Liberty for America

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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.

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Note to Subscribers

This issue is being sent to a large number of people who have not seen Liberty for America recently, or perhaps at all. We are therefore repeating our Editorial (left column) and our welcome to this newspaper (following article). Other material is new

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 memberships purely 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.

Important Information for Candidates

Right now, our National Committee is sending each state party three important pieces of information useful for your campaign. First, each state party should be receiving the "datadump", which is a list for your state of current national members, former national members, people who never want to hear from national again, and people who at some time contacted the national party and asked for information. It includes names, addresses, other contact information, and much, much more. Second and third, national collects information from people who want to volunteer or want to run for office. These people have just spoken up and expressed an interest in supporting their party. They need to be contacted as soon as possible, yesterday being better. As a candidate, you are ideally placed to do the contacting. Be sure your state party is sending you your information!

National Convention Meets The Good News Part

June 25, 2014. Columbus, Ohio. Nearly 430 Libertarian delegates from across America gathered for the 2014 Libertarian Party National Convention. They were almost never all on the floor at the same time.

Hardy Macia posthumously received the Samuel Adams award for activism. Harry Browne and Richard Winger received the Libertarian Hall of Fame award.

A new Libertarian National Committee was elected, including Chair Nicholas Sarwark, Vice Chair Arvin Vohra, Secretary Alicia Mattson, Treasurer Tim Hagan, and At-Large members Sam Goldstein, Gary Johnson (of Texas, not to be confused with the 2012 Presidential candidate), Evan McMahon, Guy McLendon, and William Redpath.

The Regions and their representatives/alternates are Region 1 — Alaska, Arizona, Colorado, Hawaii, Kansas, Montana, Utah, Washington, Wyoming Norm Olsen (Colorado)/Ron Windeler (Alaska)

Region 2 — Florida, Georgia, Tennessee Vicki Kirkland (Florida)/Ed Marsh (Tennessee)

Region 3 — Indiana, Kentucky, Michigan, Ohio Marc Feldman (Ohio)/ Brett Bittner (Indiana)

Region 4 — California, New Mexico, Nevada Dan Wiener (California)/Scott Lieberman (California)

Region 5 — District of Columbia, Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Virginia, West Virginia Jim Lark (Virginia)/ Scott Spencer (Maryland)

Region 6 — Iowa, Idaho, Illinois, Minnesota, Missouri, North Dakota, Nebraska, South Dakota, Wisconsin Rob Oates (Idaho)/Sean O'Toole (Missouri)

Region 7 — Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Oklahoma, Texas Claudio "Jay" Estrada (Texas)/ Daniel Hayes (Louisiana)

Region 8 — Connecticut, Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, Vermont Rich Tomasso (New Hampshire)/ Joshua Katz (Connecticut)

The convention supported very modest platform changes, notably by re-ordering sentences in the platform to make the existing planks a bit more eloquent. Delegates vote on whether or not to have a full-convention vote on deleting a plank. The only convention plank to receive enough votes to be put up for a vote of the full convention was the abortion plank. The motion to delete the abortion plank failed 98-135.

The major Bylaws change was moving to approval voting for the At-Large National Committee and the Judicial Committee seats. Proposals to switch to four-year terms for National Committee members were rejected. We shall see how approval voting turns out. It can permit a disciplined, adequately large minority to take over an organization.

The first traces of 2016 Presidential campaigns were apparent. Judge Gray reportedly made statements suggesting that he and Presidential running mate Gary Johnson wanted to run a second campaign in two years. Your editor circulated a trifold indicat-

ing that he was testing the waters for a Presidential campaign in 2016. Since the Convention, Tom Knapp has announced an organized campaign to run NOTA for President in 2016.

As also happened last time, there was a dispute as to credentialing of the Oregon delegation. This time, the convention voted to insert onto the Oregon delegation people who had not asked Oregon to be added to their state delegation and whose presence on their delegation was opposed by the Oregon State Delegation. These debates correspond to current Oregon litigation between groups claiming to be the state's rightful Libertarian organization. Those suits have between them consumed closing on a half-million dollars in real attorney's fees. For more details, see the separate article.

The new LNC Executive Committee is the four officers, plus Bill Redpath, Jim Lark, and Sam Goldstein.

Wonderful Libertarian News

Libertarian State Leadership Alliance

The LSLA ("State Chairs") met in Columbus associated with the National Convention. We gather that the officer elections advanced as:

Ken Moellman nominated Leigh Lachine. Without objection, Leigh Lachine was elected Chair.

McClendon nominated Beth Vest of Louisiana. Without objection, Beth Vest was elected Vice Chair.

Brett Pojunis nominated Jason Weinman of Nevada. Without objection, Jason Weinman was elected Secretary.

Leigh Lachine nominated Aimee Love of Alabama. Without objection, Aimee Love was elected Treasurer.

Ken Moellman nominated David Capano of Kentucky. Without objection, David Capano was elected At-large.

Florida

Your editor spoke at the 2014 Florida Libertarian Party State Convention. I may attach my speech, on electronic surveillance, to one of the electronic editions, but I will note what I said at the start, at least approximately...

"I offer a toast, with Florida's finest (GP: I raised a glass of orange juice). May your candidates in every corner of the state hold high the banner of Liberty. From Key West to Pensacola to Jacksonville, may they all be victorious.

And now I offer a second toast. 2500 years ago, given the choice between exile and death, Socrates chose death. He quailed before the thought of leaving his native country. Now, two and a half thousand years later, we have another man who was willing to flee his country, his family, his home, and the

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woman whom he loved, all to save his country from the imminent doom now threatening it. I offer a toast to that man, the greatest living American patriot, Edward Snowden."

Michigan

Their Statewide and Federal candidates are

US Senate: Jim Fulner

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!

Oregon

Showing what you can do with nomination by committee, the Oregon LP released a list of candidates. There are more than 50 Libertarian candidates, in a state barely half the size of Massachusetts.

Governor Paul B Grad (L)

US Senate Mike Montchalin (L)

Congress 1st District James Foster (L)

Congress 2nd District Sharon Durbin (L)

Congress 3rd District Jeffrey Langan (L)

Congress 4th District David Chester (L)

Congress 5th District David Tate (L)

State Senator, 4th District W. A. Bollinger (L)

State Senator, 6th District Robert Rumzie (L)

State Senator, 7th District (pending)

State Senator, 8th District Rachel Jewell Feigner (L)

State Senator, 10th District Glen E. Ewert (L)

State Senator, 11th District (Pending)

State Senator, 13th District *Kirk Hoppe (L)*

State Senator, 15th District Caitlin Mitchel-Markley (L)

State Senator, 16th District Perry Roll (L)

State Senator, 17th District John Verbeek (R) (Fusion)

State Senator, 19th District (pending)

State Senator, 20th District Jeffrey Alexander Miller (L)

State Senator, 23rd District Michael James Marvin (L)

State Senator, 24th District (pending)

State Senator, 26th District (pending)

State Representative, 1st District (pending)

State Representative, 2nd District Jeff Adams (L)

State Representative, 3rd District Mark Seligman (L)

State Representative, 4th District (pending)

State Representative, 6th District Sal Esquival (R) (Fusion)

State Representative, 7th District Brandon Boertje (L)

State Representative, 9th District Guy Rosinbaum (L)

State Representative, 10th District Daniel Souza (L)

State Rep, 13th District Laura D. Cooper (R) (Fusion)

State Representative, 14th District (pending)

State Representative, 15th District *Andy Olson (R) (Fusion)*

State Representative, 16th District Rachel Jewell Feigner (L)

State Representative, 17th District Nicholas Koch (L)

State Representative, 18th District Braden Nelson (L)

State Representative, 21st District (pending)

State Representative, 22nd District Thad Marney (L)

State Representative, 23rd District Mark Karnowski (L)

State Representative, 24th District James Bertelson (L)

State Representative, 25th District Bill Post (R) (Fusion)

State Representative, 26th District Chuck Huntting (L)

State Representative, 27th District Robert Martin (L)

State Representative, 28th District Lars Hedbor (L)

State Rep, 29th District Mark Richman (R) (Fusion)

State Representative, 30th District *Kyle Markley (L)*

State Representative, 31st District *Robert Miller (L)*

State Representative, 33rd District *Mark Vetanen (L)*

State Representative, 34th District Brenden King (R)

State Representative, 35th District John S. Gerboth (L)

State Representative, 36th District Amanda Burnham (L)

State Representative, 37th District Ryan Haffner (L) (win)

State Representative, 39th District Ryan Bredehoeft (L)

State Representative, 40th District Jeffrey Miller (L)

State Rep, 41st District Tim McMenamin (R) Fusion)

State Representative, 42nd District Bruce Knight (L) State Representative, 43rd District Austin Joseph (L) (TIE)

Lucas Eslinger (L) (TIE)

State Representative, 44th District (pending)

State Representative, 45th District Michael Marvin (L)

State Representative, 50th District Eugene A. Newell Jr.

State Rep, 52nd District Mark Johnson (R) (Fusion)

State Representative, 53rd District *Brian Tanner (L)*

State Representative, 54th District Tristan Reisfar (L)

State Representative, 55th District

State Rep., 56th District Gail Whitsett (R) (Fusion)

State Representative, 57th District Greg Smith (R) (Fusion)

State Representative, 58th District Robert C Fillingame (L)

Marion County Commissioners POS 1 Nicholas Koch (L)

Marion County Commissioners POS 2 Nicholas Koch (L)

Benton County Commissioners POS 1 Edward R. Siener (L)

(TIE) Rachel Jewell Feigner (L) (TIE)

Jackson County Commissioners Curt Ankerberg (L)

Craig Hilterbrand (L)

Deschutes County Commissioners POS 1 Brian Tanner (L)

(TIE) Jack C. Stillwell (L) (TIE)

Deschutes County Commissioners POS 3 Brian Tanner (L)

Arizona

Maricopa County LP always meets on the second Monday of each month!

China Village Restaurant, 2710 E Indian School Rd, Phoenix, AZ 85016, 602-956-9840

More Convention News

Even before the convention, other parties were circulating cri-

tiques of the then-current LNC. Some readers will already have seen facebook.com/BadLNCBehavior on several members of the prior LNC. We do not know who posted this site.

The Treasurer's Report was circulated to the LNC well before the National Convention. Of some interest are the terms of employment of the former Executive Director, which appeared to some of our sources to be remarkably generous, particularly in the severance pay. We quote from the report "In December 2011, the Committee entered into an employment contract with a new Executive Director. The term of the contract is scheduled to end on June 30, 2013. The employment contract provides for a base monthly salary and performance incentives upon financial and other performance indicators. The employment agreement also allows for a three-month severance, moving costs and assumption of the unexpired rental lease terms of 12 months or less for termination for any other reason than serious cause with a 3/4 vote of the Board of Directors. The Committee may terminate the employment contract immediately for serious cause with no further compensation."

Several long-time readers immediately aske your editor how they could get a deal with three-month severance pay in their current job.

Some LNC members were paid for their services. We quote from the report:

"Alabama limited liability company owned by Board member Ballot access petitioning services - gathering 7,590 signatures in Alabama, Maryland, North Dakota and West Virginia \$30,523. Readers will note that the number is about \$4 per signature.

"Board member - Ballot access petitioning services - gathering 2,461 signatures in Illinois for \$5,903. Readers will note that the number is not quite \$2.50 per signature.

"Texas corporation owned by Board member Booth supplies and shirts \$3,551.

"Nevada corporation owned by two Board members Fundraising commission - thirty percent (30%) of donations from new donors \$1,000.

"Board member Convention speaking fee \$503.

"Board member Services performed from May through December -- editing and co-authoring with the Executive Director approximately 22,500 words for fundraising appeals and news releases at a cost of about \$1.72 per word. \$38,800."

The above numbers all met with the approval of the outbound LNC that the numbers had been properly approved and paid.

The LNC spent \$825,000 plus other costs for the new building. \$500,000 of the costs are being covered by a ten-year 4.85% mortgage having at its end a balloon payment of \$371,554. Dianna Visek urged spending money to facilitate discharging the mortgage, by paying off part of the debt early. There is no current plan to do this.

We are advised that the money saved by buying a building has already been spent, namely on an additional staff member, the new executive director or new political director, so the building gives us no new money for doing politics.

The candidates for National Chair were Nick Sarwark, Brett Pojunis, and Geoff Neale. They all participated in the Chair debate. David Williams (former CO chair), Arvin Vohra, and Sarwark himself spoke for Sarwark. Jason Weinman, JJ Summerel, and Pojunis himself spoke for Pojunis. Bill Redpath and Neale himself spoke for Geoff Neale. Neale asserted that he had plans but needed another term to bring them to pass.

The first round results were Sarwark 161 Neale 135 Pojunis 66 NOTA 31 Starchild (write-in) 3

At this point, Neale needed to pick up 26 more votes than Sarwark picked up, or he would be eliminated and the third round would be between Sarwark and his very close friend NOTA. The second round results were

Sarwark 194 Neale 144 NOTA 40

Sarwark had a majority and won.

In the Vice Chair race, the candidates were Arvin Vohra and Sam Goldstein. Mark Hinkle was reported to be running but changed his mind before he could be nominated.

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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.

The first ballot was very close.

Arvin Vohra – 157 votes Sam Goldstein – 154 votes NOTA - 8 votes

Under the rules, Sam Goldstein was eliminated, but Vohra did not have a majority so a second ballot was needed. Sam Goldstein endorsed Vohra and asked for nomination by acclamation, which carried.

The nominees for Secretary were Gary Johnson of Texas (nominated by Emily Salvette), Chuck Moulton (nominated by Nick Sarwark and Arvin Vohra), and Alicia Mattson (nominated by Bill Redpath and Dianna Visek). Johnson was eliminated on the first ballot. On the second ballot, the vote was Mattson 169, Moulton 142...Mattson was elected.

Tim Hagan ran for Treasurer without opposition and was elected. Daryl Martin had circulated campaign material, but did not have his name placed in nomination.

At-Large members of the LNC are elected by approval voting. There were 12 nominees, with 5 to be elected. The candidates and the votes were

Redpath 225 Goldstein 191 McMahon 165 Johnson 161 McClendon 136 Craig 136 Pojunis 134 Starchild 124 Pickens 97 McVay 58 Fulner 41 Pederson 36 NOTA 0

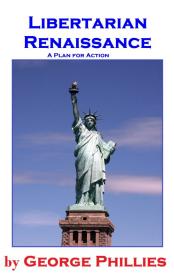
The fifth-place tie between McClendon and Craig was resolved by a coin toss in McClendon's favor.

The Judicial Committee is also elected by approval voting. There were 12 nominees, with 7 to be elected.

Steve Linnabary (OH)* M Carling (NY)* <- Elected chair 4-3 over Rob Power. Rob Power (NY)* Carol McMahon (CT) John Fockler (OH) Dawn Young (TX) Barry Alban (KS) Starchild (CA) Dianna Visek (IL)* Rob Latham (UT)* Rebecca Sink-Burris (IN)* Andy Wolf (IN)*

*indicates an elected candidate.

The LNC had its post-convention meeting. Nick Sarwark pro-



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-Libertyebook/dp/B00E1SVGAK and

Smashwords smashwords.com/books/ view/339159

for ninety-nine cents.

posed a motion

"Whereas, the Bylaws of the Libertarian Party state that "delegates to a Regular Convention shall be selected by a method adopted by each affiliate party" (Article 11, 3 (b)), and

Whereas, the Bylaws of the Libertarian Party state that "each state-level affiliate party shall, in accordance with its own Bylaws and these Bylaws, determine who shall be its delegates to all Regular Conventions." (Article 6, 3), and

Whereas, the Bylaws of the Libertarian Party state that "the autonomy of the affiliate and sub-affiliate parties shall not be abridged by the National Committee or any other committee of the Party..." (Article 6, 5), and

Whereas the Chair of the National Convention incorrectly ruled that it was in order for the convention to vote to seat three delegates in the Oregon delegation over the objection of the affiliate party chair, and

Whereas the motion made did not challenge the report of the Credentials Committee as to who was the affiliate party chair, and

Whereas the convention delegates subsequently voted to seat those delegates over the objection of the delegate chair,

Be it resolved that the Libertarian National Committee apologizes to the Libertarian Party of Oregon for the erroneous ruling of the National Convention Chair."

Mattson proposed that the motion was out of order. Arvin Vohra as acting chair differed. There was a motion to sustain the ruling of the chair. The vote went:

Voting Yes: Feldman, Hagan, Olsen, Sarwark, Tomasso, Vohra, Wiener.

Voting No: Goldstein, Johnson, Kirkland, Lark, Mattson,

McMahon.

Abstaining: Estrada, Redpath.

McLendon and Oates were already travelling. The ruling was sustained 7-6. The resolution itself was put off to an electronic ballot.

Readers may be interested to note that the LNC Judicial Committee elected M Carling as chair by a 4-3 vote over Rob Power. Congratulations to both of them for agreeing to be a candidate. The Sarwark motion apologizing to the Oregon state party, not to mention the vote to uphold Arvin Vohra's parliamentary ruling that the resolution was in order, a vote that has already been made and is therefore already open for appeal, are likely to be appealed to the Judicial Committee.

Of course, the appeal needs 10% of the convention delegates, or 1% of the party's sustaining members. That's 43 or 150 signatures, choose one. When the appeal is made, the Judicial committee may well issue a broad ruling rather than a narrow one

With a broad ruling, there is vast room for interesting outcomes. For example, the Judicial Committee might decide that its action of last term was wrongly decided, and that the Reeves faction is our legitimate party in Oregon.

The LNC elected its Executive Committee members other than the officers.:

Johnson nominated himself.

Kirkland nominated Wiener.

Mattson nominated Goldstein.

Olsen nominated McLendon.

Redpath nominated Lark.

Vohra nominated Redpath.

Vohra nominated Estrada.

Sarwark asked that Goldstein, Estrada, and Redpath be elected. The motion to do so failed 6-7. It is very unusual for a Chair not to get his choice of ExComm members. It is noteworthy that Sarwark had already amended his choices of ExComm members to include Redpath, and to apologized for having made statements that in your Editor's opinion were correct and appropriate. The Committee then voted, electing Redpath, Lark, and Goldstein.

Redpath – 11

Lark – 9

Goldstein – 8

Estrada -5

Wiener – 5

Johnson - 5

McLendon - 2

The Advertising and Publications Review Committee will be Estrada, Johnson, Katz, Vohra, and Wiener with Johnson as interim Chair.

The LNC created a new information technology committee to advise the LNC on its IT issue. It contains two LNC members and a half-dozen others.

The transparency motion, from Nick Sarwark, is presently to be

voted upon by the LNC. The motion reads: "The LNC-Discuss email list archives will be made available from June 30, 2014 forward and a Google group established, similar to the procedure for LNC-Business."

The votes to date reads:

Y: Katz (alt), Goldstein, Johnson, Feldman, Estrada, Vohra, McMahon, Hagan

N: Lieberman (alt), Redpath, Wiener

The final vote is due July 12. We gather that voting on this motion will be complete before voting on the Oregon motion begins.

Oregon Controversy Grows

As some readers will recall, in 2012 the National Convention refused to seat the delegation from our Oregon affiliate, instead seating the delegation from the insurgent Reeves faction. Controversy on representation from our Oregon affiliate continued at the 2014 National Convention. There was activity at the Credentials Committee meeting before the convention, on the floor at the start of the convention, and on the floor at the end of the convention.

I attended part of the Judicial Committee meeting. What you are about to read is not an exact transcript, but I believe that captures much of what was said about Oregon. Dr. Lieberman moved to approve all state delegations except Oregon, and then to discuss Oregon separately. Someone indicated that M Carling had said that there was a controversy over the Oregon delegation. Emily Salvette said very emphatically that there is no controversy over Oregon. The National Chair and the Judicial Committee have clearly and unambiguously ruled that there is one Oregon state party, the one with Wes Wagner as its chair. M Carling claimed that the LNC had voted six times that the Burke faction was the correct affiliate of our national party. Emily Salvette then gave historical background on the matter, with her version of the background sounding to me to be correct. She emphasized that the Libertarian National Committee 'had not spoken to her. The Judicial Committee had not spoken to her. They might have made rulings, but they have not addressed them to the Credentials Committee.

M Carling indicated that the question is before the courts. Salvette said that in Oregon everything is before the courts. Gary Johnson of Texas asked: after we accept all except Oregon, do you have a motion? I believe the question was formally directed toward Scott Lieberman.

Mike Kane from Florida indicated that the issue was very important. Someone observed that California has 50 open slots for people from other states. Therefore, the Burke faction delegates will be seated. J.J. said that the committee should not cause an additional controversy. There was a motion on the floor to approve all except Oregon. The motion was defeated many-1. Gary Johnson and Beth Duensing moved to approve the entire list of delegates. The motion passed. Salvette hoped that Wagner would seat people from Oregon who want to be seated. At

about this point, M Carling resigned from the Credentials Committee, and Burke departed the meeting. M Carling made a specific statement as to why he was resigning, but I didn't transcribe it. Sorry.

We now advance to the opinion of the Convention. A motion was made to approve the Credential Committee report.. There was then a motion to seat three people from Oregon, from the Reeves faction, with the Oregon delegation. I rose to a point of order, and urged that the motion was out of order because it violated article 6, section 5 of the Bylaw, namely the motion violated the autonomy of our Oregon affiliate by inserting delegates into their convention. Readers should note that a considerable number of delegations had vacancies and were willing to accept the three people from Oregon as their delegates. National Chair Geoff Neale ruled that the motion was in order. The delegates were then forcibly inserted into the Oregon delegation.

It seems that the three Burke faction delegates somehow convinced the National Committee that they got to choose the Oregon delegation head, and chose one of their number as the head of delegation. Readers will be shocked, truly shocked, to learn that this action did not go over entirely well with the delegates from our state affiliate in Oregon, who had already selected a delegation head.

LPPA Chair Steve Sheetz soon thereafter circulated an endorsement of Nick Sarwark: "Given the fact that Chairman Neale chose to allow the use of force on the Oregon Affiliate, I do not believe he is the right choice for chairman of a LIBER-TARIAN political party.

I spoke with Nicholas Sarwark, several times, so far, during this convention, and after my conversations with him, I believe that he is the right choice for the Libertarian Party as we move forward.

I hereby formally endorse Nicholas Sarwark for Chairman of the LNC.

I endorse him for his knowledge of parliamentary procedure, I endorse him for his philosophically Libertarian positions on the issues,

I endorse him for his energy and his commitment to the party moving forward.

Nicholas, I wish you all the luck in the world, not just for you, but for all of us.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we NEED this change."

At the end of the convention, M Carling rose with a motion to ban the LNC from apologizing for or retracting the actions of the outbound National Chair or the Convention. That motion did not reach a vote because the convention lost quorum.

The LSLA had its meeting in Columbus. The LSLA received Tim Reeves as the Oregon Libertarian Party Chair.

After-Action Report De-Elect the LNC

In our last issue, we advocated replacing much of the LNC. How did the National Convention advance?

We urged the election of Nich Sarwark for Chair and Arvin Vohra for Vice Chair. They both won. We urged the election of Doug Craig as an At-Large member. Craig tied for fifth place with Guy McLendon, five being elected, but lost on a coin toss to break the tie.

Among the Regional Representatives, we urged the re-election of Norm Olsen, Vicki Kirkland, and Rich Tomasso. They all won. We also urged the election of Dianna Visek; she was instead replaced with Rob Oates, who we believe will prove to be an excellent choice.

With respect to our general discussion, there is general agreement that the National Party has stagnated for the past decade. The new Chair and Vice Chair are aware of these issues. While they should speak up for themselves as to their goals for the next two years, it is clear that they intend to return growth and expansion to our party. From their nominating speeches, they must reasonably expect that in two years they will be weighed and measured against this intent, with re-election to be determined by their success in these directions.

The 2012 National Convention twice rejected Mark Hinkle, first as National Chair and then as an At-Large member. The LNC later overturned this delegate decision and appointed him to the LNC. This time, despite rumors he would run for the LNC, he did not run at all.

Chair Geoff Neale ran for re-election. As we urged, he was defeated. Vice Chair Lee Wrights not only did not run for re-election; he did not attend the convention. After our last issue went to press, we learned that David Blau would not run for re-election as Secretary. The Secretary contest was between Chuck Moulton (who we supported), Alicia Mattson (whose technical competency as Secretary is universally recognized), and Gary Johnson of Texas. Mattson and Johnson have held the post previously. Mattson beat Moulton on the second ballot.

It appeared that Treasurer Tim Hagan would face former LP Treasurer Darryl Martin, but Martin's name was not placed in nomination. Rumors that Aaron Starr might run for Treasurer proved incorrect; he is hard at work running for Oxnard, CA City Council. Hagan won by acclamation.

Our recommendations for At-Large had mixed outcomes. We recommended against re-electing Mr. Cloud; he did not attend the convention and was not re-elected. We recommended against re-electing Mr. Hinkle; he is no longer on the LNC.

On the less successful side, we recommended against reelecting Messrs. Lark and Redpath as Regional or At-Large members; they were both re-elected. We recommended for reelecting Starchild. He was not re-elected, but his transparency issue will apparently be fixed by the LNC. Other new At-Large members are Sam Goldstein, Evan McMahon, Gary Johnson of Texas, and Guy McLendon. Other new Regional Representatives are Marc Feldman and Claudio Estrada.

In the last issue, we had reported a Neale proposal to pay for part of the building by eliminating a dollar amount of ballot expenditures equal to the planned Illinois support. The parts of the Illinois delegation with whom we conversed were highly aware of Neale's proposal, and seriously not pleased about it.

If you go down the list of LNC members, many of the people who created difficulties for past LNCs are gone. We will have to wait and see if new National Chair Sarwark has a committee with whom he can work, but the herd of obstructionists has been greatly thinned.

Johnson "Post-General" Campaign Spending

And now we advance to the Johnson campaign's "Post-General" FEC filing, which includes all spending in the weeks immediately prior to the election. As I discussed in my book *Funding Liberty* (Third Millennium), spending in those weeks is not revealed until well after the election, a rule that allowed the 2000 Harry Browne campaign to mask from donors its drastic reduction in campaign spending as the election approached. That issue is less central here, in that debts that the Johnson campaign acknowledged in 2012 were far less than its actual debts when it filed amended disclosures in a later year.

So what did the Johnson campaign do in the period around the 2012 General Election? For the period 10/18/2012 to 11/26/2012, the Johnson campaign received \$6641 in Federal Funds, \$242,762 in donations, and \$8000 from the candidate himself, for a total of \$257,403. It spent \$290,163 in the same period. At the end of the period the campaign owed modestly under a million dollars, to be precise \$863,361.81.

Spending included \$2500 to Daines Goodwin, \$1730.32 to Media Temple for web and internet facilities, \$6416 to Merchant Service of 455 East South Temple, Salt Lake City, for merchant service charges and fees, \$2255 to Zions Bank for Bank charges, and \$277,000 to Political Advisors of 731 East South Temple, Salt Lake City, largely for payment on obligations.

FEC disbursements and loans are identified by "line numbers". The line numbers propagate from month to month, so if in January I owe \$100 on line 10000, and make no payments on the debt, in December the \$100 debt will still show as being on line 10000.

The Daines Goodwin payment was for accounting services, and at the end of the month line 40316 showed a net debt of \$4178.75.

At the end of the period, the campaign owed EH2 consulting \$16166 for fundraising, a debt owed since June 2011. It also owed EH2 additional debts of \$5000 and \$26,754, debts going

back to December 2011 and January 2012. Hackstaff law group was owed \$3166, a debt going back to June 2011. The Law office of Douglas C Herbert was owed debts of \$16,313 and \$10,475, going back to May 2012 and July 2012. We will not itemize—they are in past articles in this series — unchanged individual debts to Political Advisers, the campaign management group.

However, some payments were made. \$2297.81 went to Political advisors to discharge the last of line 46894, which were payments for candidate travel, email marketing, printing, web ad placement, and similar expenditures, all made in November 2011. \$1702 made a small debt in the \$90,620 owed on line 46832, all of which was staff salaries owed since December 2011. The debt included \$16,250 to the senior political advisor for 50 hours of work, \$2250 to the Creative Advertising for 10 hours of work, and \$64,668 for 517 hours of work as Mid-Level Management, among others. Readers can calculate the impressive hourly rates for themselves.

The campaign spent \$17,094.20 to pay off line 47219 from early October, 2012.

The campaign also spent \$144,686.60 to pay off line 47273, referring to spending taking place in October 1-17, 2012 and billed in the next period of \$7772 for web ad placement, \$25,000 for general attorney fees, \$28,784 for "media", \$24,847 for staff and candidate travel, \$410 for miscellaneous, supplies, and office, \$4448 for shipping, \$4298 for email marketing, \$14,441 for printing, and \$30,066 for mailings.

The campaign also spent \$45,801 to pay off completely the new line 47274. Included on that line were 781 mid-level management hours for \$23,429, 254 general clerical hours for \$5597, 25 hours of creative advertising for \$5625, and \$11,150 of outside sub-contracts as per agreement. These numbers refer to October 1-17, 2012.

For line 47275 covering the rest of October 2012 the campaign created a debt of \$112,356 and paid \$65,635, including \$2721 for web ad placement, \$53,256 for media, \$18,845 for staff and candidate travel, \$3394 for email marketing costs, \$19,549 for printing costs, \$5751 for lease-wrap of vehicles, and \$6821 for ballot access.

For line 47297 the campaign created a debt of \$2000 to Wagon Works LLC and paid none of it.

Finally, for line 47277 the campaign created a debt of \$40,020 and paid none of it. That debt includes 605 mid-level management hours for \$18,157, 117 general clerical hours for \$2592, 25 hours of creative advertising for \$5625, and \$13,645 for 'outside contracts as per agreement'.

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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).

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