

Let Freedom Ring!

Volume 4 Number 12

Back Issues at <http://www.cmlc.org/cmlc/pubs.htm>

December 2002

Let Freedom Ring! Editorial (LPMA Party Leadership, Electoral Victories, LPUS Acts on Financial Challenges).....1; How We Got Gere, A Personal Opinion.....3; More Election Results.....4 **Libertarian Strategy Gazette:** What Staff Should You Hire? Next Steps for States.....1; What Do You Mean, You Can Win?.....2 Building Local Affiliates the New York Way, Bill of Rights Defense Committees.....3, Cleaning Up the Party/Positive Action Items for the LNC.....4; Campaign After Action Report (Max Pappas).....5; Thoughts on the Massachusetts Campaign.....6 After Action Report (Tamara Millay).....7 **Let Freedom Ring!/Libertarian Strategy Gazette** are edited and published by George Phillips, 87-6 Park Avenue, Worcester MA 01605, who is solely responsible for the contents, for the Pioneer Valley Libertarian Association (www.pvla.net) and others. Subscriptions are available from the PVLA, c/o Carol McMahon, 221 Bumstead Road, Monson MA for \$15/year (\$13 for persons attending PVLA meetings regularly). Checks payable "PVLA", please.

Editorial

LPMA Party Leadership

Although this commentary pertains mainly to the recent elections in Massachusetts, I hope it might also have some degree of application in other states.

First, I do sincerely congratulate all of the courageous people who ran for office under our banner. It took great fortitude to carry on with the arduous tasks involved in participating in an election. As you reflect on your campaign, might you consider asking the question: Were you helped or hindered by the label Libertarian?

In the state of Massachusetts we ran a ticket of very attractive candidates, and supported a proposition that nearly won approval. This proposition was the one Carla Howell had written. It sponsored a drive to end our state income tax. It should have won and would have won, had not the two major parties in combination with many major unions, including the teachers union and other pro tax and spend groups worked diligently to stop this initiative.

We in Massachusetts were fortunate to have Carla Howell and Michael Cloud heading our tickets. Both are bright and attractive candidates. Both are articulate spokespersons for the Libertarian party. Yet, neither did very well when the final count was made.

For some reason Carla got caught in her mantra, "Small government is beautiful." In the public debates she failed to respond to many of the questions put to her by other candidates. Sadly, she kept falling back on the mantra and then saying "Read my web page." I am not sure what happened to her, but as a commentator on the WBZ radio station from Boston said, "It appeared she needed a cue card to remember her name. The same commentator, who by the way has a history of being kind to the Libertarians, said something to the effect that if Ms. Howell was asked if the Red Sox need a new outfielder she would respond by saying, "Small government is beautiful." He was pointing to Carla's lack of clear responses

[Editorial](Continued on page 2)

Electoral Victories

and Steps in the Right Direction

Bonnie Flickinger was re-elected to the Moreno Valley City Council, where she has served as mayor. Max Pappas of Massachusetts lost 55-32-13. His Campaign Manager gave us an after-action report, below. James Dan of Nevada lost 65-35. He was subject to a hit piece based on our platform.

14 Californians were elected to local office, 8 in races for local, non-partisan offices, including Community Services Districts, Recreation and Park Boards, School Boards, and Health Care Districts. Vermont activist Hardy Macia was elected as Justice of the Peace, finishing sixth of seven winners (there were 5 losers).

In Wisconsin, Ed Thompson won 10.4% of the vote, one of the best results ever by a Libertarian for Governor facing both a Democrat and a Republican. Four California statewide LP candidates won over 2% of the vote, including Gary Copeland

[Libertarians Get Votes](Continued on page 2)

Libertarian Party Acts on Financial Challenges

Resolution to LPUS Members Passes, Is Not in LP News; Motion To Create Political Steering Group Passes 8-7

At the September Libertarian National Committee meeting, whose minutes have just now reached the web, Committee Member Dixon moved adoption of a resolution:

"The Libertarian Party, like many non-profits, has experienced a downturn in fund-raising over the last 12 months. Though many special projects have been successful, and Libertarian Party candidates across the country are succeeding like never before, the national office fund-raising appeals have underperformed.

Based on this knowledge, the LNC has taken steps to control costs at the national office, and is working with our vendors to improve our cash position. The LNC asks for the understanding and support of

[LNC Acts](Continued on page 3)

Support Liberty! Subscribe to Let Freedom Ring!

Let Freedom Ring!

(Continued from page 1) [Editorial]

during the debates. It is my contention that this hurt all of the other Libertarians in the State. The tragic element in this is that Carla has fully developed answers to all of the questions posed to her, but failed to make use of them. A friend said to me, "If only she told me how she would support the state without an income tax, I might have voted for her and the no tax movement."

Carla, who was the most visible of all the Libertarian candidates, did hurt the other candidates by her actions. But I do not blame her.

I heard Michael Cloud speak many times in the past. He is a dynamic speaker, with well-organized positions and a charismatic way of expressing them. Yet, he too failed badly. His failure was caused by trying to run a one-issue campaign. He ran wonderfully well on the traditional drug platform of our Libertarian party. It appears he failed to recognize Senator Kerry, his opponent, has always been a tax and spend democrat. He should have been called to task by Michael on these issues. To top it off, when Michael thought he was not getting his just media coverage, he went on a hunger strike, which did nothing but brand him as a strange duck, and lead voters to brand the party as made up of strange ducks.

The problems of Carla and Michael are reflective of the problems of the party nationally and in Massachusetts. I took a small sample of our candidates in the recent election. None of them got any real support from our state's leadership. In most cases there was not even a phone call wishing the candidates good luck. The candidates had to gut it out on their own. We elect officers to lead. There was no leadership. I'll bet never did a team of our leaders sit with Carla or Michael and reflect any concern about their campaigns other than possible fund raising. I wonder how many times our leadership coached Carla in handling a debate. I wonder how many times they reviewed the past debate with Carla to strengthen her next debate. I wonder how many times our leadership offered help and guidance in speech writing. I wonder how many times our leadership offered advice on the safe and sane ways to get media coverage. I wonder how many times our leadership provided help in designing flyers and letters. I wonder how many times our leadership said to Michael or Carla, maybe you ought to consider another tack. I wonder how often our leadership worked to foster the name "Libertarian".

Sadly, nationally and in Massachusetts our Party did not do well this past November. In Massachusetts it is clear much of the blame for this failure must lie in the laps of our leadership. All Libertarians must look carefully at our leaders as we try to advance our Party and its glorious principles.

The failure of our party lies not with any candidate. The problem is totally due to the lack of real leadership to the party in this state. This is a call for us to rethink our current leaders and find new and decisive people who will support and guide and aid our next line of candidates.

...Charles A. Separk, PVLA

(Continued from page 1) [Libertarians Get Votes]

(Governor; 145,562 votes or 2.1%), Gail Lightfoot (Secretary of State), Dale Ogden (Insurance Commissioner), and Marian Smithson (Treasurer). Copeland appears to have set the partisan-candidate record for Libertarians running for Governor in California. Illinois gubernatorial candidate Cal Skinner won 2%. The much-heralded Carla Howell for Governor campaign earned 1% of the vote, putting her ahead of five LP Governor candidates, roughly tied with four others, and well behind at least fifteen Libertarians running for Governor.

California Congressional candidate Maad Abu-Ghazaleh, a Palestinian-American running against incumbent Democrat Tom Lantos got 7% of the vote. (The Republican campaign reportedly consisted mostly of standing on street corners with signs ridiculing Lantos as "the Hungarian Jew.") Other Libertarians doing well against Democratic and Republicans were: MA Ilana Freedman 6% 11,663; CO Biff Baker 6% 11,181; AZ Edwin Port 5% 8,471; WA Rob Chase 5% 7,443; UT Kitty Burton 5% 5,405; CA Kelley Ross 5%, 5,128; IL Maggie Kohls 5% 4,328; and AZ Amy Gibbons 5% 2,539. In Vermont, Hardy Macia won 22.5%, finishing third, in a four-way race for two seats in the state legislature. Jeff Foli of Missouri won 14.1% of the vote in a three-way race. Florida Libertarians running for State Legislature in two-way races finished with over 20% of the vote. Bumper Hornberger won 17% of the vote in his campaign for U.S. Senate in Virginia, losing to Republican John Warner and an independent Democrat. Around the country, Libertarian statewide initiatives failed, including the Dakota FIJA initiative, the Arkansas referendum ending taxes on food and medicine, and the Nevada referendum legalizing pot. The Green Party won 33 races on November 5, for a 2002 total of 66. They now have 171 elected officeholders, including a State Legislator, John Eder of Maine. In Wisconsin the Greens elected or re-elected 57 public officials. greens.org/elections/

Show Your Liberty Spirit!

Become

your name@4liberty.net

Now \$17/month

for Libertarians

Excell.net

Providers of Internet Services

http://excell.net/excellnet_national-dialups.htm

Dialup in most states and Canada.

Libertarian Owned

Libertarian Operated

Supporters of the

Pioneer Valley Libertarian Association

(Continued from page 1) [LNC Acts?]

our valued members and donors in this difficult time. With the continued support of our members, contributors, volunteers, and activists the LNC is confident that the Party will return to solid financial footing in the near future, and that it will remain a strong member driven organization serving its state affiliates."

Quoting from the LNC Debate on the Motion: Hough asked if we have ever announced something like this before. Nelson said there have been fundraising letters. Dehn said there have been crises including times when we didn't have LP News for several months. Neale said there was no motion that this would be published in LP News. but it will be in the minutes. [GP: Indeed, it was quoted on elists.] He said this is a statement that people can quote. Scott said there is a crisis of confidence among the membership and that one thing we need to do is acknowledge our position. Trinward said we need to be pro-active about several issues. He said we need to make a statement but in a way that diffuses rumors. Gorman said that it would reinforce the statement if we could say that the LNC has pledged \$100 each or something that says we are putting our money where our mouth is. Nelson said that he does not see a crisis of confidence and speculated that it was because people in his region are doing political things. Dasbach cited statistics from the survey of members on the question of whether they thought the LP was headed in the right direction. The motion passed on a voice vote.

LNC At-Large Member Don Gorman offered a motion, which with amendment reads:

"That the LNC create a Political Steering Committee of up to 5 people, at least one a current member of the LNC, to assist, review, and recommend strategies and procedures for the Political Director of the national Libertarian Party. This committee shall be charged with assisting Libertarians in getting elected to public office, consistent with the goals of the LNC. This committee shall advise the national Political Director on actions, procedures, and policies."

In defense of his motion Gorman said as quoted in the Minutes: "he felt it was essential to get something like this in front of the LNC. He said he has been putting on seminars around the country and has a lot of experience in the real world of politics. He said he doesn't intend to run for office again, he thinks that helping other candidates is the best way he can help the LP, and that he is doing this because the Political Director does not have procedures for getting people elected to office. He said the policy of running many candidates for Congress was not useful, that candidates don't get the training they need, and that the Political Director has been spending his efforts on fundraising rather than candidate support."

The motion passed on a vote of 8 to 7. The Minutes failed to report that the Chair cast the tie breaking vote. Reports reaching **Let Freedom Ring!** indicate that opposition came from long-time members still associated with the ways that the Party has been run for the past decade.

The LNC also discussed cash flow reporting. National Chair Geoff Neale reportedly asked if "it would be satisfactory if Martin just forwarded that to the LNC." According to the Minutes, Martin was supposed to annotate the report before proceeding. Unlike other reports to the LNC, the cash flow statements are by report to be kept confidential.

The UMP payments made to many state parties were also discussed. According to the Minutes, "Neale said that as the Executive Director he considers the UMP payments our highest obligation and the last option for deferral of payments in a timely manner."

Since the July 2002 National Convention, Party Membership has fallen by 1284 people or 5.1%, to 23812 members. Membership in our native Massachusetts is down to 710.

How We Got Here A Personal Opinion, and Some Data

From 1992 until 2002 the Libertarian Party of the United States was substantially under the guidance of a single clique of party activists. That clique gave us two Presidential campaigns, three National Chairs, and two National Directors. It campaigned vigorously for the election of supportive National Committees.

Of all of the misfortunes that clique has visited upon Libertarians and their pocketbooks, none is worse than the management outcomes that they brought to the National Party.

Misfortune began in 1998, when clique member David Bergland ran for National Chair, promising the National Party "Project Archimedes" that would bring the National Party 50,000, 100,000, or even 200,000 new members. The National Party is now smaller than when Project Archimedes was launched. Indeed, membership growth slowed as soon as the Project Archimedes began. On June 27, 1998, Party membership was 27,938. Over the term of the most recent LNC, Party Membership fell:

July 2000 -- 32,255
January 2001 -- 32,922
July 2001-- 30,622
January 2002 -- 27,731
July 2002 -- 25,039

This is a 24% loss over a two year period. We are now below 24,000 members. The fall has continued since the 2002 National Convention, even though most members have no real idea that the National Party faces challenges.

Let Freedom Ring!

(Continued from page 3) [How We Got Here]

Under the leadership of David Bergland and James Lark, party income also fell. From the Party's FEC reports, for half year periods:

LNC Income (millions)	First 1/2	Second 1/2
1998	1.334	1.184
1999	1.450	1.233
2000	1.604	1.726
2001	1.082	1.037
2002	1.032	1??

All years are not equally comparable. The off-Presidential election years 1998 and 2002 match; in the first halves, income fell by a third from 1998 to 2002. The odd numbered years are comparable; income fell by more than 20% from 1999 to 2001. There are claims that the 2001 difficulties were caused by the September air attack on New York. The data does not support this. Except in Presidential election years, the LP always does better in the year's first half than in the second. In 2001 the decline in giving from the first to the second half was unusually *small*.

Declining income was complicated by poor fiscal management and a lack of response to reality. This issue was raised by National Treasurer Tuniewicz, who in his December 9, 2000 Treasurer's Report to the LNC noted that in the past three years there had been a diverging discrepancy between budgeted and actual revenues, namely (all \$ sums in millions)

Year	Budgeted	Actual	Shortfall	%
1998	2.669	2.434	0.264	10%
1999	3.644	2.689	0.954	26%
2000	5.119	3.5(est)	1.6	32

For 2001 and 2002, actual income was in the range 2-2.1 million dollars, while budgeted income was in excess of 3 million dollars. Your author attended the December 2001 meeting at which the 2002 budget was approved. In the face of a 2001 budget that estimated over 3 million in income, and actually had only 2 million, the LNC simply allowed that 2002 would be different.

How can you identify members of the clique that did this to us? Many of their members are fond of a few phrases: **"professionalization"** Real professionalism is based on doing things well, for the right reasons. "Professionalization" is the process of converting limited Libertarian donations into income streams to the clique and friends and giving them additional paid mouthpieces. **"unbreakable teamwork based on consensus"** The consensus comes from on high. The 30's phraseology for this approach, from another political party, is 'democratic centralism'. **"That's micromanagement!"** (pejorative). Micromanagement' generally consists of asking perceptive questions or insisting that sensible acts for the good of the Party rather than the good of the clique be undertaken.

Taken from my recent column in Liberty for All, www.libertyforall.net

Meanwhile Wales, Massachusetts, where the PVLA was founded, continues to be a Libertarian stronghold, including: Howell - 3.67%; Cloud - 24.62%; Jain - 11.07% McMahon - 26.06%

More Election Results

We are advised via Richard Winger: This month, Libertarian candidates for the office at the top of the ballot (generally, Governor; for states without a Governor, then US Senate) topped 1,000,000 votes for the first time ever. With many state returns still incomplete, the total is about 1,100,000. We had never even hit 500,000 votes for the most important office, except in 1980 for president when we got 921,199, and in 1994 when we got about 520,000 for the top-most offices.

From other sources: Recent New York races show the apparent lack of importance of the alleged "wasted vote" effect. Comparing the runaway Democrat race for Attorney General with the very close race for Comptroller, one finds

Attorney General

Eliot L. Spitzer, Dem	2,580,452	66%
Dora Irizarry, GOP	1,173,715	30%
Daniel A. Conti Jr., Lib	23,325	1%

Comptroller

Winner Name	Vote count	Vote %
Alan G. Hevesi, Dem	1,960,277	50%
John Faso, GOP	1,843,468	47%
James Eisert, Lib	20,846	1%

The closeness of the Comptroller race corresponds to a drop of under 15% in the Libertarian vote.

From North Carolina, we have forwarded via Lee Wrights the results of a computer search for "Libertarian" in news articles. The search covered 8/05 - 11/05/02; comparisons are with the same dates in 2000. We have: Headlines: 18 (80% increase); Headlines and Lead Paragraph: 96 (74% increase); Full Text: 277 (44% increase).

In Wyoming, Marie Brossman, running for Secretary of State, received 29,000 votes, or 17% of the total. This gives the LP Major party Status, and means that they will nominate via closed primary rather than convention. A supporter of Libertarian Dan Belforti, candidate for Congress in New Hampshire, reports receiving two high-quality pro-Belforti fliers from the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee. One was Pro-Second amendment and the other was opposed to increasing property taxes. Belforti asks if other Libertarians have ever heard of this in previous elections. The flier compares Belforti with the Democrat and Republican, who are cast as ("Supports Gun Control" and ("Voted to increase gun license fees")

Shrieks of pain are heard from Republicans, who claim we cost them four Governors and a Senator or three. The Republicans assume Libertarians prefer them to Democrats. Exit polling from the Oregon Governor's race shows our man attracted voters equally from D and R parties [http://www.ore-gonlive.com /commentary/oregonian/index.ssf?xml/story.ssf/html_standard.xml?/base/editorial/10367683312_70180.xml](http://www.ore-gonlive.com/commentary/oregonian/index.ssf?xml/story.ssf/html_standard.xml?/base/editorial/10367683312_70180.xml) ...with thanks to Larry Savage as source.