
Libertarian Strategy Gazette

Volume 2 Number 12 Special Web-Only Supplement: Bush for Huge Government December

What Staff Should You Hire?

The problem, from what I've seen at State and National levels, is this desire to have a "Director".... a chief with a big title to be impressive with few or no Indians to "manage". Hiring from the top down is totally the *reverse* of what ought to be done. Chairs of State and National parties ought to be the person "in charge" of taking care of *all* the org's needs. If the org's needs/tasks become so large that the one person cannot handle it or that outsourcing is no longer economical, then one hires a *worker* to handle the particular task.

This is how the real world works.

In my small business (8 employees), I didn't first go hire a manager or an "executive".... I was everything in one at first! I was the developer, the director, the bookkeeper, the payroll person, the financial person, the salesman.

As more projects developed, I need to hire another *worker* (engineer)... not a manager, not a bookkeeper, not a payroll person, not a salesman.

As even more projects developed, I needed another *worker* (engineer).

At this point, payroll was a pain in the butt. However, I still didn't need to hire a payroll person (not enough work for full time). So, I outsourced the payroll to Paychex, thus reducing my workload significantly and allowing for further growth.

As more projects came in and I got up to 4 engineers and three quarter of a million dollars in sales, the bookkeeping entries were taking too much of my time. Still not enough for a full time bookkeeper, but enough to outsource.

So, payroll is outsourced. Bookkeeping is outsourced (but I still do the billing).

Now, doubling the business from last year, keeping sales up is a task (remember, I'm still an engineer).... so it's time to break that task out to someone else. So, a salesman was hired to facilitate more growth.

This is the general process one sees in most businesses across the nation.

What I've seen in the LP at the State and National level is the opposite of this process, with ExCom's being impressed with big titles.... and hiring a top level person to look impressive to donors.

[Who To Hire?] (Continued on page 2)

Next Steps for States

Carol J. McMahon, PVLA

Here are a few thoughts:

1. In every state we need to have current and past candidates gather somewhere and talk about what they did right, what mistakes they made and how they could have done better. By sharing what we learned we can be more effective next time.

2. We need to train candidates. If everyone who volunteers to run knows the basics of petitioning, finding and organizing volunteers, basic fundraising, public speaking and debating techniques we'll be able to run stronger campaigns.

3. We need to provide better support for our candidates. Financial support is only part of what our candidates need. If each state party can provide every candidate with voter lists, a list of media contacts, a list of potential volunteers in their district, location of polling places, contact information for every town or city clerk it will save time and get campaigns off the ground faster. It will also make it easier to recruit candidates.

3. We need to learn how to work with the media better. This means writing effective press releases, building media contact lists, getting on radio shows. (Alan Wilcox who ran for state representative in MA has been offered a weekly spot on a local radio station) If we're known to the local media when we start our campaigns it will be easier to get press coverage.

4. In the states where we run primaries, we need contested primaries. A contested primary gets media attention and will help shift voter's perception of us as a minor party to seeing us as the third major party. Getting voters to see us as a major party will help end the wasted vote syndrome that cause Carla to do poorly. I expected her to get at least 5% and wasted vote is why she received that percentage.

5. We need to start now to recruit and train volunteers. Too many of our campaigns are run by the candidate and a few friends. Mine was one of them. Volunteers mean we can have people holding signs at every polling place; this will raise our vote totals. Volunteers will enable our better financed campaigns to have fully staffed storefront campaign headquarters.

6. Another area we can work on is electing more Libertarians to local offices. These are the races we can win, build name recognition in and use as a step to winning higher office. Many are non-partisan which allows people to feel comfortable electing us.

[Next Steps] (Continued on page 3)

(Continued from page 1) [Who to Hire?]

The point is, that if the LP orgs were to be built on a model where the ExCom/Chair develops staff *first* that is worked with via the Chair or another designated committee, the org can *grow* as required.... develop growth plans, develop activities, mix some staff with some volunteer effort, etc.

When the time comes that handling the staff functions via the committee or chair is too much work, it's time to hire a *manager* who knows how to *manage* and *direct* staff! Thus, allowing the committee/chair to get back to the business of further growth and direction of the org.

When the projects get too many for the committee or chair to handle, the tasks can be further broken down via committee of dedicated volunteers as oversight.... *or* a manager or director can be hired to handle the various projects with input from the committee(s)/chair.

The illustrative point is how to build an org from the bottom up. By the time one needs a "director" or "CEO", the org is *already* active, in a growth mode, and has knowledgeable staff/committees which have been key in past projects.... with expertise in their areas.

However, being involved in the LP for 12 years, I know that most of our ExComs are made up of people who don't have much real world experience in their own business or how to grow a business, so these realistic processes are unfamiliar to them. Instead, most of them have a fantasy view of how business runs and how one starts and develops a business. They think you hire a "president" or high level exec first.... and that the rest will follow.

A fantasy... and totally inaccurate.

Mark F. Murphy

What Do You Mean, You Can Win?

Libertarian candidate for Governor of State X states in a fundraising appeal dated 10/22/02 [LSG is deleted the identification data; which candidate said this is not the point]

I just want to let you know now, today, at this critical juncture that we can win this election.

Really?

Let's examine the facts.

There's no question that 3rd-party candidates are gaining visibility in the 2002 gubernatorial election.

Tim Penny may well hold the Minnesota governorship for the Independence Party in the wake of Jesse Ventura's retirement.

Ed Thompson is making waves in Wisconsin (recent poll numbers between 7% and 10%, which isn't bad for a Libertarian), although no one expects him to win.

But Mr. XX's statement, "...we can win this election," seems to come out of the Harry Browne mold of making breathless and unrealistic predictions about electoral success.

The Large City Newspaper, in a story dated August 29 regarding a poll commissioned by Local TV Station of Large City in XX's State, shows the numbers as follows:

(R) - 49%
(D - Incumbent) - 46%
Others - 5%
(Margin of error: 3%)

The most recent poll I can find, conducted by Another TV Station, has the following:

R - 50%
D - 42%
"Others" - 3%
Undecided - 5%
(Margin of error: 4%)

And "Campaigns & Elections" Magazine puts R's odds of being elected at 12-11, or a 52.2% chance of re-election. (C&E has a 98% accuracy record in its oddsmaking since it began casting odds in 1996.)

So assuming that all the "other" and "undecided" votes in the TV poll went to Mr. XX (which isn't likely as there is a Green candidate in the race too), that still adds up to a maximum of 8%

How Mr. XX can take these numbers and conclude that "this is a race we can win" is beyond me. Mathematically, yes, he can win. Realistically, he hasn't got a shot.

And thus we again see a Libertarian candidate play the game of Inflated Expectations that Harry Browne created:

1. Ask for lots of money.
2. Spend lots of money.
3. Even though poll numbers don't reflect any results from spending lots of money, pretend that you're making progress and ask for still more money.
4. Spend more money.

Later, rinse, and repeat until your supporters are exhausted.

It's time for Libertarians to get realistic about their potential for electoral success. This is something I hammered on time and again while I was a State Chair: Libertarians consistently devote millions of dollars and hundreds of thousands of (wo)man-hours to futile campaigns for top-level offices *without* having at least one of three magic ingredients

in place for such a win:

- A solid voter base
- A candidate's proven track record
- Candidate charisma (e.g., Jesse Ventura)
- Past electoral success

It's always amazed me how Libertarians can continue to repeat the same campaign mistakes over and over, and then complain that they only receive 1% to 5% of the vote in major and/or statewide races. Like the Brownwillisclouthowell folks, they blame any number of outside factors -- a "Big Media Blackout", voter ignorance toward Libertarian ideals, sinister conspiracies within the national or state party -- without focusing on the nuts and bolts of political success.

Local candidates are the nuts and bolts that make the machinery of politics work. How can the LP expect to elect Governors and Congresscreatures when it's not running enough races for city and county councils and the like?

I don't wish to imply that these statewide races are futile. They do give the party visibility, and in some states (like, notably, Iowa), they may be necessary or even required to give the party ballot status.

But let's get realistic. Don't go telling your supporters that you "can win" a race where no poll has given you more than 1% to 3% of the vote. Don't premise a plea for hundreds of thousands of dollars in donations on a victory that was never a realistic possibility. And don't be surprised when those same supporters turn on you when you get stomped in the polls. Tell your supporters that you're running for ballot status, for visibility, for whatever -- but don't claim you "can win" unless it's really going to happen.

~Michael Sensor

"Freedom is about authority." Mayor Giuliani, New York Times 3/17/94 "If this were a dictatorship, it'd be a heck of a lot easier, just so long as I'm the dictator." GW Bush 12/18/2000 CNN. For George Bush's Republican Huge Government Party, see the Electronic Supplement to this Issue.

(Continued from page 1) [Next Steps for States]

7. We need to get off our computers and become active in our communities. There are many ways to do this, Rotary club, Jaycees, scout groups, PTA, PTO, coach a local team, Food Pantry, Meals on wheels, etc. People will vote for someone they know.

The McMahon Campaign:

<http://www.carolmcmahon.org> 413-250-6608

Building Local Affiliates the New York Way

The following proposal was recently submitted the the LPNY Governing Board:

All local LPNY chapters (whether officially "active" affiliates or not) who had at least one meeting between July 9 and November 5, 2002 with at least six people attending it will get \$500 from the LPNY treasury to support their continuing local activities. To qualify, chapters should submit to the LPNY Secretary (rabbit@cownow.com) the names of the attendees, the dates of the meeting(s), and if applicable, the names of the officers of their chapter.

In support of the motion, it was proposed that the Secretary don't need the names of every attendee to large meetings like Manhattan's. You just want to make sure that the smaller groups are really getting more than two people together. One could have said five, but six is the minimum for our chapters to get organized, so the motion went with that. Unlike a chapter organizing convention, the people at a chapter meeting might not all be current LP members, and that's fine--that's what local meetings are for: increasing the fold.)

The Party want that list of officers anyway, so I stuck it in here. If a recognized chapter **didn't** have such a meeting with-in our campaign period, I'd be worried. Our petitioning period started July 9, right after we got back from the National Convention.

I'd like to repeat this 'bounty' at irregular intervals proportional to the amount we have in our treasury) to encourage regular local meetings.

Bill Of Rights Defense Committees

Village Voice Columnist Nat Hentoff, who is among the premier libertarian—he may have a different perspective on this —columnists in America, writes (taken from a longer column):

Resistance Rising! True Patriots Networking

Despite the self-satisfaction of George W. Bush and John Ashcroft, and the somnolence of the press, there is rising re-

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sistance around the country to the serial abuses of our liberties....what is most encouraging is the continued growth in cities and towns throughout the nation of Bill of Rights Defense Committees or their equivalents, a number of which are working with ACLU affiliates. (<http://www.bordc.org/>) The first BORDC, as reported here, was formed in February this year in Northampton, Massachusetts, when about 300 doctors, nurses, lawyers, students, teachers, and retirees formed a group to protect the citizens of that town from the USA Patriot Act and the subsequent unilateral attacks on our liberties by John Ashcroft. After the Northampton city council unanimously passed in May a resolution officially supporting the protests of the BORDC, other towns and cities learned how to organize similar committees through the Northampton group's Web site: www.bordc.org.

Fourteen town or city councils—from Takoma Park, Maryland, and Alachua County, Florida, to Santa Fe, New Mexico, and Berkeley, California—have now passed, sometimes unanimously, similar resolutions originated by local BORDC organizations. Other proposals are pending before local government bodies in 40 more cities and towns, in 24 states. One BORDC is in formation in New York City. Hentoff's writings are accessible on the net via the Drudge Report www.drudgereport.com. The preceding report was circulated to many Libertarians by Libertarian activist Andrew Sullivan.

For the complete text of the "Patriot" Act:
http://www.eff.org/Privacy/Surveillance/Terrorism_militias/20011025_hr3162_usa_patriot_bill.html.

Cleaning Up The Party Positive Action Items for the LNC

Last Spring, I ran for National Chair of our Libertarian Party.

One of my important messages was "Keep your money right here in your own state!" That was a popular message. I regularly drew applause, even from people not planning on voting for me.

There was an important reason for the message. Our Party has had a long series of campaigns based on national fundraising for local races. Time after time, those campaigns have delivered not 51 but 10, 7, 5, or 1% of the vote. Those

campaigns have spent vast numbers of Libertarian dollars on fundraising mailings, full page ads in LP News, paid staffers, and in at least one recent case a \$76,000 fundraising commission for the Campaign CEO. That was mostly money down the drain--I'll explain why at the end of the article.

It's time for a change. The LNC should put immediately the needed policies into effect. Staff resistance should be handled rigorously.

1) LP News should cease to accept full page ads from local or state political candidates. If you want your campaign to suck money out of the entire USA, it's your privilege to try. The National Party should not cooperate with your effort. Those ads may help you, but they are a dis-service to every other campaign in the country. Political ads in LP News should be limited to people who need to reach the entire party: Candidates for President, Vice President, or National Party office.

2) The National Party mailing list should be rented by state, only to candidates from that State. It's up to the people of New Hampshire if they want to support their US Senate candidate or their Cemetery Commissioner candidates, but that support should be New Hampshire money. As many Libertarians are unaware, the National Party has sometimes had a policy of not renting the names of its most prolific donors -- the 'Major Donor List' -- to candidates. That sometimes policy should end. When a New Hampshire candidate rents the New Hampshire list, the full list should be supplied, not the list that has been cherry-picked clean.

3) A forcible policy of editorial balance should be imposed on LP News by the LNC. If there are three statewide libertarian referenda, they should each get their first puff article before any gets a second puff article. [Legitimate News "Campaign chief hanged for barratry" do not count here.] The front page of LP News should cease to be extra advertising pages for one faction within the Party. When an Editor says in his defense 'only two of those articles were about her; the rest were about her referendum campaign', while a long list of candidates to matching offices have had no articles, the LNC should understand they need a new Editor.

4) State socialism would not work for the coal industry. It works even worse for the National Party. It would make no sense to channel coal investment through Washington. It makes no more sense to channel most political money through Washington. Most LNC spending on political campaigns this year, such as the coordinated Georgia spending with a candidate not on the ballot, gained us nothing. The LNC should have a carefully thought out ballot access investment campaign, focused on important campaigns and petition drives that help other Libertarian candidates get on the ballot, campaigns like John Babiarz, Rebecca Sink-Burris, and Spear Lancaster's in Maryland. These campaigns potentially made a big difference for our

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Party. The investments in those campaigns should be billed to the membership as "Here is what we need. Here is what it will buy. Here is when we need the money."

5) Because the LNC will no longer invest in local campaigns, it no longer needs a Political Director, saving the best part of \$100,000 a year. I am not discussing any particular person. I am discussing eliminating positions.

6) The National Party should enforce a set of party-building requirements on candidates who rent its lists or use the pages of LP News. It should be uniformly understood that every candidate who uses National Party resources, besides paying cash up front, is obliged to be a party builder. 'Party Builder' includes putting the Party name on all campaign material. 'Party Builder' includes making lists of contacts available to other candidates and local groups. We should no longer tolerate candidates and Campaign CEOs who develop, e.g., lists of lawn sign locations, and refuse to share them with other candidates in future campaigns. The enforcement mechanism is contractual: If you break the contract, you may no longer rent National Party lists or ads, and your conduct receives a factual article in LP News.

Six points. It's a good start.

Oh, money down the drain? : Fundraising mailings? That's thousands of dollars for printers, mailers, and postmen--rarely, a penny of those costs improves recognition of our Party or candidate. LP News ads? As a method of reaching undecided voters or people who know not of our party, LP News is the worst site imaginable. Paid staffers? We have volunteers around the country starved for working material; paying people to work while volunteers only needing tools work for free is cost inefficiency. Fundraising commissions? Those commissions got our Party National Press attention, when a major political magazine characterized the LP as having been converted into a feeding trough for campaign consultants.

It's time for a change.

...George Phillies, PVLA

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Campaign After Action Report

Rich Watras, PVLA, writes of the State Representative Race in Easthampton and vicinity:

Democrat John Skibak got 6000+ votes, Max Pappas received 4000+ votes and Green Sue Bartone received 1000+ votes. If we had captured the Green vote and the blanks we could have pulled this race off. I think this loss has some moral victory to it, but a loss is still a loss. I did my best but came up short. We are down but not defeated. Even though spirits are not as high as they could have been we still have the fight in us. We will lick our wounds and come back even more tenacious than last

time.

Skibak threw in over \$17,000 dollars of his own money at the end of the campaign. He went very negative and the Democratic Party machine went around saying that they must defeat the Libertarians. Max was running as an independent, not as a Libertarian, but the Democrats knew his leanings and my Party affiliation. Democratic Governor Candidate Shannon O'Brien showed up for three days with her campaign staff to get out the vote for John Scibak. They went around calling people and telling them do not vote for Max etc. It was something to see.

I feel proud that the top Democratic candidate in Massachusetts had to come here to insure a victory for Skibak and this may have cost her time and votes in her failed bid for Governor. The Democrats became very nasty at the end on the campaign, down to making derogatory remarks about Max's family. The Democrats even took cheap shots at Max's Mom's hair color [gray].

I tried my best but when a multi million dollar campaign comes to take you on it is challenging to respond. The Democrats also twisted arms of pro gun people. Firearms licenses are at the option of the local Police chief. Certain public [town] employees were given thinly veiled threats which drove away some support for us. We are in a District where the number one employer is the Government.

Max ran a 3/4 time campaign. He had very little name recognition at the beginning and waited to the last minute on many items. Next time will be different.

The key to winning is to be known by the voters and to state

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your positions clearly. One of the important things I had Max do was to show up at every town committee/board and town meeting. Not to just show up and give a sound bite but to sit through the whole meeting from beginning to end. We went to everything from Library hearings to planning board meeting etc. Another item I had Max do was senior centers and disabled groups. We did not do the usual 'Hi I'm a candidate'. Instead, I had Max volunteer to serve food etc. We did gain many votes this way and we will continue to be going to these events and meetings to insure we keep our base for 2004. I am now working on getting Max into the South Hadley selectman race and with this office we will be in an even stronger position for the 2004 State Rep race.

We did have help. I think I did a decent job running Max's campaign. Max never ran for office before and I had very little time to get him prepared. The campaign made a few mistakes but I was able to guide Max on almost everything. I felt it was important for Max to learn some things on his

own. Max stumbled a few times. I was prepared for this so that these mistakes never became issues. I also had the help of people like Michael Serafin, who is a professional actor. Michael took time to come to the district to show Max how to be a better public speaker. This advice was used. It showed as the campaign progressed.

The end result is that Max has now a good name recognition and a very large base to work with. The Town of South Hadley has just seen quite a few resignations due to the negativity of the Democrats. Skibak had to resign as Selectman, which now leaves two open seats on the Selectman board. We may attempt to gain at least one of those open seats.

We are going to take a break and then consult a few people at CATO down in DC. We will attempt to develop a new strategy to combat Skibak in 2004. We will be watching and taking notes on his votes and action while he holds the state rep position. We decided not to do a lot of fundraisers and kept the race clean on our side but I expect this to change the next time around. I had only 4 weeks due to Max's desire to wait until after the Democratic Party primary to start his campaign. We started in late September / early October to gain Max name recognition and voter confidence. Our campaign did result in over 1000+ votes per week. Next time we will be starting a few months earlier in the next election cycle."

Carol McMahon proposed that in order to determine if the Libertarian label is a detriment we need to compare Max Pappas' results with the results of Libertarian campaigns for similar offices that did all of these things. In my opinion, the problem is that activists run for office and never understand that there are strong differences in being a candidate and being an activist. The Greens here make the same mistake. The lack of the L label also allowed me to frame the campaign on issues and the candidate. We did not have the burden of explaining to people what the Party was about since such things are not what campaigns for elected office are about. Campaigns are all about getting into office to make a difference in the lives of your employers AKA voters. We did not promise utopia but instead showed how life could be a little better. We did not blame government for all of life's little problems but instead showed which laws were not having the desired effect regardless of the good intentions that were claimed when these laws were enacted. We demonstrated where waste was the problem and where to cut the budget without the need for more taxes or removal of services people truly desired. We listened to people's concerns and gave answers based upon knowledge. We did not claim we could fix everything with the removal of government but we did show where in certain areas services could have a higher quality by contracting out these services. We showed where privatization was more efficient than the current structure of services that the state provided.

More on the Campaign: Other highly reliable sources available to Libertarian Strategy Gazette report that Shannon O'Brien actually spent three days in the District, campaigning specifically against Max. O'Brien's family is from the area. It was a point of pride that it should be represented by a Democrat, not a Libertarian. Also, the Democrats view it as being very undesirable for even one Libertarian to join the State Legislature, because that one person and his staffer could arrange all sorts of deals with Democrats, Republicans, and the Governor, and be a spokesman for our position.

We have on good authority that the Democratic Party takes very seriously the PVLA and its approach of running 'candidates rather than activists', but takes much less seriously the statewide campaigns coming from Eastern Massachusetts.

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Thoughts on the Massachusetts Campaign

Robert Underwood, PVLA

I guess I expected Carla Howell to do a bit better, matching her 15% that she got when she ran for U.S. Senator. In Al Wilcox's district I think that when he got 30% the last election, Grady decided to run. I think this will also happen to Carol McMahon the next time around. I was somewhat surprised that 300 people in Springfield voted for Carla Howell. I expected it to be lower. I see Kamal Jain got about 1500 votes in Springfield. I will try to get a precinct breakdown of the figures. I do not understand why there would be such a disparity between Howell and Jain in the same city.

I think Al Wilcox and Carol McMahon did well considering the conditions. Al Wilcox (4%) was in a three way race. Carol (18%) has a large district. It is difficult to cover it. I think we have several problems or challenges, which ever term one chooses.

Question I - Income Tax

Most of the people who voted "Yes" then voted for incumbents who wanted the income tax. In general I think we do a poor job at relating the incumbent to existing problems. I guess I really think the voters do a poor job, but that is what we have to work with. The other problem is that We now have large groups who do not pay the income tax. We have public employees who see the tax purely as revenue. That creates a large block of voters who do not mind raising someone else's taxes.

May be we should have zeroed in on the property tax. This tax effects everyone. If you lose your job, you income tax

stops, but not your property tax. City voters were reluctant to vote against the income tax. The rulers of Springfield who live in Longmeadow would like nothing better than "local control" in which they keep their money locally, replace native labor with refugees, and allow the Springfield Schools to lose 80% of their budget. The concept is difficult to sell in the cities. For one thing, restrictive zoning in the surrounding towns pretty much restrict the poor to certain Bantustans where they would be told to run their own schools. I did not read of an answer to this issue.

I think the personal liberties issues are easier to solve. One can simply abolish laws.

The economic problems require more than simplistic repetition of Libertarian Theory. There is the problem of a migration plan. Ilana Freedman had good migration plan for Social Security.

The voters that we registered during the petitioning process probably did not vote in the primaries. We may find they did not vote on election day either. I think we somehow have to try to recruit more activists. Carla Howell spent a considerable amount of money, appeared in many places publicly and got 1%. Many people did not vote at all. I think we need to look at this group. The people who vote all the time are the people who have been reelecting the problems. They vote on patronage jobs, petty favors from local government, ethnic origin, religion, but not issues. The duplicity on Question 1 is an example of this.

Campaigns need to start early

I think a web site has to be in place for months to be effective. Search engines run about once a month. A site may get missed for one reason or another. It needs to be there well in advance so that people can find it using key word searches. I know. I am the one that said we need to get our faces out of our computers, and I still believe that. But, in the past two years the numbers of people using the internet has increased. The equipment and access are cheaper, and are available at libraries.

Yet, I still can easily find people who do not understand the concept of a political party, nor have heard of the Libertarian Party. I think that part still needs to be done door to door. Mass media is nice. But Carla Howell had more access to the mass media this time than she did the last time. It did not help people connect the income tax with the incumbent.

Effect of New Federal Campaign Finance Laws

from a report of the North Carolina State Treasurer to the North Carolina Libertarian Party. Continued from the last issue and reproduced with permission:

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 a 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 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.

After-Action Report—Millay for Senate

Here in Missouri, Tamara Millay had disappointing results. The race between Carnahan and Talent was tight, and she got 1%, after a hard-run campaign. We did, however, do well against the Greens. Tamara beat the Green candidate ("Digger" Romano) soundly in 111 of Missouri's 114 counties.

The overall results were less than ideal, but I do feel somewhat vindicated in having pursued a strategy of engaging the Greens. We helped them petition, we attended their events, invited them to ours, even paid for a two-hour radio show and brought Digger in to make it a debate. In Boone County, we had an "afterdebate" event and invited Digger and the local Greens ... and I think that we ended up looking like **the** third party to left-leaning, but anti-authoritarian, people who would otherwise have gone Green by default. ...Tom Knapp

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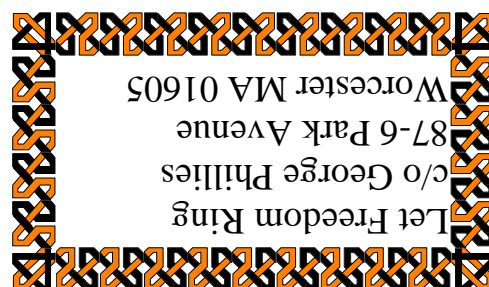
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GWB's BIG GOVERNMENT ACCOMPLISHMENTS THIS LIST LAST UP- DATED 11-08-2002

Do Republicans really support smaller government? Republicans controlled both Houses of Congress from 1995 through 2001 during which time the federal budget grew from \$1.4 trillion to \$2.1 trillion (about \$100 billion annually). Since Republicans took control of the House in 1995, federal discretionary spending has grown by a rate of about 7 percent annually. The number of earmarks lawmakers have put in the spending bills to steer federal funds to their districts has also grown. By one estimate, between fiscal years 2001 and 2002, they increased from about 6,300 to 8,300, or 32 percent. Social welfare programs under Bush have grown by \$96 billion in just two years, versus \$51 billion under six years of Clinton, according to economist Stephen Moore of the Club for Growth.

SOCIALISM & PORK

Airline bailouts. Post Office bailout. \$205 million Amtrak bailout. Federal prescription drug subsidies, \$350 billion over 10 years. "Homebuyer bill of rights" -- federal regulation of real estate. Continued anti-trust lawsuit against Microsoft. Federal subsidies for the poor to purchase homes. Additional funding for Medicare. Health care subsidies for laid-off workers and expanded job retraining benefits (\$10 billion to \$12 billion over 10 years). Wage insurance -- federal wage supplement. Took \$67 million in taxpayers' money to finance presidential campaign via federal matching funds. Submitted largest budget ever to Congress, \$2.13 trillion. Increased debt-limit from \$5.95 trillion to \$6.4 trillion. Scholarships for Cuban students and professionals. \$9.5 million to hire new Customs Service agents. Increased farm subsidies by \$180 billion over 10 years. Increased Pentagon budget by \$48 billion to \$379 billion. \$560 million USA Freedom Corps. Over \$3-million spent on SuperBowl anti-drug ads. Increased funding for IRS and BATF. Faith-based subsidies. Increased federal spending on education from \$39.9-billion to \$44.5- billion. Signed Congressional pay raise of \$4,900. Patients Bill of Rights Federal Compassion Capital Fund, \$700 million over 10 years \$100 million to beef up investigative manpower and technology at the SEC. \$6 million to upgrade a U.S. Geological Survey data center near Sioux Falls, S.D. \$10 million to help farmers near the Rio Grande River involved in a water dispute with Mexico. \$7 million for enhancing water supplies in New Mexico. A provision pressuring the Agriculture Department to reimburse poultry producers in West Virginia and Virginia for losses from avian influenza. \$1 billion for Pell grants for low-income students. \$417 million for veterans' medical care. \$400 million to help states improve voting systems. \$100 million for countering western wildfires and floods. Taxpayer-funded national memorial, congressional gold medals, and gold coins for victims of 9/11. Scholarships and grants to nurses and help hospitals with retention. Increase the NEA budget by \$10 million, to \$126 million. \$200,000 for a trucker congestion notification system in Tacoma, Washington. \$500,000 to save the Prebles Meadow Jumping Mouse in Colorado. \$62 million to promote the Sacajawea dollar coin.

100,000 a month to monitor news reports and offer advice on media strategy for the Pentagon. \$1.5 million for taking care of the Vulcan Statue in Alabama built for the 1904 World's Fair \$20 million annually for "Strategic Milk Reserve." Was phased out in 1999 by the 1996 Freedom to Farm Act. Congress extended it temporarily, and then made it permanent again in the farm bill that President Bush signed into law in May. Federal aid to Texas flood victims. Federal recovery assistance to typhoon victims in Guam. Steel and lumber tariffs. \$300 million for the Low-Income Home Energy Assistance Program (LIHEAP) via the Supplemental Appropriations Act of 2001. Federal disaster relief for tornado victims in Maryland. Federal disaster relief for Minnesota because of storms, flooding, and tornadoes. Payoff to families of 9/11 victims with taxpayer money. School vouchers. \$450,000 in federal funds for the Chicago Project for Violence Prevention for fiscal year 2003 on top of \$750,000 in 2002. \$700 million in drought relief. \$30 million in research grants over the next five years to develop new ways of making industrial products from plants and natural waste materials. \$10 billion military reserve fund for the Pentagon. National Institute of Health to spend \$24 million on a retirement facility for chimpanzees. \$750,000 for grasshopper research in Alaska. \$2 million to house a worm collection at the Smithsonian museum in Washington, DC. \$400,000 to study manure management at the National Swine Research Center in Iowa. \$4.2 million for a shrimp aquaculture research project in six states. \$400,000 for the Montana Sheep Institute. \$27 billion for the National Institute of Health. \$10 million upgrade for Amber Alerts. \$1 million to upgrade a law enforcement communication system in Placer County, CA. \$850,000 for a wastewater treatment facility in Placer County, CA \$1.7 million to purchase 6,100 acres of land along the American River. \$14 million for restoration projects in the Lake Tahoe basin. \$3 million for the acquisition of land for rare plant preserves in El Dorado County, CA. \$600,000 for the West Blount sewer system. (Alabama) \$ 1 million for the Duck River Dam. (Alabama) \$99,000 for sidewalk improvements at Vinemont Middle School. (Alabama) \$100 million in grants for communities to develop mosquito-control programs. Reauthorized Import-Export bank. Increased loan limit to \$25 billion. Taxpayers must guarantee loans. \$165 billion deficit for fiscal 2002. \$14.2 million for Phoenix Sky Harbor traffic control tower replacement. (pending) \$4.2 million for Phoenix bus facilities. (pending) \$500,000 for a Scottsdale pilot project to determine the best technologies for removing arsenic from drinking water. (pending) \$300,000 for a Southwest Transit Assessment and Review Team (START) project for Bus Route 131, which runs through Avondale. (pending) \$500,000 for Central Arizona College to continue implementation of the Science, Engineering, Math and Aerospace Academy in Pinal County. (pending) \$1 million for Rio de Flag (Flagstaff) flood-control project. (pending) 1.5 million for Maricopa County's AZTech Integrated Emergency and Transportation Communications Network. (pending) Creation of new federal bureaucracy, Office of Rare Diseases.

FOREIGN-AID & INTERVENTIONISM

Thousands of civilians killed, hundreds of thousands displaced by

area bombing in Afghanistan. Invaded Afghanistan without Congressional declaration of war. Boost in American foreign-aid by 50% to more than \$15 billion annually. Continued funding of World Bank. Engaging in nation-building. Meddling in Zimbabwe by threatening to withhold foreign-aid (Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act of 2001). Foreign debt relief. \$474 million to combat HIV/AIDS overseas, including \$100 million for a global trust fund, and \$200 million for international disaster assistance. \$676 million for South American anti-drug plan. \$768 million in assistance to independent states of the former Soviet Union. (2001) \$2.04 billion in military financing and \$720 million in economic assistance for Israel. (2001) \$1.3 billion in military assistance and \$655 million in economic assistance for Egypt. (2001) \$75 million in military financing and \$150 million in economic assistance for Jordan. (2001) \$582 million to United Nations. (2001) \$2-billion in foreign-aid to Egypt. (2002) \$1.3-billion in foreign-aid to Columbia to fight Drug War. (2001) \$440 million to Colombian military to fight drug war. (2002) \$120 million in foreign-aid to Uzbekistan. (2002) \$40 million in foreign-aid to the Taliban government of Afghanistan (May, 2001). \$500 million in funding to combat AIDS in Africa. \$255 million over two years to expand US media influence in predominantly Muslim countries. \$1.5 billion bailout of Uruguay. \$64 million for "Education and Equipment" program to train Georgian military. \$1.1 billion loan from the U.S. International Monetary Fund to Turkey. \$4.5 billion spending plan to help african nations reduce disease and famine and cultivate energy, clean water and forests. U.S. Drug Czar calls for War on Marijuana during visit to Canada. Continued sending fuel to North Korea under the 1994 Agreed Framework despite the intelligence community's suspicion that North Korea has had nukes since the early 1990's. Agreed to pay Pakistan \$700 million plus an economic package in exchange for the use of Pakistani air bases from which the US launched air strikes against Afghanistan. Bush Administration withheld news of North Korea confirming its nuclear weapons program for two weeks while it secured Congressional support to attack Iraq. Threatened Canada with trade sanctions if Canada relaxes its marijuana laws. White House said pre-emptive attacks are permissible for the US against Iraq but the same logic does not hold for India which is fighting Pakistan-sponsored terrorism. White House detailed a plan to install a military dictatorship in Iraq if the US overthrows the current government. Continued assistance to the Armed Forces of the Philippines. Agreed to give North Korea two nuclear power reactors.

LIBERTIES, CONSTITUTION, & POWER GRABS

Invaded and bombed Afghanistan without Congressional approval or Letter of Marque or Reprisal. Working to circumvent Posse Comitatus in order to use military for domestic surveillance and law enforcement. Campaign Finance Reform. Made his intention clear to exclude non-believers from serving on the judiciary in violation of Article 6, USC. Creation of new federal bureaucracy, Dept. of Homeland Security. Wall St. ordered to report "suspicious" transactions, or series of transactions exceeding \$5000. Freezing private assets without due process under the

guise of anti- terrorism. Detention of suspects for months without due process. Domestic surveillance by FBI without evidence of criminal activity. Project Safe Neighborhood -- unconstitutional gun-control and federal intrusion. Ashcroft plans to fingerprint Arab and Muslim visitors to the US. Refused to allow airline pilots to arm themselves. Federalized airport security. Continued federal asset forfeiture. Enron scandal. Questionable campaign contributions. Secret trials. Military tribunals. "Magic Lantern" FBI spyware. DOJ monitoring of cable modems without a warrant. Continued crackdown on medical marijuana. Cannabis Clubs raided. Transportation Security Administration to place armed law enforcement officers at ticket counters and other public areas at airports. Proposed 'federal standards' for state drivers licenses. Public schools required to turn over student information to military recruiters. Federal drug czar denounced a measure on Arizona's November ballot that would decriminalize possession of small amounts of marijuana, calling it a "stupid, insulting con." FCC denied EchoStar's plan to acquire rival Directv. BATF forced owner of Bob's Gun & Tackle Shop to hand over sales record for each used firearm bought and sold at the store in 1999. Supports ballistic fingerprinting for guns. Believes in stronger enforcement of the 20,000+ existing gun-control laws but not the repeal of any gun-control laws.

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Federal checkpoints in downtown Detroit.

A secret appellate review courts determines that an acknowledged violation of the Bill of Rights is legally acceptable.

USA PATRIOT.

Official acknowledgment that the feds have created a list of people - not accused of crimes - who are not allowed to fly. Another list - again, of people not accused of a crime - to be singled out for harassment if they're foolish enough to try flying.

The Pentagon's Information Awareness Office and , in turn, its Total Information Awareness data-miner, meant to snoop on citizens not accused of crimes.

No-warrant placement of keystroke bugs on suspects' computers.

Public strip searches in airports, with dissenters arrested and sentenced to public humiliation.

Secret military trials for US citizens.

Hundreds of people arrested, and held incommunicado in secret, without criminal charges.

Congress abdicates its responsibility to control the declaration of war.

The President issues a continuous stream of lies to justify a war. The FBI creates an national climate of fear by releasing vague, baseless warnings of imminent attacks by nameless, invisible foes.

Secret fishing expeditions in libraries by the FBI, to see if anyone is reading unapproved books.

Republican declarations of a "mandate" from the people, when little more than a third of those _allowed_ to vote even did so.

The US Attorney General accuses his critics of terrorism.

A high-level DOD official declares that freedom is not a right.

The TSA prepares rules for internal travel documents.

The Supreme Court rules that there is no right to privacy.

Congress considers bills to require identity papers for all citizens.

Cell phones are required to incorporate tracking devices.

Telephone companies are required to install equipment that allows remote tapping of all telephones in the country by the feds.

DCS1000/Carnivore.

Police patrol the streets in battle gear.

Congress considers new legislation to put federal military troops on the streets.

The President signs yet another order declaring a national emergency.

TIPS gets a new lease on life in the Homeland Security bill(1), and New York implements a state version.

Anonymous informer hotlines, violating the Sixth Amendment, are the norm in "law enforcement."

Welcome to the police state; now shut up and do as you're told, tovarisch.

