

# Liberty for America

Journal of the Libertarian Political Movement

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Crusading for Liberty Since 2008

April 2014

## Antonia Nathan 1923-2014



Antonia 'Tonie' Nathan was our party's first Vice Presidential candidate.

In 1972 she created a place in the history books when she became the first Libertarian, the first woman, and the first person of Jewish extraction to receive an Electoral Vote for Vice President.

Following her Vice Presidential campaign, she remained active in our party, including campaigns for U.S. Senate and U.S. Congress.

Nathan continued as Vice Chair of our party and served as President of the Association of Libertarian Feminists.

As recently as 2012, Tonie Nathan attended our National Convention, where she was a speaker and introduced our Presidential candidate.

Tonie was a great Libertarian.

# RIP

## Wonderful Libertarian News

*The news that Tonie Nathan would have been delighted to hear:*

*From Sarah Stewart, Vice-Chair of National Organization for Libertarian Women, on Facebook:* In efforts for the National Organization of Libertarian Women to help our Libertarian candidates running for office, we would like to provide an opportunity for anyone running to have a place on our website. We are putting out this question to those Libertarians running for office: What is the biggest "individual's rights" issue that you hope to advocate from your elected position? If that question does not pertain to you please let us know what you hope to accomplish.

There is also a photo project that we decided to do for Ohio. Angela Gross is coordinating this with the state representatives that are in place, but there are many states that do not have representatives yet. If you would be willing to send us your photo holding a sheet of paper saying why you are a Libertarian that would be wonderful. I would also like to have a short bio written of each of you (doesn't need to be more than a couple paragraphs). There are several state conventions coming up and that would be a great opportunity for us to get a collection of them from each state for the slide show we will have at the National Convention. We will also add the NOLW watermark to these pictures and submit them to the Why Are You A Libertarian? Tumblr.

If you are interested in doing or helping with any of these things, please let me know. I will send you a copy of the release so we can get it posted to the website. The website for anyone not registered is [libertarianwomen.com](http://libertarianwomen.com) Each state will have its own section.

## California State Convention Meets

46 heroic libertarians assembled in for their 2014 State Convention. A new State Committee was elected, including Antoine Hage – founder of new California college libertarians group  
Leon Weinstein – fundraiser; active in the Russian community  
Kevin Duewel – Ron Paul activist, San Mateo County vice-chair  
Jim Hoerricks – appointed incumbent; elected water board member  
Jose Tovar – from Fresno; bilingual  
Dana McLorn – championed college libertarians; not happy with current LPCA energy

Cont. Page 2 Top Left

The new California Judicial Committee is Ted Brown, Jill Pyeatt, and Aaron Starr. California Regional Representative and Alternate are Dan Wiener and Scott Lieberman. Both won by narrow majorities, 32-25 and 25-20, respectively.

### Oregon Anticipates Record Candidate Count

Wes Wagner writes of Oregon: "We had a record number of partisan candidates in 2012 and per capita the largest field of candidates vs population in the entire LP ... and are looking to almost double it this year."

### Libertarian Voter Registration Increases

The National Party reports that Libertarian Party voter registration increased 11% in the last year and a third. The most recent figures available from state governments show that there were 368,561 registered Libertarians in March 2014, compared to 330,811 in November 2012.

Thirty states and the District of Columbia allow voters to include a party affiliation with their voter registration.

Libertarian Party Chair Geoffrey Neale commented, "I think it's great that Libertarian registration is increasing throughout America, while the Democrats and Republicans have been shrinking. Maybe it's our across-the-board message of 'more freedom, less government.'"

The states with the largest percent increases were Idaho (161% increase), Wyoming (68% increase), Nebraska (55% increase), and Louisiana (33% increase).

### Coloradans Take Bold Strides

We are advised that the Colorado State Party, which has nomination by convention, was able to nominate 43 or 44 candidates for office. For the first time in recent memory, we are told, they nominated a full slate for their state committee; they also raised \$3000 via a pledge to be paid if they elected a full state committee.

### Utah

Our Utah Libertarian Party reports an extended slate of candidates, including

Craig Bowden, U.S. House District 1  
Jim Vein, U.S. House District 4  
Andrew McCullough, Attorney General  
Dwight Steffner, State Senate District 18  
Brent Zimmerman, State Senate District 22  
Roger Condie, State House District 7  
Megan Clegg, State House District 23  
Chelsea Travis, State House District 35  
Rainer Huck, State House District 40  
Bret Black, State House District 44  
Lee Anne Walker, State House District 46  
Barry Short, State House District 72

### Oregon Litigation

The Attorney for the Reeves group, who we are told is also a

Republican Party attorney, filed a letter with their Secretary of State in support of their claim to be the legitimate Oregon Libertarian party. The letter received stinging rebuttal from the attorneys for the Wagner state party group. The Reeves faction has also floated a web site [Iporegon.net](http://Iporegon.net) that is up part of the time, depending on legal interactions with ISPs in ways that we are not even trying to describe.

### Nevada

New Party State Chair Brett Pojunis has laid out an extremely ambitious nine-point plan based on fundraising, increased membership and leaders, increased communications, candidate recruitment and training, county party development and support, additional office space, additional staff members, statewide marketing and advertising, and coalition building. The plan may be read at [independentpoliticalreport.com/2014/03/brett-pojunis-letter-from-the-chairman-of-the-libertarian-party-of-nevada/](http://independentpoliticalreport.com/2014/03/brett-pojunis-letter-from-the-chairman-of-the-libertarian-party-of-nevada/)

### Massachusetts

The State Republican Party blog [redstate.com](http://redstate.com) looked at the McCutcheon decision, and apparently got the state government to agree that state caps on total candidate donations by a single person are now invalid, though the cap on donations to a single candidate in a single year may remain. A partial list of registered Massachusetts Libertarian voters shows more than 14,400 names.

South Carolina has a candidate for Governor: Steve French.

In the last issue, we referenced comments made by Stewart Flood in Independent Political Report. Mr. Flood appears to believe that we misrepresented his statements. His statements are a bit long but appear on page 11, the first page of the electronic supplement, so that you may all judge for yourself. Readers receiving the paper issue will soon be able to read the electronic edition on line at our web site.

## Editorial De-Elect the LNC

We are only a few months out from the National Convention. It is about as late as is effective for new people to run for the LNC. How would these people stack up against the current committee members?

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

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

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

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

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

Lee Wrights (Vice Chair) did not expect to be elected Vice Chair, but he was. His resources apparently make it challenging for him to travel to LNC meetings. He is a fine Libertarian, but his time would better be spent saving the Texas LP from far right tea party types. We evaluate Wrights as PROTECT HIM FROM HIS OWN GOOD NATURE; do not re-elect.

David Blau was elected to replace Ruth Bennett, who resigned when it became clear she was not doing her job. Look at LP.org, the party meeting minutes. The last LNC minutes on our web pages are for March 2013. Dave is a good guy, but he simply is not delivering minutes to the members. It is a reasonable bet that the people preparing to re-elect Alicia Mattson as Secretary will deliver a highly detailed and damning indictment of Blau's performance as Secretary, and they will be largely right. Some readers will note that Blau is also a state chair, recently married, and a new householder. We evaluate Blau as GOOD MAN IN WRONG SLOT.

Tim Hagan was recruited by Wes Benedict to run for Treasurer. Wes Benedict's candidate Hagan failed to alert the LNC to the very large amounts being paid to LNC Member Michael Cloud. Hagan failed to detect significant failings in LNC FEC filings, notably according to the Audit Committee that substan-

tial numbers of different expenditures were being amalgamated into a single line entry, and incorrectly claimed to be being paid to a single named vendor. As a result, the LNC had no way to tell how they had actually spent their money. The LNC's February financials were not forwarded to the LNC until April 2, 2014, more than a month after the end of the financial period. The Treasurer's fiscal analysis and interpretation of February 2014 read "As Mr. Benedict noted at the LNC Meeting, we fell below reserve requirements for Feb: \$43,050.30 vs. Reserve Target of \$59,488.09." and provided no independent interpretation." It is noteworthy that Benedict had reported to the LNC that recent fundraising letters had done less than well; it does not appear that Hagan had warned the LNC on the letter-by-letter results. Finally, the recent Audit report makes abundantly clear that LNC spending has not been adequately monitored. Evaluation: Mr. Hagan is evaluated as WE CAN DO BETTER.

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

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

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

National Chair Neale moved to take the \$65,000 proposed for Illinois ballot access, Illinois being Visek's home state, and spend the money instead on amortizing the mortgage. This seems to be a remarkable bit of tit for tat retaliation against an LNC member's home state, based on the LNC member and not the Party State Committee having made a motion that the National Chair did not like. Some of our sources indicate that the money had not actually been appropriated to Illinois yet, so the Neale motion simply removed from ballot access spending an amount dollar for dollar equal to the planned appropriation for

Illinois.

The roll call on Diana Visek's substitute motion was Diana Visek – yes, Johnson – yes, Starchild – yes, Redpath – no, Hinkle – no, Hagan – no, Olsen – no, Kirkland – no, Goldstein – yes, Wiener – no, Lieberman – yes, Tomasso – no, Vohra – abstain, Lark – no, Blau – no (first voted to pass, then voted no), Neale – no 5 yes, 10 no, 1 abstention, motion fails.

What about re-electing the At-Large Representatives? Arvin Vohra has actually done something for youth outreach, using facebook to propagate libertarian memes of interest to young people. He has actually taken his position, and used it to do something positive for the National Party. We rate him WORTHY OF RE-ELECTION.

Mr. Cloud has gained some attention within the party for his consulting and fundraising efforts and fees as paid by the national party. DO NOT RE-ELECT HIM.

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

Mark Hinkle was National Chair for two years. During his term, membership and income were largely stagnant. During his term, there were no substantial LNC political initiatives, no schemes for putting our message out to the voters. There was a great deal of back and forth about buying a building, but no result came to pass. Hinkle also appointed Carla Howell as Party Executive Director without an orthodox search. Whatever your feelings about party financial outcomes, the recent issues stem back to Mark Hinkle's decision. Hinkle has pushed tirelessly for buying an office in the belly of the beast, someplace near Washington D.C., at several times the cost of an office located anyplace in most of the rest of America. The rationale, of course, is that the other major parties have D.C. offices, so we should do the same and it will turn us into a major party. This rationale shows a devout belief in sympathetic magic, as practiced by cargo cults around the world. Cargo cults do not work in the real world, and cargo cult thinking will not work for us either. It will, however, waste hundreds of thousands of dollars we do not have. We evaluate Mark Hinkle as UNFIT TO SERVE.

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

## Stand up for Liberty Second Edition — Preface

In this book, I give examples of possible Libertarian projects. I give those examples because they look like good projects -- to me -- and because you the reader need to have some ideas of what a project is. I am not giving a complete list of projects for the Local Organization strategy. Stand Up for Liberty!'s fundamental theme is that central planning is inferior to the market. Central planning is inferior to the market when the planner is in Washington or California, central planning is inferior to the market when the central planner is the Libertarian National Committee, and central planning is still inferior to the market when the planner is George Phillies of Worcester, Massachusetts. I must most strongly emphasize: Our tens of thousands of Libertarians are far more creative and ingenious than I am by myself. By creating the marketplace of ideas, we will give everyone's ideas -- yours and mine -- the chance to compete and thrive. I can give you ideas, but you will have to make them fit the details of your local situation.

## Stand Up for Liberty! Chapter One

### The Ultimate Objective and Grand Strategy

#### SUMMARY

Where are we trying to go?

Our objective is the Libertarian Society, a nation with that offers peace, freedom and prosperity, that offers faithful obedi-

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

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

ence of the Bill of Rights, that offers friendly relations between nations and peoples and not perpetual war and perpetual bombing.

How are we going to get there?

Our path is electoral action: elect office holders who move America in the Libertarian direction.

As tactical maneuvers, we could also engage in non-electoral actions:

litigation,  
community organization,  
unwelcome publicity,  
peaceable assembly and petition for redress of grievances,  
initiatives and referendums, or even  
peaceful civil disobedience.

Non-electoral actions are valuable tools. Non-electoral tactical maneuvers are no substitute for contesting elections and electing libertarians in office.

How do we put libertarians into office? How do we get a position that lets us put Libertarian policies into effect?

**OPTIONS:** The three options for victory are:

**Conversion:** Get other parties to steal our ideas and put them into effect. Their people become libertarian in deed if not name.

**Capture:** Take over another major party, the Democratic or the Republican. Their voters then follow our leaders.

**Self-reliance:** Build up our party, the Libertarian Party, until it has electoral dominance. We the Libertarian Party then put Libertarians in office.

Each Victory Option may win for us. See below for more:

**NEEDS:** No matter which approach we choose, we have the same needs: The Alphabet, the Numbers, the V's of Victory.

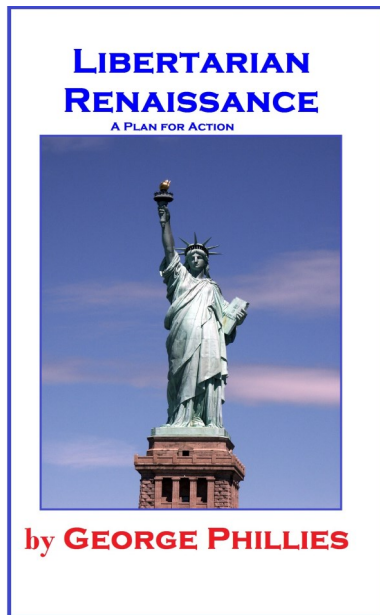
The Alphabet A-B-C-D-E gives us

Activists  
Ballot Status  
Candidates  
Dollars  
Enrolled Libertarians.

A-B-C-D-E: Activists and Specialists do the party's heavy lifting. Ballot Status, different in each state, lets us run people for office. Running people for office requires Candidates (people who win elections) and Dollars for campaigning and party-building. Enrolled Libertarians are our supporters, the people who register Libertarian, join local, state, or national Libertarian Party organizations, or Stand Up for Liberty! by supporting Libertarian campaigns and special-interest groups.

Through the Alphabet, we'll get the Numbers.

**Liberty for America**



## **Libertarian Renaissance**

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

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

The volume is available on

Amazon Kindle  
[amazon.com/Libertarian-Renaissance-Essays-Liberty-ebook/dp/B00E1SVGAK](https://www.amazon.com/Libertarian-Renaissance-Essays-Liberty-ebook/dp/B00E1SVGAK) and

Smashwords  
[smashwords.com/books/view/339159](https://www.smashwords.com/books/view/339159)

for ninety-nine cents.

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The Numbers are the bricks and mortar from which victory is built. Before we win, before we put libertarian policies into effect, we need the numbers:

hundreds of Libertarian campaign consultants  
thousands of libertarian PACs and libertarian-principled special interest groups.  
tens of thousands of Libertarians running for re-election.  
hundreds of thousands of candidates  
millions of hours of donated volunteer time  
hundreds of millions of dollars of campaign donations  
all to capture the billions of votes that Americans cast each election cycle.

The Numbers: Numbers are the foundation of a modern party. There are half a million elective and appointive political offices in the United States. Before we can capture them, we need all the numbers.

The numbers get us the V's of Victory. The V's of victory are

Volunteers  
Voters  
Victories

The V's: Volunteers do the vital work of the party: getting out the vote, stuffing envelopes, collecting petition signatures, distributing signs, and going door-to-door. Voters are the people of all parties who finally choose to Vote Libertarian! and decide that we win. Victories are the token of success, something we need to accumulate as we go along to prove we can win and to keep our supporters with us.

Discussion

What Resources Do the Victory Options Need?

Each victory option needs the same ingredients for success: the

Alphabet, the Numbers, and the V's of victory.

In the Conversion Option, other parties find it worthwhile to copy our ideas. They find it worthwhile because we are threatening their incumbency. To threaten their incumbency, we need to be seen as an electoral threat: a party that wins at least some elections. To win at least some elections, we need the Alphabet, the Numbers, and the V's.

In the Capture Option, our activists join one of the two major parties. They make that party ours. Capture needs a massive effort to get activists to attend caucuses, win primaries, and convince voters that a libertarian Republican or a libertarian Democratic Party is as supportable as a conservative Republican or liberal Democratic Party was. Because real American political parties are democratically run, Capture requires convincing their tens of millions of supporters to become libertarian. To capture a major party, we need the Alphabet, the Numbers, and the V's.

In the Self-Reliance Option, we run candidates, convert voters and elect a Libertarian Party majority from sea to shining sea in every level of government. Self-Reliance demands that we create a political organization as strong as the Democratic and Republican organizations. To win through Self-Reliance, we need the Alphabet, the Numbers, and the V's.

Note the similarity between the three victory options. No matter which option we pursue, we always need the Alphabet, the Numbers, and the V's.

Conversion needs fewer political resources than Capture. Capture, in turn, needs fewer political resources than Self-Reliance. If we win through Conversion or Capture, we need fewer resources than if we win through self-reliance. However, there is no guarantee that it is possible to win through Conversion or Capture.

In 2014, as a decade and a half ago when the first edition of this book appeared, we don't have enough consultants, PACs, interest groups, office-holders, candidates, volunteers, or money to generate the votes we need for victory. No matter which option you support -- no matter which option works in the end -- we need far more of the Alphabet, the Numbers, and the V's before we elect a Libertarian majority in America.

I gave the numbers for the difficult path - the Self-Reliant Path to Libertarian Victory. That's the path I expect we will follow before we win. If we're lucky, an easier path will be good enough, and we win sooner. That's great if it happens. Stand Up for Liberty! gives plans for winning by means of Self-Reliance. Easy victory should be recognized as an unexpected bonus.

The rest of this chapter discusses the Victory Options. I close with a short history of third party movements. Chapter Two presents paths to victory: how the Libertarian Party can achieve the Alphabet and the Numbers needed for the V's.

**Discussion: Victory Options.**

Let's consider Conversion, Capture, and Self-Reliance more carefully.

CONVERSION: There are historical precedents for victory by conversion. In the 1910's and 1920's, the Socialist Party started electing mayors, state legislators, and Congressmen. After a while, many socialist ideas were put into effect by the Democrats and Republicans. The Libertarian Party could try to do the same. We could try to drive the other major parties in the Libertarian direction.

Methods for conversion are straightforward. Many Democrats are already libertarian on social freedom issues. Liberals are often open to utilitarian ("look! it works!") arguments. They are wide open to conversion to libertarian ideas on economic freedom issues, because libertarian ideas work in the real world. Many Republicans support small government, low taxes, and patriotic restoration of the Constitution. They are wide open to being converted from the party that makes promises about their causes to the party that enacts their causes. Many of them will also be open to the argument that if you would not trust Uncle Sam to rummage through your wallet, you would also not want Uncle Sam searching your bedroom.

However, Socialist ideas became compelling because Socialists won elections. The Socialist Party threatened the incumbency of elected public officials. Borrowing from the Socialist platform was a survival tactic; it separated the Socialists from their winning advantage. The tactic worked! Few Socialist Party members hold office any more.

A slight variation on this theme works in New York politics. In New York, fusion is easy. Ballots have a line for each major party. A candidate appears on the ballot line of every party that nominates him. Many people who would not vote for a Democrat or a Republican will vote for the same person when he appears on the Liberal line. The New York Liberal Party dragged New York politics leftward, but not by electing its own people. The Liberals succeeded by endorsing Democrats and Republicans. The liberals also succeeded by running spoiler candidates to split the left vote and defeat people they disliked. More recent New York third parties (Conservative, Right to Life) mostly emulate Liberal Party tactics.

What lessons do Socialist and Liberal Party successes have for us? Socialist ideas were copied because socialists were winning elections. Liberal platform stands were adopted because Liberal candidates were deciding elections. To repeat the Socialist success, we need a party machine that elects many mayors and aldermen, significant numbers of state legislators, and at least some Congressmen. To repeat the Liberal success, we need a party machine that can effectively endorse Democrats or Republicans. In 1999, we don't have a party machine like that.

It's fair to ask: will the Democrats and Republicans copy our ideas? We don't promise bigger bureaucracies, more spending and patronage, or new laws to benefit campaign donors. We promise the end of these traditions. It sounds challenging to persuade Democratic and Republican incumbents to change

their coats. How can the two parties of high taxes, huge government, and contempt for the Bill of Rights possibly copy us?

Conversion is viable because America has a secret political party, the party to which almost every elected official belongs. In 1998, that party surfaced in a western state. The Democratic and Republican U. S. Senators of that state began making joint appearances. They said they were showing that Democrats and Republicans can work together for our Republic's good. They were actually campaigning for the secret political party, the Incumbency Party, the party whose sole platform plank is "Re-Elect Me!". When re-election requires copying our ideas, our ideas will be copied.

**CAPTURE:** There are historical and modern precedents for political victory by capturing a major party. The Republican Party was founded as the anti-slavery party. It won in 1860, but not by turning individual voters into Republicans. The strategy had already failed in 1856. The Republicans elected Lincoln because they captured the Whig Party.

A modern example of capture is seen inside the Republican Party. In several states, local and state Republican organizations have been captured by Christian Coalition and other theocrat nationalists. The capture was done above the board by old fashioned politics. Supporters of right-wing moralizing studied election laws, appeared at caucuses and polling places, and elected their people to party office. In many cases, they did this without telling their opponents in advance. Sometimes they found attractive candidates who supported their positions, and ran those candidates on innocuous platforms. To the broader public, these people were attractive aspirants for office. The public impression was true, but incomplete. Behind the scenes, the traditionalists knew who their friends were, and quietly supported them.

A consequence of this capture of the conservative Republican Party by the Christian Right is that they have substantially ceased to be available for our capture. Their key positions are an opposite of Libertarian.

In the 1960s, conservative Republicans used the same strategy to purify the Republican Party of its liberal wing. Until the 1960's, the Republican Party had had a strong liberal wing, with prominent Republican Governors, Senators, and other political leaders of liberal inclination. The conservative wing of the party concluded that conservatives were the majority at the grassroots. They concluded that in order to win, they needed to topple their party's liberal deadwood so that new conservative growth could thrive in the electoral sunlight. They launched primary campaigns, targeting liberal Republicans for defeat. The possibility that a Democratic candidate could beat a split Republican Party was viewed as an acceptable short-term loss. They succeeded. In 1960, a liberal Republican Governor of New York could summon the Republican Presidential candidate and dictate terms for support. By 1996, there were no prominent liberal Republicans. Conservative Southern Republican Governors picked Bob Dole for President.

Can we capture fractions of the other parties? There are already

lots of groups trying to capture our opponents. The Republicans are pursued by Christian traditionalists and Main Street business interests. The Democrats are pursued by government employee unions. Both parties are pursued by everyone who feeds at the Federal and State troughs. That's a lot of competition, all needing to be beaten before we could even put our candidates in front of voters.

Some libertarians are trying to capture the other two major parties. The Republican Libertarian Caucus and the Democratic Freedom Coalition each strive to import our ideas into their party. If they win, great! However, in a Republican or Democratic setting, there is no selective advantage to being a Libertarian. You're one more party faction. Libertarian Democrats and Republicans may win elections. They won't easily give us the Democratic Libertarian Party of the United States.

Individual Libertarians have run successfully as members of other parties. 1988 Libertarian Presidential candidate Ron Paul returned to Texas and entered the Republican Congressional primary in his district. He ran against a turncoat Democrat who had turned Republican after being elected to Congress. The Republicans poured millions of dollars into defeating Ron Paul. Ron Paul reminded voters that he had been their Congressman, once upon a time. Ron Paul won the primary and won the election, giving us a libertarian Republican in Congress. However, Paul shows no signs of being interested in developing a Libertarian caucus in Congress. One Ron Paul does not get us the Republican Libertarian Party.

A variation on capture is provided by the fusion campaign, in which a candidate is the nominee of several parties. Fusion has been important to Libertarian state legislative candidates. Except in Alaska, these Libertarians ran on multiple ballot lines, most recently (Neil Randall, Vermont) as Libertarian and Republican. It was clear to everyone that our candidates were primarily Libertarians. However, they captured a second ballot line, which contributed significantly to their victory margins.

A fusion candidacy keeps your vote from being split. It may pick up voters who automatically vote for your other party. Fusion is only legal in some states. The other major parties don't depend on fusion. In the long run, we can't depend on fusion, either.

Capture has several serious flaws. For starters, there's a long line of groups already waiting to capture the other parties. If we try to capture, we'll be one group among many. We'll sacrifice the unique advantage of being a real political party, a marketable party name that actually corresponds to a platform. Besides, you can't do Capture in secret. Many Americans would be offended if someone tried to take over their own party. Witness the difficulties the Christian traditionalists have after they capture county and state committees. Their opponents hound them for skulking behind the scenes, accusing them of secretive political conspiracies. Fair or not, the charges are damaging. I don't recommend trying to capture another party.

**SELF-RELIANCE:** There is no real historical precedent in the United States for marching out and starting a successful politi-

cal party. Plenty of people have launched third parties. The parties of Teddy Roosevelt and Henry Wallace and John Anderson are one with the snows of yesteryear. The parties of George Wallace and Ross Perot are fading rapidly. The closest you can find to a party created by self-reliance is the Republican. They floundered until they absorbed the fragmenting Whig Party.

As an approach, self-reliance is easy to explain. We are going to start a new major political party using the same election laws that the Democrats and Republicans often obey. We will have candidates, supporters, campaign committees and funds. We have the same objective of winning election.

As an approach, self-reliance is easy to defend. We aren't trying to corrupt their politicians into supporting our ideas. We aren't sneaking around behind people's backs trying to steal the party they worked hard to build. We're simply trying to do what the Democrats and Republicans have already done -- become a major party.

No one has successfully launched a third party before. So what? If our ancestors only did the things their parents had done, we would be staring across the Bering Sea and the Atlantic and the Rio Grande, gazing at an unpopulated America. Doing something new is as American as apple pie and maple sugar. Our parents did something new, and we can, too.

## Other Libertarian News Where Your Money Went

### Libertarian National Committee

For February 2014, the LNC raised a total of \$80,136, and spent \$107,932. Cash on hand at the end of the month came to \$352,118, plus \$25,000 as a deposit on a DC-area property. Much of this money was the special-purpose building fund. At the end of the month the building fund had more than \$307,000 in it, while the unrestricted fund had modestly over \$43,000. The LNC has an established reserve rule which currently requires over \$50,000 to be found in the unrestricted fund, so the LNC was in violation of its own reserve rules.

How did the LNC spend its money? \$45,309 went to staff salary, contract labor, administrative support services, withholding, unemployment, social security, medicare, dental and health insurance, state withholding, and processing costs. \$3000 went to the party attorney, while \$1500 went to the FEC filing consultant. The office for the staff cost \$11,243; office supplies cost \$606. Copier issues cost \$771. Information services of all sorts came to \$5861. Outreach materials cost \$392. There were also modest sums for bank and credit card charges and the yearly audit.

Printing LP news came to \$8335. \$18,963 went to non-candidate printing and mailing efforts and other postage charges. Books cost \$1090. Flowers cost \$127.

## Johnson September 2012 Spending

In September 2012, the Johnson campaign had income of \$274,785 and spent \$297,954. Its debts at the end of the month came to \$977,608. Expenditures included \$10,000 to Our America Initiative for use of their mailing list, \$2000 each for fundraising to Charles Frohman and to Wagon Works, \$526.75 to Zion's bank for service and analysis fees, \$500 to the Kentucky State Treasurer for Ballot Access, \$150 to Media Temple for internet web services, and last but hardly least \$278,000.00 to Political Advisors. Once again, the individual payments to Political Advisors include odd pennies, but they come in sequential pairs: 0.01 and 0.99, 0.49 and 0.51, and 0.49 and 0.51.

New debts line include #47220 to Daines Goodwin for \$4280.

The old debt line 47153 for \$57,609.49 was paid off in full during the period. The old debt line 47154 for \$69,020.52 was paid off in full during the period. These two lines were originally for \$218,430 and \$69,060.

Costs on line 47153 originally included: Ad Placement, web \$8241; Staff and Candidate Travel \$21,245; Miscellaneous/supplies/office \$5159; EMail marketing costs \$6620; General Attorney's Fees \$25,000; Printing \$37,039; Vehicles \$6599; Ballot Access \$81,393; Mailing \$22,023; Shipping \$5108

Costs on line 47154 for August 2012 originally totaled \$69,060, including Senior Political Advisor Zero hours for zero dollars; Creative Advertising \$11,250 for 50 hours (\$225.00/hour); Mid-level Management \$600 for 20 hours (\$30/hour); Mid-level Management \$31,157 for 1038 hours (\$30/hour); Mid-level Management \$4800 for 160 hours (\$30/hour); General Clerical Labor \$2860 for 130 hours (\$22/hour) and "Outside subcontracts per agreement" \$18,392.

The new debt line 47218 for \$81,757.48 was paid off in full during the period. Costs on line 47218 originally included Senior Political Advisor Zero hours for zero dollars; Creative Advertising \$11,250 for 50 hours (\$225.00/hour); Mid-level Management \$35,835 for 1194 hours (\$30/hour); Mid-level Management \$600 for 20 hours (\$30/hour); Mid-level Management \$4800 for 160 hours (\$30/hour); General Clerical Labor \$6692 for 304.2 hours (\$22/hour) and "Outside subcontracts per agreement" \$22,580.

The new debt line 47219 for 265,666.71 received \$69,572.51 leaving it with \$196,094 in debts at the end of the period. Line 47219 from September 2012 originally totalling \$265,666 was identified as Ad Placement, web \$10,919; Staff and Candidate Travel \$27,049; Miscellaneous/supplies/office \$494; Polling and Research \$500; EMail marketing costs \$3093; Printing \$9149; Vehicles \$9067; Ballot Access \$38,438; Mailing \$14,200; Media \$146,991; Shipping \$5766.

The new debt line 36035 for \$2205 to Snell and Wilmer LLP remained unpaid during the period.

We are now approaching the general election.



# Support Liberty For America!

Mail form to Liberty for America c/o George Phillis, 48 Hancock Hill Drive,  
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Liberty for America <http://www.LibertyForAmerica.com>  
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## Liberty for America

Liberty for America is not currently a political party.

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Liberty for America has a Federal PAC —we actually support  
real Libertarians when they run for Federal office.

## Tonie Nathan—RIP

## Wonderful Libertarian News

National Organization of Libertarian Women, California State Convention, Oregon  
Record Candidate Count, Libertarian Voter Registration Up, Colorado advances,  
Utah, Oregon Litigation, Nevada, Massachusetts

## Editorial

De-Elect the LNC

## Stand Up for Liberty!

Preface, Chapter 1

## Where Your Money Went

LNC February 2014; Johnson campaign September 2012

First Class Mail

Liberty for America  
c/o George Phillies  
48 Hancock Hill Drive  
Worcester MA 01609

From IndependentPoliticalReport.com. We originally wrote:

“The coverage on Independent Political Report has former LNC member Stewart Flood asserting that Howell assisted LNC member Michael Cloud — who was not at the meeting — in relieving the LNC of over \$30,000 for services rendered, as covered here in past issues.”

Here are the quotes from IPR that we aqre said to have misrepresented:

Stewart Flood March 1, 2014 at 11:36 am

“The only “budgeted” items that you are forced to pay at the anticipated levels are payroll (unless you sack people), rent, electricity, etc. Just about everything else can be changed downward. How about getting back some of that stolen \$30k+ that Mr Cloud (who is conveniently absent) took?”

Stewart Flood March 1, 2014 at 11:38 am

“I think that they are going after her because they can’t get the real thief, who she helped (intentionally or otherwise) to get at our treasury.

The accomplice often takes the rap while the “big cheese” gets away...”

Stewart Flood March 1, 2014 at 1:46 pm

“Ahhh...correction...he just wanted to “repopulate it”. For what reason? It, like most committees, rarely do anything.

Obviously the APRC does things (or doesn’t do things...since their most common action is to not act...which makes sense if you read what their mission is).

The awards committee does stuff. Amazing thing...we give out lots of awards...guess that’s a good thing...except it might be better to actually spend more time doing things...

The IT committee did stuff when we created it. I don’t see any evidence that this term’s committee has done what they were chartered to do.

Guess this term just wants to talk about doing things while members (plural) make off with the \*cash.

\* note that one member made off with the cash while another was forced to return what he had absconded.”