

# Let Freedom Ring!

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## An Open Letter From Charles Separk The Oldest New Challenge for the Lovers of Freedom

I have long admired the positions of the Libertarian Party. I found a political home after running the gambit from Democratic, to Republican, to un-enrolled to lost. One evening, many years ago I heard David Brudnoy on the radio, and phoned him. He told me of the Libertarian party, but I could not find any important information about the party. Eventually, I did discover there was a group being formed in the Pioneer Valley. That was the spark I needed. Since then I have passed out pamphlets, marched, carried signs, spoke to any group that would listen, written letters, attended state and national conventions, managed two campaigns, and became a general pain to many of my friends and co workers. I think I know our party. The more I know of it, the more I desire it to become the great party in America.

That is not to say that I have agreed with all of the Libertarian positions. I think the position taken concerning the Middle East is wrong. But that is no reason to divorce. I think the politics  
[Separk Letter](Continued on page 2)

## Where Your Money Went UMP Default Continues

**'New Way of Presenting Our Philosophy of Governance' Unveils Archimedes Spending**  
For this issue we have the February LNC spending. We also have from the National Headquarters a memo on the Party's new target constituency—according to the memo—and data unveiled by a rejoinder to that memo. Some readers will be surprised by some of the attitudes from National Headquarters towards membership control and political activism. Consider: *"Mak(e) sure your leadership team buys in to the new focus we have. Without having your internal support ready to go nothing will work."* and *"No protest photos please. Protests are for people without influence, not a political party."*

But first—the Unified Membership Plan. It's still in default, with member states still shorted

[LNC Financials](Continued on page 5)

## Freedman Defects To Republicans She Will Continue to Support Libertarian Issues After This Tactical Change

Ilana Freedman, third-best Libertarian Congressional candidate of 2002, has crossed over to the Republican Party. She intends to run for Congress again, but will in 2004 run as a Republican. In a letter to supporters, Freedman wrote:

"Dear Friends -

I am writing to you who were so especially supportive in my recent campaign for US Congress. Although you may have already heard whispers about Richard and me, I would like to tell you personally about our plans.

Both Richard and I are deeply disappointed in the turn that the Massachusetts Libertarian Party has taken and we have decided to leave the party. Following is my letter of resignation to Kamal Jain, which will explain our reasons for this drastic move. There are several other reasons which I would like to share with you, because your support  
[Freedman Defects](Continued on page 3)

## All Hands On Deck! Rallies Late April and Early May

There will be a re-legalization rally in Amherst, Massachusetts, on the Amherst Common, on April 26. There will probably also be a rally in Worcester on May 3, but the final permits are still being arranged.

The PVLA Tent will be at both events. Please support your Association with your time. If you can manage to reach either Amherst or Worcester, your support would be greatly appreciated. This is one of our few yearly opportunities for Libertarian outreach to a supportive community. If you would like to help, please contact George Phillies, 508 754 1859 or [phillies@4liberty.net](mailto:phillies@4liberty.net)

Every year, we use these booths to advertise the Libertarian message of freedom, prosperity, and peace. We do outreach to thousands of people who are receptive to our message. And our outreach efforts are always totally labor-limited. Please help!

**Electronic Edition: The Complete Famularo Strategy**

## Letters

Usually when something does not work, one tries something else.

While some people may label George Phillies divisive, my perception is that the leadership seems to do the same thing the same way thus getting the same results, and refusing to try something else.

The preselection polls show the Libertarian candidate getting 30%, like Ludendorf beating the allies in 6 weeks. They then are lucky to get 5%. I am not sure I agree with Charles Separk, without a change in leadership I see little hope of a change in strategy. I do agree that we should raise the Libertarian banner high. I personally am not in favor of small "I" libertarians running as independent personalities.

The voters voting on personalities is a large part of the problem. It is a problem that the Libertarian party has not been able to address. The repeal of the income tax got more votes than any Libertarian Candidate. We did a poor job of connecting our candidates to the issues. The very people who voted Democratic are complaining about the prescription tax. I think we need more personal contact to make the connection.

It is unfortunate that the people whom are capable of making the connection are running an uphill effort. Ilana Freedman is one Libertarian who can communicate with the average person. I think Don Gorman is also. Friedman probably did the best job of describing a transition. Until we do that some of us may get elected dog catcher.

Robert Joseph Underwood  
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*(Continued from page 1)* [Separk Letter]

of my wife are wrong. That is no reason to divorce either. Love and disagreement are compatible.

Now, once again, out of my love and respect for the party, I am sticking my two cents into the party's inner workings. It seems to me, that over the recent past, we have made a lot of noise about party growth, but have done little about making it a reality.

All organizational growth involves two basic elements. The first is retention of current members. The second is attracting new members.

In the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, under the leadership of Eli Israel and due to the work of Carla Howell and others, more people than ever before know us. However, the wonderful work done by these people has not really attracted new people to our rolls, nor has it served to retain our old members. The major reason is people do not know our party, and what it stands for in these trying times. There are other causes for our decline in membership.

A dear friend recently said my party was no more than a disorganized bunch of pot smoking, gun totting, tax-cutters. She characterized the party, as do many others. That is the point of my note to all of you. We seem to be a party that is easily characterized, with characterizations that lack substance.

Why do so many baseball players want to play for the New York Yankees? Sorry, Red Sox fans, but the point is obvious. Many players want to play in New York because the Yankees are winners. Certainly, they pay their players well, but the strongest attraction is the possibility of playing on a team that can reach the World Series. People like to be associated with winners. We do not put forth an image of winners. That is why we loose membership year after year.

The next attraction we are lacking is inclusion. For you that attend church, or belong to a social service organization, Masons, Lions, Kiwanis, or the like, you find that you retain your membership as long as you are made to feel important to the group. That is inclusion. An Email note saying you are needed to collect signatures for a candidate is not inclusion. It is a cold, impersonal, request. Inclusion is making each member of the party feel like they are doing something important.

When I moved to Boston in the late 60's and registered as a Democrat, I was visited by a party official, and invited to attend functions, and get involved. The message sent to me, telling me I could be an important part of a winning team. Two points, winning and inclusion.

I know that we have members who have never received a phone call or letter inviting them to participate in anything to do with the party. If we want to retain our current members and gather new members we need to take a simple step. We need to make our people feel included. We also need to convince them that

(Continued from page 2) [Separk Open Letter]

they are a part of a winning team.

The next leader of our State Party must set up a system that encourages Party members to participate in Party functions. Encouragement costs money. New members coming on board and older members who feel that they are a part of an important and winning team will help raise that money.

The points I am making are simple ones. *First*, we must design a party that is attractive to new people. *Second*, we must find ways to include all our new members in our work.

“Including our new members” must be more than a call to give money or a call to pass out leaflets for one of our candidates. *Third*, we need to add a personal touch, to remind new and old members that they are honored, respected, and included in our plans. *Fourth*, we must at all times present ourselves as winners. *Last and hardly least*, we must end the infighting that seems to be such a part of our Party today.

With respect,

Charles A. Separk

(Continued from page 1) [Freedman Defects]

has meant a great deal to me and I want you to understand that this move is being made because we cannot see how I can succeed in a campaign without solid party support. It in no way alters either my philosophy or my commitment to libertarian principles.

I was disappointed in the lack of party support to my campaign. In fact, at the 2002 State Convention, I was astonished that I was not allowed to speak to the plenum, although I requested only 5 minutes to address them as the Libertarian Candidate in a high-profile three-way race for US Congress.

Nowhere was Party support more needed than in the final weeks of the campaign when, following a poll showing 30% support, I was unable to find enough volunteers to carry out that final GOTV push that would have been necessary to maintain that support at the polls. Party support in this effort would have made a major difference. It was not there.

Although three other candidates for Federal and Statewide Office received an extra \$250 each to help defray the costs of their election night party, I could not get the same amount to help me campaign in the final days before the election.

We did not expect the Party to fund our campaign. In fact, it is public record that in addition to your own generous support to my campaign, I put well over \$100 thousand dollars of my own money into it as well. It should have been enough evidence of my seriousness to generate active Party support to help me, but it was not.

And finally, although my experiences in this last campaign were of the kind that would have benefited many other Libertarian candidates, I was never invited to participate in the 2003 State Convention in any way, although I had the second

highest percentage of votes nationwide of any Libertarian candidate in a three-way race.

Dear friends, I am 61 years old. If I am to continue to play a political role in order to try to make a difference, I cannot wait for the Libertarian party to wake up. I have great love and respect for many of the people I have met through the Party and I am grateful for the time I have spent with you. But I am making this change because I see no way that I can succeed and bring the libertarian message to Washington without a strong party behind me.

I hope you will understand, or, at least, recognize that this is a move Richard and I are making with a heavy heart.

We both wish you success in your own efforts to effect change.

God bless.

Yours in freedom,

Ilana

In response to questions, Freedman emphasized to your Editor that her primary disagreement with the State Party was not that the State Party had not given her money—the amount in question was trivial relative to the amount that she had invested and raised elsewhere—but that the State Party was not supportive on fundraising.

The Freedman resignation first became general knowledge when Richard and Ilana Freedman sent a short news notice to the Massachusetts State Party newsletter *Mass Liberty* announcing that they were crossing over to the Republicans. According to extremely well-placed sources, the Freedmans were promptly thereafter sent an email from Acting State Chair Kamal Jain, in essence urging them to clarify that they had indeed resigned from the Libertarian Party of Massachusetts State Committee.

Reliable sources say that no effort was made by the State Party to persuade Ilana or Richard Freedman to change their minds and remain as Libertarians. The Freedmans instead answered Jain in a second letter, saying:

“Dear Kamal -

It is with great sadness that we resign from the Libertarian Party, and accordingly, from the State Committee and the Billerica Town Committee.

The Party has been a great disappointment to us both and dreams of being part of an historic movement that would lead to a better America have been lost in a morass of political infighting and back-stabbing. The so-called 'party of principle' has turned out to be as un-principled as any other political party. This lack of principle is illustrated by the following examples (to mention only a few):

- the parking of a Howell campaign staffer on the state party payroll until the campaign needed her again
- the stacking of the 2002 Delegation for the National Conven-

## News

On April 29, 2003 a Libertarian will serve as Nurse-of-day to the North Carolina General Assembly. As far as we are able to determine, Pam Wrights will be the first Libertarian ever to serve in this capacity. The day includes meetings with the nurse's county representatives, and I am already briefing her on our current Ballot Access fight. ;-) On a personal note, it brought me great joy to see how proud my wife was to tell me she may be the first Libertarian to do this. I know it is not much, but it sure as hell made me smile.

...R. Lee Wrights

Charles Carroll has won a seat on the Planning Commission of Rindge, New Hampshire during voting on March 11th. Carol finished second among three candidates, winning one of two seats with 43% of the vote. Rindge (pop. 5,200) covers over 40 square miles. Howard Wilson of Andover won a three-year term on that town's budget committee. Carrol was supported by the Monadnock Libertarians, monadnocklibs.org.

Our sources in Washington report that Bill Winter has offered to continue doing LP News. In the opinion of some high in the Party, finding a new LP News Editor is thus not a priority at this time. The National Party has no money for a new National Executive Director.

Writing on lpus-misc@dehnbases.org, Lee Wrights responded to suggestions that LP News would publish interesting, well-written pieces about 'candidates and elected officials', if only these were sent to Washington. Wrights answered in part ' Sorry , but I have **not** found this to be the case. In fact, I have had articles returned to me with the explanation that LP News does not accept news articles from anyone other than staff. This was from Mr. Winter himself. Moreover, I have heard numerous complaints about the very same situation from other state and local leaders across the country that have tried to submit news items. So, why should members send material when they have already been told that the material will **not** be accepted unless it comes from a staff member? This was a problem *before* I ran for the LNC, and I have no reason to believe that the policy, as explained to me by Mr. Winter, has changed or will change as long as Mr. Winter remains the editor of LP News.' Lee Wrights edits Liberty For All [www.libertyforall.net](http://www.libertyforall.net)

## Republican Anti-Constitution Party Shows Its True Colors

"There are things in the Constitution that have been overtaken by events, by time. Declaration of war is one of them. There are things no longer relevant to a modern society. Why declare war if you don't have to? We are saying to the President, use your judgment. So, to demand that we declare war is to strengthen something to death. You have got a hammerlock on this situation, and it is not called for. Inappropriate, anachronistic, it isn't done anymore." -Chairman Henry Hyde, 10/3/2002, in session of House of Representatives, during hearing on H.J. Res. 114, AUTHORIZATION FOR USE OF MILITARY FORCE AGAINST IRAQ", discussing Ron Paul's motion to declare war.

(Continued from page 3) [Freedman Defects]

tion with 'right voting' members of the Indiana delegation

- the unwillingness of the State Chair to heed numerous warnings about the growing split within the Party
- the unwillingness of the state party leadership to make any effort to repair the damage to party unity after the splintering race for National Chair
- the disgraceful behavior of the Party Chair at the last State Committee meeting that received neither censure nor a call for dismissal from most of the committee

In addition to these blatant displays of lack of principle, there were also numerous examples of bad judgment that affected the both party and the candidates who represented it in good faith and with hard work:

- the inability of the Party to foster unity and cooperation among the various campaigns
- the factionalism that has grown within the party and alienated far too many dedicated and valuable activists
- the unwillingness of the Party to support most of its candidates in any meaningful way, or to honor its candidates after the campaigns were over.

Having said all this, we want to thank Kamal for his efforts to be fair and unbiased in his role as the new State Chair, and prior to that, as Executive Director. We wish you well, Kamal, and we wish the Party well. We still share the goals of libertarian philosophy, and libertarian principles will always be a beacon for us . We will continue to work for the libertarian positions that we have always stood for and to fight against big government, taxes, gun-control, and the national threat to individual liberty in every way we can.

Sincerely,

Ilana Freedman [ilana@ilana.org](mailto:ilana@ilana.org)

Richard Freedman [richard@rfreedman.org](mailto:richard@rfreedman.org)

## The Profits of War

Once again there's money to be had from government contracts, government contracts for rebuilding Iraq after we finish destroying it.

James Ridgeway, writing in the Village Voice, reports that USAID asked five construction concerns for bids on a \$900 million contract. He goes on to report: Three of the firms collectively gave \$2.8 million to presidential candidates over the last two election cycles, two-thirds to Republicans, reports the Center for Responsive Politics. The three firms are Bechtel, Kellogg, Brown & Root, and Fluor.Kellogg, Brown & Root is reportedly a subsidiary of Halliburton, which had had close ties to Vice President Cheney. Fluor Vice President for Strategy and Government Services is reportedly Kenneth Oscar, who recently served as acting assistant secretary of the army.

Billions of your tax dollars are perhaps poised to go out the door, repaying Republican campaign contributors for their faithful services. Some Republican loyalists have raised a new wing of American Foreign Policy thought, American Imperialism, proposing that the entire cost of the war should be paid by Iraq in the form of low-cost oil to be taken from Iraqi wells and sold in the United States.

(Continued from page 1) [Where Your Money Went] by two months.

First, we turn to national finances: For February, 2003 The National Party raised \$178,439, had \$1630 in other income, and spent \$129,422. The Party's debt stands at \$220,612 at month's end, but cash on hand rose from under \$400 to slightly less than \$28,000. The increase in income over prior months is quite substantial, but February is the month in which the annual report yields much of its income, so it is challenging to estimate the future. Expenditures including payment of past debts included \$5000 to Accumail, over \$2000 to B&B duplicators for printing, over \$5000 for health insurance, \$2000 in convention deposit expenses, \$900 for web site design, over \$1500 for conference calls, nearly \$1600 for accounting services, \$4400 for staff benefits, \$12,000 to Mount Vernon for printing, \$4000 for an accounting consultant, \$1600 in bank charges, \$7913 in rent, \$3800 to Walton Press for printing, \$5281 for legal fees, and \$2700 for FAX services. The former Executive Director received \$2000 in travel reimbursements.

And now the memo from the National Staff, reportedly sent by Marketing Director Mark Schreiber to state chairs who attended the State Chairs meeting:

#### **“Setting the Stage for Welcoming Our New Small Business Constituency**

Many of the state chairs who attended the Houston meeting have already ask me what's next? What should we be doing right now? This outline is designed to address those questions.

#### **Setting the Stage:**

The first step is getting your house in order. Making sure your leadership team buys in to the new focus we have. Without having your internal support ready to go nothing will work.

I will be sending you a separate document that will outline many answers to the questions you will be ask. In the meantime, refer to the marketing report you were sent prior to the Houston meeting. Use the "criteria for choosing a constituency" when addressing the concerns of your local folks. I can send you another copy if you need it. Also, remember that this is our first core constituency. Others will likely be added as we go. I suspect they (other constituencies) will find us and want us to champion them.

Also, keep in mind that issues are best left to candidates rather than being driven at the national level. Many people will oppose this strategy shift since it's all they know. Don't let them derail your efforts. I will be sending you a demonstration of how each issue can be addressed with the small business focus shortly.

Remember, issues are vertical in nature and are divisive.

Constituencies are horizontal and inclusive in nature. Once you have the buy in from your leadership, the next step is to prepare your members and the media for the new LP. Refocus your external communications: press releases and op-ed articles to reflect your concerns about the impact of; local ordinances or legislative actions on small business. We will have some examples of press releases prepared for you shortly.

Refocus your internal communications: newsletters, and meetings, to reflect the issues and concerns of small business. This can be done by asking the local NFIB official or Chamber official to address your local organizations. Invite local business leaders to address your members.

I caution you **not** to make a big pronouncement about being the party of small business. Just quietly become the party of small business in what you do and say. National will take care of the big push probably next January.

#### **Outreach**

The outreach efforts will generally follow the outline below. In the mean time gather information concerning the local legislation that affects the small business community in your city and state. Find examples of that impact on local businesses. Send these stories to me as you get them. Don't worry about the writing, we just need the stories.

This information can and will be used in outreach materials like direct mail, brochures and hopefully tabloid inserts in your local papers. Also, be sure to prepare stories about your best activist that are also small business owners. As, you get ready to roll out your outreach campaigns these early preparations will save you enormous amounts of time.

Also, be sure to start collecting photos. Lot's of photos. You will want photos of your people doing things like making speeches, working in groups around a table, attending meetings and such. No protest photos please. Protests are for people without influence, not a political party. Avoid photos with people in tee shirts etc unless they are painting signs etc. You want to put on a good face for people who do not know us. Be sure to get good head shot photos of your leadership (in coat and tie) and have them digitized. Keep the negatives though. You will want the negatives for quality reproductions. Be sure to note the name and contact information of the individual and that you have their permission to use the photo. Keep that information on file.

#### **Direct Mail and Solicitation**

Once we have worked out the right formulas for getting response to direct mail we will provide you with materials you can duplicate and use to recruit local business leaders. We also may do a number of joint projects.

For example: I hope to have a story placed in the restaurant industry trades publications next summer or fall featuring Ed Thompson and the Wisconsin Tavern League. It takes at least

## Let Freedom Ring!

six months to get a story placed. Once we know the publication date, I will rent the list of subscribers and prepare a direct mail program for them citing the article.

I will also have a presentation package prepared for each state that wishes to participate in extending an invitation to local restaurateurs to come to a get acquainted meeting. For those states that are not quite ready we will just invite the restaurateurs to join or support the party with a contribution. The states that do not wish to engage in the effort will not be mailed.

We will repeat this approach for other industries, like construction, for as long as it pans out in new members and contributions.

The overall theme of the out-reach efforts will be, "Who are you going to call?" The idea being that when faced with unreasonable bureaucrats who would you rather call a Republican or Democrat that created the law or a Libertarian who understands the injustice of it in the first place.

I hope this answers some of your questions and helps organize your efforts. Feel free to call me if you have questions and be sure to let me know how people in your state are reacting to our new way of presenting our philosophy of governance.

Warmest Regards,  
Mark Schreiber  
Marketing Director Libertarian Party

Mr. Crickenberger soon responded to this memo. The response was largely a spreadsheet, too large to reproduce, showing responses to the Project Archimedes mailings. Crickenberger's point is that small businessmen responded poorly to PA mailings. He does not note that we just spent over a year in a Strategic Planning Cycle that pointed the Party for better or worse in a Whole Other Direction, namely the War on Some Drugs. The rejoinder included information confirming long-time suspicions that Project Archimedes had favored recruiting LP members from reactionary Republican groups. The most interesting bit of the response is in the remarks

*"...As follow-up to the state chair's conference, I have been reviewing data on our previous attempts to bring small business owners to the LP, and discovered something a bit shocking.*

*Of the nearly 200 lists we mailed to in the late 90s, the lists that were specifically or tangentially for small business owners were consistently the worst lists we prospected.*

*Of the twenty worst performing lists, the majority are small business oriented, each losing hundreds of dollars per response received..."*

It is very good and very positive that someone is reviewing the performance of Project Archimedes mailings. It is by learning from experience that we can try to do better in the future. The key word, however, is *"...discovered..."* This is a **new** result. The National Party spent the better part of a million dollars mailing Project Archimedes letters to 3 million targets, and is still noticing years later where those letters had more success, and where they had less success. The second most interesting feature of Crickenberger's letter is the list of places Archimedes mailings were sent, namely libertarian, right-wing, and remote-

right-wing mailing lists. For example, there are multiple uses of the National Review mailing list. There are almost no uses of leftwing lists (There were trial mailings to Playboy and Mother Jones.) The complete list includes: Adrian Day, Agora, American Business and Insurance Attorneys, American Sentinel, American Spectator, Americans for a Balanced Budget, Americans for Tax Reform, Association for Investor Awareness, Blue Duck Newsletter, Boardroom, Book of the Month Club, Business Week, Cato, Citizens Against Government Waste, Citizens Committee to Keep and Bear Arms, Citizens for a Sound Economy, Comdex attendees, Compiled business owners-computer owners-gun owners-home business owners- investors-political contributors, Economist, Entrepreneur, Fast Company, Financial World, Firestorm Chats, Forbes, Fortune, Free Inquiry, Gold Stocks Report, Heritage Foundation Donors, Human Events, Individual Investor, Insight, Institutional Investor Newsletter, International Speculator, Investment and Stock Opportunist, Investment Forecaster, Investment Software, Investor's Alliance, Investor's Bookshelf, Investor's Insight, Investor's World, Ken Roberts, Laissez Faire Books, Liberty, Liberty Tree, Listsmart Financial Masterfile, Louis Rukeyser's Wall Street, LP inquiries, LP members, Lapsed, Metro Mail, Millionaires Masterfile, Money Magazines 100 Steps to Wealth, Moneyworld, Morningstar Investor, Mother Earth News, Multi-list names, National Review, NTU, Oxford Club, PC World, Phillips Publishing current, Playboy, Reason, Red Herring, Registered Libertarians, Retirement Income Newsletter, Ruff Times, Rush Limbaugh, Second Amendment Foundation, SF Book Club, SF, Analog SF, Asimov's, Skeptical Inquiry, Strategies and Forecasts, US English, US News US Term Limits, Wealth Insight Newsletter, White Mail, Wired, and Yes to Congressional Term Limits.

Readers will recognize how using this development list potentially distorts the political balance of our Party. The Libertarian Message is neither left nor right. It includes some themes also supported by the profoundly conservative, and other themes supported by the profoundly liberal. However, when year after year we recruit almost entirely from right of center and far right of center sources, we risk distorting our message by filling our Party with conservatives who do not understand or support our message of social freedom. We end up with people who talk about restoring a mythical constitutional past, as though the current bloated Federal government was not permitted by the Constitution, rather than working to create a Libertarian Future of peace, freedom, and prosperity.

## Campaign Disk

The experimental roll-out has occurred. Copies of the draft Candidate Support Disk have been given to many state chairs and others. Additional material has been assembled. With some luck, mailings to candidates will soon commence. Included on the disk will be palm card templates, radio ads, TV tapes, the National Party's various publications, the complete Don Gorman Campaign School for Winners and Central Massachusetts Liberty Coalition web sites, the draft text of George Phillip's book "Stand Up for Liberty!" and more.