

Liberty for America

Journal of the Libertarian Political Movement

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Crusading for Liberty Since 2008

June 2014

Editorial Your Vote Does Count Twice!

For decades, our position on voting has been:

Your Vote Counts Twice.
Once for your candidate.
Once for her stands.

Your support counts twice.
Once for the candidate.
Once for his party.

There is no stronger argument that no vote is ever thrown away. Every vote counts twice. Every vote advances the party for which the vote was cast.

Now we want to make that same rationale, in the opposite direction. All too often we encounter Libertarians who want to support some Democrat or Republican. Perhaps that Democrat or Republican takes a few Libertarian stands. Perhaps the candidate is a nice person.

The same principle applies. And from the record of the last decade, it is clear what that support means.

**When You Support a Republican,
you are supporting torture and war crimes.**

**When You Support a Democrat,
you are supporting war crimes and torture.**

In This Issue

Our Top Right opener *Welcome to Liberty for America* welcomes new readers and discusses our mission. Our Editorial *Your Vote Does Count Twice* explains why Libertarians should never support Republicans or Democrats. The column *Wonderful Libertarian News* reports on all the positive things that Libertarians around the country (and sometimes abroad) are doing. Our Editorial *De-Elect the LNC* speaks of the new, positive candidates for LNC, and then enumerates current and past LNC members who the delegates should reject. We recommend *Bylaws Changes* three positive alternations in Party Bylaws. Dianna Visek supplies us with *Secretarial Disappointments*, which is an extended discussion of difficulties with party archives. Our Perennial Favorite *Where Your Money Went*, repeatedly voted our favorite news coverage, reports on how the National Committee and the Johnson 2012 campaign spent their money. We continue to serialize *Stand Up for Liberty!* — plans for electoral victory.

Welcome to Liberty for America

Liberty for America (under various titles) is the country's oldest monthly newspaper covering libertarian party news. Electronic subscriptions are free. Go to LibertyForAmerica.com and click on the subscription page. We have a Federal PAC, the Liberty For America Political Action Committee. We actually spend our money doing politics. For example, here



is the 3x5 foot ad we ran in the DC subway system for two months, one month in the McPherson station that serves the White House and the National press Club. We also donate to ballot access and to the campaigns of Federal candidates.

We have a membership organization. Dues are \$15; they are good forever. We offer them because some people want to say that they are members.

What news do we cover? Good Libertarian news from around the country. Motivational articles on how politics is done. Libertarian internal politics. And, of course, our most popular and longest-running series "Where Your Money Went", reporting on campaign spending by the National Committee, state parties, and Federal candidates.

Wonderful Libertarian News

We continue to have wonderful news about our party's advances across America.

We have a National Convention at the end of June. We still have room for members to become National Convention delegates. The largest task of the National Convention is electing our National Convention for the next two years. What do you do as a delegate? Marc Montoni has written an excellent article with many links telling the full answer: independentpoliticalreport.com/2014/05/marc-montoni-so-you-want-to-be-a-national-delegate/

As of this date, only a few people have declared their candidacies for our National Committee:

Nick Sarwark of Colorado has announced for National Chair. He writes: "The Libertarian Party is at a crossroads. Our ideas are more popular than ever: What we need is quality leadership. After fifteen years of being active in the Libertarian Party, I have decided to seek the position of Chair of the Libertarian National Committee at the 2014 Libertarian National Conven-

tion in Columbus, Ohio. If elected as Chair, my goals are for the Libertarian Party to engage more in politics, provide support for the growth of state affiliates, and clearly position the Libertarian Party as the only choice for pro-freedom young people. We've spent too many years trying to attract Democrats and Republicans; it's time to start targeting young, unaffiliated voters. This is not a strategy to win the next election, or even the election after that. This is a strategy to become the dominant political party in 20 years."

Geoff Neale has announced that he is running for re-Election as Chair: "I have decided to seek re-election to the position of Chair of the Libertarian Party at our upcoming convention in Columbus, Ohio from June 26th to June 29th.

I have waited this long to announce because I think it's more important to fulfill the duties of Chair than to campaign. I don't anticipate doing much electioneering between now and then, because I intend on putting my priority on LP business first. For those of you who intend on being delegates to this convention, I would appreciate your support.

Arvin Vohra of Maryland has said he is running for Vice Chair. I quote him: "Hi all – After much thought, deliberation, and consultation with many Libertarians whose opinions I deeply respect, I have decided to run for Vice Chair of the Libertarian Party.

My goal is to make it very clear to the world what the Libertarian Party does: we cut government to improve people's lives. We are the only party in America dedicated to reducing, cutting, and downsizing government. It's time for us to become known as an action-oriented party, not an opinion-oriented party, and I believe that I can help accomplish this.

During my term as an At-Large member, I helped build up the LP's social media outreach, worked heavily on candidate training (with a lot of guidance from Carla Howell), and currently host the LP's radio show, which helps candidates let the world know what they will cut, and how that benefits average voters.

I also ran an LP social media internship program last summer, and intend to do so again this summer. As Vice Chair, I hope to take this to a much more advanced level, and help the Libertarian Party become the clear choice for those who want to cut government and advance liberty."

Mark Hinkle is reportedly running for Vice Chair. Starchild has apparently indicated that he is running for Vice Chair or for At-Large.

Texas

Kathie Glass is running hard as the Libertarian candidate for Governor. She is quoted as saying: "If you love liberty, Texas and the Constitution, I am not just another choice for Texas governor. I am your only choice. To resist an increasingly tyrannical and broken federal government, we must chart a new course away from Washington and outside the corrupt two-party system — corrupted by special interests. Greg Abbott is part of the cronyism that is the problem and is not part of the solution. And Wendy Davis is no better. She serves the toll

road special interests. The time will soon come when Washington is not just broken but totally collapsed. When that day arrives, Texas will be forced to do without things we rely on from the federal government — like over one-third of our state budget. Texas will have no choice but to stand on its own two feet, as we should have done all along."

The Texas LP has 132 candidates, and is running candidate training seminars.

North Carolina

Libertarian Sean Haugh is at 11% in his race for Governor against Democrat Kay Hagan and Republican Tom Tillis, who polled at 38 and 36, respectively. The poll by PPP surveyed 877 registered voters. While PPP is associated with progressive Democrats, their effort is unbiased analysis; in 2012 they were about the most accurate large polling operation. Votes supporting Haugh are split evenly between the other parties as their second choice. Unlike some other states, Libertarian supporters in NC tend to be conservative rather than liberal. Haugh draws evenly from whites and from African-Americans, and much more heavily from the under-45 than from the over-45 crowd.

Delaware

There are now 1,046 registered Libertarians in the Delaware, an increase of 11% from the same time last year. Scott Gesty gesty4congress.org is running for US Congress there. Long-time activist Steve Newton is running for State Representative.

DC

The House of Representatives had a bipartisan majority vote to eliminate the ability of the DEA to prosecute medical marijuana outlets. Senate and Presidential action are as of this typing still needed.

California

The Northern California Region reports a sighting of a police tank in the public streets. There is now a Bay Area Liberty on the Rocks group that meets in local bars. Joe Dehn reports that a list of California LP candidates may be found at libertarianpartisan.org/candidates.html

New Jersey

Governor Chris Christie edition.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/140110/sitroom.01.html 'this strain of libertarianism that's going through parties right now and making big headlines I think is a very dangerous thought'.

Liberty for America is edited by George Phillis, 48 Hancock Hill Drive, Worcester MA 01609 (508 754 1859). To Subscribe, go to LibertyForAmerica.com and click on the 'subscribe' button. Subscriptions, sent by email to your computer, are free. Back issues of **Liberty for America** magazine are available on the web at <http://LibertyForAmerica.com/LFAMagazine.htm>.

USA

In other news of the absurd, it seems that the U.S. Railway Retirement Board has its own SWAT Team.

Michigan

Their Statewide and Federal candidates are

US Senate: Jim Fulmer

Governor of Michigan: Mary Buzuma

Lieutenant Governor: Scotty Boman

Attorney General: Justin Altman

Secretary of State: Jamie Lewis

Supreme Court Justice: Kerry Morgan

District 1: Loel Gnadt

District 2: Kipp Welch II

District 3: NOTA

District 4: Will Tyler White

District 5: Hal Jones

District 6: Erwin Haas

District 7: Ken Proctor

District 8: James Weeks II

District 9: Greg Creswell

District 11: John Tatar

District 12: Bob Dhsyhria

District 13: Chris Sharer

District 14: Leonard Schwartz

May they all be victorious!

Editorial De-Elect the LNC

But first the positive side. Nick Sarwark is running for chair. He has an extended and highly positive record of service for the party. He represents the future, not the very old past. Vote for him.

Arvin Vohra is running for Vice Chair. He is one of the very few LNC members who has tried to get real work done. His Facebook efforts have brought new blood to our aging party. He will work well with Nick Sarwark. Elect him Vice Chair.

Doug Craig has served as Vicki Kirkland's alternate, a waste of his talents. Elect him as an At-Large LNC member.

Of the Regional Representatives, we note that Norm Olsen has regularly had coherent analyses of LNC proposals. We have not always agreed with him, but his analyses are regularly thoughtful and worthy of careful consideration. Dianna Visek has put real effort into watching whether the LNC was performing its key missions, for example spending its money effectively and maintaining its own minutes. Vicki Kirkland in her quiet way has stood up for the libertarian wing of the Libertarian Party. Rich Tomasso has sustained the terrible burden of being state chair in a state party that is not doing terribly well, through no fault of his.

Let's start with a few general issues. Over the much of the past decade, National Party membership and LNC income have been stagnant. Since 2007, Party membership has hovered near 14,000. There have been fluctuations from year to year, but the

trend is flat. Since the turn of the millennium, monthly party income has been on a downward trend, falling to \$80,136 in February 2014 and recovering a bit since. You will be hard-pressed to identify a current LNC member (though note Arvin Vohra) who has made concrete, systematic proposals that would improve upon these trends. The current LNC has had nearly two years to take positive action on membership and income. *It has failed to do so.* The LNC should not be re-elected.

The previous LNC had the same issues. Membership and income were stagnant. The only proposed solution was changing the honorifics given to persons who have given more than certain amounts of money in any particular year. That proposal has been postponed many times; it may be about to be put into effect.

In 2012, your fellow delegates refused to re-elect Mark Hinkle as Chair. They then rejected him for At-Large Membership. (He was later made an At-Large member by vote of the LNC.) A series of other LNC members became former members. Those decisions were sound and should be maintained.

We also note that at the last meeting Starchild proposed that Mr. Cloud should be asked to return the money that he had been paid. Starchild could not get a second for his motion. The remaining LNC members again show that they should not be re-elected.

We are not saying that the current LNC members are not good people. We are not saying that they are not good libertarians. We are saying that they have been tried, and measured, and have been found wanting for these particular jobs. When we say WE CAN DO BETTER, we simply mean that these people are not suitable persons for their positions.

Geoff Neale (Chair) is running for re-election. Neale apparently approved paying LNC At-Large member Michael Cloud \$38,800, as reported here in past issues. Cloud's pay rates as inferred by the LNC Audit Committee report are staggering. Neale's quixotic campaign to buy a building has apparently met with success. We are about to spend close to \$900,000 on an office in the DC area, when the same business space could be purchased elsewhere for far less. The LNC wasted significant time on Neale's ongoing dispute with Starchild, for example the episodes in which Neale insisted on addressing Starchild as 'Mister Starchild', leading to a prolonged parliamentary farrow. We evaluate Neale as WE CAN DO BETTER.

Lee Wrights will not be running for re-election. We are advised that he will not be attending the convention.

David Blau was elected to replace Ruth Bennett, who resigned when it became clear she was not doing her job. Dave is a good guy, but he simply is not delivering minutes to the members. See the report from Dianna Visek, below. We evaluate Blau as GOOD MAN IN WRONG SLOT.

Tim Hagan was recruited by Wes Benedict to run for Treasurer. Wes Benedict's candidate Hagan failed to alert the LNC to the

very large amounts being paid to LNC Member Michael Cloud. Hagan failed to detect significant failings in LNC FEC filings, notably according to the Audit Committee that substantial numbers of different expenditures were being amalgamated into a single line entry, and incorrectly claimed to be being paid to a single named vendor. As a result, the LNC has no way to tell how they had actually spent their money. The Treasurer's fiscal analysis and interpretation of February 2014 read "As Mr. Benedict noted at the LNC Meeting, we fell below reserve requirements for Feb: \$43,050.30 vs. Reserve Target of \$59,488.09." and provided no independent interpretation. It is noteworthy that Benedict had reported to the LNC that recent fundraising letters had done less than well; it does not appear that Hagan had warned the LNC on the letter-by-letter results. Finally, the recent Audit report makes abundantly clear that LNC spending has not been adequately monitored. Evaluation: Mr. Hagan is evaluated as WE CAN DO BETTER.

We note two motions from the last LNC meeting, one showing that Visek is a good candidate, and the other showing that Neale is not a suitable candidate. We quote from the March meeting reports on IPR: Dianna Visek has moved that Carla Howell be ordered to repay \$449.27 to the LNC to cover these items. [Items being personal objects that were shipped at party expense.] The motion was defeated 4-10 ; Hagan – no, Hinkle – no, Redpath – abstain, **Starchild – yes**, Johnson – no, **Visek – yes**, **Lark – yes**, Vohra – no, Tomasso – no, **Pojunis – yes**, Wiener – no, Goldstein – no, Kirkland – no, Olsen – no, Blau – no, Neale – abstain

Diana Visek moved to amend the building purchase proposal guarantee that the LNC pays the building off sooner, namely the motion would specify that the mortgage be paid off with a ten year amortization. The motion would tend to ensure that the LNC would not spend money on short-term issues, and end up after ten years with a huge balloon payment. Visek estimated that her motion would save the LNC \$265,000.

National Chair Neale responded by moving to take the \$65,000 proposed for Illinois ballot access, Illinois being Visek's home state, and spend the money instead on amortizing the mortgage. Neale's motion would have killed Illinois ballot access.

Mr. Cloud has gained some attention within the party for his fees as paid to him by the national party. He received more than \$38,000. **DO NOT RE-ELECT HIM.** *Do, however, listen to his audio tapes on selling Liberty.* They have helped vast numbers of libertarians become better salesmen for their party.

William Redpath and James Lark have spent many years on the LNC. As previously noted, Redpath's ballot access report for Massachusetts, on which we have direct information, appears to us to have been inaccurate. Lark continues to propose that the LNC should spend its time on identifying goals, such as increasing membership, but never proposes what should be done to attain his goals. Whatever these two were going to do for our party, they have long since done. It's time for change. **DO NOT RE-ELECT THEM.**

Mark Hinkle was National Chair for two years. During his term, membership and income were largely stagnant. During

his term, there were no substantial LNC political initiatives, no schemes for putting our message out to the voters. There was a great deal of back and forth about buying a building, but no result came to pass. Hinkle also appointed Carla Howell as Party Executive Director without an orthodox search.

Whatever your feelings about party financial outcomes, the recent issues in the Audit report stem back to Mark Hinkle's decision to make Carla Howell the Executive Director. Hinkle has pushed tirelessly for buying an office in the belly of the beast, someplace near Washington D.C., at several times the cost of an office located anyplace in most of the rest of America. The rationale, of course, is that the other major parties have D.C. offices, so we should do the same and it will turn us into a major party. This rationale shows a devout belief in sympathetic magic, as practiced by cargo cults around the world.

Cargo cults do not work in the real world, and cargo cult thinking will not work for us either. It will, however, waste hundreds of thousands of dollars we do not have. We evaluate Mark Hinkle as **UNFIT TO SERVE.**

Furthermore, readers will recall that some years ago the LNC voted to install the Reeves group as the Libertarian Party's Affiliate for Oregon. The vote was 12-5 in favor. Of the twelve, eight are off the LNC. The other four remain. Also, Hinkle as chair did not vote, but did not rule the motion out of order; he was effectively a fifth vote in favor. For the good of the party, four of these (Hinkle, Lark, Redpath, and Wiener) should promptly be voted off the LNC.

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Liberty for America will be performing political acts, and other activities that the Federal government calls "Federal Election Activity" and hence FEC-reportable. We must therefore funnel dues to our PAC, "Liberty for America". Dues will not be used to support candidates.

Your Donations are not tax deductible. Federal law requires us to request the occupation and employer of donors of \$200 or more in a year. Paid for by Liberty for America. Your donations may be used in relation to a Federal Election. We can only accept donations made by American citizens with their own money.

Bylaws Changes

We offer for your consideration three changes to the National Party Bylaws.

(1) Replace Roberts' Rules of Order with Francis and Francis' Democratic Rules of Order. The effect is to replace 500 or so pages of fine print with 72 pages of larger type. The LP of North Carolina has made this change already.

(2) To "4. The Chair shall preside at all Conventions and all meetings of the National Committee. The Chair is the chief executive officer of the Party with full authority to direct its business and affairs, including hiring and discharging of National Committee volunteers and paid personnel, subject to express National Committee policies and directives issued in the exercise of the National Committee's plenary control and management of Party affairs, properties and funds.

5. The Vice-Chair shall be the chief assistant to the Chair, performing such duties as the Chair shall prescribe, and holding such executive powers as the Chair shall delegate and shall perform the duties of the Chair in the event that the Chair is, for any reason, unable to perform the duties of the office."

add at the end of 4. The Chair may delegate to any Officer or At-Large member of the National Committee such executive powers as he chooses, except the power of delegation may not be delegated.

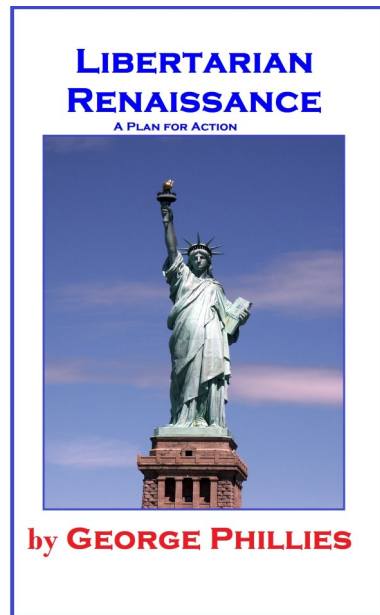
(3) Rename the Chair, Vice Chair, Secretary, Treasurer, and Executive Director as the National Chair, National Vice Chair, National Secretary, National Treasurer, and National Director. This change eliminates a perpetual source of minor confusions. Also, there is no reason to give our Chair a title not the same as that in use in other parties, in the absence of a distinction that we wish to emphasize.

Secretarial Disappointments

And here is an article mostly from Visek, keeping careful track of the situation with LNC minutes. You would think a committee's members would be concerned about the lack of minutes. To judge from the LNC-Discuss list the LNC membership has not been particularly concerned that minutes are this late, even though minutes are a key way that the Executive Committee corresponds with the National Committee and that the National Committee corresponds with the members.

The Libertarian National Committee has as a national officer a Secretary. This term, Secretarial performance was disappointing. Ruth Bennett was elected at the convention, did not get minutes out in a timely manner, and resigned as critics closed in on her. Replacement David Blau has been slow in reporting minutes of the LNC or its Executive Committee. Here is a report, as compiled by Dianna Visek. Note that minutes may go up at any time, so this list may become dated as the National Convention approaches. Nonetheless, we quote Visek:

"The LNC has policies about when and to whom the first drafts of minutes are to be provided. Additionally, the bylaws require that approved minutes must be "promptly" posted to the



Libertarian Renaissance

George Phillies has created and published a new edition of the New Path Plan for saving our party.

Libertarian Renaissance is an update of the 2010 edition with new information.

The volume is available on

Amazon Kindle
amazon.com/Libertarian-Renaissance-Essays-Liberty-ebook/dp/B00E1SVGAK and

Smashwords
smashwords.com/books/view/339159

for ninety-nine cents.

website. I don't believe these standards are being met.

"Finally after two years of me sending lists like this, there has been a little recent progress, but there are also new items being added to the backlog.

Backlog still remaining from Ruth Bennett:

Correct the incorrectly reported roll call vote and then obtain approval for the post-convention LNC meeting minutes from 5/6/12 and replace the draft ones on the website.

During the July 2013 LNC meeting in Las Vegas, the EC approved a number of EC minutes that Jim Lark helped clean up from Ruth's backlog. Mr. Blau apparently circulated these to the EC in advance so they could review them, but not to the LNC. LNC policy requires that draft EC minutes be sent to the full LNC, not just the EC. Since we have never received even first draft minutes from the July LNC meeting, I have not been sure which EC minutes were approved this way, but between May 20-28, 2014 (almost two years after the meetings and nearly a year after their approval) these minutes finally appeared on the website so the LNC and membership could see them for the first time:

5/31/12 -- FINALLY POSTED 5/21/14
6/3/12 -- FINALLY POSTED 5/20/14
6/6/12 -- FINALLY POSTED 5/20/14
7/2/12 -- FINALLY POSTED 5/28/14
8/2/12 -- FINALLY POSTED 5/20/14
8/17/12 -- FINALLY POSTED 5/20/14

Correct and obtain approval for the 7/15/12 LNC meeting minutes and replace the draft ones on the website which Ruth Bennett erroneously marked as approved. The version on the website is not even the most recent draft, which came from Jim Lark's efforts to clean them up for approval, and it has a note about an error in a roll call vote which needs to be remedied

before approval.

Obtain approval for the 11/17/12 LNC meeting minutes and post on the website. Needed corrections include errors in election results reporting, an error in roll call vote reporting, missing but required info on email ballots, and missing potential conflicts of interest that were reported.

Since Ruth's Resignation

As with the grouping mentioned in the above section, I believe that during the July 2013 LNC meeting, the EC may have approved the 5/1/13 EC minutes, but the LNC has not seen the final version, and they are not posted on the website. These were not auto-approved because the Chair objected to a portion of them, and I am not sure how the EC resolved that question.

Though it is possible I have overlooked something in my email, I do not believe the LNC has ever received first drafts of the following. These need to be produced, approved, and posted to the website.

July 2013 LNC meeting in Las Vegas
8/19/13 EC meeting minutes
10/12/13 EC meeting minutes

Though the 10/29/13 EC meeting minutes were posted on the website in February 2014 as though they are approved, the LNC's auto-approval policy requires that the draft have been sent to the full LNC. It was never sent to the LNC, but was only sent to the EC. Thus, these minutes have not been properly approved, though I know of no inaccuracies in them. The EC acts in the name of the LNC with our delegated power. Not only does our policy say that draft EC minutes are to be sent to the full LNC, but sending them only to the EC deprives those LNC members who couldn't attend the teleconference from seeing what the EC has done in our name.

Gary Johnson (of Texas) served as Secretary Pro Tem for the Dec 15-16, 2013 LNC meeting in David Blau's absence. There was an email ballot to approve Gary's minutes on the condition that certain corrections were to be made. That ballot ended on 1/24/14, but David Blau never sent the results of that vote. Based on the votes I saw, I believe this motion passed, with only Gary Johnson voting against the approval of his own minutes, apparently having taken offense that the LNC ordered corrections. Gary did make the corrections ordered by the LNC and provided the final version. The minutes were finally posted on the website around May 2014.

I don't believe the LNC has seen a first draft of the EC meeting minutes from 12/19/13 regarding setting target revenues for staff bonuses and discussing how to use the funds gathered to reimburse for the cancelled Dallas meeting.

I don't believe the LNC has seen a first draft of the EC minutes from 2/6/14 regarding Alabama ballot access and an update on the building acquisition.

I don't believe the LNC has seen a first draft of the EC minutes

from 2/13/14 EC regarding ballot access policy and a review of loan offers for the building purchase.

Correct and obtain approval for the 3/1/14 LNC meeting minutes. LNC members noted a large number of needed corrections regarding missing content, 5 errors in roll call vote reporting, errors in wording of motions, and his characterizations of debate comments. After correction and approval, they are to be posted to the website.

I don't believe the LNC has seen a first draft of the EC minutes from 3/1/14 EC meeting regarding Illinois ballot access. This meeting was held in person following the LNC meeting.

A number of Policy Manual changes have been adopted since the version David Blau sent to the LNC on 8/22/13. A new version should be produced to incorporate the changes adopted in the March 2014 LNC meeting. There may have been other unincorporated changes adopted in the July 2013 LNC meeting, but there are no draft minutes from that meeting to allow confirmation.

Results for the email ballot ended 4/11/14 were erroneous, missing an aye vote from Tim Hagan and a nay vote from Doug Craig. No correction has yet been issued.

The LNC did receive a first draft of EC minutes from 4/29/14 regarding Gary Johnson's lawsuit against the Commission on Presidential debates. It is presumed these were auto-approved without objection, though David Blau has not said as much, but these have not been posted on the website.

Results for the email ballot ended 5/22/14 were erroneous. They were missing Bill Redpath's aye vote. They reported a vote from Mark Hinkle, though a search of both LNC email lists did not find that such a vote was cast. No correction has yet been issued.

A currently ongoing email ballot regarding whether to further limit the EC powers will end on 6/5/14, so results should be expected shortly after that.

Thanks again for your help. See you at the convention.

...Dianna

Where Your Money Went

Readers tell us that this is their favorite column. We actually look at what groups to which Libertarians donate money do with that money. Most of our analysis is based on reports to the Federal Election Commission at FEC.gov. The site is somewhat complex; we start with the LNC, based on the report at docquery.fec.gov/cgi-bin/dcdev/forms/C00255695/927084/ Historically, some FEC documents are sometimes generated dynamically, so this link may not always be available. However, it is the LNC "May" report, covering their income and spending in April 2014.

In April 2014, the LNC had \$182,288 in income and \$474,454 in expenditures, which leaves them with \$75,458 cash on hand. That last number includes convention registration fees of some amount.

Where did your money *not* go? We quote from the report “The Committee wishes to disclose the following: 1) No expenditures designated on Schedule B supporting Line 21b were made on behalf of any specifically identified federal candidate(s).”

Where did your money go? Combining various numbers, such as withholding, employee take home, employee social security, etc., the total is \$33,105. There are also costs that usually would not come out of paychecks, but might in whole or part, such as health insurance, employer share of social security, etc., which come to \$8091. Biweekly take-home salaries range from \$2410 for the Executive Director and \$2085 for the Political Director down to \$792, which approaches the poverty line for a full-time job. There are seven people in the main office, plus an “Administrative support services” person in Texas and someone doing “contract labor administrative services” in Maryland. In addition, the party attorney gets \$3000 a month, the FEC compliance person gets \$1500 a month, and there is \$725 for an annual audit. We also have \$1067 for “convention VIP travel”.

All these people have to be put someplace. Rent on the old office was \$11,521. The payment to date on the new office was 386,419.19, not including \$10,443 for insurance, \$2000 for a postage meter and postage, \$1030 for staff travel, \$715 for electric service and setup fee, \$675 for an annual sprinkler inspection, \$606 for copier lease and maintenance, \$382 for printer repairs, \$378 for office supplies, and \$350 for appliances.

We do mail things. There was \$22,883 for printing and mailing services. LP News printing and promotional supplies cost \$2914. Shipping came to \$6. Raising money requires handling money. We paid \$2473 for merchant and bank fees and \$524 for quickbooks for a total of \$2998.

Information technology cost \$5169, including

- 54.73 Address and Phone Verification Service
- 10.56 Adobe Cloud Software Fee
- 159.16 Domain Purchase and SSL
- 1573. Email Marketing Services
- 514 Email Server Hosting Expense
- 95.99 Internet & Cable Service
- 14.95 Internet Forms
- 118 LP Toll Free Phone Services
- 9.95 Media Subscription
- 628 PC Remote Access Service
- 1097 Phone system & usage
- 129 Web Site Maintenance
- 752.93 Website Hosting Service
- 9.99 Wifi Internet Services

Finally, we did politics, \$28,125 for ballot access petitioning.

There is also about to be a large debt appearing, namely something like a half million dollars in the mortgage on the new part of a building.

The Johnson 2012 Campaign

One of our periodic efforts involves covering the campaign expenditures of our Presidential campaigns. Our coverage, in the prior title of this magazine, of the campaign expenses of the Browne campaign turned into the book *Funding Liberty*. Current coverage is of the Johnson 2012 campaign.

In reading these reports, line numbers such as 47219 refer to financial line numbers generated by the FEC software when it processes statements from the campaign. For example, in the following line 47219 was a debt created in September 2012 and partly discharged in October 2012. So long as that debt persists it will have the same line number in the FEC reports. The lines are not simply used in order; the report does not appear to be 47219 pages in length.

Johnson October 2012 Spending

And now we reach the “Pre-General” filing period, which actually covers October 1 through October 17, 2012. For the period the campaign had \$203,809 in receipts (including no Federal funds) and spent \$197,279, leaving it with \$35,703 cash on hand at the end of the period. The campaign debt at the end of the period was \$791,536.

Disbursements for the period include 6983.45 to Daines Goodwin to discharge debts, \$6165.95 to Merchant Service for merchant service charges, \$179,000 to Political Advisors for payment of debts, \$2205 to Snell and Wilmer for legal fees, \$925 to Zions Bank for bank charges, and \$2000 to Wagon Works LLC for fundraising support.

The Daines Goodwin payment included \$202.20 to pay off the last bit of a July debt on line 47114, \$375 to pay off line 47152, which is a debt incurred in August, and \$4280 for a debt incurred in September and reported on line 47220. Another 1983.45 apparently went to cover current accounting services and FEC filing costs.

The Snell and Wilmer payment eliminated a debt from September to Snell and Wilmer for legal services in the amount of \$2205.

Finally, the campaign paid \$179,000 toward line 47219, leaving them with a debt of \$17,094.20 on that line. Line 47219 from September 2012 originally totalling \$265,666 and partly paid off in September was identified as Ad Placement, web \$10,919; Staff and Candidate Travel \$27,049; Miscellaneous/supplies/office \$494; Polling and Research \$500; EMail marketing costs \$3093; Printing \$9149; Vehicles \$9067; Ballot Access \$38,438; Mailing \$14,200 ; Media \$146,991; Shipping \$5766.

Expenses for October will appear in the next report.

Stand Up for Liberty!

I am gradually serializing a mild rewrite of my book Stand Up for Liberty! You can read the first (2000) edition at CMLC.org, or buy the paperback at 3mpub.com (Third Millennium Publications). I continue from where we left off in the April 2014 issue.

Discussion: Historical Aside -- Has Anyone Been Here Before?

Hasn't anyone built up a political party from ground zero before? When the Constitution was adopted, the founding fathers believed that America would not have political parties. Indeed, as soon as political parties appeared (election of 1800), the Constitution suffered catastrophic failure. The Presidential Election of 1800 went to the House of Representatives because the original Electoral College scheme did not work with partisan elections.

Our original parties symbolized the interests of two of the founding fathers, Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson. The Federalists faded from electoral significance. After a period ('Era of Good Feelings') of one-party government, the two parties resurfaced as the Democratic Republicans and the Whigs. The Democratic Republicans became the modern Democratic Party. The Whig Party crumbled. The Republican startup failed in the election of 1856. If not for the incredible political ineptitude of President Buchanan, the Republicans would likely have gone no further. Instead, Buchanan drove much of the Whig Party political apparatus and membership into the hands of the Republicans, leading to the two parties that have endured to this day.

In the 20th century, a long series of third parties have appeared. Most have gone by the wayside. Some, such as Theodore Roosevelt's Bull Moose party and John Anderson's Presidential campaign, were one-man efforts that vanished with their candidate. Henry Wallace's Progressive Party was somewhat more substantial. George Wallace's American Independent Party and Ross Perot's Reform Party rose beyond their patron founder, running candidates for Congress and other office and establishing functional parties in some states. In the United States, explicitly ideological parties are rare. In post-WW1 America, the socialists elected Congressmen and state legislators. Recent ideological parties include the Greens (environmental activism), Natural Law (religious), U.S. Taxpayers (conservative), and of course the Libertarian Party. All of these parties have one thing in common: none of them have thrived or taken power. Yet.

Chapter Two

Paths to Libertarian Victory

There are three widely-discussed strategic plans for advancing the Libertarian movement:

- **Membership Recruitment**
- **Local Organization**

Liberty for America

- **Moral Armament**

This Chapter introduces these plans. Each plan has implementation proposals, though in most cases those implementation proposals were never formally adopted. I'll describe each plan. I'll give reasons to conclude that no strategic plan has proven its value yet.

Membership Recruitment focuses on increasing the number of dues-paying, card-carrying members of the national Libertarian Party. This strategic plan was at one time the de facto basis for national Libertarian Party activities. Perry Willis's Operation Everywhere describes a detailed implementation path for Membership Recruitment. However, Operation Everywhere is often claimed to be a draft; it has apparently never been officially adopted.

The **Membership Recruitment** strategy proposes that the national Libertarian Party should assemble hundreds of thousands of members. These members will give the Libertarian Party the resources and public presence needed for electoral victory. Associated with Membership Recruitment are massive fundraising mailings, the Unified Membership Plan, and Project Archimedes. At the 1998 Libertarian Party National Convention, Membership Recruitment was championed by the successful candidacy of David Bergland for National chair.

The **Local Organization** strategy focuses on local action, local political campaigns, and appropriate state and national structures to support the groups that will Make Liberty Happen! Local Organization is the major alternative within the Libertarian Party to Membership Recruitment. Local Organization has been discussed for many years, but without an implementation proposal. Stand Up for Liberty! is that implementation proposal. Local Organization is associated with libertarian town clubs, masses of candidates for community and state legislative office, and donors encouraged to keep their money close to home. State and Federal organizations have important, specified roles in support of local organization. At the 1998 Libertarian Party National Convention, Local Organization was associated with Gene Cisewski's unsuccessful candidacy for National Chair.

Third, **Moral Armament** focuses on libertarian education and the don't-vote-it-only-encourages-them philosophy. This strategy, represented by Ayn Rand's critique of the Libertarian Party, Claire Wolfe's "101 Things to Do...", and specific-interest civil action groups, arises from the assertion that electoral action is certain to fail. In contrast, moral education and private organization to ignore the state will bring us a libertarian society. At the 1998 Libertarian Party National Convention, Moral Armament was symbolically associated with None of The Above's unsuccessful candidacy for National Chair.

In short, Membership Recruitment would advance the libertarian movement by expanding a single large national organization. Local Organization would advance the libertarian movement by cultivating local groups. Moral Armament would advance the libertarian movement by educating individual people.

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