

# Let Freedom Ring!

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## Dasbach Out!

### Pappas Leads Fundraising

Disclosures filed with the Massachusetts Office of Campaign and Political Finance show the progress made by Libertarian in libertarian-independent candidates around Massachusetts. As of early September, in races for state legislature the fundraising race was led by independent Max Pappas (Easthampton and vicinity), who had raised \$6797, and has now raised considerably more. Following him were Libertarian Steve Olson, who raised \$2270 for his State Representative race and Carol McMahon (\$1415 for her Libertarian State Senate race). Other Libertarian candidates reporting fundraising totals were State Representative candidates Fain (\$1375), Pillsbury (\$675), Wilcox (\$575), and Doherty (\$540).

[Massachusetts Fundraising](Continued on page 3)

### His Resignation Is Accepted

September 18. Following publication of scathingly critical remarks at the latest LNC Executive Committee Meeting, Party Executive Director Steve Dasbach has advised the LNC that he was 'withdrawing his name from consideration' for reappointment and gave two months notice of his intent to resign. The LNC has directed National Chair Geoff Neale to assume immediately the tasks of the Executive Director.

Minutes of the August 21 LNC teleconference record National Treasurer Martin saying "*that he no longer has any faith in any reports that he is being presented by staff*". Martin's remarks came late in a prolonged discussion of Party Finances that showed spiralling losses, interesting manage-

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### Where Your Money Went

and why does the Libertarian Party of Massachusetts use open rather than secret ballots at the National Convention?

For January-August 2002, the Howell Committee for Small Government raised \$206,994 and spent \$190,914, including over \$30,000 for printing and \$25,000 for postage and mailing. It also has two staffers paid \$3500 and \$3000 per month in recent months, not to mention \$8500 in fees to Carla Howell and \$3500 in fees to Michael Cloud. Various petitioners were paid over \$10,000. Last but not least, it picked up the tab for parts of the expenses of staffers Kay Pirrello and Celeste Parent, and perhaps the campaign managers, to go to the LP National Convention. At least one of the votes to seat the Indiana Carpetbaggers on the Massachusetts delegation was close. The Massachusetts delegates transported by the Small Government Campaign appear to have made the difference in the vote.

For July-August 2002, the Michael Cloud U.S.

[Where Your Money Went](Continued on page 6)

### LNC Financial Debacle

**\$200,000 of Debt-Last Reserve Spent-Event Fund Diverted-LNC Continues Secrecy Policy-Party Cannot Afford to Terminate Winter-Chair and Treasurer Report to LNC**

Reports from the National Libertarian Party speak of spiralling debt and weak fiscal controls. Based on Minutes of the August 21 Executive Committee Meeting, the Chair and Treasurer reports to the LNC, reports on the September 21 LNC meeting, and our many sources, we believe:

LNC members last received the monthly financial report from the National Director at the end of May. At the end of July, cash minus accounts payable were said to be about minus \$90,000. According to Executive Committee minutes, on August 19 the party's had \$71,000 in cash (including the last certificate of deposit) and estimated current liabilities of \$216,000. These liabilities do not include life memberships, around a third of a million

[LNC Financial Debacle](Continued on page 4)

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## Plan for Publicity

When one suggests alternatives to the media one is like Jeremiah crying out in the wilderness.

Some of you may remember some not very noticed remarks by Roy Wilkins saying that the day would come when the media would turn on the Libertarian Party. At 5% we are entertainment. In the last election Carla Howel got more like 15%. Allen Wilcox got about 30% in his district. Now I cannot even get the primary results from the City of Springfield, nor the Secretary of the Commonwealth. We are no longer entertainment.

Media access can involve a lot of effort and expense that detracts from a campaign. Even if you get a promise of access, as you can see, it can be rescinded at the last minute anyway. Another point no one asks, is "is it worth it." How many people watch the debates? How many just switch to another channel? We may be fighting to appear during the viewers bathroom break. Thus far our strategy has been on collecting money, which is then used to purchase publicity. As you can see, it can have limited results. Let us look at some other growing organizations and look at how they do it.

The Jehova's Witnesses, like the 12 apostles, do not use the mass media. They rely on a network of activists. They are gaining members. When I go house to house in my neighborhood, I encounter signs in English and Spanish asking Jehovah's Witnesses to stay away. There are no signs against Libertarians. No one expects a Libertarian to come to their door. I see that as a problem.

Jehovah's Witnesses are outnumbered by Catholics, Baptists, Pentecostals, Methodists, Episcopalians, Congregationalists, and others I am sure. The average person would say that he never sees any of these people on the street, but most people remember seeing Jehovah's Witnesses on the street. They seem to be everywhere, as opposed to the Libertarians who cannot even be found where the voting list says they reside.

I think we should have devised a method early on of working without the media. It is simply facing the reality that we probably will not be able to get it.

...Robert Underwood

## United States Justice Foundation Threatens Suit to Suppress Book

WorldNetDaily for Thursday, September 26 reports that the United States Justice Foundation (USJF), associated with the Browne-Willis 2000 Presidential Campaign fundraising, has threatened Amazon.com with litigation for selling a book. According to the copyrighted story by reporter Art Moore, the USJF claimed that sales and promotion of the book are an "unfair and unethical business

practice". The USJF reportedly threatened "protracted litigation" if Amazon.com did not pull the book within 30 days.

Amazon.com was quoted as by WorldNetDaily as saying "Simply because we sell a book does not mean we agree with the ideas it contains. We believe that people have the right to choose their own reading material."

The book, "Understanding Loved Boys and Boylovers" by David L. Riegel, apparently treats positively aspects of pedophilia. WorldNetDaily quotes an Amazon.com review, "...Defensive in tone and amateurishly produced, this monograph uses both pseudo-scholarship and anecdotes in its attempt to justify its target audience's actions and feelings..." [Your editor writes 'apparently' because he only knows the book's title. The long WND article had long denunciations of the volume but did not dwell on what it actually said.]

It seems peculiar for the National party to have an interest in arrangements such as list rentals with a group taking this stand on part of the First Amendment.

## Corrections and Additions

We are advised that Bumper Hornberger is actually in a three-way race for the U.S. Senate in Virginia. In addition to the incumbent Republican, there is an independent candidate reportedly associated with the LaRouche group. We had reported congratulations to the Virginia Party for assisting a reporter from Liberty Magazine to gain access to the convention floor for events. We have received a vigorous denial from Virginia that the reporter was made a delegate; the assertion is that he was actually sold a \$25 membership in the Libertarian Party. Our list of resignations in the Pennsylvania Party was incomplete. Julian Heicklen has resigned as Regional Vice Chair for Pennsylvania, and shut down his Presidential nominating campaign drive, citing family issues.

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(Continued from page 1) [Dasbach Out]

ment decisions, hidden debts and obligations, and extremely generous staff compensation packages. (Following article.)

According to the Minutes: National Secretary Steve Givot then offered a motion that *“the Executive Committee requests that the Executive Director distribute to the entire LNC - no later than August 31, 2002 - a formal plan to meet the year end calculated reserve level of \$83,000.”* A similar plan was apparently expected for a slightly later date. Neale expressed concern *“that if we accelerate this item, the Executive Director may use it as an excuse to say that he is being set up to fail.”* Givot responded that *“if the Executive Director does not already have a plan in mind to address this problem, then he is the wrong person to continue in that position.”*

The Executive Committee then voted a list of 13 detailed financial and other reports to be presented to the National Committee for its September meeting. The full list appears in their August 2002 Minutes. Of particular interest was

*“10. A cost benefit analysis of all projects that have had the benefit of a special fund raising appeal (Drug War ad, Project Majority, Incumbent Killer). This analysis should detail the funds raised, in what manner they were raised across what period of time, the direct cost of funds (including an allocation toward membership dues at \$25 for new donors), some of the indirect costs (e.g., lower general fundraising using comparative information from prior years), the staff time involved, and the results achieved as they relate to metrics for 2002 (# of members, # of elected officials, expand our support base in terms of new donors/members and total dollars, etc.)”*

The Minutes report from the debate: *“Nelson said that he wants this information to be presented for discussion at the September 2002 LNC meeting as part of the LNC's preparation for reviewing the 2003 budget proposal in December 2002...he would like the LNC to evaluate the effectiveness of such projects in September so that the 2003 budget can be drafted based on the LNC's determination of whether or not to proceed in some of these directions.”*

*“Martin reiterated that he does not feel that he can trust the responses that staff will provide to such requests to be accurate. Neale said that if he were in staff's position and saw a similar request, he would conclude that he should be “packing his bags.””*

Almost immediately after publication of these minutes, Executive Director Steve Dasbach memorialized the National Committee, writing:

*“I believe that it is critical that the Executive Director of*

*the Libertarian Party have the complete support of both the National Chair and the LNC in order to successfully carry out his or her responsibilities to the organization and the membership. It is clear to me from the tone and content of the most recent meeting of the LNC's Executive Committee, as well as the messages on the LNC discussion list over the past several months, that I do not have that level of support from the current LNC.*

*“Accordingly, I feel it is in the best interest of the party that I withdraw my name from consideration to be reappointed as Executive Director and provide 2-months notice of my intent to resign per the month-to-month contract extension mentioned in your Chair's report.”*

The Libertarian National Committee met in Chicago on September 21 and 22. Much of their meeting was held in executive session. They unanimously adopted a resolution

*“In accepting the resignation of Steve Dasbach as Executive Director of the Libertarian Party, the Libertarian National Committee thanks him for more than 20 years of service to the Party, culminating in his 5 years as National Chair and his 4 years as Executive Director. We commend his dedication to the cause of liberty and recognize his tireless efforts in this often difficult pursuit.”*

In other news from the same meeting, The LNC has at long last adopted a committee structure, including: Advertising and Publications Review Committee - Joe Dehn, Dan Karlan, Lee Wrights; Audit Committee - Austin Hough, Bob Sullentrop, Jeff Zweber; Convention Committee: Sean Haugh, Joe Dehn, Nancy Neale, BetteRose Ryan; Program Committee - Michael Gilson de Lemos, Randy Holcomb, Phil Miller, Steve Trinward; Employment Policy and Compensation Committee (pre-existing) Mike Dixon, Mark Rutherford, and BetteRose Ryan.

A Political Steering Committee was created to elect more Libertarians to office, but it still needs members.

Mary Ruwart was appointed Internal Education Director and given the authority to place articles in LP News, i.e., she was given partial editorial control of the Party Newsletter.

(Continued from page 1) [Massachusetts Fundraising]

Readers will recall that in early 2000 the Libertarian Party of Massachusetts announced that it had invested party funds into putting candidates on the ballot for state legislature. The policy, which was not generally known in advance to candidates, included petitioning for the campaign of State Chair Eli Israel. Israel, who had earlier talked in the state newsletter of collecting his own signatures, was instead apparently put on the ballot at party expense. We are advised that at the Boston Freedom Rally Israel told PVLA member Carol McMahon that he had raised under \$50 and would be running a paper campaign.

## Let Freedom Ring!

### Watras Discusses His Resignation

In a letter to a prominent eastern Massachusetts Libertarian, Richard Watras writes

“You asked about my being mentioned in Carol Moore’s article in Liberty Magazine. Carol describes one of a list of reasons I resigned as Hampshire County Chair among other positions. Since you asked about it:

I had asked [State Chair] Eli Israel and [State Vice Chair] Kamal Jain for help in my area. I asked on more than one occasion. I had 5 town committees on hold and wanted to find other LPMA members in the area to insure a solid base for the committee. These people would be better than registered Libertarians and an occasional independent who is very libertarian leaning but has not yet taken the final step to A) join the party as a paying member or B) register as a Libertarian voter. Eli Israel told me that such information was privileged and that I cannot have any access to the lists of LPMA members. I also asked Kamal. I was told point blank that I should forget it and move on. In response to their denials, I asked if there was a way I could have them send my name to the LPMA members in my area. If they sent my name, they would control over the process. This could have been a direct mailing or a simple piece in the LPMA newsletter. I was told and I quote "Quit Bitching."

I then learned that Kevin Haskell of the Worcester County Libertarian Association was given this information. I also was informed that Kevin was told not to allow people such as George Phillies to have access to this information.

Knowing what I have witnessed first hand and accounts by others, I can only guess is that the continued hostilities between certain individuals in the eastern half of the state and Mr. Phillies have in essence crippled any future growth. If the LPMA leadership prefers to operate in this way on this issue, I concluded that if I kept my positions I would have been part of the problem and not a solution to what plagues our state party.

I have asked repeatedly for help and for access to other members to form town committees. I was told, face to face, "NO." These committees would have been a launch pad for local Libertarian activities and would have been a huge asset to state wide candidates. In western Massachusetts the Republican party is weak. We could have moved into the void. There is no support for local organizing from the LPMA. The current regional rep is Missing in Action and has shown no interest in creating any goals for the Western Massachusetts area. It seems to me that personal egos and favoritism is rampant. Due to such actions, the LP of Massachusetts has not performed an important function of state parties: organization.

I did get a list of voters from the State Party but this information is public record. I already had most of the information.

(Continued from page 1)[LNC Financial Debacle]

dollars in UMP payments owed at various future dates to the states, or very large sums owed staff members for accrued vacation time. By August 31, the Party had over \$216,000 in debt and about \$11,000 cash on hand. In the words of the National Officers “We are in deep financial trouble.”

In the August LNC ExComm meeting, Treasurer Martin reported the staff’s confessions: “...*not all funds received for the national convention were deposited in the special event (convention) account... funds were expended from the special event account for expenses...not related to the convention...apparently the special events account was used to fund general operations which could not be funded from other revenue sources.*” The modifier “apparently”, our emphasis, is a peculiar adjective to be used to describe book-keeping operations. The National Treasury has now requested that the National Director give him copies of all bank statements for the special events account.

It was noted in the Minutes that those funds were deposits, which would need to be refunded if the convention was cancelled. Also, under the current reserve policy, the special events account not part of the calculated reserve; ergo, financials statements presented to the LNC were not accurate.

The August Meeting Minutes go on to report Martin saying that Dasbach left a voice mail for him the prior week: Dasbach wanted to cash the remaining certificate of deposit. It is peculiar, to our eyes, that the Chief Financial Office and Executive Director are reported as communicating by voice mail, and that Martin is not described as returning the call. Martin apparently then requested a list of the Party’s accounts payable with full financial details. In response to a question on anticipated revenues, Martin said that he thought that a house letter went out a week or two ago. House letters are one of the Party’s primary fundraising tools; one might have expected the Executive Committee to have clearer information on this question.

The Executive Committee learned in August that the staff also have extremely extensive amounts of accrued vacation time apparently worth over \$100,000 before payroll taxes are included. One long-time National Committee members opined that he could not remember when the policy or accrual rate had been approved or reviewed by the LNC. It appears that this outstanding debt was not included in the Party’s financial statements.

The Executive Committee then turned to reports for the September meeting. Mixed into a long list of questions was a highly revealing discussion of staff responses to LNC requests. Why were the accounts receivables still unsettled? We paraphrase from the Minutes:

Dixon moved that the staff should report: (*Report 13.*) *A proposal for downsizing the LP National HQ by the mounts of \$10,000, \$15,000, and \$20,000 per month. time) Con-*

sensus was reached that the Committee would not specify a particular solution. The motion passed.

Discussion then turned to Accounts Receivable. Would reports be available to the general membership?

*“Dehn said that he has assumed that all reports that do not relate to personnel matters would be treated as has been the case in the past - as available to all members. He asked whether the Executive Committee intends that reports that do not relate to personnel matters would be available to the membership.”*

*“Neale said that anything that relates to specific employees or the possibility of general staff reductions should remain strictly confidential.”*

*“Dehn said that he is concerned if things that were previously part of the monthly reporting requirement are now being recast as confidential.”*

As part of a longer discussion it was opined that the current accounts receivable report drafted by Geoff Neale should be distributed. It was urged that *“the list be made available to every LNC member and alternate, but that they be instructed that they are not to share or discuss this information with anyone other than another LNC member, alternate, or the Executive Director.”*

And then Joe Dehn asked the core question: *“Dehn asked why any remaining questions about the accuracy of the party's accounts receivable have not been resolved in the past several weeks. Neale said that the staff is not used to responding rapidly to such matters.”* A month later, there was still a lack of confidence that the Party's accounts are known accurately.

We now roll ahead to the Chair's Report for the September 21, 2002 LNC Meeting. The Chair noted having announced in July that Bill Winter would serve as consulting editor at halftime pay until he was replaced. This plan has not come to pass. It seems that the LNC owes Bill Winter 6 months of accrued leave, which it would have to pay when he left. The LNC was financially unable to deal with this situation.

Instead, Winter will work half-time for the LNC, his leave time being paid by paying him a full-time paycheck. This arrangement means that Winter, who by report was while a staff member closely involved operations of the 1996 Browne campaign in violation of LNC rules, will continue to edit LP News, despite extensive complaints that he has used his position in a highly partisan way to aid one faction in internal party politics.

On the bright side, the National Party is converting its financial records to Quickbooks, 5 user version, for \$950. A volunteer is providing conversion services. There is also a

response to lamentations about membership records: new software in the form of “Raiser's Edge”. The difficulty is that the software, including implementation, is estimated to cost \$128,000, money that the LNC simply does not have.

The National Chair describes in great detail how it was verified that the LP News Accounts receivable are understood and under control. We now appear to be in good shape, except that it appears that some matters remain unresolved. It would appear that the major difficulty is ads from long ago for which we were not paid, and for which we are highly unlikely ever to be paid.

It should be emphasized that the total sum involved in Accounts Receivable is a few tens of thousands of dollars. Even if the Party had received every penny that it thought it had been owed, the difference between the cash on hand and the accounts payable would still be large in the unfavorable direction.

In early 2001, the Libertarian National Committee switched over from “monthly” to “quarterly” filing of its disclosures with the Federal Election Commission. Debate in the LNC at the time emphasized the extent to which this change could hide from the membership the fiscal operations of the Party. The new National Committee has found an enhancement of this approach, namely the use of extended executive session meetings from which party members other than LNC members are excluded. Under the Bylaws and Roberts' Rules of Order, LNC members may not reveal to others what happened in an executive session meeting, and to my knowledge they have not done so.

In general executive sessions are limited to ‘delicate personnel matters’, meetings with counsel, and discussions of awards and honors that are supposed to be a surprise to the recipient. Our Party By-Laws provide

*“ B. OPEN MEETINGS: Except as expressly provided below, LNC meetings are open to Party members. However, participation is not permitted except by majority vote of the committee.”*

*“G. REPORT OF GENERAL COUNSEL: At the request of the General Counsel and approval of a majority of the LNC, any portion of an LNC meeting in which he or she delivers a report on pending legal matters that he or she deems subject to an attorney-client or attorney work product privilege shall be closed to all persons other than LNC members, alternates, invited employees, and special counsel. All persons present at a closed session shall keep the information discussed at the closed session strictly confidential, except as otherwise permitted by a majority vote of the LNC.”*

Controversy has now arisen as to the propriety of some of the Executive Session events. Posting on LPUS-MISC@dehnbases.org on 9/26/2002, Regional Representa-

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tive Joe Dehn of California responded:

*Our standing rule is (LNCPM I.1.B) that \_except\_ for such cases [GP: something subject to attorney-client privilege], meetings are to be open. It could be argued that at least one, and probably two, of the executive sessions at the Chicago meeting were held in violation of this rule.*

Defending to the same list the LNC decision to meet in executive session, Regional Representative State Trinward opined: *"the "challenging finances" issue was presented during one of the sessions, so the LNC members could at least have a little time to react to the news ... and so the LNC could as a body figure out how to present that news in a somewhat hopeful light ... TO THE PUBLIC!*

*"Also, since one of the problems involved was the lack of confidence that the current balance statements reflected the situation accurately, it made NO sense to publicize BEST GUESSES as the true facts about the party's condition. The delay in presenting the picture was necessary in order to present an accurate ballpark statement, despite iffy numbers ... but the LNC itself needed to know how bad it MIGHT be"*

and furthermore

*" ... The point I am making is this: (a) There was some very disturbing news to be presented; (b) Only a couple of people knew about it, and they knew the rest of the LNC was not going to be pleased; (c) part of the Executive Session's purpose was to present these details (which were in themselves only partially reliable -- as YOU YOURSELF KNEW from the Executive Committee minutes, which WERE published CONSIDERABLY before the latest LNC meeting!), allow the LNC members to react as volubly or angrily as they chose to (and some of us did, indeed!) .. and THEN compose themselves before opening the doors again."*

To your editor, we appear not to have changed from 2001, when a major stated reason for going to quarterly FEC filings was that members were reading them to see how the Party was being managed, and drew from this the conclusion that members should be provided with less information. We'll have more on this as it develops.

*(Continued from page 1) [Where Your Money Went]*

Senate campaign raised \$19,181 (year total, \$133,960) and spent \$32,650 (year total, \$143,723). Major expenses include \$782.75 for each of four ads in LP News (paid on 7/15) and \$17,500 for Yard Signs to Signs Unlimited.

The Howell for Governor raised \$1463 and \$6886 in the first and second half of July, \$8446 and \$3216 in the first and second half of August, and \$1915 in the first half of September, which after expenses left it with \$2454 cash on hand. Expenses included \$17,500 for yard signs to Signs Unlimited, \$5000 for postage, \$1565 to the LNC, and \$1700 to Massachusetts activist William Pacheco.

In the 19th century, open ballots were more common. They defended graft and corruption. A politician could identify his friends and enemies, and see which civil servants stayed bought. What are they doing in modern Massachusetts?

## Free State Project

The Free State Project is an organized program to advance toward a Libertarian Society by identifying a state such as Wyoming or Hew Hampshire and persuading Libertarian political activists to move to that one state. The hope is that one could attain a critical mass of activists so as to be able to have a large-scale political influence. The example of San Francisco, in which the resident gay population has a large political influence because they have become a large voting block, come to mind. The Project is currently concerned with identifying the best state to concentrate upon, and with finding enough Libertarians who will consider committing to move there.

A press release from Jason Sorens describes the current state of affairs: (<jason.sorens@yale.edu>)

...The total number of FSP members has passed 1,000 and the rate of new memberships continues to build steadily. The FSP was recently endorsed by prominent economist Walter Williams in his nationally syndicated column; he then discussed the issue on FOX's Hannity & Colmes show. This produced a blizzard of interest from across the nation.

The FSP website continues to improve with detailed state-by-state analysis on everything from the climate to the economy. In April 2002 we were averaging about 170 unique visitors a day. In May the number climbed to 279 a day. Then came Dr. Walter E. Williams' endorsement and traffic skyrocketed to an average of over 1,100 visitors a day in August. On August 7th, the day Dr. Williams' syndicated column appeared, the site had over 7,000 visitors! The site is still averaging nearly 700 visitors a day.

We have several major publicity projects such as a membership mailing. We also need to undertake more advertising. We will be placing a full-page ad on the back cover of the November edition of "Liberty." We want to follow that ad up in "Reason," "Liberty," "LP News," "The New American," "The Free American," and "Chronicles." Once we've achieved name recognition in the libertarian and constitutionalist community, we need to do professional mailings to rented lists. Finally, we want to set up a regular hard-copy newsletter.

But all of this is very expensive! Our first membership mailing will cost \$4000, and advertising will cost at least \$1200 per month. We have never asked every member to donate something to the cause. We are doing so now.

Please make your check out to "Free State Project" and mail it to: Debra Ricketts, Treasurer, Free State Project, 565 College Drive, Suite #C-160, Henderson, NV 89015.

Jason P Sorens  
President, Free State Project