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Who Is the PVLA?

Regular meeting attendees and their activism (All regular attendees, not a sample) John Brickner: State Chair, LA-MA (1996), Wales Finance Committee, Planning Board.

Sally Howes: Regular Member, LPMA State Committee

Alex Knapp -- LPMA State Committee

Carol McMahon -- Candidate, State Senate, 2002 Treasurer, Wilcox 2000 Campaign. Member, LPMA State Committee

Heather McMahon: Petitioner, Volunteer U.S. Army Reserves (at age 17)

Alvin See: State Committee, Flood Commission

Charles Separk: Campaign Volunteer; Candidate, 2002, to be announced.

Michael Serafin: Co-founder, WMLP/PVLA, petitioner, 1996 "Browne Out" Campaign, outreach for re-legalization events.

Bob Underwood: Took out nomination papers for Mayor of Springfield; Translator for Spanishlanguage CMLC web pages.

Nicole Underwood: Campaign maanger for Bob Underwood

Shirley Underwood: Petitioner, campaign sup-

Pit Warren: Candidate, State Senate, 1998; Chair PVLA 1998, 1999

Pam Warren: Campaign worker for many.

Richard W Watras Jr: Easthampton: Town Meeting Member, Zoning Board of Appeals, Update Task force of Zoning, Recycle Committee, Water Committee MA and NH Coordinator for Harry Browne 2000; Chairman LP Hampshire County; Chair, Easthampton Town Committee; CoFounder, Franklin County LP Association.

(Who Are We? Continued on page 2)

Arizona Libertarian **Party Convention**

January 19, 2002

...Jason Auvenshine

National Chair Debate(Phillies, Neale, Israel)

All the national chair candidates appeared to be de-dicated Libertarian activists. Unfortunately, I have to be honest and say that I came away from this debate wanting to vote "NOTA". No one won the debate, stood head and shoulders above all the others, or convinced me that they had a workable plan and the ability to lead the party in a successful direction. I find it most likely that Eli Israel will actually win the election, simply because he is clearly the most able internal politician of the three. With no one standing head and shoulders above the competition, the election will come down to the politics of cha-risma, endorsements, favors, ads in LP news, and direct mail to delegates. Just the way it goes, and Eli seems to me to be the best at working that sort of thing.

The Strategic Plan

Mike Dixon did an excellent job presenting national's strategic plan. I think it's good that we have a plan...But in my opinion the real purpose of a strategic plan is to guide the tough choices that must be made (and inevitably piss some people off). I'm not sure this plan is anywhere near specific enough to guide those tough choices at the margin -- where they matter. For instance, do we spend the last \$100 donation on trying to recruit more party members, send training materials to activists, or advertise against the drug war? Nothing I've seen of the plan offers guidance to questions like that, other than the severely less-than-helpful "yes". Because of the general lack of applicability to specific questions facing the party, I suspect the plan will have little impact on party direction, which is a shame considering the cost that it took to put it together.

The Banquet/Fundraiser

Carla Howell and Michael Cloud struck me as genuinely committed to libertarian ideals and not just "slick con artists" as they have been portrayed by some others. That said, I found them both rather uninspiring as candidates and speakers, and remain unconvinced that their approach to Libertarian politics is the way to gain any real freedom.

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Support Liberty! Subscribe to Let Freedom Ring!

[Who We Are] (Continued from Page One)
Al Wilcox -- Candidate, State Rep, 2000 and 2002

George Phillies: Candidate, US Congress, 1998. Party nominee for U.S. Senate, 1996. ExecutiveDirector, LAMA (2nd 2/3 of 1996), Treasurer, Wilcox and McMahon 2002 campaigns. Editor, Let Freedom Ring! (circulation, this issue, 400), Chair PVLA 2000-present

And there are the occasional visitors:

David Euchner: Candidate, U.S. Congress, 2000; Campaign Manager, Mathias State Rep. Campaign, 2001

Terry Franklin: Candidate, State Rep., 1996, 2000; Organizer, the Extravaganja (Amherst relegalization rally, yearly; Organizer, Amherst relegalization initiative (on ballot@ 10% of voters required to sign petition; passed)

Ilana Freedman: Cofounder, Liberty Land Trust, Candidate, U.S Congress, 2002; Billerica Conservation Commission, Billerica Arts Council, Middlesex Canal Commission, Billerica Master Planning Committee, Billerica Industrial Development Financing Authority; Director of the Billerica Chamber of Commerce; Candidate, U.S. Congress 2002.

Richard Freedman: Town Meeting Representative 2000, 2001. Candidate (State Rep. 1996, 1998; School Committee 1999). LPMA State Committee 2000-present Candidate, LNC At Large, 2002.

Richard Herchenreder: Franklin County Coordinator for Harry Browne 2000; Founder and Chair of Franklin County Libertarian Association; co-Founder, Hampshire County Libertarian Association.

Keith Langford: campaign volunteer

Paul Norton: Candidate, State Representative, 1999

Stan and Patty Shaw: owners, 4liberty.net the libertarian web address; web page providers, PVLA (www.pvla.net, www.wmlp.org) and Central Massachusetts Liberty Coalition (www.cmlc.org).

That's everyone, I think. We also occasionally have onetime visitors who we are delighted to meet.

As you can see, PVLA members are almost all real activists. *You can get this standard of performance in your local group, too!* Don't expect overnight miracles. If a few people in your group keep talking up: Get things done for the party, stand up for liberty by running for office, get things done rather than talking about libertopia, *and lead by example!*...it will happen. It did for the PVLA, and it can for your organization. The change takes time, effort, and consistency to achieve, but you, too, can do it.

...George Phillies Chair, PVLA)

[ALPI State Convention] (Continued from Page 1)

The topic of Howell's speech would have appealed even to the most hard-core among us: a defense of pure "bold" libertarian solutions against watering down the message and incrementalism. However, Howell's speech was in my opinion shallow, trite, and drearily repetitive -- as it was the only other time I have heard her, at the 2000 national LP convention. Howell's most important attribute as a candidate seems to be a willingness to work her tail off in campaigns and actually make these boring speeches over and over again, which is hard to find in this party. Must speeches be shallow and repetitive to appeal to a mass audience? I don't know, but if so then Howell has it nailed.

Cloud's fundraising was predictably annoying, but as the numbers show it was also pretty effective. Must "generalized" fundraising (as opposed to fundraising for specific projects which may be exciting on their own) be annoying to be successful? Unfortunately, I think so. The wider question is whether this money would be better raised and spent by individual candidates and projects than the party itself. Over the years I've become a much bigger fan of spending money on specific candidates and projects that seem useful to me personally, rather than simply "the party" and whatever its leaders and structure determine is useful.

I would add that I observed the same unfortunate "Jekyll and Hyde" behavior in Howell and Cloud that I have observed in so many other Libertarians. They seem nice...are nice...until something—a casual remark from someone they would seem to consider an ally—set them off. Then some internal switch flips and they're like pit bulls on a vicious attack going for the jugular. It leaves you wondering if these are nasty people who are just generally good at acting nice, or nice people with an unfortunate personality disorder. Of course the truth of the matter is that individuals defy such neat binary categorizations. Nevertheless, this "Jekyll and Hyde" pattern of behavior is endemic to the Libertarian party to an extent that I haven't observed in any other organization with which I have been involved. It cuts across all the traditional divisions in the party.

In response to questions about the Jekyll and Hyde paragraph, Auvenshine answered to the LPAZ list:

"After nearly everyone had left the banquet, a few folks were standing around talking. Someone made an offhand remark that Harry Browne shouldn't have sent his latest email response to the ethics charges of Hornberger et. al. Not because anything in Browne's email was actually wrong...just because the whole matter had died down and was rapidly fading away, and Harry had just stirred it all up again. Both Howell and Cloud went ballistic at this comment."

Author Disclaimer: These comments are *not* the official minutes of the meeting. If you are interested in seeing the official minutes, you should contact the ALP, Inc. secretary John Zajac. These are simply the facts I consider relevant, along with some of my uncensored opinions.

Editor Disclaimer: I am a candidate for National Chair; as he notes, Mr. Auvenshine is not a supporter of my campaign.

The Phillies Speech

This is the prepared text of my stock speech. It's not a transcript. It's been polished to reflect questions I get.

Good afternoon:

We have John Ashcroft as Attorney General. He has a secret goal. Unfortunately, his secret goal is to make Janet Reno look great! Between his enhanced war on drugs, military tribunals that don't hang American citizens...yet, and the national ID card disguised as a driver's license...

He's ahead of schedule.

It's time for a change.

Once upon a time, when Americans saw someone in uniform turn to a private citizen and say "Your papers, please?" they knew they were watching a motion picture. Now they now they're in an American Airport, and Constitutional protections are out the window.

It's time for a change.

Not so long ago, we heard well intentioned statements from fellow Libertarians that our party would soon have 100,000, 200,000, even 400,000 members. That our Presidential candidate would get 5% of the vote. That we would be seen as serious challengers for control of congress by 2004.

Those were wonderful dreams. Then we woke up.

It's time for a change.

I'm George Phillies, Chairman of the Pioneer Valley Libertarian Association.

I'm here to bring you that change.

Not by myself. I'll need your help. Twice.

First, our Party needs your sweat and tears, your best ideas and your hard work. You're a delegate-activist. You've already given.

Second, this Summer I need your vote in Indianapolis. Remember, in Indianapolis we'll have elimination voting. Even if I'm not your first choice, please keep me in mind as your second choice.

Third (of two) *send me no money*. Our party needs campaigns for **public** office. Please invest in *them*.

I mentioned the Pioneer Valley Libertarian Association. We're the oldest local Libertarian group in Massachusetts. Our members hold local public office. They hold Party office. They run for state legislature and U.S. Congress.

We have two secrets to success. Number One—Tolerance.

Tolerance? Massachusetts has a public campaign finance law. Candidates can take money for their campaigns, or turn it down. Some members would take it. Others won't. We don't turn disagreement into a Holy War. We may disagree, but we still help each others' campaigns.

Number Two—Work Yes, we meet over dinner. We meet to do things, not to talk. Almost every person at a meeting is an activist. [List, Page One.]

OK, once upon a time, we talked about philosophy. Like the 70s college student who dropped acid and had a bad trip, we haven't felt a need to do it again. We do real projects. Are we successful? National Party Membership is falling. We just had our second-largest meeting ever.

I could talk about my past. In 1998 I ran for Congress. I debated both opponents a dozen times. One debate went out on CSPANII, at 7PM EST. WJAR-TV said won the Attleborough debate. I edit Let Freedom Ring!, the _news_ letter for Libertarians, which many of you have seen. For back issues, www.cmlc.org. I organized the only Libertarian PAC in Massachusetts and the Liberty Congressional PAC. I'm treasurer for two state legislative campaigns.

I'm here to talk about the future. Our future. Our Party's future.

Where are we? Membership is falling like a rock. National Party fundraising is imploding. Membership recruiting letters have stopped recruiting members.

It's time for a change, while there is still time to change.

To do better, we need a strategy. That strategy is Local Organization, described in my book "Stand Up for Liberty!" You can read from that book at my web site, www.cmlc.org.

Local Organization has local, state, and national aspects. I'm running for National Chair. Here are National issues.

Honesty, Integrity, Fundraising: Point One. Perception matters. To change perceptions for the better we need drastic change, not recycling old ideas. Point Two. Keep your money right here. Keep your money where you can see where it went, where you can personally speak to people if you dislike what was done with it. Point Three. The National Committee must lead by example. Members have been swamped with promises of FEC lawsuits, real chances of victory... Too few objectives were attained. Yes, politics is not rocket science. The perception remains: too many unkept promises. Too many dollars down the drain. Point Four. Fundraise from non-Libertarians on common interests.

The cure is conspicuous, painfully honesty. Those bimonthly fundraising letters? *Elect me Chair* and each letter will tell you its costs. You'll get detailed reports of how we

spent your money. Visible honesty is believable honesty.

Incitement: Many people become activists because someone asked them to. To get someone to run for office than to tell them face to face 'you can do a better job than that crook, and I'll work on your campaign.' The National Office can set a culture that expects activism, just the way the PVLA does. Every Party outlet should speak with one voice: Good Libertarians get active in politics. Here are people who got active. You can do it, too. Those fundraising letters? Use some to activate volunteers, not dollars.

Elect me National Chair...

and I'll use the Party machine to incite members and registrants to get as active as the people in this room.

Special Interest Groups: When a Democrat runs for Congress, she counts on National Abortion Rights Action League support. Ditto for a Republican and the NRA. One reason our opponents win is the support of 'special interest groups'. We need Libertarian Special Interest Groups. The National Party can't run them, but it can find volunteers, get them together, and provide the financial seed corn needed to get special interest groups off the ground.

Elect me National Chair...

and I'll help us get the Special Interest Groups our candidates need.

Local Organization If you're in a big city, you can find other Libertarians, meeting sites, printers,... What if you're 50 miles out in the country. One solution: run for office. Ask your friends, neighbors, parishioners—people who know and trust you—for their support. Don't rely on your fellow Libertarians for everything. While your friends,... work on your campaign, they'll hear about our sound Libertarian solutions their problems. Campaigns need support. Wouldn't it be helpful for many Libertarians to be able to fill in a few blanks on a form, attach a check, and have a printer ship them campaign materials?

Elect me National Chair...

and I'll get our candidates and campaign groups the support materials, training, and encouragement that will give them stronger campaigns.

Time is short. When you choose the new National Chair, remember:

I talked about specifics, not blue sky goals without paths to reach them. I talked about building a real foundation for a strong Party. I talked about our Massachusetts secrets of success—tolerance and hard work.

\If you want more of the approaches of the last half-decade, I have opponents. But if you like what you've heard, if you want a National Chair who commits to specifics, if you want a National Chair who will tell you the truth even when it hurts,

Vote Phillies! for National Chair Because it's time for a change.

News Notes

The LPMA State Convention is approaching. Of the National Chair candidates, LPMA Chair Elias Israel is master of ceremonies. Geoff Neale is an invited speaker on a neutral topic, because Eli was invited to speak at the Texas convention. Candidates for the LNC were not invited to speak.

Long-time Massachusetts activist Walter Ziobro sent a public letter to Massachusetts Libertarians on the forthcoming campaign season, saying:

"Whence 3%?

As the political season heats up, I am becoming worried that excessive self-confidence could cost the LPMA it's ballot status this year. As all of you should know, we need to get 3% of the vote for a state-wide office to keep our status as a major party. As of right now, I know of only candidates for governor, lieutenant governor, and US senator. None of the other state-wide offices have any Libertarians running for them. As it has historically been most difficult to get 3% at the head of the ticket, the real possibility exists that the LPMA will fail to maintain its status this year.

There seems to be a presumption that Jane Swift is a weak candidate who will fade and allow Carla to coast to a large margin. I think this is wrong. Jane Swift is no Jack Robinson. She is tough and smart and will kick ass when the race calls for it. Carla will be lucky to get 2% in my opinion. Also, the likelihood that Michael Cloud will get more than 1% is pretty small. Unknown candidates for US Senate rarely break the 1% barrier.

Consequently, Libertarians **must** field at least one strong candidate for one of the other state-wide offices to get the needed 3%."

Where Your Money Went

Our most popular column reports:

Carla Howell for Governor, December 2001: Took in \$20,491, spent \$8730, and had \$13,322 on hand on 12/31. Spending included Dave Rizzo (consulting) \$4315 [Rizzo is presently Eli Israel's campaign manager], Kay Pirello \$1750, Celeste Parent \$1500, Liberty Publishing \$765, Kinko's \$207 for fundraising letter, and various bank and finance charges. Source: MA State Government.

Libertarian National Committee: Our friends not where some people would think sent us reports from the National Committee on fundraising,... The September fundraising letter (budgeted to raise \$85,000) brought in \$38,100 by late December at a cost of \$15,100. The November letter (not sent to top-1000 donors) by late December brought in \$14,735 at a cost of \$14,899. The Fall membership recruitment letter brought in 495 responses (responses are not all members) and \$20K, 1/4 to 1/8 of prior response rates for the same mailing lists.