

Libertarian Strategy Gazette

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For Our Electronic Supplement See Page 9

March 2003

Notes on Strategy

Adam Dick writes: At least in Wisconsin, the assertion that people who vote Libertarian would most likely otherwise vote Republican holds no water. Here is the data from a Rasmussen poll (<http://www.edthompson.com/pollresults.php>) of 1,000 Wisconsinites who voted in the 2002 Wisconsin governor election:

5* Okay... if Ed Thompson had not run for Governor, would you have voted for Republican Scott McCallum, Democrat Jim Doyle, or Green candidate Jim Young? [asked only of Thompson voters]
30% Scott McCallum
30% Jim Doyle
27% Jim Young
10% Would not have voted
4% Not sure

Roger Holtslander urges: I think many Libertarians should consider running for offices that do not specify party. Many local positions are non-partisan and are a great way to be introduced to the community without people seeing the word Libertarian and having their eyes glaze over. Some of the examples are county commissioners and school boards both of these positions are inexpensive to win and give a much better chance of winning when it is just you talking to people without having to explain the entire Libertarian Platform. Then after you win in these races and you run as a Libertarian people will know something about you and you will have a resume to run on.

Richard Winger writes: One reason we do so badly in New York state is because the ballot is so poorly designed. Many voters don't even find our candidates on the ballot. As a non-qualified party, our candidates get the worst places on the ballot. Fortunately, the old-fashioned mechanical voting machines used in New York are illegal in the future, under the "Help America Vote Act" passed this year by Congress. New York state will be forced to buy something different.

Another reason we do so badly in New York is that there have been so many qualified parties on the ballot in that state (8 in 2002, not including us, since we have never been a qualified party). But in 2004 there will be only 5 (Dem, Rep, Independence, Working Families and Conservative).

New York is one of only 11 states that has no procedure in its election law for a group to become a qualified political party, in advance of any election. There is no registration drive procedure, or petition procedure, to simply qualify a new party. All a group can do is circulate a candidate petition in a gubernatorial race, and if that candidate gets 50,000, only then can the group become a party. The Greens are planning to sue New York, alleging that the Constitution requires each state to have a procedure by which a party can become qualified in presidential election years. We filed a similar lawsuit in 1982 in New York but the attorney dropped it before it was adjudicated.

A Reality-Based Model for the Libertarian Party A Draft Document for the Libertarian Strategic Planning Caucus

By John D. Famularo

Part Three

How can the LP succeed in its mission?

It is not necessary to compromise on principle to appeal to the 99%. Compromising principles would actually negate the rationale for a separate Libertarian political party. We must learn to effectively communicate Libertarian ideals to most voters in a manner they can easily relate to. These voters must have some modicum of respect for you and your ideas, as well as some knowledge of your achievements.

Another drawback to this "money will win" attitude is the temptation to "put all our resources into a few winnable races". The problem with this strategy is that even if it would work (it won't) it only is a strategy that will be of long-term benefit if the individual gets re-elected and if money is the only reason that this individual can beat his/her opponents, then the same money will have to be raised and spent each year. The LP can't raise this level of funds on a continuous basis around the country.

The "Libertarian Party" itself cannot win an election. Only individual Libertarian candidates can do that. The credibility of the LP will rise and fall with the credibility of all elected and appointed Libertarians. If the net credibility of "Libertarians in office" is high, **and** if the number of Libertarian officeholders approaches 5% nationwide (5% is approximately 20,000 officeholders), then the other parties will begin to shift their rhetoric and platforms to a more Libertarian direction. Of course, the vast majority of those 20,000 Libertarian officeholders would hold local office in districts of less than 1,500 voters. These are the people who should control the party strategy and administration.

Getting your constituency to the polls and making sure that the votes are counted correctly is another essential factor. This is why precinct level operations are vitally important.

[A Reality-based Model] (Continued on page 2)

This Month's electronic supplement

<http://www.cmlc.org/cmlc/pubs/lsg0303.pdf>

Ron Paul: The Republic Has Fallen

State Chairs Meeting: The Sullentrop Report

John Famularo: Local Candidate Openings, Partial List

(Continued from page 1) [A Libertarian Presidential Campaign]

Party support at the precinct level is essential for the success of any candidate. When the Democrats or Republicans dominate in a particular district, they also dominate each voting precinct. Substantial time and money are required for an adequate Get Out The Vote (GOTV) operation. It has been demonstrated that dedicated volunteers are far more effective than "hired help".

MYTH #5 YOU HAVE TO COMPROMISE PRINCIPLE TO RUN A COMPETITIVE RACE.

While there will always be a "purist" versus "pragmatist" platform debate within any ideological organization, and such debate is healthy. In fact, if a Libertarian candidate believes it is necessary to abandon principle in pursuit of high office, then that candidate is in the wrong race. He should be running for a much lower level office where his support base can transcend any ideological divergence between the candidate and the average voter in his constituency. In order to implement incremental Libertarian reforms over the long haul, elected Libertarians need the trust of their constituency. Getting elected, by pretending to be something you are not, will make it almost impossible to ever introduce and implement Libertarian reforms, no matter how limited in scope.

MYTH #6 WE CAN BUILD A MEMBERSHIP ORGANIZATION NOW AND A POLITICAL CADRE LATER.

Easy stuff now, hard stuff later makes a lot of people feel better but if we do not **learn** how to do the hard stuff we will never be competitive with the other political parties. The older parties have legions of battle hardened campaign veterans with a full cadre of precinct level operators backing them up.

MYTH #7 WE CAN FIGHT FOR LIBERTY AT A PROFIT

This myth is promoted by people who want to make a profession out of what should be a civic duty. They propose that we need a hierarchy of headquarters offices populated by paid staff from a national headquarters through 50 state party offices each with an executive director and staff down to county party offices. These permanent paid staffs will do all the candidate recruiting, fund raising and administration and hire consultants and contractors to do things like voter registration drives, ballot access signature drives, campaign management, campaign finance reporting, media and public relations. The "membership" then can contribute financially to this organization and sit back and wait for liberty to be delivered to them.

Many Libertarians are drawn to this model because many harbor the secret desire to abandon their uninteresting and/or unrewarding jobs and make a living working for liberty.

On the other hand there are others who have more disposable income than the time or inclination to get involved in retail politics. They would like to pay others to protect their liberty for them. "Eternal vigilance" it is replaced by a \$100 monthly pledge as the price of liberty.

This scheme fails to consider the lack of oversight in such an organization and the eventual "mission drift" of the cadre of paid staff. Their personal financial interests will eventually conflict with the mission of the organization. Projects, whether real or ephemeral, may be implemented on the basis of how much money their corresponding fund raising letters might yield.

MYTH #8. WE NEED STATE AND NATIONAL PARTY OFFICES SO THAT WE CAN TAKE ADVANTAGE OF "THE ECONOMIES OF SCALE".

This has been tried over and over again at the state level and has been a continuous excuse for the national office from the inception of the party. A careful examination of the historical record and the cost per member, of ballot access, or elected Libertarian, or more important re-elected Libertarian, will confirm that there is a **diseconomy** of scale. Furthermore, what usually happens with the state party offices and the paid staff is that the operating overhead begins to consume more and more of the gross income and the staff who then have become dependent on this income must spend more and more of their time doing fund raising. This "Mission Creep" continues until the party can no longer afford the staff, or there is some financial mismanagement scandal and the whole thing is scrubbed until all those who remember the problem have left the party. Then someone comes up with the idea and starts the process all over again. .

I now offer a few ideas in a less polished form, ideas that are still open for improvement: Peruse it if you want. It will be updated in the future.

DICHOTOMIES BOTH REAL AND FALSE

The Nolan Chart of over 30 years ago showed that the conventional view of political positions as a one-dimensional gradient radiating without limit from left and right of center was more correctly considered as a two-dimensional plane with limits and units of measure.

Purists vs. Pragmatists

Similarly the constant tug of war between the "Purists" and "Pragmatists" within the LP is a false dichotomy. The underlying problem that manifests itself into this continuing controversy is real none the less.

- * Minarchists vs. Anarchists
- * Education vs. Election
- * Concepts waiting to be incorporated into the document
- * Recruit people like ourselves

This concept that has been a basis of most of the LP strategic plans to date if not explicitly, it is implicit in the planned allocation of resources and selection and prioritization of projects. Lets do something for everyone.

Stated mission as opposed to the real mission or function

As in many organizations, especially non-profit organizations run by full time employees with volunteer amateur boards of directors or trustees, it is quite possible for the publicly expressed organizational mission to be subverted by a unexpressed but real mission held by the full time employees of the organization. It is natural that they put their personal interests ahead of the interests of the organization. If they take over both the setting and implementing or organizational policy it is not hard to see how a hidden mission of expanding the income, influence and control of the staff could be cast in the light of being the best method of achieving the stated mission.

"Elected Libs lose sight of objective"

This ridiculous denigration of the value of elected libertarians can be found in the vision document labeled Operation Everywhere written by Perry Willis to justify "Project Archimedes", a project from which he benefited financially for a number of sources.

Club model versus political power base—Decay curve

Strategic moves made by those in power to minimize any threat to the status quo. They will come from within and without, and we might already be looking at some of them (or their preliminaries).

The general themes I have to add are that we in Pennsylvania have shown that voters **will** elect and appoint Libertarians to public office and that in such offices, Libertarians can begin to effect public policy **today**. We don't have to wait until some unspecified time in the future "when we are bigger and stronger". Even without being elected or appointed, Libertarians can attend local citizen and government meet-

ings to learn what is going on and to testify before and lobby the individuals who are controlling public policy.

In Pennsylvania, as in most states, there are open records and "sunshine" laws that mandate that all meetings of government agencies, boards, commissions and authorities must be open to the public. I know from personal experience that after a few appearances at any of these meetings, members of the public are allowed to comment and testify for the record concerning matters before these assemblies.

It will only be from this seasoned cadre of local elected, appointed and community active Libertarians will come those who are destined for higher office and greater scope of influence. Within the general Libertarian movement, we must recognize the difference in value and tactics between the "protesters" and the "practical politicians".

Recent Developments

The very close national election in Nov 2000 and the terrorist attack on September 11th, 2001, will have a long range effect on the general public. Many may be reluctant to vote for alternative party candidates especially for the higher state and federal offices.

WHERE DO WE START?

Clarification of the mission.

The mission of the LP is to change public policy by electing and re-electing Libertarians to public office so that they can implement Libertarian reforms in public policy. Libertarians are people who hold that the purpose of government is to secure individual liberty and justly acquired property with the least level of coercion possible and at the most local level practical.

Basic Organization

In one way it would be easier to start a new party from scratch and organize and structure it from the bottom up. The reality is that the LP has been in existence for 30 years and has amassed a large number of members who have bought into the membership model of the LP. We have to address the large number of LP members, some who have been with the party for over 20 years that have no real interest in retail politics and may not really believe in the mission of the party.

However, since the true base of any political party is the precinct level organizations, this is where we have to start and where we must initially direct the preponderance of the current LP resources.

It should be made a priority that **all** party members get **some** experience at their local polling place at the next opportunity. These opportunities are normally available twice a year in every precinct in the nation. It is not necessary for everyone to attempt to become a precinct official but they should at least **visit** the polling place at each election even if there are no Libertarians running for office (as in most pri-

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maries and special elections).

We should encourage all LP members to at least get a poll watchers certificate for each election day—or the equivalent if your state has one—and spend at least one hour poll watching when the polls open and one hour when the polls close and the votes are tabulated. As many members as possible should attempt to be elected or appointed precinct election board officials for at least one election cycle.

The Judges and Inspectors of Elections in Pennsylvania have broad powers and are subject to harsh penalties for infractions of the rules. Each polling place is run by a locally elected election board (A Judge of Elections and two Inspectors of elections), there is even a form of patronage involved since one or more clerks can be appointed by the elections board. Decisions of the local Election Board may be appealed to County Board of Elections and the Court of Common Pleas. These positions are much sought after positions by both the Democrat and Republican parties. They are among the few offices specifically mandated by the Pennsylvania state constitution (Article VII Section 11) and are elected to office in the same manner as any other elected office. Candidates must get petition signatures, file candidate affidavits and seek the votes of individual voters in their election divisions. These offices and offices similar to them in other states form the foundation for any real or potential political power base. When vacancies occur in these offices there can be special "curbstone" elections of registered voters present at the polling place at 7:30 am on election day, or a petition can be made to the Court of Common Pleas to appoint a replacement prior to election day. The Strategic Planning project of the LP of PA has established a training program for potential Election Officers and Poll Watchers.

In addition to getting a basic training in electoral politics and experience in serving in public office, each election board officer gets to meet and greet **every voter** in the precinct at least twice a year while getting paid for the opportunity. While is against the law to electioneer within the polling place on election day, the familiarity with the voters and them with you can be used to advantage in the other 363 days of the year.

We should concentrate on getting as many wins within our precincts as possible.

The following pieces and thoughts are considered rough

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notes to be inserted into the body of the plan document:

You can win an election as a Libertarian now. There is no need to wait until the party reaches some magic number of members or amasses some magic amount of cash. Winning is a catalyst for more and greater wins. You can win without compromising principles or committing more resources than you can afford. You can win by being prepared and choosing the contest for which you are best equipped.

In order to determine what a winning strategy might be we first must determine what we will define as success. If as Thomas Jefferson said "That Government is the best that governs least", then we want to begin the process of reducing government. In order to do that we need to be winning political races and affecting the ways and means of government. Why should we wait for some future time of event to begin winning? Why can't we begin to win now? Over the years member and "leaders" of the Libertarian party have lamented over the tough road we have because we are new and small and not treated equally by the major parties that control the reins of government. Ballot access laws make it too difficult to get on the ballot, the Media doesn't give us equal coverage for our ideas, we don't have the money to compete with the other parties, etc. etc. Each of these excuses are false as we commented earlier.

Can we win now? Yes we can. We have already have over 50 elected or appointed Libertarians in Pennsylvania and we are running 50 more this year with real chances of getting into office, Some other states have also done this to a similar of lesser degree. We have won before and can win again in greater numbers.

We can also win without winning an election by becoming the second party instead of a third party, by significantly beating the Republican or Democrat in a three way race.

We can also win by coming in first or second in a respectable number of precincts.

A political campaign for office centers around the candidate. A ballot question or proposition centers around the spokesman. It takes more than one person to make a successful campaign. It takes a campaign team. Even a race for the smallest elected office should be conducted by a campaign team. A successful political party is defined as an assemblage of successful campaigns.

A campaign team can be constructed in many ways and a few people can share multiple functions, but a political campaign is a committee that includes at least the following elements or functions:

- Chairman
- Secretary, Treasurer
- Candidate or Spokesperson
- Issues coordinator
- Operations Manager

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Communications Director
Fund raising Chairman
Volunteer Coordinator
Election Day coordinator
Events Coordinator
Scheduler

Not everyone is cut out to be a candidate but everyone can be a successful campaign team member. Certain political tasks can be undertaken by team members to augment the political clout of the campaign team like serving on local boards and commissions, or even just attending town council of school board meetings and registering your presence and concern.

Each campaign team will have to develop its own strategy and tactics depending on the office being sought and the available resources that can be devoted to the campaign. A major consideration will be fashioning a plan that will allow the campaign team to operate continuously, year in and year out. Whatever pace that is selected, it should be such that no element of the campaign team will be taxed beyond its ability to sustain indefinitely. In other words, no burnout.

Back to some of the myths that have plagued the LP since its inception:

1. Ballot access requirements are too severe

Not in Pennsylvania and *most* other states. State Assembly races rarely require more than 500 signature of registered voters, even with a margin for bad signatures. Borough council, city council races are usually much less. We have from the middle of March to the end of July to collect the signatures which is less than 4 per day. A modest effort by a campaign team should collect 100 signatures per day! If we are running for those races we can win instead of races in which we can only get 1% of the vote, then ballot access is no problem.

2. The media doesn't give us the coverage that we deserve

A candidate gets the media they work for and earn. We have proven that in the Leon Williams campaign, the John Featherman campaign, the Bob Selles campaign and many others. If a candidate has something relevant to his or her campaign **and** is of interest to the general public, the media will cover the story. Many of our candidates in the past have tried to promote specific Libertarian issues in political races where those issues were not relevant. A candidate need to develop a message that resonates with the voters while still maintaining a libertarian flavor. "More Jobs, less crime, better schools" can be the headlines with a libertarian method of implementation.

3. We don't have enough money to compete with the

other parties.

While money can always be utilized in a political campaign, it is not what wins elections. Money only helps a candidate that already has a significant base of support to attract a few more uncommitted voters in a close race. The more credible a candidate is, the more money that candidate can raise. Credibility comes from having a base campaign that demonstrates competence, knowledge of the issues and some history of community involvement.

The LP of Pennsylvania has been developing and implementing a strategic plan for the last 5 years. The first formal planning session was held in 1994 by our chairman Tim Moir who was then the party Secretary. We have emphasized a policy of decentralization and concentration on local races. The Strategic Planning Project now has participation by Libertarians throughout the country. You can visit the web site at WWW.LP2000.COM and see the list of participants.

The LP of PA has benefited from our emphasis on local races by electing more Libertarians to office than any other state while still running statewide campaigns for the purpose of "showing the flag" and gaining and maintain statewide recognition as an official party. We have also maintained our status as the state with the second highest membership totals.

The Strategic planning project has also developed a series of training seminars for potential candidates and candidate campaign teams. We started with the most basic element of any political campaign which is the individual polling precinct workers and poll watchers. We held a few training sessions last year and trained about 50 people.

You can be a winner now if you choose the right contest, the right message, and are better prepared than your opposition.

Our goal is to provide sufficient information and training for **any** person who wants to participate in a winning campaign regardless of the level of commitment of time and/or money that individual can afford. For example, if you can devote 10 hours per **year** to assist in a political campaign and trained to be an official Poll Watcher/Worker, you can greatly enhance the chances of one or more of our candidates winning that particular precinct. In addition, as a trained poll worker you are eligible to replace one of the existing elected members of a precinct election board and end up getting paid to work the polls for a day.

The people conducting these training sessions are people who have succeeded in getting elected, getting media coverage, and getting the endorsement of the leading newspapers of record. They have succeeded in affecting government as elected and appointed officials, and in beating one of the major parties in a contested election, and succeeded in winning over both major parties in one or more precincts.

As part of the decentralist strategy, we must destroy the myth that all knowledge comes down from the party hierarchy. Those of us who are on the county, state, and national committees may have more time in the party than some others but we don't have and can't have all the best answers and strategies. The LP will only be politically successful when the average member is politically successful.

We would like to consider people members of the LP when they contribute to its general success. This does not mean only monetary contributions, but contributions of time and commitment. Without a dedicated cadre of political activists as the basis of the party, money alone will not provide success. As has been seen many times excess money without sufficient oversight at the grass roots leads to waste, fraud and abuse.

Similarly all LP members should be encouraged to consider running for, or getting appointed to the lowest level elective office available to them and for which they are qualified and will be able to devote the necessary time to do a good job. These offices should **not** be used for launching protests or just to run up the numbers of "Libertarians in Office". Those LP members who do not or can not meet the minimum qualifications should at least attend their local borough, township or city committee meetings, sub-committee meetings and/or meetings of the various agencies, boards, commissions and authorities. It is quite possible to affect the outcome of the decisions of these bodies without being a voting member of those bodies. All that is necessary is that you know the issues and can present your views either by formal testimony, written proposals and reports or by informal lobbying. There are approximately 100,000 voting precincts in the United States. There are approximately 500,000 elected offices and about twice that many positions on all public agencies, boards, commissions and authorities.

For those LP members who can't do any of the above for some reason, they can provide research and the equivalent of staff support for the Libertarians in public office or those non-elected and appointed activists who are attending the official meetings.

To Be Continued

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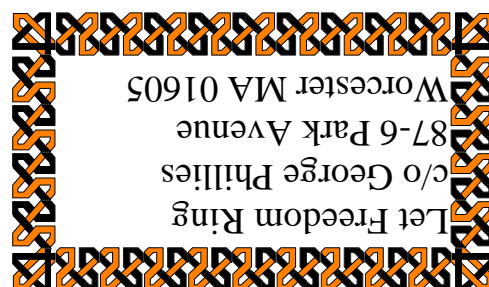
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Sorry, Mr. Franklin, "We're All Democrats Now"

Introduction

At the close of the Constitutional Convention in 1787, Benjamin Franklin told an inquisitive citizen that the delegates to the Constitutional Convention gave the people "a Republic, if you can keep it." We should apologize to Mr. Franklin. It is obvious that the Republic is gone, for we are wallowing in a pure democracy against which the Founders had strongly warned.

Madison, the father of the Constitution, could not have been more explicit in his fear and concern for democracies. "Democracies," he said, "have ever been spectacles of turbulence and contention; have ever been found incompatible with personal security or the rights of property; and have in general been as short in their lives as they have been violent in their death."

If Madison's assessment was correct, it behooves those of us in Congress to take note and decide, indeed, whether the Republic has vanished, when it occurred, and exactly what to expect in the way of "turbulence, contention, and violence." And above all else, what can we and what will we do about it?

The turbulence seems self-evident. Domestic welfare programs are not sustainable and do not accomplish their stated goals. State and federal spending and deficits are out of control. Terrorism and uncontrollable fear undermine our sense of well-being. Hysterical reactions to dangers not yet seen prompt the people at the prodding of the politicians- to readily sacrifice their liberties in vain hope that someone else will take care of them and guarantee their security. With these obvious signs of a failed system all around us, there seems to be more determination than ever to antagonize the people of the world by pursuing a world empire. Nation building, foreign intervention, preemptive war, and global government drive our foreign policy. There seems to be complete aversion to defending the Republic and the Constitution that established it.

The Founders clearly understood the dangers of a democracy. Edmund Randolph of Virginia described the effort to deal with the issue at the Constitutional Convention: "The general object was to produce a cure for the evils under which the United States labored; that in tracing these evils to their origins, every man had found it in the turbulence and follies of democracy."

These strongly held views regarding the evils of democracy and the benefits of a Constitutional Republic were shared by all the Founders. For them, a democracy meant centralized power, controlled by majority opinion, which was up for grabs and therefore completely arbitrary.

In contrast, a Republic was decentralized and representative in nature, with the government's purpose strictly limited by the Constitution to the protection of liberty and private property

ownership. They believed the majority should never be able to undermine this principle and that the government must be tightly held in check by constitutional restraints. The difference between a democracy and a republic was simple. Would we live under the age-old concept of the rule of man or the enlightened rule of law?

A constitution in and by itself does not guarantee liberty in a republican form of government. Even a perfect constitution with this goal in mind is no better than the moral standards and desires of the people. Although the United States Constitution was by far the best ever written for the protection of liberty, with safeguards against the dangers of a democracy, it too was flawed from the beginning. Instead of guaranteeing liberty equally for all people, the authors themselves yielded to the democratic majority's demands that they compromise on the issue of slavery. This mistake, plus others along the way, culminated in a Civil War that surely could have been prevented with clearer understanding and a more principled approach to the establishment of a constitutional republic.

Subsequently, the same urge to accommodate majority opinion, while ignoring the principles of individual liberty, led to some other serious errors. Even amending the Constitution in a proper fashion to impose alcohol prohibition turned out to be a disaster. Fortunately this was rectified after a short time with its repeal.

But today, the American people accept drug prohibition, a policy as damaging to liberty as alcohol prohibition. A majority vote in Congress has been enough to impose this very expensive and failed program on the American people, without even bothering to amend the Constitution. It has been met with only minimal but, fortunately, growing dissent. For the first 150 years of our history, when we were much closer to being a true republic, there were no federal laws dealing with this serious medical problem of addiction.

The ideas of democracy, not the principles of liberty, were responsible for passage of the 16th Amendment. It imposed the income tax on the American people and helped to usher in the modern age of the welfare/warfare state. Unfortunately, the 16th Amendment has not been repealed, as was the 18th. As long as the 16th Amendment is in place, the odds are slim that we can restore a constitutional republic dedicated to liberty. The personal income tax is more than symbolic of a democracy; it is a predictable consequence.

Transition to Democracy

The transition from republic to democracy was gradual and insidious. Its seeds were sown early in our history. In many ways, the Civil War and its aftermath laid the foundation for the acute erosion that took place over the entire 20th century. Chronic concern about war and economic downturns- events caused by an intrusive government's failure to follow the binding restraints of the Constitution- allowed majority demands to supercede the rights of the minority. By the end of the 20th century, majority opinion had become the determining factor in all that government does. The rule of law was cast aside, leaving the Constitu-

tion a shell of what it once was- a Constitution with rules that guaranteed a republic with limited and regional government and protection of personal liberty. The marketplace, driven by voluntary cooperation, private property ownership, and sound money was severely undermined with the acceptance of the principles of a true democracy.

Unfortunately, too many people confuse the democratic elections of leaders of a republic for democracy by accepting the rule of majority opinion in all affairs. For majorities to pick leaders is one thing. It is something quite different for majorities to decide what rights are, to redistribute property, to tell people how to manage their personal lives, and to promote undeclared, unconstitutional wars.

The majority is assumed to be in charge today and can do whatever it pleases. If the majority has not yet sanctioned some desired egregious action demanded by special interests, the propaganda machine goes into operation, and the pollsters relay the results back to the politicians who are seeking legitimacy in their endeavors. The rule of law and the Constitution have become irrelevant, and we live by constant polls.

This trend toward authoritarian democracy was tolerated because, unlike a military dictatorship, it was done in the name of benevolence, fairness, and equity. The pretense of love and compassion by those who desire to remold society and undermine the Constitution convinced the recipients, and even the victims, of its necessity. Since it was never a precipitous departure from the republic, the gradual erosion of liberty went unnoticed.

But it is encouraging that more and more citizens are realizing just how much has been lost by complacency. The resolution to the problems we face as a result of this profound transition to pure democracy will be neither quick nor painless. This transition has occurred even though the word "democracy" does not appear in the Constitution or in the Declaration of Independence, and the Founders explicitly denounced it. Over the last hundred years, the goal of securing individual liberties within the framework of a constitutional republic has been replaced with incessant talk of democracy and fairness.

Rallying support for our ill-advised participation in World War I, Wilson spoke glowingly of "making the world safe for democracy," and never mentioned national security. This theme has, to this day, persisted in all our foreign affairs. Neo-conservatives now brag of their current victories in promoting what they call "Hard Wilsonism."

A true defense of self-determination for all people, the necessary ingredient of a free society, is ignored. Self-determination implies separation of smaller government from the larger entities that we witnessed in the breakup of the Soviet Union. This notion contradicts the goal of pure democracy and world government. A single world government is the ultimate goal of all social egalitarians who are unconcerned with liberty.

Current Understanding

Today the concepts of rights and property ownership are com-

pletely arbitrary. Congress, the courts, presidents and bureaucrats arbitrarily "legislate" on a daily basis, seeking only the endorsement of the majority. Although the republic was designed to protect the minority against the dictates of the majority, today we find the reverse. The republic is no longer recognizable.

Supporters of democracy are always quick to point out one of the perceived benefits of this system is the redistribution of wealth by government force to the poor. Although this may be true in limited fashion, the champions of this system never concern themselves with the victims from whom the wealth is stolen. The so-called benefits are short-lived, because democracy consumes wealth with little concern for those who produce it. Eventually the programs cannot be funded, and the dependency that has developed precipitates angry outcries for even more "fairness." Since reversing the tide against liberty is so difficult, this unworkable system inevitably leads to various forms of tyranny.

As our republic crumbles, voices of protest grow louder. The central government becomes more authoritarian with each crisis. As the quality of education plummets, the role of the federal government is expanded. As the quality of medical care collapses, the role of the federal government in medicine is greatly increased. Foreign policy failures precipitate cries for more intervention abroad and an even greater empire. Cries for security grow louder, and concern for liberty languishes.

Attacks on our homeland prompt massive increase in the bureaucracy to protect us from all dangers, seen and imagined. The prime goal and concern of the Founders, the protection of liberty, is ignored. Those expressing any serious concern for personal liberty are condemned for their self-centeredness and their lack of patriotism.

Even if we could defeat al Qaeda- which surely is a worthwhile goal- it would do little to preserve our liberties, while ignoring the real purpose of our government. Another enemy would surely replace it, just as the various groups of barbarians never left the Roman Empire alone once its internal republican structure collapsed.

Democracy Subverts Liberty and Undermines Prosperity

Once it becomes acceptable to change the rules by majority vote, there are no longer any limits on the power of the government. When the Constitution can be subverted by mere legislative votes, executive orders or judicial decrees, constitutional restraints on the government are eliminated. This process was rare in the early years of our history, but now it is routine.

Democracy is promoted in the name of fairness in an effort to help some special-interest group gain a benefit that it claims it needs or is entitled to. If only one small group were involved, nothing would come of the demands. But coalitions develop, and the various groups ban together to form a majority to vote themselves all those things that they expect others to provide for them.

Although the motivating factor is frequently the desire for the

poor to better themselves through the willingness of others to sacrifice for what they see as good cause, the process is doomed to failure. Governments are inefficient and the desired goals are rarely achieved. Administrators, who benefit, perpetuate the programs. Wealthy elites learn to benefit from the system in a superior fashion over the poor, because they know how to skim the cream off the top of all the programs designed for the disadvantaged. They join the various groups in producing the majority vote needed to fund their own special projects.

Public financing of housing, for instance, benefits builders, bureaucrats, insurance companies, and financial institutions, while the poor end up in drug-infested, crime-ridden housing projects. For the same reason, not only do business leaders not object to the system, but they also become strong supporters of welfare programs and foreign aid. Big business strongly supports programs like the Export/Import Bank, the IMF, the World Bank, farm subsidies, and military adventurism. Tax-code revisions and government contracts mean big profits for those who are well-connected. Concern for individual liberty is pushed to the bottom of the priority list for both the poor and rich welfare recipients.

Prohibitions placed in the Constitution against programs that serve special interests are the greatest threat to the current system of democracy under which we operate. In order for the benefits to continue, politicians must reject the rule of law and concern themselves only with the control of majority opinion. Sadly, that is the job of almost all politicians. It is clearly the motivation behind the millions spent on constant lobbying, as well as the billions spent on promoting the right candidates in each election. Those who champion liberty are rarely heard from. The media, banking, insurance, airlines, transportations, financial institutions, government employees, the military-industrial complex, the educational system, and the medical community are all dependent on government appropriations, resulting in a high-stakes system of government.

Democracy encourages the mother of all political corruption- the use of political money to buy influence. If the dollars spent in this effort represent the degree to which democracy has won out over the rule of law and the Constitution, it looks like the American republic is left wanting. Billions are spent on the endeavor.

Money in politics is the key to implementing policy and swaying democratic majorities. It is seen by most Americans, and rightly so, as a negative and a danger. Yet the response, unfortunately, is only more of the same. More laws tinkering with freedom of expression are enacted, in hopes that regulating sums of private money thrown into the political system will curtail the abuse. But failing to understand the cause of the problem, lack of respect for the Constitution, and obsession with legislative relativity dictated by the majority serve only to further undermine the rule of law.

We were adequately warned about the problem. Democracies lead to chaos, violence and bankruptcy. The demands of the majority are always greater than taxation alone can provide. Therefore, control over the monetary and banking system is required

for democracies to operate. It was no accident in 1913, when the dramatic shift toward a democracy became pronounced, that the Federal Reserve was established. A personal income tax was imposed as well. At the same time, popular election of Senators was instituted, and our foreign policy became aggressively interventionist. Even with an income tax, the planners for war and welfare (a guns and butter philosophy) knew that it would become necessary to eliminate restraints on the printing of money. Private counterfeiting was a heinous crime, but government counterfeit and fractional-reserve banking were required to seductively pay for the majority's demands. It is for this reason that democracies always bring about currency debasement through inflation of the money supply.

Some of the planners of today clearly understand the process and others, out of ignorance, view central-bank money creation as a convenience with little danger. That's where they are wrong. Even though the wealthy and the bankers support paper money- believing they know how to protect against its ill effects- many of them are eventually dragged down in the economic downturns that always develop.

It's not a new era that they have created for us today, but more of the same endured throughout history by so many other nations. The belief that democratic demands can be financed by deficits, credit creation and taxation is based on false hope and failure to see how it contributes to the turbulence as the democracy collapses.

Once a nation becomes a democracy, the whole purpose of government changes. Instead of the government's goal being that of guaranteeing liberty, equal justice, private property, and voluntary exchange, the government embarks on the impossible task of achieving economic equality, micromanaging the economy, and protecting citizens from themselves and all their activities. The destruction of the wealth-building process, which is inherent in a free society, is never anticipated. Once it's realized that it has been undermined, it is too late to easily reverse the attacks against limited government and personal liberty.

Democracy, by necessity, endorses special-interest interventionism, inflationism, and corporatism. In order to carry out the duties now expected of the government, power must be transferred from the citizens to the politicians. The only thing left is to decide which group or groups have the greatest influence over the government officials. As the wealth of the nation dwindles, competition between the special-interest groups grows more intense and becomes the dominant goal of political action. Restoration of liberty, the market and personal responsibility are of little interest and are eventually seen as impractical.

Power and public opinion become crucial factors in determining the direction of all government expenditures. Although both major parties now accept the principles of rule by majority and reject the rule of law, the beneficiaries for each party are generally different- although they frequently overlap. Propaganda, demagoguery, and control of the educational system and the media are essential to directing the distribution of the loot the government steals from those who are still honestly working for a living.

The greater problem is that nearly everyone receives some government benefit, and at the same time contributes to the Treasury. Most hope they will get back more than they pay in and, therefore, go along with the firmly entrenched system. Others, who understand and would choose to opt out and assume responsibility for themselves, aren't allowed to and are forced to participate. The end only comes with a collapse of the system, since a gradual and logical reversal of the inexorable march toward democratic socialism is unachievable.

Soviet-style communism dramatically collapsed once it was recognized that it could no longer function and a better system replaced it. It became no longer practical to pursue token reforms like those that took place over its 70-year history.

The turmoil and dangers of pure democracy are known. We should get prepared. But it will be the clarity with which we plan its replacement that determines the amount of pain and suffering endured during the transition to another system. Hopefully, the United States Congress and other government leaders will come to realize the seriousness of our current situation and replace the business-as-usual attitude, regardless of political demands and growing needs of a boisterous majority. Simply stated, our wealth is running out, and the affordability of democracy is coming to an end.

History reveals that once majorities can vote themselves largesse, the system is destined to collapse from within. But in order to maintain the special-interest system for as long as possible, more and more power must be given to an ever-expanding central government-which of course only makes matters worse.

The economic shortcomings of such a system are easily understood. What is too often ignored is that the flip side of delivering power to government is the loss of liberty to the individual. This loss of liberty causes exactly what the government doesn't want- less productive citizens who cannot pay taxes.

Even before 9/11, these trends were in place and proposals were abundant for restraining liberty. Since 9/11, the growth of centralized government and the loss of privacy and personal freedoms have significantly accelerated.

It is in dealing with homeland defense and potential terrorist attacks that the domestic social programs and the policy of foreign intervention are coming together and precipitating a rapid expansion of the state and erosion of liberty. Like our social welfare at home, our foreign meddling and empire building abroad are a consequence of our becoming a pure democracy.

Foreign Affairs and Democracy

The dramatic shift away from republicanism that occurred in 1913, as expected, led to a bold change of purpose in foreign affairs. The goal of "making the world safe for democracy" was forcefully put forth by President Wilson. Protecting national security had become too narrow a goal and selfish in purpose. An obligation for spreading democracy became a noble obligation backed by a moral commitment, every bit as utopian as striving

for economic equality in an egalitarian society here at home.

With the growing affection for democracy, it was no giant leap to assume that majority opinion should mold personal behavior. It was no mere coincidence that the 18th Amendment- alcohol prohibition- was passed in 1919.

Ever since 1913, all our presidents have endorsed meddling in the internal affairs of other nations and have given generous support to the notion that a world government would facilitate the goals of democratic welfare or socialism. On a daily basis, we hear that we must be prepared to spend our money and use our young people to police the entire world in order to spread democracy. Whether in Venezuela or Columbia, Afghanistan or Pakistan, Iraq or Iran, Korea or Vietnam, our intervention is always justified with a tone of moral arrogance that "it's for their own good."

Our policymakers promote democracy as a cure-all for the various complex problems of the world. Unfortunately, the propaganda machine is able to hide the real reasons for our empire building. "Promoting democracy" overseas merely becomes a slogan for doing things that the powerful and influential strive to do for their own benefit. To get authority for these overseas pursuits, all that is required of the government is that the majority be satisfied with the stated goals- no matter how self-serving they may be. The rule of law, that is, constitutional restraint, is ignored. But as successful as the policy may be on the short run and as noble as it may be portrayed, it is a major contributing factor to the violence and chaos that eventually come from pure democracy.

There is abundant evidence that the pretense of spreading democracy contradicts the very policies we are pursuing. We preach about democratic elections, but we are only too willing to accept some for-the-moment friendly dictator who actually overthrew a democratically elected leader or to interfere in some foreign election.

This is the case with Pakistan's Mushariff. For a temporary alliance, he reaps hundreds of millions of dollars, even though strong evidence exists that the Pakistanis have harbored and trained al Qaeda terrorists, that they have traded weapons with North Korea, and that they possess weapons of mass destruction. No one should be surprised that the Arabs are confused by our overtures of friendship. We have just recently promised \$28 billion to Turkey to buy their support for Persian Gulf War II.

Our support of Saudi Arabia, in spite of its ties to al Qaeda through financing and training, is totally ignored by those obsessed with going to war against Iraq. Saudi Arabia is the furthest thing from a democracy. As a matter of fact, if democratic elections were permitted, the Saudi government would be overthrown by a bin Laden ally. Those who constantly preach global government and democracy ought to consider the outcome of their philosophy in a hypothetical Mid-East regional government. If these people were asked which country in this region possesses weapons of mass destruction, has a policy of oppressive occupation, and constantly defies UN Security council reso-

<p>luti ons, the vast majority would overwhelmingly name Israel. Is this ludicrous? No, this is what democracy is all about and what can come from a one-man, one-vote philosophy.</p> <p>U.S. policy supports the overthrow of the democratically elected Chavez government in Venezuela, because we don't like the economic policy it pursues. We support a military takeover as long as the new dictator will do as we tell him.</p> <p>There is no creditability in our contention that we really want to impose democracy on other nations. Yet promoting democracy is the public justification for our foreign intervention. It sounds so much nicer than saying we're going to risk the lives of our young people and massively tax our citizens to secure the giant oil reserves in Iraq.</p> <p>After we take over Iraq, how long would one expect it to take until there are authentic nationwide elections in that country? The odds of that happening in even a hundred years are remote. It's virtually impossible to imagine a time when democratic elections would ever occur for the election of leaders in a constitutional republic dedicated for protection of liberty any place in the region.</p> <p>Foreign Policy, Welfare, and 9/11</p> <p>The tragedy of 9/11 and its aftermath dramatize so clearly how a flawed foreign policy has served to encourage the majoritarians determined to run everyone's life.</p> <p>Due to its natural inefficiencies and tremendous costs, a failing welfare state requires an ever-expanding authoritarian approach to enforce mandates, collect the necessary revenues, and keep afloat an unworkable system. Once the people grow to depend on government subsistence, they demand its continuation.</p> <p>Excessive meddling in the internal affairs of other nations and involving ourselves in every conflict around the globe has not endeared the United States to the oppressed of the world. The Japanese are tired of us. The South Koreans are tired of us. The Europeans are tired of us. The Central Americans are tired of us. The Filipinos are tired of us. And above all, the Arab Muslims are tired of us.</p> <p>Angry and frustrated by our persistent bullying and disgusted with having their own government bought and controlled by the United States, joining a radical Islamic movement was a natural and predictable consequence for Muslims.</p> <p>We believe bin Laden when he takes credit for an attack on the West, and we believe him when he warns us of an impending attack. But we refuse to listen to his explanation of why he and his allies are at war with us.</p> <p>Bin Laden's claims are straightforward. The U.S. defiles Islam with military bases on holy land in Saudi Arabia, its initiation of war against Iraq, with 12 years of persistent bombing, and its dollars and weapons being used against the Palestinians as the Palestinian territory shrinks and Israel's occupation expands.</p>	<p>There will be no peace in the world for the next 50 years or longer if we refuse to believe why those who are attacking us do it.</p> <p>To dismiss terrorism as the result of Muslims hating us because we're rich and free is one of the greatest foreign-policy frauds ever perpetrated on the American people. Because the propaganda machine, the media, and the government have restated this so many times, the majority now accept it at face value. And the administration gets the political cover it needs to pursue a "holy" war for democracy against the infidels who hate us for our goodness.</p> <p>Polling on the matter is followed closely and, unfortunately, is far more important than the rule of law. Do we hear the pundits talk of constitutional restraints on the Congress and the administration? No, all we ever hear are reassurances that the majority supports the President; therefore it must be all right.</p> <p>The terrorists' attacks on us, though never justified, are related to our severely flawed foreign policy of intervention. They also reflect the shortcomings of a bureaucracy that is already big enough to know everything it needs to know about any impending attack but too cumbersome to do anything about it. Bureaucratic weaknesses within a fragile welfare state provide a prime opportunity for those whom we antagonize through our domination over world affairs and global wealth to take advantage of our vulnerability.</p> <p>But what has been our answer to the shortcomings of policies driven by manipulated majority opinion by the powerful elite? We have responded by massively increasing the federal government's policing activity to hold American citizens in check and make sure we are well-behaved and pose no threat, while massively expanding our aggressive presence around the world. There is no possible way these moves can make us more secure against terrorism, yet they will accelerate our march toward national bankruptcy with a currency collapse.</p> <p>Relying on authoritarian democracy and domestic and international meddling only move us sharply away from a constitutional republic and the rule of law and toward the turbulence of a decaying democracy, about which Madison and others had warned.</p> <p>Once the goal of liberty is replaced by a preconceived notion of the benefits and the moral justifications of a democracy, a trend toward internationalism and world government follows.</p> <p>We certainly witnessed this throughout the 20th century. Since World War II, we have failed to follow the Constitution in taking this country to war, but instead have deferred to the collective democratic wisdom of the United Nations.</p> <p>Once it's recognized that ultimate authority comes from an international body, whether the United Nations, NATO, the WTO, the World Bank, or the IMF, the contest becomes a matter of who holds the reins of power and is able to dictate what is perceived as the will of the people (of the world). In the name of</p>
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democracy, just as it is done in Washington, powerful nations with the most money will control UN policy. Bribery, threats, and intimidation are common practices used to achieve a "democratic" consensus-no matter how controversial and short-lived the benefits.

Can one imagine what it might be like if a true worldwide democracy existed and the United Nations were controlled by a worldwide, one man/one vote philosophy? The masses of China and India could vote themselves whatever they needed from the more prosperous western countries. How long would a world system last based on this absurdity? Yet this is the principle that we're working so hard to impose on ourselves and others around the world.

In spite of the great strides made toward one-world government based on egalitarianism, I'm optimistic that this utopian nightmare will never come to fruition. I have already made the case that here at home powerful special interests take over controlling majority opinion, making sure fairness in distribution is never achieved. This fact causes resentment and becomes so expensive that the entire system becomes unstable and eventually collapses.

The same will occur internationally, even if it miraculously did not cause conflict among the groups demanding the loot confiscated from the producing individuals (or countries). Democratic socialism is so destructive to production of wealth that it must fail, just as socialism failed under Soviet Communism. We have a long way to go before old-fashioned nationalism is dead and buried. In the meantime, the determination of those promoting democratic socialism will cause great harm to many people before its chaotic end and we rediscover the basic principle responsible for all of human progress.

Paying for Democracy

With the additional spending to wage war against terrorism at home, while propping up an ever-increasing expensive and failing welfare state, and the added funds needed to police the world, all in the midst of a recession, we are destined to see an unbelievably huge explosion of deficit spending. Raising taxes won't help. Borrowing the needed funds for the budgetary deficit, plus the daily borrowing from foreigners required to finance our ever-growing current account deficit, will put tremendous pressure on the dollar.

The time will come when the Fed will no longer be able to dictate low interest rates. Reluctance of foreigners to lend, the exorbitant size of our borrowing needs, and the risk premium will eventually send interest rates upward. Price inflation will accelerate, and the cost of living for all Americans will increase. Under these conditions, most Americans will face a decline in their standard of living.

Facing this problem of paying for past and present excess spending, the borrowing and inflating of the money supply has already begun in earnest. Many retirees, depending on their 401k funds and other retirement programs, are suffering the ill-effects of the stock market crash- a phenomenon that still has a long way to

go. Depreciating the dollar by printing excessive money, like the Fed is doing, will eventually devastate the purchasing power of those retirees who are dependent on Social Security. Government cost-of-living increases will never be able to keep up with this loss. The elderly are already unable to afford the inflated costs of medical care, especially the cost of pharmaceuticals.

The reality is that we will not be able to inflate, tax, spend or borrow our way out of this mess that the Congress has delivered to the American people. The demands that come with pure democracy always lead to an unaffordable system that ends with economic turmoil and political upheaval. Tragically, the worse the problems get, the louder is the demand for more of the same government programs that caused the problems in the first place- both domestic and international. Weaning off of government programs and getting away from foreign meddling because of political pressure are virtually impossible. The end comes only after economic forces make it clear we can no longer afford to pay for the extravagance that comes from democratic dictates.

Democracy is the most expensive form of government. There is no "king" with an interest in preserving the nation's capital. Everyone desires something, and the special-interest groups, banding together, dictate to the politicians exactly what they need and want. Politicians are handsomely rewarded for being "effective," that is, getting the benefits for the groups that support them. Effectiveness is never measured by efforts and achievements in securing liberty, even though it's the most important element in a prosperous and progressive world.

Spending is predictable in a democracy, especially one that endorses foreign interventionism. It always goes up, both in nominal terms and in percentage of the nation's wealth. Paying for it can be quite complicated. The exact method is less consequential than the percent of the nation's wealth the government commands. Borrowing and central-bank credit creation are generally used and are less noticeable, but more deceitful, than direct taxation to pay as we go. If direct taxation were accomplished through monthly checks written by each taxpayer, the cost of government would immediately be revealed. And the democratic con game would end much more quickly.

The withholding principle was devised to make paying for the programs the majority demanded seem less painful. Passing on debt to the next generation through borrowing is also a popular way to pay for welfare and warfare. The effect of inflating a currency to pay the bills is difficult to understand, and the victims are hard to identify. Inflation is the most sinister method of payment for a welfare state. It, too, grows in popularity as the demands increase for services that aren't affordable.

Although this appears to be a convenient and cheap way to pay the bills, the economic consequences of lost employment, inflated prices, and economic dislocation make the long-term consequences much more severe than paying as we go. Not only is this costly in terms of national wealth, it significantly contributes to the political chaos and loss of liberty that accompany the death throes of a doomed democracy.

This does not mean that direct taxes won't be continuously raised to pay for out-of-control spending. In a democracy, all earned wealth is assumed to belong to the government. Therefore any restraint in raising taxes, and any tax cuts or tax credits, are considered "costs" to government. Once this notion is established, tax credits or cuts are given only under condition that the beneficiaries conform to the democratic consensus. Freedom of choice is removed, even if a group is merely getting back control of that which was rightfully theirs in the first place.

Tax-exempt status for various groups is not universal but is conditioned on whether their beliefs and practices are compatible with politically correct opinions endorsed by the democratic majority. This concept is incompatible with the principles of private-property ownership and individual liberty. By contrast, in a free society all economic and social decision-making is controlled by private property owners without government intrusion, as long as no one is harmed in the process.

Confusion Regarding Democracy

The vast majority of the American people have come to accept democracy as a favorable system and are pleased with our efforts to pursue Wilson's dream of "making the world safe for democracy." But the goals of pure democracy and that of a constitutional republic are incompatible. A clear understanding of the difference is paramount, if we are to remain a free and prosperous nation.

There are certain wonderful benefits in recognizing the guidance that majority opinion offers. It takes a consensus or prevailing attitude to endorse the principles of liberty and a Constitution to protect them. This is a requirement for the rule of law to succeed. Without a consensus, the rule of law fails. This does not mean that the majority or public opinion measured by polls, court rulings, or legislative bodies should be able to alter the constitutional restraints on the government's abuse of life, liberty, and property. But in a democracy, that happens. And we know that today it is happening in this country on a routine basis.

In a free society with totally free markets, the votes by consumers through their purchases, or refusals to purchase, determine which businesses survive and which fail. This is free-choice "democracy" and it is a powerful force in producing and bringing about economic efficiency. In today's democracy by decree, government laws dictate who receives the benefits and who gets shortchanged. Conditions of employment and sales are taxed and regulated at varying rates, and success or failure is too often dependent on government action than by consumers' voting in the marketplace by their spending habits. Individual consumers by their decisions should be in charge, not governments armed with mandates from the majority.

Even a system of free-market money (a redeemable gold-coin standard) functions through the principle of consumers always voting or withholding support for that currency. A gold standard can only work when freely converted into gold coins, giv-

ing every citizen a right to vote on a daily basis for or against the government money.

The Way Out

It's too late to avoid the turbulence and violence that Madison warned about. It has already started. But it's important to minimize the damage and prepare the way for a restoration of the republic. The odds are not favorable, but not impossible. No one can know the future with certainty. The Soviet system came to an abrupt end with less violence than could have ever been imagined at the height of the Cold War. It was a pleasant surprise.

Interestingly enough, what is needed is a majority opinion, especially by those who find themselves in leadership roles- whether political, educational, or in the media that rejects democracy- and support the rule of law within the republic. This majority support is essential for the preservation of the freedom and prosperity with which America is identified.

This will not occur until we as a nation once again understand how freedom serves the interests of everyone. Henry Grady Weaver, in his 1947 classic, "The Mainspring of Human Progress," superbly explains how it works. His thesis is simple. Liberty permits progress, while government intervention tends always to tyranny. Liberty releases creative energy; government intervention suppresses it. This release of energy was never greater than in the time following the American Revolution and the writing of the U.S. Constitution.

Instead of individual activity being controlled by the government or superstitious beliefs about natural and mystical events, activity is controlled by the individual. This understanding recognizes the immense value in voluntary cooperation and enlightened self-interests. Freedom requires self-control and moral responsibility. No one owes anyone else anything and everyone is responsible for his or her own acts. The principle of never harming one's neighbor, or never sending the government to do the dirty work, is key to making the system tend toward peaceful pursuits and away from the tyranny and majority-induced violence. Nothing short of a reaffirmation of this principle can restore the freedoms once guaranteed under the Constitution. Without this, prosperity for the masses is impossible, and as a nation we become more vulnerable to outside threats.

In a republic, the people are in charge. The Constitution provides strict restraints on the politicians, bureaucrats and the military. Everything the government is allowed to do is only done with explicit permission from the people or the Constitution. Today, it's the opposite. The American people must get permission from the government for their every move, whether it's use of their own property or spending their own money.

Even the most serious decision, such as going to war, is done while ignoring the Constitution and without a vote of the people's representatives in the Congress. Members of the global government have more to say about when American troops are put in harm's way than the U.S. Congress.

The Constitution no longer restrains the government. The government restrains the people in all that they do. This destroys individual creative energy, and the "mainspring of human progress" is lost. The consequences are less progress, less prosperity, and less personal fulfillment.

A system that rejects voluntary contracts, enlightened self interest, and individual responsibilities permits the government to assume these responsibilities. And the government officials become morally obligated to protect us from ourselves, attempting to make us better people and setting standards for our personal behavior. That effort is already in full swing. But if this attitude prevails, liberty is lost.

When government assumes the responsibility for individuals to achieve excellence and virtue, it does so at the expense of liberty, and must resort to force and intimidation. Standards become completely arbitrary, depending on the attitude of those in power and the perceived opinion of the majority. Freedom of choice is gone. This leads to inevitable conflicts with the government dictating what one can eat, drink or smoke. One group may promote abstinence, the other tax-supported condom distribution. Arguments over literature, prayer, pornography, and sexual behavior are endless. It is now not even permissible to mention the word "God" on public property. A people who allows its government to set personal moral standards, for all non-violent behavior, will naturally allow it to be involved in the more important aspects of spiritual life. For instance, there are tax deductions for churches that are politically correct, but not for those whose beliefs that are considered out of the mainstream. Groups that do not meet the official politically correct standards are more likely to be put on a "terrorist" list.

This arbitrary and destructive approach to solving difficult problems must be rejected if we ever hope to live again in a society where the role of government is limited to that of protecting liberty.

The question that I'm most often asked when talking about this subject is, "Why do our elected leaders so easily relinquish liberty and have such little respect for the Constitution?" The people of whom I speak are convinced that liberty is good and big government is dangerous. They are also quite certain that we have drifted a long way away from the principles that made America great, and their bewilderment continuously elicits a big "Why?"

There's no easy answer to this and no single explanation. It involves temptation, envy, greed, and ignorance, but worst of all, humanitarian zeal. Unfortunately, the greater the humanitarian outreach, the greater the violence required to achieve it. The greater the desire to perform humanitarian deeds through legislation, the greater the violence required to achieve it. Few understand this. There are literally no limits to the good deeds that some believe need to be done. Rarely does anyone question how each humanitarian act by government undermines the essential element of all human progress- individual liberty.

Failure of government programs prompts more determined efforts, while the loss of liberty is ignored or rationalized away. Whether it's the war against poverty, drugs, terrorism, or the current Hitler of the day, an appeal to patriotism is used to convince the people that a little sacrifice of liberty, here and there, is a small price to pay.

The results, though, are frightening and will soon become even more so. Poverty has been made worse, the drug war is a bigger threat than drug use, terrorism remains a threat, and foreign wars have become routine and decided upon without congressional approval.

Most of the damage to liberty and the Constitution is done by men and women of good will who are convinced they know what is best for the economy, for others, and foreign powers. They inevitably fail to recognize their own arrogance in assuming they know what is the best personal behavior for others. Their failure to recognize the likelihood of mistakes by central planners allows them to ignore the magnitude of a flawed central government directive, compared to an individual or a smaller unit of government mistake.

C. S. Lewis had an opinion on this subject:

"Of all tyrannies a tyranny sincerely exercised for the good of its victim may be the most oppressive. It may be better to live under robber barons than under omnipotent moral busybodies. The robber baron's cruelty may sometimes sleep, his cupidity may at some point be satiated, but those who torment us for our own good will torment us without end for they do so with the approval of their own conscience."

A system that is based on majority vote rather than the strict rule of law encourages the few who thrive on power and exerting authority over other people's lives, unlike the many driven by sincere humanitarian concerns. Our current system rewards those who respond to age-old human instincts of envy and greed as they gang up on those who produce. Those individuals who are tempted by the offer of power are quick to accommodate those who are the most demanding of government-giveaway programs and government contracts. These special-interest groups notoriously come from both the poor and the rich, while the middle class is required to pay.

It's not just a coincidence that, in the times of rapid monetary debasement, the middle class suffers the most from the inflation and job losses that monetary inflation brings. When inflation is severe, which it will become, the middle class can be completely wiped out. The stock market crash gives us a hint as to what is likely to come as this country is forced to pay for the excesses sustained over the past 30 years while operating under a fiat monetary system.

Eric Hoffer, the longshoreman philosopher, commented on this subject as well: "Absolute power corrupts even when exercised for humane purposes. The benevolent despot who sees himself as a shepherd of the people still demands from others the submissiveness of sheep."

Good men driven by a desire for benevolence encourage the centralization of power. The corruptive temptation of power is made worse when domestic and international interventions go wrong and feed into the hate and envy that invade men's souls when the love of liberty is absent.

Those of good will who work to help the downtrodden do so not knowing they are building a class of rulers who will become drunk with their own arrogance and lust for power. Generally only a few in a society yield to the urge to dictate to others, and seek power for the sake of power and then abuse it. Most members of society are complacent and respond to propaganda, but they unite in the democratic effort to rearrange the world in hopes of gaining benefits through coercive means and convince themselves they are helping their fellow man as well. A promise of security is a powerful temptation for many.

A free society, on the other hand, requires that these same desires be redirected. The desire for power and authority must be over one's self alone. The desire for security and prosperity should be directed inward, rather than toward controlling others. We cannot accept the notion that the gang solution endorsed by the majority is the only option. Self-reliance and personal responsibility are crucial.

But there is also a problem with economic understanding. Economic ignorance about the shortcomings of central economic planning, excessive taxation and regulations, central bank manipulation of money, and credit and interest rates is pervasive in our nation's capital. A large number of conservatives now forcefully argue that deficits don't matter. Spending programs never shrink, no matter whether conservatives or liberals are in charge. Rhetoric favoring free trade is canceled out by special-interest protectionist measures. Support of international government agencies that manage trade, such as the IMF, the World Bank, the WTO, and Nafta politicizes international trade and eliminates any hope that free-trade capitalism will soon emerge.

The federal government will not improve on its policies until the people coming to Washington are educated by a different breed of economists than those who dominate our government-run universities. Economic advisors and most officeholders merely reflect the economics taught to them. A major failure of our entire system will most likely occur before serious thought is given once again to the guidelines laid out in the Constitution.

The current economic system of fiat money and interventionism (both domestic and international) serves to accommodate the unreasonable demands for government to take care of the people. And this, in turn, contributes to the worst of human instincts: authoritarian control by the few over the many.

We, as a nation, have lost our understanding of how the free market provides the greatest prosperity for the greatest number. Not only have most of us forgotten about the invisible hand of Adam Smith, few have ever heard of Mises and Hayek- two individuals who understood exactly why all the economic ups and downs of the 20th century occurred, as well as the cause of the

collapse of the Soviet Union.

But worst of all, we have lost our faith in freedom. Materialistic concerns and desire for security drive all national politics. This trend has sharply accelerated since 9/11.

Understanding the connection between liberty, prosperity, and security has been lost. The priorities are backwards. Prosperity and security come from liberty. Peace and the absence of war come as a consequence of liberty and free trade. The elimination of ignorance and restraints on do-goodism and authoritarianism in a civilized society can only be achieved through a contractual arrangement between the people and the government- in our case, the U.S. Constitution. This document was the best ever devised for releasing the creative energy of a free people while strictly holding in check the destructive powers of government. Only the rule of law can constrain those who, by human instinct, look for a free ride while delivering power to those few, found in every society, whose only goal in life is a devilish desire to rule over others.

The rule of law in a republic protects free-market activity and private-property ownership and provides for equal justice under the law. It is this respect for law and rights over government power that protects the mainspring of human progress from the enemies of liberty. Communists and other socialists have routinely argued that the law is merely a tool of the powerful capitalists. But they have it backwards. Under democracy and fascism, the pseudo-capitalists write the laws that undermine the Constitution and jeopardize the rights and property of all citizens. They fail to realize it is the real law, the Constitution itself, which guarantees rights and equal justice and permits capitalism, thus guaranteeing progress.

Arbitrary, ever-changing laws are the friends of dictators. Authoritarians argue constantly that the Constitution is a living document, and that rigid obedience to ideological purity is the enemy we should be most concerned about. They would have us believe that those who cherish strict obedience to the rule of law in the defense of liberty are wrong merely because they demand ideological purity. They fail to mention that their love of relative rights and pure democracy is driven by a rigid obedience to an ideology as well. The issue is never rigid beliefs versus reasonable friendly compromise. In politics, it's always competition between two strongly held ideologies. The only challenge for men and women of good will is to decide the wisdom and truth of the ideologies offered.

Nothing short of restoring a republican form of government with strict adherence to the rule of law, and curtailing illegal government programs, will solve our current and evolving problems.

Eventually the solution will be found with the passage of the Liberty Amendment. Once there is serious debate on this amendment, we will know that the American people are considering the restoration of our constitutional republic and the protection of individual liberty.

**Libertarian Party
State Chairs Conference**

**Houston IAH Airport Hyatt
February 22-23, 2003**

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Preamble

By Bob Sullentrup, MO Chair

This year's state chair's conference reflected a degree of maturation over the previous two conferences.

The 2001 conference in Indianapolis, our first in this series, was one in which participants got to know one another. We got a sense of which states were progressing well and had scored successes in various areas. Those states inspired the others who were struggling or just getting started. The contacts we made at that conference benefited MO, for example, when it came time to find mentors for our radio advertising initiatives (MI and ME).

The 2002 conference in Nashville provided all the benefits we accrued in Indianapolis and more. The prepared presentations delivered a wealth of information and then were supplemented with first-hand experience from the field. We opened up the phone lines and let people talk. From those discussions a pattern emerged: The message at that conference was to use "high touch in addition to high tech - talk to people and don't be afraid to ask for what you want".

The first inkling that we would have progressed that much further this year came from the multi-page survey distributed before the conference asking for income statements, press release

counts, website statistics and so on. We are now focused on the LNC strategy with its six goals and 20 strategic items.

This was a definite maturation. At last year's conference we would have listed the attributes and practices of a well-run LP affiliate. At this year's conference, we proceeded to measure ourselves.

As a result, we moved to a "nuts and bolts" convention. Rather than reporting on isolated successes built on independent initiatives, we covered topics such as branding. This is a coordinated, focused, sophisticated and forward-looking template that promises to change the tenor of our message and forces us to step out of our issues-based methodology into the language of a constituency group. Who knows how that will turn out, but for the time being it has injected hope, direction and vigor.

As several indicated in the wrap-up as well as Harry Browne at the Indianapolis Convention, it is great to spend our time with like-minded Libertarians. We share the common bond that we are not fooled by government pronouncements, and we understand that coercion where unnecessary leaves us worse off.

Throughout history, not many people have ever understood that. But I'm glad Thomas Jefferson and I do, as well as the rest of the folks in that room. I was pleased to be among them.

Attendees and Introductions

After the group reaffirmed Mark Nelson as the meeting chair, a question raised by NH Chair John Babiarz, the group approved the agenda.

34 representatives from 29 states participated in the conference. The participants and selected comments they made include:

- AL - Jeff Allen, Vice Chair, reported a record 58 candidates ran for office.
- AR - Robert Reed, Vice Chair, said their efforts are gaining access to legislators.
- AR - Gerhard Langguth, outgoing Chair, said 12 volunteers collected 108,000 signatures, 15% of voters, to put a food tax amendment on the ballot. Unfortunately, the ballot initiative failed 300k to 400k.
- AZ - Jason Auvenshine, Chair, stated the LP participated in a hotly contested gubernatorial race, and obtained good coverage through the televised debates.
- CA - Aaron Starr, Chair, noted CA elected 29 people and has a profit to report.
- DE - George Smith, Chair, reported successes stemming from its newsletter.
- FL - Michael Gilson De Lemos, Secretary, noted FL's "Florida Liberty" publication, and the LP's 14% in house races. A total of 500,000 people voted Libertarian in FL in 2002.
- FL - Doug Klippel, Chair, was present.
- IA - Mark Nelson, Chair, chaired this meeting and did not report IA highlights
- ID - Ted Dunlap, Chair, noted the state's membership

	growth, now up to 150 members, and a 22% showing for Secretary of State. Ted has sights on 2006, aiming to leapfrog the Democrats.		recent drive netted 25 new members and \$2,500.
IL -	Austin Hough, Chair, reported IL got on the ballot for the first time since 1994 despite a stiff Republican challenge. The LP got an endorsement from the Chicago Tribune and Sun Times in a three-way state rep race.	WV -	Richard Kerr, Chair was present.
IN -	Mark Rutherford, Chair, reported IN has had ballot access for three cycles.		Attending as adjuncts were:
IN -	Brad Klopfenstein, Executive Director, reported Libertarians were appointed to the committee for the "Help America Vote Act".		Dr. Scott Lieberman, LNC Alternate, San Jose, CA
KS -	Steve Rosile, Chair, was present		Phil Miller, Greenfield, IN
LA -	Charles Sallier, Chair, reported LA fielded its largest slate of candidates ever.		Mark Schreiber, marketing director, national staff
MN -	Kevin Houston, Chair, stated MN has been able to maintain its party infrastructure despite challenges.		George Squyres, LNC member, AZ
MO -	Bob Sullentrup, Chair, reported MO fielded its greatest number of candidates ever, maintained its infrastructure despite resignations, made inroads in collaborative political efforts outside the party, and retained ballot status.		Rick McGinnis, TX
MO -	Greg Tlapek, Executive Director, was present.		Christopher Loyd, Houston, TX
MT -	Mike Fellows, Chair, noted a parking meter issue in Missoula attracted media attention, and the party now has a website. They have been doing public access television since '95.		Kurt Gibby, a Houston local who "just showed up" (gcgconsult@n-star.com)
NC -	Sean Haugh, Executive Director, pointed to their "Ladies of Liberty" calendar featuring Rachel Mills. NC elected six people to office.		Conrad (Ed) Hoch, LNC member, AK
NC -	Barbara Howe, Chair, noted a bill to have third parties pay filing fees indicates the opposition feels threatened by us.		Betty Hoch, AK
ND -	Keith Hanson, Chair, noted ND fielded a city council candidate in Fargo and now has a website.		Ron Crickenberger, Political Director, staff, VA
NH -	John Babiarz, Chair, reported inroads on major TV in gubernatorial debates, and now certain party members have an open door at the current Governor's office.		Mike Dixon, LNC member, now of Charlotte, NC
NV -	Brendan Trainor, Chair, reported a success with petitioning to get back on the ballot.		Carl Milsted, NC
NY -	Bonnie Scott, Secretary, noted NY's novel "guns for tots" giveaway in Harlem, a media sensation.		Joe Dehn, LNC member, CA
OH -	Dena Bruedigam, Vice Chair, noted OH's efforts have been particularly challenging, though it has a new web person, and will bring Neil Boortz to its convention in May.		Steve Dasbach, campaign manager for Gary Nolan for President
SC -	Charles Williams, Chair, mentioned his state broke the color barrier by having run a black female for office.		Dianne Pilcher, staff
TN -	Ray Ledford, Chair, noted the LP's participation in TN's anti income tax protest		Steve Givot, LNC Secretary, CO
TX -	Bob Lockhart, Treasurer. Although losing ballot access, TX ran a record number of candidates in 2002.		Nancy Neale, more than a chair's spouse, worked for Ed Clark for Governor in 1978
UT -	Cabot Nelson, Chair, reported UT has kept its ballot access and hired an executive director.		Geoff Neale, LNC Chair
VA -	Shelly Tamres, Vice Chair, stated the VA LP was able to get an election law changed in the state.		Monica Granger, TX
VA -	Marianne Volpe, Chair, noted its increasing ranks of volunteers..		R. Lee Wrights, LNC member, NC
WI -	Jeremy Keil, Executive Director, noted gubernatorial candidate Ed Thompson received 10% of the vote in 2002. A		Royce Mitchell, TX
			Susan Mitchell, TX
			LP presidential candidates also attended including:
			Gary Nolan, Libertarian syndicated radio talk show host from Cleveland
			(Judge) James P. Gray, former Republican dedicated to ending the failed War on Drugs from Orange County, CA (LA area)
			Michael Badnarik, from Buda, TX (Austin area), a Constitutional expert who offers classes and who is dedicated to promoting Liberty
			Dan Weiner of the Ad Hoc Conspiracy to Nominate L. Neil Smith, who said L. Neil Smith would run if drafted.
			To sum, Mark Nelson noted positives and negatives of the round-robin report of the chairs:
			A reluctance of some chairs to assume their duties, however understandable
			Lack of breadth or depth of state organizations
			Infighting
			Ballot access - losing and gaining
			Electoral victories and losses
			Broadening of membership profiles to include minorities

Declining membership and money
Increasing party recognition

Mark Rutherford (IN) led a moment of silence for departed TN chair, Richard Pearl.

Financial Situation, Geoff Neale

LP Chair Geoff Neale reviewed the Party's financial situation. While our current financial situation is not good, it is much improved since the convention.

The following factors adversely affected the LP's financial situation over the last 18-24 months.

9-11

The anthrax scare delaying business reply envelope processing, a low priority for the US Mail

An Archimedes-style mailing that generated few members or revenues

New member recruiting money drying up, thus membership declining

Adding new staff in the face of declining revenues

Major donors, many of whom came on board for the Harry Browne campaigns of 1996 and 2000, evaporating

A 2002 convention that lost money rather than break even

In addition, Geoff said certain items such as vacation accruals that must be paid when staff members are released, are not updated until the auditors issued their report. This "audit delay" overstated the LP position by \$90k.

All of these factors converged in July 2002.

Since Aug 2002 the LP has reduced expenses by \$28k per month and delayed Unified Membership Program (UMP, a revenue sharing program between national and most states) payments.

Geoff reported the LP's choices were:

1. Not print *LP News*
2. Shut the doors
3. Delay the UMP payments

Certain other managerial choices were also not available, such as borrowing. The LP does not own any real estate collateral to borrow against, for example. Moreover, loans by individual donors are considered contributions and are limited to \$25k by campaign finance laws.

Geoff expects / hopes to catch up on UMP payments by July 1, 2003.

The most common cost saving suggestion Geoff hears is for the LP to move out of the Watergate. If the LP does that, tons of literature with obsolete addresses would have to be discarded.

Moreover, internal studies by LP realtors including Mark Nelson have reaffirmed the office rental expense is competitive for the DC area.

Meanwhile, the new campaign finance legislation embodied in BCRA has generated a flood of requests for rulings. Among those are the LP's requests concerning "sublease" arrangements. The LP is unwilling to risk proceeding with sublease arrangements now for fear of having to defend or pay a penalty for a misstep.

Meanwhile, the group commended Geoff and the LNC for stepping in and handling the financial situation.

Core and Critical Activities, Dianne Pilcher

Mark Nelson framed the discussion by noting the Strategic Planning Team (SPT) of the LNC identified six core goals and 20 strategies as a means of the LP fulfilling its mission.

In particular, Goal 2 Strategy 4 calls for strengthening state and local organizations. Dianne Pilcher surveyed the 51 affiliates in an effort to establish baseline metrics.

27 affiliates responded to the survey that included four sections:

1. Statistics available from national
2. Statistics available from states
3. State financial information
4. State narratives

Of the 27 respondents:

93% have newsletters
78% respond to inquiries
74% issue press releases
63% have had a least one direct mail fundraisers
59% have a methodology to track legislation
52% have a membership renewal program
48% have a methodology to generate inquiries and new members
37% have a pledge program
26% have a speakers bureau or other outreach
26% have internal education (candidate training, workshops)

Of all 51 affiliates (info gathered mostly by LP interns)

55% have credit card capabilities both on and offline
45% have an online newsletter
45% have an email announcement feature
43% have a link to the national site from their site for the joining process
27% accept credit card donations online

Admittedly, this information is incomplete and inaccurate (in MO, this request for information competed with work, family and other LP activities, and did not receive the full measure of attention it required). Dianne committed to updating it as states provide updated information.

Complete details are available in a conference handout.

Meanwhile, the results of this survey serve as a baseline metric for where we stand in Feb 2003. "That which is measured, improves" is a business caveat.

Meanwhile, Kevin Houston of MN wanted to know of a "best practices" manual.

At first the group thought the survey data might identify those states with "best practices" for particular activities. Further discussion revealed the need for "mentoring" among states. Upon further reflection, Dianne should not do "our work".

The group failed to identify a methodology or volunteers to assemble a "best practices" manual, although this will likely be handled by a newly forming Alliance of State Chairs under the guidance of Sean Haugh.

Perhaps that could be arranged by web postings followed by a summarization.

Who's enrolled in this project? We look for a leader and a committee. Post your responses on the state chairs' list.

Organizational Knowledge and Succession Planning

The group addressed capturing knowledge and passing it on to successors.

Jeremy Keil said past chairs are automatic members of the WI executive committee.

Mark Rutherford holds IN county chairs meetings similar to the state chairs meetings as a means of familiarizing a large body of state Libertarians with practices and procedures.

Aaron Starr (CA) wanted to know if any states staggered the terms of officers or had nominating committees. Certain states, however, are constrained by statutes that prescribe terms.

MN has taken an intermediate step of consolidating records and documents.

Bonnie Scott (NY) is trying to develop a strategic four-year plan that would provide continuity.

FL, WA and IN have training manuals for state chairs and other officers.

Ted Dunlap, ID, pointed out that we could avail ourselves of the "best practices" analysis mentioned in the previous section. This would be based on the information that Dianne compiled in the "Core and Critical Activities" survey responses.

Brainstorming, Shortcomings of States

Continuing in the same vein as Dianne's survey, the following states reported:

Those who respond well to inquiries include: FL, TX, AZ, MO, OH

Those with programs in place to generate inquiries: FL

Those with programs to prospect for new members: WI

Those with programs to renew memberships: IA, WI, FL, NH

Those with programs to track legislation: FL, IN, AZ, NH, MN, MT, WI, NC. Although VT was not in attendance, Dianne reported VT's "Legislative Watch" as a model for other states.

Those with successful e-mail, online chat rooms, list servers: IN, ID, AZ, MO, TX, NY*, MT, WI. (OH has stopped)

Those with outreach programs: FL

Those with internal education programs: NC, DE, FL

*NY qualified its response on email success - NY is able to conduct state committee business online without in person meetings or balloting by mail.

Please note these states were self-selected. Accordingly, what qualifies as a successful methodology in one state might be sub-standard in another. Your mileage may vary.

Ted Dunlap, ID, reiterated the desirability of a list of best practices by state as a means of sharing expertise, mentoring and jumpstarting states.

CA promotes and enhances volunteer efforts through a recognition and awards committee. Moreover, Aaron Starr (CA) plans on publishing evaluations of local chapters in the State newsletter as a means of applying peer pressure to enhance performance.

The discussion also addressed national's role in lending assistance to state affiliates.

Several mentioned national should assist by developing brochures and handouts. Dianne Pilcher noted that national is updating brochures as they exhaust existing stock and retire brochures.

Austin Hough (IL) advocated we abandon philosophical brochures in favor of candidate brochures. This met with some disagreement, though, as upcoming branding efforts may spur the creation of new brochures.

Training is another possibility for national's assistance involved training programs. Another person mentioned web services and data integration using XML.

Gerhard Langguth (AR) recommended national influence legislation in DC and not publish *LP News*. This recommendation met with opposition owing to the LP's inability to gain inroads with any members of congress.

Austin Hough (IL) also recommended national concentrate on national races, though this was met with some disagreement.

Other items included

- Focusing on federal races for president, senate, and the house
- Providing a clearinghouse for best practices
- Providing information such as with the BCRA
- Be a clearinghouse for ideas and perform as a template for state organizations.

Membership

Goal ten of the LP's strategic plan is to increase its support base including members, contributors, and volunteers.

Mark Nelson asked the group to focus the discussion on these three items. Others, however, wished to broaden the issue to include voters and perhaps voter registration activities.

Aaron Starr (CA) tried to resolve the issue by asking, "Who is our customer"? Aaron's answer was to say "He who is willing to pay the freight". This spurred some to suggest "investor" would be a better term.

Mark tried to bring the group back by drawing a distinction between an electoral process versus an organizational process, which was the topic at hand.

Steve Givot introduced a technique called "intentional dialog" which the LNC SPT (Strategic Planning Team) had used to understand opposing positions, identify points of common agreement and identify areas for research. The process involves "mirroring" in which one party plays back what the other person said until the first person agrees that what the second person played back matches what the first person said.

"Most of the time we are thinking about our response," said Steve, "rather than listening. Our minds are single threaded processors".

Mike Dixon and Phil Miller performed a quick vignette as an illustration of the process.

The keys to the process are the phrases "What I heard you say was ..." by the receiver followed by "Was I correct"?

If "no", then the process iterates. If "yes", then the receiver asks, "Is there more"?

Author's note: *The Heisenberg Uncertainty Principle applies here. Just as it asserts it is impossible to simultaneously determine the location of an atom and its velocity as a result of the interference from the detection, so too was it impossible to record the exact words of the participants in the exchanges that follow.*

The written text of the senders is abundantly apparent when presented in readable and reviewable form. When spoken in the air and then with the words suddenly vacant, the dynamic changes distinctly. Accordingly, 1) do not assume the exact text of the senders is transcribed here with perfect fidelity and 2) remember the receivers were unable to avail themselves of the immediate

playback and correction mechanism that prepared text as presented here provides.

Mark Rutherford (IN) and Aaron Starr (CA) paired off on the question: "Should the LP continue to follow a membership model with dues - is it an asset or an impediment"?

(IN) Mark Rutherford (sender)
(CA) Aaron Starr (listener)

Mark: *The membership model is an impediment and serves to exclude LP-leaning activists*

Aaron: *What I'm hearing you say is ...did I get it?*

Mark: *Yes.*

Aaron: *Is there more?*

Mark: *There is no difference in terms of activism and dedication between LP activists who sign the pledge versus those who do not.*

Aaron: *(mirrored)*

Mark: *There is no difference between LP activists who give \$25, versus those who give but don't join the party.*

Aaron: *(repeated twice)*

Mark: *(rephrased) Considering non-members who are active, versus joiners who are active, there is no difference between them in terms of their activism.*

Steve Givot, the facilitator, jumped in: "Among givers, there is no difference in activity between members and non-members"

Aaron: *More?*

Mark: *None.*

Steve summarized Mark's points:

A membership requirement excludes activists

There is no difference between those members who give and are activists versus those who are not members and are activists

Being a member doesn't seem to affect levels of activism.

At this point, Aaron and Mark reversed roles of sender and receiver.

Aaron: *People who give money are more likely to become active than those who do not.*

Mark: *(mirrored), Did I get it?*

Aaron: *No. (repeated)*

Mark: *Now did I get it?*

Aaron: *Yes.*

Mark: *More?*

Aaron: *Those who give money tend to be more active.*

Mark: *(mirrored and got it), more?*

Aaron: *Yes. Those who get a membership benefit are more likely to give.*

Mark: *(mirrored) Did I get it?*

Aaron: *Not quite. Our offering membership status for money is more likely to get us more money rather than not*

Mark: *(mirrored) Did I get it?*

Aaron: *No. For a new person who's never given, offering membership as a benefit increases the likelihood they will give money*

Mark: *(mirrored, and got it)*

Aaron: *Offering membership increases likelihood they will give us an initial gift.*

Mark: *(mirrored, and got it) More?*

Aaron: *Offering the benefit of a membership increases the likelihood that someone will give and will increase the likelihood of someone becoming active.*

Mark: *(mirrored, and got it) More?*

Aaron: *Conversely, not giving somebody the benefit of a membership reduces the likelihood of someone giving for the first time, and thus less likely to give at all.*

At this point, Steve Givot noted this process helps:

1. Understand each other
2. Identify areas of agreement
3. Identify areas of disagreement for which additional research or information could help test and resolve.

Steve clarified a point of agreement:

“Contributor” is the focus, not “membership”

Next Steve called for individuals to relate anecdotal and personal experience on whether membership actually “primes the pump” or “creates a threshold barrier”.

Aaron Starr (CA) used this time to clarify that his use of membership was as tool rather than a requirement. If you ask them to be a supporter, you can offer them a “free upgrade” in the future at no incremental cost.

Moreover, CA tends to get its activists thru personal contact, not through membership campaigns in the mail. Also, Aaron noted that activism didn't decrease when membership decreased.

Someone else asked, “Are we a political party or a membership organization”?

Summary Agreement:

1. We should focus on our support base
2. Membership is an option, but not the only tool in the box -- flexibility is key
3. By almost every other metric than membership, we are doing phenomenally well
4. Many states got more members when they ran more candidates (IN, AL, ID, MN). Some, however, did not (CA, TX)

Branding the Libertarian Party, Mark Schreiber

Strategy One calls for defining, developing and promoting the LP.

Mark Nelson framed this discussion by asking the attendees to assess whether “establishing an LP brand would be beneficial to

the party”.

Mark Schreiber of the national staff noted, “We have the best political product and the worst marketing. Our brand is defined by the best AND the worst things associated with it, and every little detail in between”.

Mark has 25 years of marketing experience in many industries and has run for Lt. Governor. *Mark thinks we could dominate a state by 2008.*

In order to do that, the LP needs to create a brand. We would “encapsulate what we are in a positive way, so people hear what we have to say”.

In order to create a brand, you must:

1. Know who you are
2. Know why you exist (why are we here? - we do have a mission statement)
3. Know who you serve

All are equally important.

Who we are:

Libertarians are principled individuals, who are self-reliant, and who have reluctantly entered into the political arena in order to restore liberty and our American values.

Why we exist:

To move public policy in a libertarian direction, by building a political party that elects Libertarians to public office.

Who we serve:

A core constituency for the LP has not been identified.

Mark noted that protests, such as our tax day activities, don't work. “You have to get on the inside, prove you're credible and push their hot buttons”.

A “constituency” Mark defined as a clearly defined group of people

Who can self-identify and

Who are easily classified as a member of a group with homogeneous characteristics,

Who have a vested interest, and

Who lend credibility to the successful accomplishment of organizational goals.

Mark also shared results of surveys he conducted this past summer among members, lapsed members and inquiries who did not join the Libertarian Party. Among members and former members in the “Reasons why I joined the LP”, the top responses were:

To make a difference, to build the Party, to have my ideas heard: 34.3%

To be with people who believe as I do: 19.4%

Once we get members into the Party, members become more libertarian.

At the same time, Mark noted that issues always divide us. The following table depicts a wide distribution of Libertarians on particular issues.

IssueImportancePercent in agreementTaxes and spending82.963.3Drug prohibition65.385.0Gun rights65.366.2Social Security61.593.1Education60.169.3Foreign Policy55.243.9Healthcare52.584.0Foreign trade37.769.6
The above group represents the opinions of 1,191 members.

The table below depicts the opinions of lapsed members:

IssueImportancePercent in agreementTaxes and spending79.555.5Gun rights68.265.4Social Security62.465.4Education60.957.7Drug prohibition58.978.6Foreign Policy55.243.9Healthcare49.377.6Foreign trade42.463.2
“Reasons why I left the LP”. The top responses were (multiple choices allowed):

LP Scandal	36.9%
LP not effective	23.9
I’m not Libertarian after all	17.4
LP’s response to 9-11	10.9
LP is too anarchist and negative	8.7
LP’s Drug War position	2.2

From these data, Mark concluded:

Picking one issue is self-defeating. An issue-based strategy is a losing strategy because it divides us. Even on issues upon which we agree we will have those who wish to see a different issue as our focus or who wish we would present “the” issue in a different way. Candidates best present issues. Our effort at the national level is to afford candidates the most flexibility in choosing which issues to use. Thus continuing the drug war focus strategy is in conflict with a constituency-focused strategy, while a constituency-focused strategy allows us to present our position on the evils of the drug war and/or our positions on all of the issues

Why do we need a constituency?

It defines whom we represent so we can present a message of benefit to someone other than ourselves.

As an illustration, Mark said, “Suppose we told the teacher ‘Tommy is a bully’”. The teacher would not do anything.

Suppose we told the teacher, “Look at Billy, Tommy pushed him down and broke his glasses”. The teacher would intervene. “We need to find our Billy”.

A constituency:

Mirrors who we are
Is well liked and respected as a group. No negatives.

Is large enough and important enough to be meaningful.
Does not already have a champion in the political arena and needs one.
Has an inherent understanding of its vested interest in our success. Even if they are not active members, they should fundamentally share our philosophy of governance.
Brings credibility to the LP
Affords an opportunity to address “our” issues on their behalf, or from “their” point of view, or ideally both, without alienating non-constituencies.
Brings a base level of support.

Certain prospective constituencies Mark dismissed because they failed the test of a good constituency:

The “Taxpayer” - too broad. People think others pay more taxes.
The “Peasant taxpayer” or the “Slave taxpayer” still not “self-identified”

Recall a constituency is a clearly defined group, who can self-identify, or be identified, who have a vested interest in our success, and who lend credibility to our mission.

A constituency is a two-way street. We have to define what they get from us before we can develop a vested interest in our success among them.

“Find a parade, and get in front of it, then it becomes your parade”.

Mark says we don’t have enough funds for two constituencies. To start he recommends the:

SMALL BUSINESS OWNER.

Another good choices includes

Doctors in private practice

“I can couch all of our Libertarian positions in terms the small business owner can understand and relate to - drug war, education, guns, taxation, regulation, government interference, immigration”, said Mark. “When you stand for small business, you stand for America”.

Moreover, small business owners are optimistic and generous, which are not negatives for us.

And this plays to one of our greatest strengths, our belief in market-based solutions.

This encapsulation moves us away from presenting our ideas in our normal fashion. “You can’t sell when you’re angry, and we’re pissed off people. You can only sell when you’re in love, and these small business owners are in love with their customers. They’re in love with what they do. They have a passion for it. To

them money is secondary”.

For this reason, the “non-voter”, the “iconoclast”, and so on are not well defined constituencies. Moreover, we can’t identify them for marketing purposes.

The D’s and R’s have no credibility with small business owners. The R’s have co-opted them because there has been no one to stand up for them, but they abandon them in all of their legislation and actions.

Then Mark asked, “And who in this room are small business owners”?

Virtually the whole room raised their hands.

Mark also noted some studies at the University of Chicago. IBM and Apple are the dominant computer designs. As a runt the market allows for two dominant players. However, the market does allow for niche players. We are a niche in the political arena. The UC studies showed, however, that the dominant players typically get overtaken by niche players, and the transition can happen in a hurry. Mark feels the cross over points are beginning to appear now. This means we have an incredible opportunity.

The National Federation of Independent Businessmen has 600,000 members,

A final question deals with the requirement to not drive anybody away with our support for small businessmen.

We may not attract government employees with this strategy, but then they’re not likely to be very libertarian anyway. (Arguable, since in MO there are at least four solid libertarians who are or have been government or state college employees).

We might proceed in this way, adding additional constituencies kind of like a frog jumping from lily pad to lily pad. What is it we want to get? Credibility, respectably, influence. What do we give back to them? H-o-p-e.

In so doing, our focus will change from stressing issues to constituencies. And we will change the tenor of our rhetoric - not yell and scream - changing the tone, not the substance.

Aaron Starr (CA) moved “to go forward with this proposal, to recommend to the LNC to support the branding strategy that supports small businesses as outlined by Mark”. The motion passed by a solid majority.

Drug War Strategy, Ron Crickenberger

Ron Crickenberger discussed the relatively controversial issue of maintaining the failed War on Drugs as a leading issue for the Party. Ron noted the SPT voted 2-1 to keep this as a prominent issue.

Ron noted, “We own the Drug War”. Moreover, it is better for us than taxes, war, or other issues. Accordingly, we “Might as well

run on it”, he stated.

According to polls, 74% say the War on Drugs can never be won, and 80% say the Drug War is lost.

Moreover, Ron noted that Drug War candidates typically do better than those who candidates who do not emphasize the Drug War.

The Drug War issue has brought in memberships and secured additional donations through headline initiatives such as the “Bump Bob Barr” campaign in GA.

“The medical marijuana issue gives us good coverage”, Ron explained.

MI is recognizing its incarceration expense from the Drug War. With declining revenues, MI is releasing prisoners. And federal government programs to review federal government programs have labeled drug interdiction “a complete failure”.

The Drug War is a moneymaker for the Libertarian Party. It brought 750 new members last year and along with it money specifically earmarked for this.

Finally, the Drug War message plays well with students.

Ron noted one website enhancement under consideration is to show a “thermometer” on the national website indicating the relative sizes of contributions earmarked for various political issues. The War on Drugs thermometer reading remains “hot”.

While sentiment for keeping the Drug War on the front burner remains strong, another component of the Party thinks otherwise.

Steve Givot stepped in with another “intentional dialog” to help clarify the positions of the diverging factions.

The issue the group addressed was: “The LP should stop giving primary emphasis to the Drug War”.

Three sets of “sentiment polls” were compiled as the intentional dialog progressed: Before, intermediate, after.

Strongly agreeTend to agreeMiddle or No OpinionTend to disagreeStrongly disagreeBefore8536925.8%16.1%9.7%19.3%29.0%
Sean Haugh and Mark Rutherford performed the intentional dialog

Mark: *The primary emphasis by national on the war on drugs has too high of negatives to our candidates*

Sean: *Mirrored. Did I get it?*

Mark: *Almost. Emphasize national.*

Sean: *Mirrored and got it. More?*

Mark: *National is not in position to take credit for winning the War on Drugs.*

Sean: *Mirrored and got it. More?*

Mark: *This is an issue better dealt with by the many excellent advocacy groups*

Sean: *Mirrored and got it. More?*

Mark: *The LP, because of all the other groups are narrowly focused, does not own the issue*

Sean: *Mirrored and got it. More?*

Mark: *The strategic plan should be looked at as a whole*

Sean: *Mirrored and got it. More?*

Mark: *The documentation behind the strategy suggested long term and coalition building*

Sean: *Mirrored and got it. More?*

Mark: *Focusing on any issue to the extent we do with the War on Drugs, gives a state chair same level of complaints from candidates about national's interference.*

Now Sean and Mark reversed roles.

Sean: *Any issue that will have a large political payoff will be controversial*

Mark: *Mirrored and got it. More?*

Sean: *We will face internal and external dissent if the issue is worthwhile*

Mark: *Mirrored and got it. More?*

Sean: *Conversely, there is no issue worth fighting for if we can avoid the controversy from the beginning*

Steve Givot now framed the issue

Is this an avoidable burden, or necessary cost?
And are the benefits worth the cost?

Sean: *It is important for national party to select unique, important issues*

Mark: *Mirrored and got it. More?*

Sean: *I believe the War on Drugs is particularly good issue, and more popular with people than they may care to admit*

Mark: *Mirrored and got it. More?*

Sean: *Standing up against the War on Drugs conveys the image that the LP is a party of courage, and an advocate for those are afraid to speak, inside and outside the party*

Mark: *After two iterations, got it. More?*

At this point Steve Givot clarified that the issue was now one of getting the biggest bang for the buck.

Sean: *Through our efforts we have greatly moved the debate from the fringe onto the mainstream because we advocate the end of the WOD. There are no crack vending machine scares, no automatic assumption that we are drug users.*

Mark: *After two iterations, got it. More?*

At this point, the group voted again to see if there was any shift in sentiment.

Strongly agreeTend to agreeMiddle or No OpinionTend to disagreeStrongly

disagreeIntermediate11436834.4%12.5%9.4%18.8%25.0%Before25.8%16.1%9.7%19.3%29.0%

At this point Aaron Starr (CA) replaced Mark.

Sean: *We have made significant progress in 6 years and are now on the verge of a breakthrough*

Aaron: *Mirrored and got it. More?*

Sean: *We have been successful in attaching the LP to the War on Drugs issue, and when we're on TV or radio people need to know we are behind that issue*

Now Kevin Houston (MN) substituted for Sean.

Aaron: *I believe the War on Drugs is a symptom of a bigger problem, and not the problem itself*

Kevin: *Mirrored and got it after an iteration. More?*

Aaron: *I believe the War on Drugs is a result of the government being too big. If there were no War on Drugs, the government would inflict itself on some other group*

Kevin: *Mirrored and got it after an iteration. More?*

Aaron: *I believe that going down this path is a dead end*

Kevin: *Mirrored and got it. More?*

Aaron: *I do not believe we can build a winning constituency on this issue because it is not very important to many people and few people benefit*

Kevin: *Mirrored and got it. More?*

Aaron: *Our emphasis on this is harming our ability to raise money, because this constituency does not have much money to give*

Kevin: *Mirrored and got it after an iteration. More?*

Now Kevin and Aaron switched roles

Kevin: *I believe the positives to our party are greater than negatives*

Aaron: *Mirrored and got it. More?*

Kevin: *Issue groups do not put candidates on the ballot. When we champion this issue, we gain their support - we will reap the benefits of more votes*

Aaron: *Mirrored and got it. More?*

Kevin: *We are already identified as the pot party, and running away from it will not take away the brand, while championing it would allow us to take the credit*

Aaron: *Mirrored and got it. More?*

Kevin: *Running from it will hurt us more than sticking with it.*

Aaron: *Mirrored and got it. More?*

Steve Givot summarized. From Aaron, he heard the War on Drugs was a "symptom" and was hurting us financially.

From Kevin, Steve heard that we would get those votes from issue groups, and abandoning them would shoot ourselves in the foot.

To finish this session, the discussion turned to anecdotes and experience on the relative costs versus benefits of the War on Drugs issue. The following is a sampling from that discussion.

John Babiarz (NH) who ran for governor, said a police officer called a radio show he was on to say that in his professional experience, "we were right". Unfortunately, on TV, the question you may get is, "you believe in giving drugs to kids, don't you"?

<p>John called for a “reality check”.</p> <p>Shelly Tamres (VA): since 9-11, makes us look frivolous.</p> <p>Brad Klopfenstein (IN): “This kills our candidates in Indiana and follows us everywhere”</p> <p>Jason Auvenshine (AZ): “ The Drug War issue appeals to the left, and drives them away on the right”.</p> <p>Phil Miller (IN): “This may not be popular, and I may get hurt by this issue, but at least I’ll know I’m doing the right thing”.</p> <p>Brendan Trainor (NV): Phyllis Schlafly’s people came to NV for a 3-day debate. We got them to soften their resistance. They sent a letter to their constituents and while they did not endorse the initiative, they did not fight it anymore. This can be a winning issue.</p> <p>Judge James Gray, Libertarian Party Presidential Candidate: “We can double our membership if we are known to stand against the War on Drugs” .</p> <p>Final vote.</p> <p>Strongly agreeTend to agreeMiddle or No OpinionTend to disagreeStrongly disagree1133410After35.5%9.7%9.7%12.9%32.3%Intermediate34.4%12.5%9.4%18.8%25.0%Before25.8%16.1%9.7%19.3%29.0%</p> <p>The bottom line? We ended up more dispersed and more polarized.</p> <p>However, everyone seemed to be in agreement that stating our position as “the Drug War does more harm than good” is less controversial than it was before.</p> <p>BCRA, Sean Haugh Bi-Partisan Campaign Reform Act.</p> <p><i>Yes, it is bi-partisan and it does apply to us - the D’s and R’s are one party.</i></p> <p>Sean Haugh, relying on research conducted by the NC Treasurer Bob Dorsey, presented the thicket called the BCRA.</p> <p>Sean’s assumption was that most states would prefer to report less to the government than more and perform fewer tasks rather than more. He suggested ways to accomplish that.</p> <p>Certain states said they would gladly perform the extra reporting and other tasks instead of constantly trying to manage expenditures to remain under the reporting threshold.</p> <p><i>And all of this may be moot by the summer if the Supreme Court strikes down the BCRA. However, what’s perhaps more likely is some of the BCRA would survive.</i></p> <p>Sean started by noting the FEC “only takes action against those</p>	<p>that get complaints”. The FEC has neither time nor resource to hunt for violations. Moreover, “You can call them anonymously for advice”.</p> <p>The prominent change affects the national party by banning soft money accepted from Nov 6, 2002 onward. National parties can now only accept money from other federal committees and individuals.</p> <p><i>In order for a state affiliate to send a check to national, it must have a federal committee bank account set up.</i></p> <p>At the moment, there are only eight states that can send a check to national. The others must establish a separate federal account, unless they are willing to have their entire operations subject to the federal restrictions and reporting requirements.</p> <p>This is a steadfast rule. There are checks at national from states for membership that are simply sitting there, uncashed, awaiting further rulings from the BCRA or replacement checks from states. They are labeled as ‘writeoff’. Dianne Pilcher reports the memberships have been established.</p> <p>The next consideration is limits, which trigger reporting requirements. One Thousand dollars in either spending or receiving in a calendar year is the threshold for a ‘political committee’. At that point, a political committee must file with the FEC.</p> <p>It is important to recognize an accounting principle involved. Only the political committee initiating a transaction recognizes the amount against its limit. That is, UMP receipts by states do not count against their threshold limits. UMP transactions initiate with national, not with the recipient states.</p> <p>Transfers are also problematic. Think of federal accounts and state accounts as ‘domains’. You cannot transfer funds from a non-fed account into a fed account. (Recall the initial precept that fed accounts can only be funded by individuals or other fed accounts). You can transfer money from a fed account into a non-fed account.</p> <p>What this implies is UMP funds coming from national deposited into a state’s regular account cannot be then transferred into the state’s fed account. <i>Instead, states should take their UMP payment as a check, deposit it in their federal account, and then transfer any portion they desire to their non-federal account.</i></p> <p>When fundraising, include a disclaimer: “The funds we raise here may be used for federal election activity” if you intend to put any of the proceeds into your federal account.</p> <p>From here, the matter intensifies.</p> <p>Even though your state may never reach its reporting threshold, beware. The law also governs “activity connected to elections where federal candidates appear on the ballot” and, get this, “federal election activity, even where no federal candidates appear on the ballot”. This includes:</p>
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Voter registration within 120 days of a regularly scheduled election (such as sending out an inquiry packet that includes a voter registration form). This applies to general elections, not primaries.

Get out the vote activity and voter identification, defined as taking any steps to identify voters beyond contact information, where a federal candidate appears on the ballot

Public communications including TV, phone banks, and radio identifying candidates (note: specifically does not include the Internet)

Payment for state and local employees devoting more than 25% of their time to federal elections.

These four bullet points constitute the core FEC definition of “federal election activity”.

This law does NOT govern administrative costs, contributions to local candidates, voter registration drives more than 120 days before an election, conventions, websites.

The allocation of administrative costs between federal and non-federal accounts is established in the Federal Elections Act that established the FEC, and thus predates the BCRA. This is a level of complexity that states only need to worry about if they are involved in significant levels of federal election activity.

“Levin funds” are a new type of funds created under BCRA. They can be used to pay for the items listed above as “federal elections activities.” Once you establish your separate federal bank account, you can safely reclassify your regular account as a combined non-federal/Levin funds account. All contributions received from fundraising letters and pledges, except those amounts that exceed \$10,000 from any contributor in one year, qualify as Levin funds.

Under BCRA, most if not all states will have lots more Levin funds than they would need. If ever questioned about the use of Levin funds, all you have to do is show through a reasonable accounting method that you had enough in your combined non-federal/Levin account to cover the expenses related to federal elections activities.

The law also provides for exemptions. These include volunteers distributing literature, voter registration drives on behalf of Presidential and Vice-Presidential nominees, or listing federal candidates on websites.

Sean recommends having a separate small account for sending money to national, or to engage in federal activities. Sean recommends we avoid meeting that \$1000 threshold.

Additional resources include

The Dorsey memos (Bob Dorsey NC Treasurer who distilled the law and translated it into English) are available below or from Sean Haugh at director@lpnc.org. BCRA FAQ. Sean will also have a BCRA FAQ available by the first week of March.

Some Facts About State and Local Political Parties and the New Federal Campaign Finance Law," from The Campaign and Media Legal Center, <http://www.camlc.org/attachment.html/statelocal-BCRA.pdf?id=415>;

The “BCRA Campaign Guide Supplement”, the FEC’s definitive report on new rules made to enforce BCRA as of January 2003, <http://www.fec.gov/pdf/guidesup03.pdf>

“The FEC’s Soft Money Rules,” a resource just discovered from the Center for Responsive Politics, giving an excellent breakdown of how BCRA affects state and local party fundraising, <http://www.capitaleye.org/FEC-softmoneyrules.asp>.

As a result of BCRA, some states may adopt “UMP2” as a means of limiting payments to national. Under the Unified Membership Program, of a \$25 membership national returns \$1 per month per member to the states. This requires a state to transfer \$25 to national for a member. Since the state is the initiator, it counts against the \$1000 threshold.

Under UMP2, a state would keep \$12 up front and never send it to national. Thus only \$13 per membership is transferred to national, and is counted towards your state’s \$1000 filing threshold for expenditures.

While the BCRA would still apply, a state would be able to forward more new member dues before the threshold is reached.

While BCRA remains obnoxious for the Libertarian Party, it is compounded for the D’s and R’s. BCRA compliance is presumably much more difficult for them. This provides a great opportunity for us to register the violations of our D & R friends with the FEC, and inflict a most richly deserved and condign punishment on them all.

Elections, Ron Crickenberger

Since 1993, the Libertarian Party has enjoyed continuous growth in its number of candidates and electoral victories. Ron Crickenberger provided graphs that illustrated the trends.

The Libertarian Party lacked the money in 2002 to achieve its goal of 2000 candidates. The current membership decline “may hurt us in the next election cycle”, according to Ron.

The LNC will consider ballot access at its upcoming meetings. The LNC may not be committed to 50 state strategy. The four most expensive states for ballot access include OK, OH, WV, AL. And OK’s petitioning must be done this year or the Libertarian Party must secure an even greater number of signatures next year. This “OK snowball effect” if carried into 2004, robs petitioners from the activities slated for next year. Signatures range from 67 cents per signature in OH to double that if conducted in OK at last minute.

The alternatives the LNC will consider include hiring lobbyists to change the laws or filing suit. In the past, both lawsuits and lobbying have helped ameliorate if not eradicate the problem.

Brainstorming ideas for elections and ballot access:

Lobbying to change laws
Offer no money for non winnable races, with exemptions for key ballot access states
In non-winnable elections focus on membership
Combat the wasted vote syndrome - support independent runoff voting, IRV
States who get ballot access drive money must have a plan to eliminate that hurdle forever
Success 99 and candidate training (Note: Ron Crickenberger plans on making the LP website more 'functional' for candidates)
Links on national site to all candidate training sites and resources
Expand "Operation Breakthrough" (CA)
Expand "Operation Gator Bite" (FL)

Several points emerged from the ensuing discussion. One was a call to "do the research". Many races are unopposed. Many positions are appointed. These are low hanging fruit.

Is there an "updraft effect" of running a full slate? Anecdotally, a full slate tends to do better. And local candidates seem to do better in a full slate. So the answer to the question of whether it is better to run a full slate or to focus, is "yes". Do both. And start early!

With training programs such as Success 99, the programs work best when a locale 'wants' the event. Gerhard Langguth (AR) recommended we bring attendees to an LNC meeting for such training.

Others such as Aaron Starr (CA) recommended we outsource training looking for alternative service providers. *Campaigns and Elections* provides the Cadillac of training courses, though they may be beyond our league at this time.

Wrap up

During the final round robin wrap up, Mark Schreiber's branding presentation emerged as the best part of the conference with the Sean Haugh's BCRA explanation a distant second.

Several individuals mentioned having breakout sessions as a means of engaging the participants, fostering mentoring and providing additional benefits. Mark Nelson pledged to consider and likely adopt that practice for next year.

The "intentional dialog" sessions attracted several negative responses.

Special kudos went to Mark Nelson for his masterful navigation, Dianne Pilcher for her diligence and Nancy Neale for her unheralded work behind the scenes, including the Liberty birthday cake on the 22nd for our Chair, her husband Geoff.

Alliance of State Chairs

In the final order of business, the group agreed to form an

"Alliance of State Chairs".

This group will operate under bylaws independent of the Libertarian Party. Accordingly, this group will enjoy operating privileges different from the Party's. It will be in position to lend assistance in a variety of ways that it would not otherwise be available to do were the relationship a subservient one.

Sean Haugh is the coordinator. Steering committee members include Chuck Williams, Jeremy Keil, Michael Gilson, Ray Ledford, Gerhardt Langguth, Brad Klopfenstein, Mark Rutherford, Mark Nelson and Sean Haugh.

Next year's convention? Rumor is:

Durham, NC.

Be there or be a right-angled rhombus.

Extra Sessions

Ted Dunlap on infighting

Chuck Sallier on fundraising. See also the 2002 State Chair's Meeting notes.

Michael Gilson - EALO (Elected and Appointed Libertarians in Office)

Notes from these sessions are unavailable.

The Dorsey Memos on BCRA

Bob Dorsey, North Carolina Treasurer, produced the following information after having researched BCRA.

Memo 1, Recommendations

From: "B. Dorsey" <viola4@earthlink.net>

To: "ecLPNC" <ecLPNC@yahoo.com>

Sent: Monday, October 21, 2002 4:39 PM

Subject: [ecLPNC] Recommendations for LPNC Compliance with BCRA

Folks, below are my recommendations and the actions required for us to comply with FECA and BCRA.

Summary...

- 1) Request National send us our UMP payments via check rather than via electronic deposit.
- 2) Open a separate bank account to serve as a Federal Account.
- 3) Seed this account with a small contribution to cover expenses from 11/6 to 11/15.
- 4) Payments to National starting on 11/6 must come from the Federal Account.
- 5) Payments for allocable expenses starting on 11/6 must come from the Federal Account.
- 6) Deposit the 11/15/02 UMP check into the Federal Account.
- 7) Register with the FEC when we exceed the \$1000 registration threshold (estimate 3Q/03)
- 8) Once registered with the FEC, file reports as required.
- 9) Classify our existing bank account as a combined Non-Federal/Levin Account.
- 10) Avoid engaging in certain types of Federal Election Activities (FEA) that must be paid solely with Federal Funds.
- 11) Pay for the other types of FEA with Levin Funds, not with

Federal Funds.

12) Maintain a reasonable accounting method to be able to demonstrate that sufficient Levin Funds were available to pay for these types of FEA at the time each payment was made.

Details...

The Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act (BCRA) becomes effective on 11/6/02 and will impact LPNC in several areas. First, it requires National to be 100% Federal Funds based, meaning they can only accept and expend Federal Funds. This impacts us because any money we now send to National, for any purpose whatsoever, must now be Federal Funds. Mostly we just send them membership dues from new members joining through the Thomas Paine Fund [a discount program for new memberships funded by LPNC].

The problem right now is that LPNC doesn't have any Federal Funds to send to National. However, the requirement that National be 100% Federal Funds based provides a solution. Namely, any UMP payment after 11/6/02 will be Federal Funds so we can use these funds to send membership dues to National. My recommendation is for us to set up a separate bank account that will be exclusively Federal Funds. Into this account we can deposit one or more UMP payments starting with the 11/15/02 UMP payment. My intention is to seed this account with a personal contribution in order to cover any payments needed between 11/6 and 11/15. This contribution will be Federal Funds because it will comply with all requirement of the Act, including the solicitation requirements which as Treasurer I am fully aware of.

An alternative would be for us to continue to maintain a single account but this is not as clean an alternative from an accounting perspective, and when we do cross the \$1000 registration threshold and become a Political Committee (see next paragraph), this alternative would bring all our finances under the FEC umbrella along with its additional restrictions. Specifically, it would limit individual contributors to \$10K/year (including loans) and I'm not sure but it might even force us to receive only Federal Funds from county affiliates and local and state candidates.

Another reason for two accounts is that the FEC rules are very confusing and complex and having more funds subject to these rules just increases the likelihood of fines and penalties. Finally, we will need to spend Levin Funds on certain types of FEA that we engage in (more on this below) and BCRA does not allow a single account to combine Federal and Levin Funds. So the best option for us is to set up two accounts with one account functioning as a combined Non-Federal/Levin account and second account that is a Federal Account.

The act of opening a separate Federal Account does not by itself require us to register with the FEC. Only when the registration threshold (\$1000 in "contributions" or \$1000 in "expenditures" in a calendar year) is reached is registration required. The good news is that a transfer of Federal Funds only counts toward that threshold for the committee making the transfer, not the committee receiving the transfer. So, the UMP payments we receive do not count toward the registration requirement. Only when we have sent National more than \$1000 in one calendar year will we have to register. If the current rate of new members joining through us continues, we will need to register with the FEC sometime in the 2nd half of next year. The new UMP program requires us to send just \$13 to National instead of \$25 so it will

delay the registration day a while (hopefully into 2004!). Only the Federal Account will be registered and only activity in that account will need to be reported.

The act of sending funds to National means we are engaging in federal activity which in turn requires us to pay for certain types of expenses that indirectly support federal candidates with entirely Federal Funds, or allocate these expenses between federal and non-federal and pay only the federal portion with Federal Funds. These expenses must be paid from the Federal Account and then if we choose to allocate, the non-federal portion may be transferred from our Non-Federal Account to our Federal Account. Because we will have plenty of Federal Funds (from UMP payments), it will probably be easiest to forgo doing the transfer and just pay for it all with Federal Funds.

The main expense that we will need to allocate is administrative/overhead costs such as rent, utilities, office supplies, etc. I'm not sure at this time but we may also need to allocate some other types of expenses. Payment for these allocable expenses do not count toward the \$1000 registration threshold.

BCRA defines certain activities, at certain times, to be "Federal Election Activities" (FEA). Some types of FEA must be paid solely with Federal Funds. Other types of FEA can be paid with Federal Funds or Levin Funds or a mix of Federal/Levin Funds. Importantly, we can not use any Federal Funds transferred from National to pay for any FEA. This means that the only way for us to engage in those FEA that must be paid solely with Federal Funds is to open a second Federal Account and raise the Federal Funds for this account ourselves. I do not anticipate this will be necessary because the types of FEA that must be paid solely with federal funds are not activities that we engage in at this time.

Specifically these activities are 1) a public communication that refers to a clearly identified federal candidate and that promotes, supports, attacks or opposes any federal candidate; and 2) services of an employee who devotes more than 25% of his compensated time to activities in connection with a federal election.

To a small degree, we do engage in those other types of FEA that may be paid with Levin Funds. This will not be any problem because on 11/6/02 practically all our funds will be Levin Funds (all contributions from fundraising letters and pledges are Levin Funds). It does mean however that our current bank account will function as a combined Non-Federal and Levin Account (which is permissible). This in turn means that we must keep records and be able to demonstrate through a reasonable accounting method that we had sufficient Levin Funds on hand to cover each payment for FEA at the time each payment was made. I don't anticipate any problem being able to do this.

Well I think I've covered everything but FECA/BCRA is so complex I can almost guarantee that there will be some more consequences and implications that I haven't considered. Stay tuned. If you have any questions please ask.

Bob

Memo 2, Definitions

From: "B. Dorsey" <viola4@earthlink.net>

To: "ecLPNC" <ecLPNC@yahoogroups.com>

Sent: Monday, October 21, 2002 4:26 PM

Subject: [ecLPNC] FECA and BCRA Definitions

Folks, here are some terms and their meanings as they apply in FECA and BCRA. This will help in understanding my recom-

mendations (which will follow in another note) for ensuring that we are in compliance with these laws.

1) FECA: Federal Election Campaign Act (the "Act"). Currently in effect. Remains in effect after 11/6/02 but some parts are modified by BCRA.

2) BCRA: Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act. Becomes effective on 11/6/02 by modifying FECA.

3) Political Committee: A political organization that during a calendar year raises more than \$1000 in "contributions" OR spends more than \$1000 in "expenditures." "Contributions" and "expenditures" must be given/made for the purpose of influencing a federal election. When a political organization becomes a Political Committee, it must register and file reports with the FEC.

LPNC is not a Political Committee at this time.

4) Federal Funds: Funds that comply with the limitations, prohibitions and reporting requirement of the Act. Also known as "hard money".

LPNC does not currently [as of 10/21/02] have any Federal Funds.

5) Non-Federal Funds: Funds not subject to the Act. Also known as "soft money".

LPNC currently has exclusively Non-Federal Funds.

6) Levin Funds: A new type of funds created under BCRA. Levin funds are subject to some requirement of the Act and some additional requirements in BCRA. Can be used to pay for certain type of FEA (see below). Named after the legislative sponsor of the amendment that created these funds.

All contributions we receive from fundraising letters and pledges, except those amounts that exceed \$10,000 from any contributor in one year, are Levin funds. On 11/6/02 much of our funds will be considered Levin Funds. Under BCRA, we will have lots more Levin funds than we will need.

7) FEA: Federal Election Activities. This is a new class of activity defined in BCRA and means any of the following activities:

a) Voter registration activity during the 120 day period prior to a federal election.

b) Voter identification, generic campaign activities, and GOTV activities in connection with a federal election.

c) A public communication that refers to a clearly-identified federal candidate and that promotes, supports, attacks or opposes any federal candidate.

d) Service provided by an employee who spends more than 25% of his compensated time during a month on activities in connection with federal election.

Although a large part of BCRA deals with FEA and the new Levin funds, LPNC only engages in a very limited amount of FEA and we will have plenty of Levin funds to pay for these expenses. The primary impact of BCRA on us will be unrelated to these issues.

8) "In connection with a federal election" means that time period between the earliest filing deadline for the primary ballot for federal candidates to election day. In N.C. this is about 9 months out of the 2-year cycle.

9) "Voter registration activity" means contacting individuals by telephone, in person or by other individualized means to assist them in registering to vote. This includes simply sending them a voter registration form.

10) "Voter identification" means creating or enhancing voter

lists by adding information about voters' likelihood of voting in a particular election or voting for a particular candidate.

11) "Generic Campaign Activities" means a public communication that promotes a political party and does not promote or oppose a clearly-identified federal or non-federal candidate.

12) "GOTV Activities" means contacting registered voters by telephone, in person or other individualized means in order to assist them in voting. This includes providing individual voters, within 72 hours of an election, with information about when and where polling places are open as well as transporting or offering to transport voters to polling places.

13) A "public communication" means any communication by means of TV, cable, satellite, radio, newspaper, magazine, billboard, mass mailing, telephone bank or any other form of general public political advertising. Communications over the Internet are specifically NOT included in the definition of public communication.

Miscellaneous

- ? A list of useful web sites for Libertarian Party information, compiled by Joe Dehn.

General website www.lp.org LP archive site archive.lp.org LPUS Library www.dehnbase.org/lpus/library/ LNC Meeting Summaries www.dehnbase.org/lpus/library/meetings.html LNC Official Minutes archive.lp.org/lnc/ LNC Audio Recordings www.dehnbase.org/mav.cgi Strategic Planning- www.dehnbase.org/lpus/library/spt/

Errors and Omissions

These are the notes as I took them at the Houston Libertarian Party State Chairs conference, embellished for readability and submitted to others for review. If you spot an omission, a lack of emphasis, or other error, contact me at:

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City of Avondale Estates

City of Alpharetta

City of Auburn

City of Conyers

Newton County

City of Clarkston

City of Suwanee

City of Social Circle

Dekalb County

City of Decatur

City of Lilburn

City of Loganville

City of Hiawassee

City of Lithonia

City of Marietta

Cobb County

City of Norcross

City of Pine Lake

City of Powder Springs

City of Mountain Park

City of Roswell	City of Franklin
City of Smyrna Cobb	Heard County
City of Stone	Chattahoochee- Flint RDC
Mountain	City of Gay
	City of Grantville
City of Duluth	City of Grayson
City of Acworth	City of Greenville
City of Adairsville	Meriwether County
City of Aragon	Spalding County
City of Austell	City of Griffin
City of Ball Ground	City of Hampton
City of Bowdon	City of Hogansville
City of Bremen	Butts County
City of Buchanan	City of Jackson
Haralson County	City of Jenkinsburg
Cherokee County	City of Jonesboro
City of Canton	Clayton County
Carroll County	City of LaGrange
City of Carrollton	Troup County
Bartow County	Gwinnett County
City of Cartersville	City of Lawrenceville
City of Cave Spring	Precision Planning, Inc.
City of Cedartown	City of Locust Grove
Polk County	City of Luthersville
City of Cumming	City of McDonough
Forsyth County	Henry County
City of Dallas	City of Mansfield
Paulding County	City of Meansville
City of Douglasville	City of Milner
Douglas County	City of Moreland
City of Berkeley Lake	City of Lake City
City of Emerson	City of Morrow
City of Fairmount	City of Newborn
City of Hiram	City of Newnan
City of Holly Springs	Coweta County
City of Jasper	City of Orchard Hill
City of Kennesaw	City of Oxford
City of Kingston	City of Palmetto
City of Mount Zion	City of Peachtree City
City of Nelson	City of Porterdale
City of Rockmart	City of Riverdale
City of Rome	City of Senoia
Floyd County	City of Snellville
Coosa Valley RDC	City of Stockbridge
City of Ephesus	City of Thomaston
City of Tallapoosa	Upson County
City of Temple	City of Turin
City of Villa Rica	City of Tyrone
City of Waleska	City of Union City
City of White	City of Williamson
City of Whitesburg	City of Woodbury
City of Woodstock	City of Zebulon
City of Aldora	Pike County
City of Barnesville	City of Forest
Lamar County	Park
McIntosh Trail RDC	
City of Brooks	Fulton County
City of Concord	Atlanta Regional Commission
Rockdale County	Sandy Springs Revitalization
City of Covington	City of Atlanta
City of Walnut Grove	City of College Park
City of Dacula	City of Doraville
City of Fairburn	City of Chamblee
City of Fayetteville	City of East Point
Fayette County	City of Hapeville
City of Flovilla	City of Swainsboro

Emanuel County	City of Dawsonville
City of Ailey	Dawson County
City of Higgston	City of Demorest
City of Alamo	Habersham County
Wheeler County	City of Sky Valley
City of Bellville	City of Ellijay
City of Brooklet	Gilmer County
City of Claxton	City of Helen
Evans County	Towns County
City of Collins	Banks County
City of Garfield	City of Hoschton
City of Girard	City of Jefferson
City of Glennville	Jackson County
City of Glenwood	City of Lavonia
City of Hagan	City of Lula
City of Louisville	City of McCaysville
Jefferson County	City of Martin
City of Lyons	City of Mount Airy
Toombs County	City of Nicholson
Candler County	City of Oakwood
City of Metter	City of Pendergrass
City of Midville	City of Tallulah Falls
City of Millen	City of Toccoa
Jenkins County	Stephens County
City of Mount Vernon	City of Young Harris
Montgomery County	Athens-Clarke County
City of Newington	Northeast Georgia RDC
City of Oliver	City of Athens
City of Portal	City of Bethlehem
City of Register	City of Bogart
City of Reidsville	City of Bostwick
City of Sardis	City of Bowman
City of Soperton	City of Carlton
Treutlen County	City of Colbert
Bulloch County Commissioners	City of Comer
City of Statesboro	City of Crawford
City of Stillmore	City of Crawfordville
City of Sylvania	Taliaferro County
Screven County	City of Danielsville
City of Twin City	Madison County
City of Vidalia	City of Elberton
City of Wadley	Elbert County
City of Gainesville	City of Franklin Springs
Georgia Mountains RDC	City of Greensboro
Hall County	Green County
City of Alto	City of Hartwell
City of Baldwin	Hart County
City of Blairsville	City of Hull
Union County	City of Ila
City of Blue Ridge	City of Lexington
Fannin County	Oglethorpe County
City of Braselton	City of Madison
City of Buford	Morgan County
City of Sugar Hill	City of Monroe
City of Canon	Walton County
City of Carnesville	City of Royston
Franklin County	City of Rutledge
City of Clarksville	City of Sharon
City of Clayton	City of Siloam
Rabun County	City of Statham
City of Cleveland	City of Tignall
White County	City of Union Point
City of Commerce	City of Woodville
City of Cornelia	City of Washington
City of Dahlonega	Wilkes County
Lumpkin County	City of Watkinsville

Oconee County	City of Cordele
City of White Plains	Crisp County
Barrow County	City of Culloden
City of Winder	City of Davisboro
City of Winterville	City of East Dublin
City of Calhoun	City of Dudley
Gordon County	City of Eastman
City of Chatsworth	Dodge County
Murray County	Heart of Georgia RDC
City of Chickamauga	City of Eatonton
City of Cohutta	Putnam County
North Georgia RDC	City of Centerville
City of Dalton	City of Forsyth
Whitfield County	Monroe County
City of Eton	City of Fort Valley
City of Lafayette	Peach County
Walker County	City of Gordon
City of Lyerly	City of Ivey
City of Menlo	City of Gray
City of Plainville	Jones County
Catoosa County	City of Harrison
City of Ringgold	City of Hawkinsville
City of Rossville	Pulaski County
City of Fort Oglethorpe	City of Helena
Chattooga County	City of Dublin
City of Summerville	Laurens County
City of Lookout Mtn.	Town Planning
City of Trenton	City of Ideal
Dade County	City of Irwinton
City of Trion	Wilkinson County
City of Tunnell Hill	Pickens County
City of Varnell	City of Jeffersonville
City of Avera	Twiggs County
City of Blythe	City of Kite
City of Camak	Crawford County
Columbia County	City of McIntyre
City of Gibson	City of McRae
Glascock County	Telfair County
City of Grovetown	City of Marshallville
City of Harlem	City of Milan
City of Hephzibah	Baldwin County
City of Keysville	City of Milledgeville
City of Lincolnnton	Oconee RDC
Lincoln County	City of Montezuma
City of Norwood	City of Monticello
City of Stapleton	Jasper County
City of Thomson	City of Montrose
McDuffie County	City of Oconee
City of Warrenton	City of Oglethorpe
Warren County	Macon County
Burke County	City of Perry
City of Waynesboro	City of Pinehurst
City of Wrens	City of Rentz
Central Savannah River RDC	City of Reynolds
Richmond County	City of Roberta
City of Abbeville	City of Rochelle
Wilcox County	City of Sandersville
City of Adrian	Washington County
City of Allentown	City of Scotland
City of Butler	City of Shady Dale
Taylor County	City of Sparta
City of Byromville	Hancock County
City of Byron	Houston County
City of Chester	City of Tennille
Bleckley County	City of Toombsboro
City of Cochran	City of Unadilla

City of Vienna	City of St. Marys
Dooly County	City of Screven
City of Wrightsville	City of Surrency
Johnson County	City of Woodbine
City of Warner Robins	City of Remerton
Middle Georgia RDC	Lowndes County
Bibb County	South Georgia RDC
City of Macon	City of Valdosta
City of Bloomingdale	City of Adel
City of Darien	Cook County
McIntosh County	City of Alapaha
Liberty County	City of Boston
City of Guyton	City of Dupont
City of Hinesville	City of Hahira
Long County	City of Homerville
City of Midway	Clinch County
Bryan County	City of Lakeland
City of Pembroke	Lanier County
City of Pooler	City of Lake Park
City of Riceboro	City of Lenox
City of Richmond Hills	City of Morven
City of Rincon	Berrien County
City of Tybee Island	City of Nashville
City of Springfield	Atkinson County
Effingham County	City of Pearson
City of Walthourville	Brooks County
City of Savannah	City of Quitman
City of Thunderbolt	City of Ray City
City of Port Wentworth	City of Sparks
Landings Associates	Echols County
Chatham County	City of Willacoochee
City of Garden City	City of Albany/Dougherty Co.
Ware County	City of Americus
City of Waycross	Middle Flint RDC
Southeast Georgia RDC	Sumter County
Bacon County	City of Andersonville
City of Alma	City of Arabi
Altamaha Ga. Southern RDC	City of Arlington
Appling County	City of Leesburg
City of Graham	City of Ashburn
City of Baxley	Turner County
City of Blackshear	
Pierce County	City of Attapulgus
City of Broxton	City of Baconton
City of Brunswick	City of Bainbridge
Glynn County	Decatur County
Costal Ga. RDC	City of Barwick
Glynn County	City of Berlin
City of Douglas	City of Blakely
Coffee County	Early County
Charlton County	City of Bluffton
City of Folkston	City of Brinson
City of Homeland	City of Bronwood
City of Hazlehurst	City of Cairo
Jeff Davis County	Grady County
City of Hoboken	City of Camilla
City of Jesup	Mitchell County
Wayne County	Southwest Georgia RDC
Camden County	City of Climax
City of Kingsland/Woodbine	City of Colquitt
City of Lumber City	Miller County
Brantley County	City of Coolidge
City of Nahunta	City of Cuthbert
City of Nicholls	Randolph County
City of Odum	City of Damascus
City of Patterson	City of Dawson

Terrell County	City of Shiloh
City of Doerun	City of Talbotton
City of Donalsonville	Talbot County
Seminole County	City of Warm Springs
City of Edison	City of Waverly Hall
City of Ellenton	City of West Point
City of Enigma	City of Woodland
Ben Hill County	City of Bibb City
City of Fitzgerald	City of Columbus
City of Fort Gaines	Columbus-Muscogee County
Clay County	Lower Chattahoochee RDC
City of Georgetown	City of Augusta
Quitman County	City of Cadwell
City of Iron City	ALTAMAHA SOIL & WATER CONSERVATN DISTRICT
Lee County	BAXLEY HOUSING AUTHORITY
City of Meigs	BAXLEY-APPLING CO HOSP AUTH
Calhoun County	ATKINSON COUNTY HOUSING AUTH.
City of Morgan	PEARSON HOUSING AUTHORITY
Baker County	SATILLA RIVER SOIL CONS DIST
City of Newton	BACON COUNTY HOSPITAL AUTHORITY
City of Norman Park	ALMA CITY HOUSING AUTHORITY
City of Ochlocknee	NEWTON HOUSING AUTHORITY
City of Ocilla	BALDWIN COUNTY HOSPITAL AUTH.
Irwin County	PIEDMONT SOIL CONSERVATION DIST.
City of Omega	MILLEDGEVILLE CITY HOUSING AUTH.
City of Moultrie	MILLEDGEVILLE BALDWIN CO RECREATION AUTH
Colquitt County	OCONEE RIVER SOIL & WATER CONSERVATION DISTRICT
City of Parrott	WINDER HOUSING AUTHORITY
City of Pavo	CARTERSVILLE HOUSING AUTHORITY
City of Pelham	ADAIRSVILLE HOUSING AUTHORITY
City of Plains	CARTERSVILLE-BARTOW AIRPORT AUTH
City of Poulan	FITZGERALD CITY HOUSING AUTH.
City of Rebecca	FITZGERALD WATER/LIGHT BOND COMMISSION
City of Sale City	DORMINY MEMORIAL HOSPITAL AUTH
City of Sasser	NASHVILLE CITY HOUSING AUTH.
City of Shellman	MACON CITY HOUSING AUTHORITY
City of Smithville	MACON-BIBB TRANS AUTH
Town of Sumner	MACON-BIBB CO HOSP AUTH
City of Sycamore	MACON WATER AUTHORITY
City of Sylvester	COCHRAN CITY HOUSING AUTHORITY
Worth County	BLECKLEY COUNTY HOSPITAL AUTH.
Thomas County	NAHUNTA CITY HOUSING AUTHORITY
City of Tifton	QUITMAN CITY HOUSING AUTHORITY
Tift County	BROOKS COUNTY HOSPITAL AUTHORITY
Tailored Business Systems	QUITMAN-BROOKS CO AIRPORT AUTH
City of Ty Ty	BULLOCH COUNTY HOSPITAL AUTH.
City of Warwick	STATESBORO CITY HOUSING AUTH.
City of Whigham	OGEECHEE RIVER SOIL & WATER CONSERVATION DISTRICT
City of Thomasville	BURKE COUNTY HOSPITAL AUTHORITY
City of Buena Vista	WAYNESBORO CITY HOUSING AUTH.
Marion County	BUTTS CO WATER-SEWER AUTHORITY
Chattahoochee County	JACKSON HOUSING AUTHORITY
City of Cusseta	BUTTS COUNTY HOSPITAL AUTHORITY
City of Ellaville	ARLINGTON CITY HOUSING AUTH.
Schley County	EDISON HOUSING AUTHORITY
City of Hamilton	CALHOUN COUNTY HOSPITAL AUTH.
Harris County	ST. MARY'S CITY HOUSING AUTH.
City of Junction City	ST. MARY'S CITY HOSPITAL AUTH.
City of Lumpkin	KINGSLAND HOUSING AUTHORITY
Stewart County	WOODBINE CITY HOUSING AUTH
City of Manchester	CANDLER CO HOSPITAL
City of Pine Mountain	METTER-CANDLER CO AIRPORT AUTH
City of Preston	METTER HOUSING AUTHORITY
Webster County	
City of Richland	
	And a consdierably longer list of these.