



LIBERTARIAN PARTY OF MASSACHUSETTS

MASSACHUSETTS LIBERTY

FEBRUARY - MARCH 2009

What It Feels Like to Be a Libertarian

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Political analysts frequently consider what it means to be a libertarian. In fact, in 1997, Charles Murray published a short book entitled "What It Means to Be a Libertarian" that does an excellent job of presenting the core principles of libertarian political philosophy. But almost no one ever discusses what it feels like to be a libertarian. How does it actually feel to be someone who holds the principles described in Murray's book?

I'll tell you. It feels bad. Being a libertarian means living with a level of frustration that is nearly beyond human endurance. It means being subject to unending scorn and derision despite being inevitably proven correct by events. How does it feel to be a libertarian? Imagine what the internal life of Cassandra must have been and you will have a pretty good idea.

Imagine spending two decades warning that government policy is leading to a major economic collapse, and then, when the collapse comes, watching the world conclude that markets do not work.

Imagine continually explaining that markets function because they have a built in corrective mechanism; that periodic contractions are necessary to weed out unproductive ventures; that continually loosening credit to avoid such corrections just puts off the day of reckoning and

inevitably leads to a larger recession; that this is precisely what the government did during the 1920s that led to the great depression; and then, when the recession hits, seeing it offered as proof of the failure of laissez-faire capitalism.

Imagine spending years decrying federal intervention in the home mortgage market; pointing out the dangers associated with legislation such as the Community Reinvestment Act that forces lenders to make more risky loans than they otherwise would; testifying before Congress on the lack of oversight and inevitable insolvency of Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac to legislators who angrily respond either:

- that one is exaggerating "a threat of safety and soundness . . . which I do not see" (Barney Frank)
- or if "it ain't broke, why do you want to fix it? Have the GSEs [government-sponsored enterprises] ever missed their housing goals?" (Maxine Waters)
- or the "problem that we have and that we are faced with is maybe some individuals who wanted to do away with GSEs in the first place" (Gregory Meeks)
- or that Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac are "one of the great success stories of all time" (Christopher Dodd);

and arguing that the moral hazard created by the implicit federal backing of such privately-owned government-sponsored enterprises is likely to set off a wave of unjustifiably risky investments, and then, when the housing market implodes under the weight of bad loans,

watching the collapse get blamed on the greed and rapaciousness of "Wall Street."

I remember attending a lecture at Georgetown in the mid-1990s given by a member of the libertarian Cato Institute in which he predicted that, unless changed, government policy would trigger an economic crisis by 2006. That prediction was obviously ideologically-motivated alarmism. After all, the crisis did not occur until 2008.

Libertarians spend their lives accurately predicting the future effects of government policy. Their predictions are accurate because they are derived from Hayek's insights into the limitations of human knowledge, from the recognition that the people who comprise the government respond to incentives just like anyone else and are not magically transformed to selfless agents of the good merely by accepting government employment, from the awareness that for government to provide a benefit to some, it must first take it from others, and from the knowledge that politicians cannot repeal the laws of economics. For the same reason, their predictions are usually negative and utterly inconsistent with the utopian wishful-thinking that lies at the heart of virtually all contemporary political advocacy. And because no one likes to hear that he cannot have his cake and eat it too or be told that his good intentions cannot be translated into reality either by waving a magic wand or by passing legislation, these predictions are greeted not merely with disbelief, but with derision.

It is human nature to want to shoot the messenger bearing unwelcome tidings. And so, for the sin of continually pointing out that the emperor has no clothes, libertarians are attacked as heartless bastards devoid of compassion for the less fortunate, despicable flacks for the rich or for business interests, unthinking dogmatists who place blind faith in the free market, or, at best, members of the lunatic fringe.

Cassandra's curse was to always tell the truth about the future, but never be believed. If you add to that curse that she would be ridiculed, derided, and shunned for making her predictions, you have a pretty fair approximation of

what it feels like to be a libertarian.

If you'd like a taste of what it feels like to be a libertarian, try telling people that the incoming Obama Administration is advocating precisely those aspects of FDR's New Deal that prolonged the great depression for a decade; that propping up failed and failing ventures with government money in order to save jobs in the present merely shifts resources from relatively more to relatively less productive uses, impedes the corrective process, undermines the economic growth necessary for recovery, and increases unemployment in the long term; and that any "economic" stimulus package will inexorably be made to serve political rather than economic ends, and see what kind of reaction you get. And trust me, it won't feel any better five or ten years from now when everything you have just said has been proven true and Obama, like FDR, is nonetheless revered as the savior of the country.

Get on the Ballot!

by George Phillies

How do you get on the ballot in Massachusetts, for partisan office?

I'll limit the discussion here to statewide offices, the State Legislature, and the Governor's Council. The legal numbers treat all parties the same, but the practical numbers distinguish between parties. I'll look at both.

First I have to explain terms describing parties and terms describing voters. I'll then discuss legal petitioning requirements, practical petitioning requirements, and primaries and ballot trickery. The Primary Election is the tool that lets you get on the ballot while letting someone else do the petitioning.

I. Terms Describing Types of Parties and Types of Voters

Types of Parties

Massachusetts distinguishes between Major Parties, Party Designations, and independent candidates. A group becomes a Party Designation by petitioning. A group becomes a Major Party by getting votes or registered voters.

There are two ways for a group to gain Major Party Status:

(1) A candidate for statewide office, whose ballot listing identifies him as a member of that party, gets 3% or more of the vote in an election for statewide office. This Status lasts until the next statewide election. (the statewide offices are Governor and Lieutenant Governor, Attorney General, Treasurer, Auditor, Secretary of the Commonwealth, U.S. Senator (in years when there is a Senate Election) and President (in years when there is a Presidential election).)

(2) A scheduled count of registered voters reveals that more than 1% of the registered voters in the state have enrolled as members of that party. This status lasts until the next count, which must then show that the party has enough registered voters.

In recent years, Massachusetts has usually had 3 major parties, Democratic, Republican, and one other. The one other has at different times been the Independent Voters, Reform, or Libertarian Party. The Democratic and Republican Parties qualify as Major Parties under both of the above rules. They both have more than 1% of the registered voters, and at least one of their statewide candidates got more than 3% of the vote in the last general election.

The one other party has always qualified because one of its statewide candidates got 3% of the vote. The Libertarian and Reform Parties have each done this twice, but not in consecutive elections, while the Independent Voters/Mass Hi-Tech Party did it once.

No party other than Democrat or Republican has recently come close to 1% of the registered voters. (At last report, 1% of the registered voters is around 37,000 people.) The Libertari-

ans at recent count had 8000 registered voters, a quarter of a percent; Reform had around 1000 registered voters.

A group gains Party Designation status by filing a petition signed (at last report) by 50 registered voters, asking that the designation be listed. At the moment, there are about a dozen party designations. If your group had a Party designation, and gains and then loses Major Party Status in two elections, the Party Designation petition is still on file; you recover Party Designation status when you lose Major Party status. (The LP did this in 1996, setting the legal precedent; I don't know if Reform did in 1998 or not. Apparently the 1996 LP was the first group to argue the precedent.) The Secretary of the Commonwealth interprets the law to mean that a Major Party may not voluntarily disorganize itself and return to Party Designation status, but to my knowledge this has not been litigated.

Types of Voters

Massachusetts uses a specific language to describe voters. A registered voter is anyone who has filled out the motor voter form and is in fact entitled to vote. If you check one of the boxes on the Motor Voter form, e.g., "Reform", or if you fill in the Party Designation line with the name of a Party Designation, you have "enrolled" in that Major Party or Party Designation. For example, if you checked the "Republican" box, you are an enrolled Republican. If you do not check a box, you are "Unenrolled", a status the rest of the country calls "Independent". However, in Massachusetts, an "independent voter" is a member of the Independent Voters Party, which had Major Party Status a few years back.

For better or worse, until recently there was another way to change your party enrollment. If you were an Unenrolled Voter, you could vote in the Presidential Primary of any of the Major Parties. When you voted, you were enrolled in that party. You could change back to Unenrolled on the spot, by filing out a Motor Voter form, but many people forgot to change back. To add complexity, until recently when an Unenrolled voter voted in the September (state

office) Primary of a Major Party, he was also re-enrolled into the Party in whose primary he voted. The result of this second way to change party registration is that a substantial fraction of the state's voters don't realize which party the state has enrolled them in.

II. Getting on the Ballot by Petition: Legal Issues

In Massachusetts, the only ways to get on the ballot are via petition (the official phrase is "nominating paper") signed by registered voters, or via a sticker ("write-in") campaign in the September primary. For Major Party candidates, the petition puts the candidate on the September Primary Ballot. For all other candidates, the petition puts the candidate on the November General Election ballot.

To seek via petition the nomination of a Major Party or Party Designation, you must be enrolled in that Party. Until recently, a voter could only sign one petition per office. This rule has been dropped. Until recently, the number of signatures required to get on the ballot was reduced for "small" Major Parties ("third" Major Parties, Republicans in some parts of the state). This rule has been dropped.

The required number of petition signatures for various offices are:

- U.S. Senator, Governor, Lt. Governor, Attorney General - 10,000*
- Treasurer, Auditor, Secretary of the Commonwealth - 5000*
- U.S. Congress - 2,000
- Governor's Council - 1,000
- State Senator - 300
- State Representative - 150

*Major Parties must circulate a separate petition for each candidate. Party designations may circulate one petition listing a slate of candidates for statewide office; 10,000 signatures is enough to put the whole slate on the November ballot.

Each signature is checked by town or city officials, and must be valid. To be valid, a signature

must (1) be by a registered voter (2) who lives in the district, and (3) who is a member of the right party. Unenrolled voters can sign any petition. Voters enrolled in a Major Party may not sign the petition of a candidate of another Major Party. Thus, in the last election, only Democrats and Unenrolleds could sign a Democratic candidate's petition, but any voter could sign an independent (unenrolled) or Libertarian (Party Designation) Petition.

The rules for the U.S. President are more complex: A Party Designation or Unenrolled candidate for U.S. President needs 10,000 signatures to get on the November ballot. The State Committee of a Major Party informs the Secretary of the Commonwealth of the name of their candidate, which automatically goes on the November ballot. Major Party candidates get into the Presidential Primary, when last I checked, because either (1) the State Committee of that Party put them on the ballot, (2) the Secretary of the Commonwealth determines that there is substantial interest in their campaign, or (3) petition with 10,000 signatures.

III. Getting on the Ballot by Petition: Practical Issues

Your humble correspondent has actually tried to get on the ballot twice, in 1996 as a Major Party Libertarian candidate for U.S. Senate and in 1998 as a Party Designation Libertarian candidate for U.S. Congress. I only know of one other resident of the Commonwealth who has petitioned under both sets of rules, so I speak from one in a million unique personal experience.

First, the numbers above represent minimum numbers of valid signatures. If you have just barely enough signatures, one of your opponents may try to knock you off the ballot. Recall the CLTG tax cut initiative last year. A traditional safety estimate is that you want an extra 20% above the minimum; e.g., if you are running for U.S. Senate, you really want 12,000 good signatures, not 10,000. If you are running for State Rep, you want 180 or 200 valid signatures, not 150.

Now we come to practice. The numbers I just quoted are *valid* signatures. An Unenrolled voter can sign any petition. Any Registered Voter can sign the petition of an independent or Party Designation candidate. However, if you have enrolled in a Major Party, you may not sign the petition of a candidate from another Major Party. Thus, in the 1998 election, only Republicans, Unenrolled Voters, and Party Designation voters could sign the petition of a Republican. However, any registered voter could sign a petition to put a Libertarian on the ballot, because in 1998 "Libertarian Party" was a Party Designation. The Libertarian Party has now gained Major Party Status for the 2000 election; consequences are noted below.

If you collect signatures door to door, you know whose signature you have collected, and can check if it is valid. If you stand in a Mall or in front of the supermarket, and collect signatures from people who think they are eligible to sign, there are complications:

First, off the top, 10% (small towns) to 30% (large cities) of the signers turn out not to be registered voters.

Second, especially for the State House, some towns are split between several districts. Most people do not know which District they live in. If your town is divided into four districts, one per seat in the state legislature, close to 3/4 of your signatures will come from people who live in the right town but the wrong District.

Third, many signatures will be from people who are enrolled in the wrong party. They have forgotten which party they are in (for example, they forgot that they voted in a 1960 primary election), don't understand our state's rules on the topic,... You can question people more extensively about whether they are eligible to sign, but this doesn't in practice appear to affect the validity rates.

So, how many real signatures do you need to get on the ballot? I have run under a Party Designation and as a candidate of a Major Party. I have carefully tracked my signature validity rates. This year, I had the good fortune to have some petitions evaluated by cities and towns

both under the Major Party and the Party Designation rules, so I have exactly comparable numbers. As a party designation candidate, 80% or so of my signatures were valid. As a Libertarian Major Party candidate in 1996, validity rates ranged from 1/3 down to 12% (in Boston). The signatures evaluated both ways were 80% valid under Party Designation rules, but only 30% valid under the Major Party rules.

If your petitioners work hard to question voters about which Party they are in, you can get the validity percentages higher. However, filtering your signatures harder only makes it more difficult to get on the ballot. You have to approach at least as many people, if not more, because your prefiltering effort will eliminate some number of valid signatures.

The following table shows how many signatures you need. Numbers are for wholesale (Mall, supermarket, post office) collecting, not retail (door to door) collecting. If you have a town split between districts, you'll need even more signatures. For each office, I give five numbers, starting with the legal minimum of valid signatures. The next two columns are estimates for the Democratic and Republican Primary nominations. The fourth column is for a candidate of a third Major Party, e.g. Reform in 1998, Libertarian in 1996. The fifth column is for persons running under a Party Designation or as an independent candidate.

The Reform Party numbers are quoted as matching the Libertarian for each status. Actually there are eight or so times as many enrolled Libertarians as there are enrolled Reform Party voters, so it is slightly harder to get on the ballot under the Reform label. The practical difference between Libertarian and Reform is very small.

TABLE: Practical Count of Signatures Needed for Nomination

Office	Valid	D	R	LP	In-dep
Statewide Sen, Gov...	10K	17K	30K	40K**	15K
Statewide Auditor...	5K	8.5K	15K	20K	7.5K
Congress	2K	3.5K	6K	8K	3K*
Gov Coun.	1K	1.7K	3K	4K	1.5K
State Senate	300	550	900	1200	450
State Rep.	150	275	450	600	200

*Been there, did this, and it worked.

You can get the appearance of beating these numbers by working harder to eliminate invalid signatures before they are entered. However, eliminating those signatures increases the amount of work that you have to do.

**Been here (with a different rule on how many valid signatures were needed). Didn't set the target number of raw signatures vaguely high enough, didn't estimate the validity rate vaguely low enough, and failed to get on the ballot.

Note that life is much harder in practice if you are part of a small Major Party than if you are an independent. Democrats and Independents are currently about even in terms of practical ballot access requirements, party organization roughly canceling slightly higher signature requirements.

I emphasize that my D/R numbers are probably not as accurate as the other two columns, where I have practical experience. Required numbers will be higher in areas with poor party membership, e.g., Republicans in Cambridge. For State Rep, Republicans quote "300" rather than "450" as the needed number of signatures, but that number appears to assume that local town and ward committees can come through with some signatures of members.

IV. Primaries and Sticker Campaigns: Staying on the Ballot

If you are running as an independent or under a Party Designation, your nominating papers get you onto the November Ballot. File the required number of valid signatures, and a reasonable safety margin, and you are probably home free.

If you are running as a candidate of a Major Party, life is more complicated. Major party petitions get you into your party's Primary. You have to win the Primary to get onto the November ballot, as several erstwhile Gubernatorial candidates found last year. If you have an opponent who gets more votes, the opponent advances to the November General Election Ballot.

Sticker Campaigns, which are not unknown in Massachusetts, make life more complicated. I say "sticker" because many candidates supply their voters with a stick-on label they can put on the ballot. However, these labels tend to jam machines. In many small towns, Town Clerks will be very helpful about interpreting the voter's handwriting on a real "write-in" vote, in order to avoid having labels going into their machines. Speak to your Town Clerk well before the election.

Suppose you would like to run for some office as the candidate of a Major Party, but missed the petition deadlines, which are a half year before the election. You can still run a sticker campaign in the party's primary. How many votes do you need? It depends:

- 1) If no one in the party is running for that office, so the ballot is blank, you need to get as many Write-In (sticker) votes as you would have needed signatures on your petition. In 1996, someone ran for State Rep as a Libertarian by running a sticker campaign in the Libertarian Primary and getting (see Table 1) more than the required 150 votes.
- 2) If someone has already done petitioning, and is on the ballot, all you have to do is beat them by getting more write-in votes than they get regular votes. If the person on the ballot

gets 5 votes, and you get 6 write-in votes, you are the party nominee, even though you would have needed 10,000 valid signatures on your petitions to appear on the ballot.

Now we come to catch-22. To have your name on the primary ballot of a major party, you must be a member of that Party. Only a Republican can have his name appear on a Republican ballot, and so forth.

However, anyone eligible to run for office can run a sticker campaign in the Primary of **any** party. If you get enough votes, or more votes than the person who got on the ballot the hard way, **you win the primary**! This includes people who are already running as the candidate of another Party. What does this mean?

For example, go back to 1996, when the Libertarian Party had Major Party status, and I was their nominee for U.S. Senate. Suppose I had collected enough signatures, so I had been on the September Libertarian Primary ballot. In the real world, I didn't, but it was legally possible. I would reasonably have received most of the normal votes in that primary, about 1600 based on actual vote turn-out.

However, suppose some friends of Bill Weld decided I was going to split the Republican vote. They could have gotten together and run a sticker campaign, of course without telling the Governor who would never have approved such a thing, to persuade those of their friends who were Unenrolled to Vote Weld! in the Libertarian Primary. If Weld had gotten 1601 votes in the Libertarian Primary this way, he would have won the Libertarian Senate Primary. He would then have had two legal choices:

- 1) Accept the Libertarian nomination, and have his Party Affiliation listed on the November General Election ballot as Republican, Libertarian -- in either order. [Congressman Conte, as I recall, did this to a Democrat once.]
- 2) Decline the Libertarian nomination, in which case *no one* would have appeared on the U.S. Senate ballot in November as a Libertarian. That's right, *no one*. Only the person who got the most votes can win the election. This was actually done to an Independent Voters Party

State Rep candidate, back when they had Major Party status, so there can be no doubt that the move is legal. The IVP had a nominee on the ballot, an opponent ran a sticker campaign in the primary against her and won the IVP primary, but declined the nomination, so no one was on the ballot as an IVP candidate.

That is, you can run a sticker campaign in a primary for the sole purpose of knocking an opposing party out of the race. If the opposing party is small, your chances of doing this are not that bad.

You can make your own estimate of how many votes a Libertarian nominee will be getting in 2000 in her September Primary, and what her chances are of protecting her nomination from a Democrat or Republican interloper. I'd estimate the Libertarians will have 2000 votes in the Senate primary, 200 in a Congressional primary, and 20-50 votes in a primary for State Senate or State Rep. A Democrat or Republican will need something like the same number of sticker votes to win the Libertarian primary, in addition to winning their own primary, so as to knock the actual Libertarian candidate out of the race by September.

Speakers Bureaus

From *Blueprint for Libertarian Activists*, by Kent Guida

In early 1981, thanks to the generosity of a dedicated Libertarian, a national Speakers Bureau program was established to develop Libertarian speakers and to set up speaking engagements for them around the country to audiences of civic groups, service clubs, high schools, and colleges. This coordinated effort sprang from the knowledge that individual Libertarian Speakers Bureaus have worked effectively within limited geographical areas. Therefore, in theory, a major effort to build a nationwide network could multiply these success stories many times over.

The potential numbers speak for themselves. If an average of one speaking engagement occurred in each state per week, with an average

audience of 50 people, then Libertarians could be presenting their message in person to a total of 125,000 people each year -- and these numbers are conservative if the more successful early Speakers Bureau reports are any indication.

The South Carolina Experience

The Libertarian Speakers Bureau in South Carolina focused its initial efforts on civic groups and service clubs -- organizations like the Rotary, Optimists, Sertoma, American Legion, etc. After a slow start, their efforts picked up momentum to the point where they have four local coordinators and eight speakers in addition to the state coordinator, and were able to complete or schedule over ten engagements within a few weeks.

The effort started slowly because, the coordinator found, it was difficult to locate the individual in each group through whom to schedule a speaking engagement. Initially, the coordinator used a Chamber of Commerce directory of groups and sent standard letters to the persons listed as heads of the groups, describing the Speakers Bureau and offering its services. There was no response. The coordinator decided to call each person -- and found that, in most cases, the head of the organization was not responsible for scheduling speakers and knew little about it. Through persistence, the coordinator found the appropriate person, sent another descriptive letter, and followed up two weeks later with a phone call.

Initially, these people were noncommittal about inviting Libertarians to speak, but the coordinator persisted in calling them every few weeks to see if they had made a decision. In most cases, the decision was "Yes" because, as the coordinator described it, they became convinced that the Speakers Bureau was a serious program. After the first engagement was finally scheduled, the next several engagement soon followed, and audience response, according to the speakers, has been excellent.

The District of Columbia Experience

D.C. Libertarians have focused primarily on the other likely opportunity for Speakers Bureaus: high schools and colleges. According to the D.C. coordinator, she first began by compiling a list of schools and calling them for the names of department heads in Government, Political Science, Economics, etc. She then sent a descriptive introductory letter to these people.

As was the case in South Carolina, she found that no one responded to the letter alone -- but that they did respond very readily to her follow-up phone calls. Again, as in South Carolina, persistence paid off. She found it helpful to list a choice of topics for teachers to select from, and that most teachers were delighted with the opportunity to have a Libertarian speaker once the coordinator established through her actions that the Speakers Bureau was a serious effort. And, even though the Speaker Bureau in D.C. didn't get started until near the end of the school year, six speaking engagements were scheduled and completed, with good response from both students and teachers.

The Arizona Experience

This example illustrates what may be the key point of successful Speakers Bureaus activities: that it's often difficult to get the program off the ground initially; but that the hard work will pay off for a long time to come.

Several years ago in Tucson, Libertarians there decided to offer speakers in high schools and made contacts in very much the same way the D.C. experience illustrated. After the first few weeks of systematic contacting and follow-up, invitations started to come in and the program started rolling.

It hasn't stopped yet. The Tucson Speakers Bureau rarely has to write letters to make contacts, because they're getting one or two invitations per week from area high schools to come speak --all because they decided to do the ground-breaking work a few years back. High school teachers now know that the Libertarian party organization is there to supply speakers, and

they are happy to take advantage of its presence.

The Vermont Experience

Sometimes a new activity is the essential ingredient needed to get a party organization off the ground. In Vermont, a state where formal party activity has been scarce, Libertarians suddenly took to the idea of a Speakers Bureau as an ideal way to get active and communicate their message. The coordinator who agreed to start up the program managed to recruit ten participants within a short time, and this activity has provided the impetus for party meetings and other planned activities which had never really existed before.

The Massachusetts Experience

In Massachusetts, the Speakers Bureau program provided a new weapon for the arsenal of Libertarian activities designed to keep members interested and involved. They started up "speech-craft sessions" for potential speakers -- an eight week course on techniques of effective speaking, with plenty of opportunity to practice. The sessions were arranged by a party activist with the cooperation of a local Toastmasters group, and the participants received formal certificates of completion of the course, and thoroughly enjoyed becoming more confident of their ability to speak in public.

The Massachusetts experience duplicates other examples of local party organizations which have become affiliated with Toastmasters International, an organization with chapters in most cities which exists for the purpose of training people in public speaking. Libertarians who have joined Toastmasters report the experience to be very positive, since the organization is designed to combine pleasant opportunities for socializing with a structured course in public speaking. The parent organization will charter clubs made up primarily of Libertarians. Anyone interested in improving his or her public speaking ability should consider joining a Toastmasters group, or better, making a party project out of such involvement.

Summary and Conclusions

Forming a Speakers Bureau is a project that any Libertarian party organization, regardless of size, can accomplish successfully. It isn't expensive, and it doesn't require some outside event to occur before members can get active. More than enough opportunities already exist in high schools, colleges, service clubs, and civic groups. The only tool needed is a telephone.

Libertarians who have started Speakers Bureaus have found:

- Most groups are eager to have Libertarian speakers once they become convinced the Speakers Bureau is a serious effort.
- Audience response is almost always very positive. Initial persistence in finding the right person to contact, and then in continuing to talk to him or her, is required; but persistence more than pays off in terms of future speaking engagements, once the availability of the Speakers Bureau becomes generally known.
- The Speakers Bureau is an excellent way to activate a wide range of Libertarians, and to increase their feelings of accomplishment and involvement.

Key Points on Speakers Bureaus

1. Persistence is the key ingredient to success. The most difficult phase of any Speakers Bureau effort is the very beginning, before people get to know you and realize you're serious.
2. Find out the name of the individual responsible for arranging speaking engagements, and direct all your communication to him or her.
3. Letters are important, but they don't produce responses by themselves. Letters followed up by phone calls -sometimes more than one -- will produce speaking engagements.
4. Offer a range of topics for teachers or program coordinators to choose from.
5. Speakers Bureaus provide opportunities to involve party members in useful activities. Members should be asked to participate by becoming speakers or local coordinators.

6. Take advantage of such structured training groups as Toastmasters, and get party members involved in improving their speaking abilities.
7. Scheduled speaking engagements can be good opportunities for publicity if news releases are sent out to your media list.

Book Review

Inclined to Liberty, The Futile Attempt to Suppress the Human Spirit

Louis E. Carabini

Published by Ludwig von Mises Institute
ISBN 978-1933550-29-9

This is a very nice introduction to libertarian ideas and philosophy from an applied, practical point of view. The author claims to have been inspired by a dinner party he hosted with several guests who were "inclined to socialism".

During the after dinner discussions, many of the usual left leaning propositions were thrown out by these guests, such as "Nobody should be allowed to own a yacht" or "Corporate executive salaries are too high," among many others. The book is his collected responses to these and other similar assertions.

The writing is conversational and easy to follow, no need for an advanced philosophy degree, but at the same time the author deals with some fairly complex issues. Unlike some of the other weighty tomes in the libertarian library, this is also a very short book, just over 100 pages, divided into 35 two to three page chapters, each addressing a different topic. This makes the book a good one to read in short sessions, as each chapter is relatively independent.

As one might expect from the founder of the metals trading company Monex, and the LvM Institute publisher, a lot of the argument comes from the economic side, but personal freedom issues are also covered, both from the viewpoint that it isn't right to interfere with another's liberty, and that it doesn't make economic sense to do so.

While the long-time libertarian might not find much new material, it is still a good read, and may help supply good ways to explain libertarian ideas to others. This would also be an excellent book for someone new to libertarianism, who would like a good "once over lightly" exposure to a wide range of ideas.

I would congratulate the author on a book that is well done, and an excellent addition to the list of introductory libertarian texts, along side such classics as Bergland's "Libertarianism in One Lesson". I highly recommend it.

Arthur Torrey
LPMA Operations Facilitator

Inside the LPMass Budget

by George Phillies and David Blau

The new LPMass budget marks a dramatic change for the better in our plans and intentions. We've sent the last year petitioning and litigating to place a Presidential candidate on the ballot. We succeeded. Now we have time to do what we need to do: Build a strong, self-sustaining Libertarian political movement here in Massachusetts, the birthplace of American Liberty.

We've set two dues levels -- one for people who receive their newsletter via email. Another, \$10 a year higher, for those who receive their newsletter by paper mail. Whenever someone joins at the paper mail rate, we automatically set aside \$10 into a special account to pay for that newsletter.

What about the other \$15 a year? We've identified five key functions that your dues need to cover, and we drop your dues into five corresponding accounts. What are those functions?

- Volunteer Recruitment and support: \$3
- Candidate recruitment and outreach: \$3
- Fund raising and membership recruitment: \$3
- Renewal notices: \$3 (that's four notices)
- Administrative and reserve: \$3

Volunteer recruitment and support: Our party's backbone is you! We do well when our fellow Libertarians:

- Show up at outreach events
- Distribute literature
- Petition for our candidates and referenda

Volunteering does not just happen. We have to support and reward our volunteers, so they do not think they are all alone when they hold high Lady Liberty's banner. We're allocating \$3 of your dues to help our party's backbone, our volunteers.

Candidate recruitment and outreach: People will only support us if they know who we are. Spreading the Libertarian message from the Berkshires to Cape Cod is outreach. Supporting our Federal candidates, when we have Libertarians run for Congress, is candidate recruitment and support. We're also going to support our state candidates, but that money has to come from a different source.

Fund raising and membership drives: Our plans are not cheap. We're going to spend your money as efficiently as possible. We don't have a headquarters palace, a horde of paid staff, or a limo service. Your money goes to doing real politics. We still need more money than we receive from dues. We have only two ways to close the gap: Ask you for more money. Ask other people for money. To raise money, you need to have money: your dues will supply the seed money for larger development projects.

Renewal notices: At one time, the National Party was sending out as many as seven renewal notices and getting positive results. If we send out only one or two, we may not get enough people to renew. We feel that four is a good compromise, but we will be carefully watching this portion of our budget to make sure we're spending money here effectively.

Administration: Our core administrative costs are all fixed costs. URLs, web hosting, a mail box, and checks for the checking account all cost about the same amount no matter how many members we have. Currently, those costs are about \$3 a member. Double the membership,

and we cut the per-member cost in half. We also have floating administrative costs, such as credit card processing, which run about 6%.

This covers your membership dues. Here are our plans for spending your donations above and beyond your dues:

- 30% Fund raising
- 50% Candidate recruitment and support. Issue advocacy.
- 20% Administrative and Reserve

Our core plan is to use your donations to support our candidates, to support referenda to strengthen our candidates, and advocate for issues. That's central to what real political parties do. That's where we are budgeting the largest part of your money.

We can't do that without money. Raising money is not free. If we want donations, we need to ask people to give generously. We can do that with phone calls. We can do it with email. We can do it with direct mail. No matter how we raise money, we have to spend money to get more money. We're going to spend some of your donations to cover the cost of raising more donations, to replenish our bank account when we've spent what you've given us. That money for fund raising is like seed corn: We use it to make sure that we have a crop next year.

Finally, 20% of your donations go to administrative costs and a reserve fund. Credit card processing can take 6%. We reward our donors with a membership extension, at 1 year of newsletter (the only marginal cost) for each \$100 given. That's a 10% charge. And all those fixed costs, like the URLs, the web site, and mail box, have to be covered just to provide meaningful services to you.

A final note: The Federal government and the State government each regulate campaign finance, with different rules. We have to keep our Federal money completely separate from our state money. Federal money can support Federal candidates, and state money can support non-Federal candidates, but we can't mix them. A lot of our outreach is "Federal Electioneering activity", like generating lists of names we'll

ask for votes in 2010. All that Federal activity has to be covered with Federal money. To keep things on the up and up, we have two completely separate checking accounts, under the two names of our two PACs. Your dues generally go in the Federal account, so our newsletter can mention Federal candidates. Because of this default position, we are asking you send your donations to our state account, so we can support our candidates for State Legislature and town office.

Minutes of the January Regular meeting of the LPMA State Committee

Call to Order

A regular meeting of the Libertarian Party of Massachusetts State Committee was held on January 3, 2009 at 6:10 p.m. at the house of George Phillies. Present were David Blau (regular presiding officer and recording secretary), George Phillies, Art Torrey, and Mary-Anne Wolf. The agenda (as amended) and previous meeting's minutes were approved.

Officer Reports

The Treasurer reported on the finances of the organization at the beginning of the new year. The LPMA has approximately \$1000 in our OCPF account to support statewide activities, and approximately \$3900 in our FEC account to support federal election activities, including the newsletter. Mr. Phillies moved that he be paid \$127.60 for expenses associated with printing the November and December newsletters. Mr. Torrey seconded, and the motion passed 4-0. Mr. Phillies moved that Mr. Torrey be paid \$42 to buy a roll of stamps to cover membership renewals. There was no second.

The Membership Secretary reported that we currently have 95 members, and that we are running about even between paper and electronic membership renewals.

The Webmaster reported that email addresses have been set up for the benefit of the mem-

bership, so that members (or anyone else) may contact the State Committee officers at chair@lpmass.org, webmaster@lpmass.org, and so on.

Working Groups

All working groups reported on progress that has been made since the last meeting on the assigned tasks.

The Local Organization group reported that our Meetup Group pre-paid memberships have been renewed for \$72, which will buy us three groups for Western Mass, the Route 495 corridor, and Greater Boston. Mr. Phillies met with a group of activists in Newburyport, who are looking to become more active.

The Political Action and Elections groups have not made progress on the local elections calendar. The members of the group were admonished to have a calendar prepared for the next meeting.

The Membership group reported that a comparison between the list of LNC members living in Massachusetts and our membership list shows that approximately 80% of the LNC members in Mass. are not LPMA members. We should look to increasing our membership roles by approaching LNC members.

The Fundraising group reported that there is no consensus on a benefit program for monthly pledges. After discussion, the State Committee found that the membership extension program already offers benefits to pledgers, and Mr. Phillies noted that he is willing to provide electronic copies of his science fiction books to contributors.

The members of the Newsletter group being absent, the State Committee decided that, due to delays in ramping up production after the State Convention, a special, double-length newsletter of approximately 16-18 pages will be published at some point during the coming year.

The Web Support group reported that, in coordination with the Newsletter group, electronic versions of the newsletter will be published in an appropriate place on the forums.

Email addresses have been set up for each member of the State Committee. Mr. Blau reported that he attempted to contact Messrs. Congrove and Franklin about updates to the website, and was unsuccessful. The State Committee decided to proceed with the website redesign using alternate resources.

The Outreach group has not made progress on the list of issue groups to contact for libertarian events. The members of the group were admonished to have a list prepared for the next meeting. The group reported that we are sending several people free newsletters, in order to spur interest in the organization.

New Business

The State Committee decided that the Recording Secretary shall publish minutes of meetings on the forum for approval by the Committee, to ensure that the minutes are timely published in the newsletter.

The State Committee took up the issue of major party status in Massachusetts. Mr. Phillies offered the following resolution, seconded for debate by Mr. Torrey, which was thereafter adopted unanimously:

It is the sense of this committee, as the governing board of a private association, that the "committee existing at the time when the party which it represents first poll[ed] for any office to be filled by all the voters of the commonwealth at a biennial state election three per cent of the entire vote cast in the commonwealth for that office," as referenced in Chapter 52, Section 8 of the Massachusetts General Laws, is the Committee to Elect Robert J. Underwood, and not this committee.

The State Committee took up the issue of amending the constitution and bylaws to reflect appropriate names for the political action committees that it operates. As required by Chapter 55, Section 5 of the Massachusetts General Laws, any state PAC shall include the words "Political Action Committee" in its name. Mr. Phillies proposed, and the State Committee agreed, that the Committee shall fix the names of the federal and state PACs to be consistent with federal and state laws and regulations.

The State Committee took up the issue of the FY 2009 budget. Mr. Phillies distributed a budget proposal to the Committee. The committee discussed several issues relating to the budget, including the preferred distribution of incoming donations, in the context of federal and state laws, and the appropriate allocation of fundraising monies. The Treasurer will allocate money from the FEC accounts, according to the current membership count, into effective dues (approximately \$2500) and effective donations (approximately \$1500), and divide up the money according to the budget authority. For each member that requests their dues be placed in the OCPF account instead of the FEC account, \$10 will be taken from the FEC reserve account to cover printing costs for the year. Mr. Torrey moved to approve the budget as discussed. Ms. Wolf seconded, and the motion passed unanimously.

The State Committee took up the issue of the LNC's resolution regarding Angela Keaton. Various language for a resolution to LNC was discussed. The Committee agreed to form a subcommittee for the purpose of drafting a resolution on the forums for approval by the Committee as a whole by online vote.

The State Committee decided on tasks for the working groups to be completed before the next monthly Committee meeting.

Announcements

Mr. Blau announced that, as State Chair and on behalf of and to support libertarian candidates for local office across the Commonwealth, he is donating \$500 to the OCPF account. This is the maximum annual amount permitted by Massachusetts law.

The meeting adjourned at 10:07 p.m..

Meetings

Boston Area Meetup Group

The next meeting of the Boston Area Meetup Group is Sunday, March 8, at 7:00 p.m. We meet at Joe's American Bar & Grill, 279 Dartmouth Street in Boston. Our group always meets the second Sunday of each month. For more information, contact David Blau, blau.liberty@gmail.com, telephone 312-497-9903, or visit :

<http://libertarian.meetup.com/349/>.

Lowell Area Liberty Association

The next meeting of the Lowell Area Liberty Association (Route 495 Area Libertarian meet-up) is Tuesday, March 24, at 8:00 p.m. All meetings are at the Outback Steakhouse, 28 Reiss Avenue in Lowell. The group meets the fourth Tuesday every month for dinner and discussion. For more information, contact Arthur Torrey arthur.torrey@comcast.net, telephone 978-663-0241, or visit:

<http://libertarian.meetup.com/413/>.

Pioneer Valley Libertarian Association

The next meeting of the Pioneer Valley Libertarian Association is Wednesday, March 11, at 6:30 p.m. All meetings are at the Hu Ke Lau Restaurant in Chicopee, just off Exit 5 of the Mass Pike. The group meets the second Wednesday of every month. For more information, contact George Phillies:

phillies@4liberty.net, telephone 508-754-1859.

Contact LPMA Officers

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chair@lpmass.org

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Treasurer: George Phillies

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MASSACHUSETTS LIBERTY

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Support the Libertarian Party Join Us!

Sign me up for the Libertarian Party of Massachusetts. Subscribe me to *Massachusetts Liberty*.

LPMA dues are \$25 per year if you want your newsletter via U. S. mail, \$15 per year if you want the newsletter via electronic mail and give us a valid email address.

Please enter your mailing information below:

Name _____

Address _____

City, State, Zip _____

Phone _____

Email _____

Donate!

Your generous donation is used efficiently to advance state party activities. You may legally donate \$500 per year to state political activities and \$2,300 per year toward federal political activities. Please give now!

\$10 \$25 \$50

\$100 \$200 \$500

Please make out your check to LPMASS and send it to Libertarian Party, P. O. Box 1154, Worcester, MA 01613.

To donate online, or to set up a monthly pledge, please go to www.lpmass.org and click [Donor Town Square](#). Thank you!

Donations are not tax deductible. We're required to record your occupation and employer for donations over \$200:

Occupation _____

Employer _____

The default donation goes toward state party activities. If you want to contribute to federal activities, please note that on your check.



Volunteer!

I want to volunteer to help our party. I'd like to (circle all that apply):

- Put up lawn signs
- Write letters
- Help organize a local group
- Help with fundraising
- Help local candidates
- Serve at a booth for an outreach event
- Host a social gathering for members
- Display a bumper sticker
- Petition for candidates
- Help get out the vote on election day
- Run for office

To Send Money:

Send a check to:

Libertarian Party
PO Box 1154
Worcester, MA 01613

Or donate online at www.lpmass.org. Scroll down to click [Donor Town Square](#). If you prefer to send your credit card information to the address above:

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