MA 01057
- **Liberty Congressional PAC**, c/o George Phillies, 87-6 Park Avenue Worcester MA 01605
- **Liberty Tree Small Government Low Taxes Political Action Committee**, c/o George Phillies, 87-6 Park Avenue Worcester MA 01605