

Minutes of the Meeting of the
Libertarian National Committee

8-9 December 1990

White Plains, New York

Members Present:

Chair	Dave Walter
Vice-Chair	Mary T. Gingell
Secretary	Joseph W. Dehn III
Treasurer	Stephen R. Fielder
At Large	I. Dean Ahmad
	Steven Alexander
	Toni L. Black
	William Redpath
	Norma D. Segal
Region 1	Karen Allard
Region 2	Geoffrey J. Neale
	George O'Brien
Region 3	Stephen L. Dasbach
Region 4	Ron Crickenberger
Region 5	Clifford F. Thies
Region 6	Vicki Kirkland
Region 7	Steven I. Givot
Region 8	Gary Johnson

1. CALL TO ORDER: The regular meeting of the Libertarian National Committee was called to order by Chair Dave Walter at 9:15am on Saturday, 8 December 1990, at the White Plains Hotel in White Plains, New York.

2. CREDENTIALS: Dehn reported that there had been no change in the membership of the Committee since the last meeting.

3. APPROVAL OF PREVIOUS MINUTES: Due to the late distribution of the minutes, Ahmad moved that this item be deferred to Sunday morning; there was no objection.

4. SETTING OF THE AGENDA: Walter moved to add a presentation by the Marrou for President campaign as item 10A for 45 minutes; there was no objection.

Ahmad moved to consider the Budget as item 24A rather than at the end of the meeting; the motion passed on a voice vote.

Gingell moved to add a question and answer session on the MKR proposal as item 12A for 10 minutes; there was no objection.

Kirkland moved to add 5 minutes to her regional report to allow W. Gary Johnson of New York to speak, and to allow 5 minutes at the end of the meeting for another individual from New York to speak; there was no objection.

Ahmad moved to expand the time for the Management Committee Report to 30 minutes; there was no objection.

Crickenberger move to add 5 minutes to his regional report to discuss the Georgia lawsuit against PBS, and Thies moved to add 5 minutes to his regional report to discuss a matter relating to the state chair of Delaware; there were no objections.

Fielder moved to reduce the time for all items by 25 percent. The

motion failed on a voice vote.

5. CHECK OF PAPERWORK: Walter reviewed the paperwork that had been distributed up to that point.

6. CHAIR'S REPORT: Walter reviewed the accomplishments of the Party during 1990. He described the growth during the year as moderately successful, but noted that some states actually lost members despite the efforts at the national level. He said the 1990 election results were the best ever, but that we would have done even better if we had had the enthusiasm of the early 1980s. He speculated that our increased success and the fact that Libertarians held the "balance of power" in various races would lead to more opposition to our ballot access efforts, but said that we still had not reached the threshold where we can keep the attention of the major media.

He said the goal for 1991 is to get ready for 1992, and for 1992 to be the balance of power in enough races to make the media pay attention.

He reviewed the results of some particular 1990 races and congratulated those states which had made important contributions to achieving or maintaining ballot status.

He commented on the financial crunch in the second half, noting that although we had more contributors they were each giving less, and said we need to get our fundraising back on track.

He said this LNC was the best ever, citing its smaller size as the probable reason, and noted the increased activity of all the committees.

He expressed concern about the lack of growth of some of the affiliate parties which had not kept pace with the overall trend.

Assistant to the Chair Don Ernsberger presented a strategic view of the Party. He characterized the team put together at the 1989 convention as probably the most efficient that the LP had had since the Clark campaign. He said that in 1989 it was clear that the focus had to be on building the infrastructure of the Party, to pursue programs of aggressive finance and aggressive outreach, and to establish a pattern of steady growth to replace the "rollercoaster" we had in previous years. He said that 1991 is the time when, all these things being in place, we should be "gearing up", but questioned whether we were ready.

He said that the mid-year halt in membership growth and the increased difficulty in fundraising made 1990 like two different years, and focussed on lack of "aggressiveness" in fundraising and outreach as the problem. Displaying graphs of monthly revenue, he cited in particular the failure of the Liberty Pledge program and telephone fundraising to meet expectations, and said there were also problems with dues income. He said there had been ambitious plans for outreach but that they had not been implemented.

There was a general discussion of possible causes for the increased difficulty of fundraising in the second half. Reasons proposed included: competition from campaign fundraising, lack of "fresh" lists to work, softness in the economy, and lack of positive public exposure (such as that provided earlier by the convention TV coverage). In reply to a question about cycles, Ernsberger said that performance since the last presidential election has been atypical: instead of a drop in membership and a buildup in debt, we have grown and stayed out of debt, and while December has traditionally been the worst month for fundraising, December 1989 was great.

7. VICE-CHAIR'S REPORT: Gingell submitted a written report [Attachment A1.

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She reported that there was an error in a fundraising letter that had just gone out -- once written votes were counted, Richard Shepard of Washington had not come in second in his race for the state legislature -- but that the letter had already been approved and prepared before this information became known.

She announced that an anti-war demonstration would be taking place at the Waldorf Astoria on Sunday evening.

She also announced that she would be moving back to California by the end of the year.

8. TREASURER'S REPORT: Fielder submitted a written report covering the period through 30 November [Attachment R]. In reply to questions from Thies, he said that delays in preparation of financial reports had been due to personal problems which would not be a factor in the future, and that a positive cash position had been maintained despite the revenue shortfall because the Executive Committee had taken steps to cut expenses. Ernsberger remarked that the biweekly meetings of the Executive Committee have enabled the Party to react much more quickly than in the past to changes in our financial situation.

In response to questions from O'Brien about preparation of additional reports to show month-to-month trends and seasonal cycles, Fielder said that the office was too busy to do that but that the numbers are in a spreadsheet.

There was a discussion of accounting for Ballot Access Committee finances and the need to separately report BAC transactions for FEC purposes. Dunbar said that although we have not been getting reports, the information is in the computer.

Fielder reported that we had received a communication from the FEC regarding a complaint filed by Alan Lindsay against people in Washington State, and recommended that we hire an attorney to represent us in this matter. He reported that he would be sending a reply to the FEC indicating that we had filed the reports we were required to during that period.

Givot said that it was important for us to understand the allegations in this case, so as to avoid problems with future conventions.

Givot moved to obtain an attorney to represent us in this case pro bono, or for a fee if necessary. There was a discussion of who might be able to do this work, given the specialized nature of campaign finance law.

Thies moved to delete "or for a fee if necessary", arguing that we should not be spending money on this at a point when we have not been charged with anything.

There was a discussion of various aspects of the allegations. Ahmad observed that it was important to have signed contracts for convention arrangements to make relationships clear.

Thies' amendment passed on a vote of 7 to 6. The main motion passed on a voice vote.

9. EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE REPORT: In response to a question from Redpath, Walter said that major topics addressed by the Executive Committee since the last LNC meeting included cutting of expenses and the decision not to move the office. In response to a question from Givot, Thies indicated that there had been some people willing to pledge for purchase of a building, and that such a project should be pursued again in a few years.

10. HEADQUARTERS REPORT: Dunbar said that the experience of searching for a new office helped him understand what was needed, and said he would be asking for some money to fix up the current office. He said improvements were being made in the computer system, and that the computers and workloads would be rearranged as part of fixing up the office.

He noted a problem with processing BAC pledgers and said it would be resolved by the January cycle.

He reported that he is negotiating with an outside company to broker rentals of our mailing list.

In reply to a question from Crickenberger, Dunbar said that some BAC pledges had not been collected. He said the system was unable to deal with people who were making pledges both to the general fund and for ballot access, and that he would be contacting the people involved to resolve the problem. Redpath noted that the number of BAC pledgers was much lower than previously, and said that he would go back and contact everyone who had lapsed.

There was a discussion of accounting for services provided to the BAC by the office, so that the BAC can either pay for them or show them as an in-kind contribution from the LNC on its FEC reports.

Givot said that all the BAC accounting functions had been moved to the office for better coordination, but now the reporting situation seemed to be even worse than before. He said that the number of transactions was small enough that they could do the job by hand, and suggested that if this arrangement did not work we should consider merging the BAC back into the LNC even though that might require us to file FEC reports on everything.

Redpath said that he viewed the office as the proper place to do the BAC accounting. In response to a question from Dasbach, Dunbar said that the holdup in getting proper reports was due to the time necessary to set up the accounts properly, and suggested that Redpath, Ahmad, and others come help him set things up.

Walter and Givot remarked on the apparent simplicity of the task, and said it was the responsibility of the BAC chair to see that the job gets done even if it has to be done on paper. Redpath said he would personally go to the office and see that the situation is resolved.

10A. MARROU FOR PRESIDENT: Michael Emerling introduced Andre Marrou.

Marrou commented on progress in the North Carolina ballot drive, on the November election results, and on the issues he expected to be important in the 1992 presidential election.

Jim Lewis spoke about his experience in doing outreach at colleges and the importance of using the campaign to let new people know about libertarianism. He described the Marrou effort as a "two year campaign", with much that can be done even before the nomination, and outlined some features of their plans including the Liberty First newsletter and the possibility of running TV commercials prior to the convention.

Emerling commented on the error that had been made in describing the rules for matching funds, and encouraged anyone who had complaints or suggestions about the campaign to contact them.

Marrou presented and signed three pledges relating to use of matching funds for TV [Attachment S], ownership of new names generated by the campaign [Attachment T], and auditing of the campaign books [Attachment U].

In response to various questions, Marrou said that he would rather there be no matching funds system, that he intends for the 1992 presidential and vice-presidential candidates to run a coordinated campaign, and that his contribution forms have a place for people to check off that they don't want their contributions matched. He said that he considers matching funds to be "stolen loot", and that it would be impossible for the recovery of matching funds to exceed the amount paid by Libertarians in taxes.

Ahmad objected to the idea that the Libertarians who paid taxes could be presumed to authorize the spending of that money on Marrou TV commercials, and said it looks bad for us to be using tax funds at the same time as we are campaigning that if elected we will be returning taxes to the people.

In response to questions from Ernsberger, Emerling said he was looking into having the campaign sign a contract with the LNC, and Marrou explained that he currently has three separate committees: Marrou for President, the 1988 vice-presidential committee, and 51-'92.

In response to a question from Dunbar, Marrou said that if he does not get the nomination the funds raised will be used for some Libertarian political purpose.

In response to a question from Thies about the possibilities of getting additional matching funds by achieving 5% of the vote, and of Marrou being the candidate again in 1996, Marrou indicated that it was too early to say.

In response to questions from Givot about making the books of 51-'92 available for audit, Emerling said that any contributor who comes to Las Vegas can look at them. In response to a question from Ahmad about the amounts involved, Emerling said that about \$106,000 had been raised since the beginning, about \$29,000 of that in the current year, and that there was a balance of about \$4,000.

11. RESOLUTION CLEANUP: Dasbach asked for a sense of the Committee on whether the standing resolutions should be reorganized by topic into something like the Bylaws; there was general support for the idea. Ahmad said that he thought this was something that the Management Committee should do, and that he would take on the project.

Dasbach moved to delete Resolution 353, concerning relocation and/or purchase of the national office, on the grounds that if we want to authorize such action in the future we might want to specify different criteria. The motion passed on a voice vote.

[The meeting was recessed at 12:30pm and was called back to order at 1:33pm by Dave Walter.]

11A. FREE MARKET FOUNDATION -- USSR: Alexander moved to suspend the rules to hear from Victor Davidoff; there was no objection. Perry Willis introduced Davidoff.

Davidoff said he was pleased to be the first Russian to speak to the LNC. He said that people in the Soviet Union are sick of socialism and receptive to libertarian ideas. He said he is going back to the Soviet Union in May, and that the FMF-USSR provides a great opportunity for libertarians around the world to help. He said that anti-communist activists still faced the possibility of persecution, citing various cases of repression. He asked that Libertarians write letters in support of those who share our values, especially freedom of speech.

12. MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE REPORT: Ahmad submitted a written committee report [Attachment B] and a headquarters operations audit report [Attachment V], and summarized the findings of his audit.

There was a discussion of whether or not we should be sending thank you notes to contributors. Ernsberger reported that comments had been received from contributors asking why we are wasting money on them. Arguments in favor of sending them included: people expect them, even if they don't say so; other organizations appear to consider them worthwhile; they provide an additional contact with the contributor. Arguments against included: more negative comments than positive from contributors; very few resulted directly in another contribution. Other suggestions included: providing a box for the contributor to check off whether he or she wants to get a note, and saying thank you by stamping the contributor's check.

In response to questions about smoke damage to the computers, Dunbar said that smoking and non-smoking are both allowed everywhere in the office, and that while Ahmad and John Famularo both think that smoke may be causing computer problems, he thinks that dust from paper is a larger problem. He said he is looking into providing a more controlled environment for the computers.

In response to a question from Dasbach about candidates not getting the lists they need, Ahmad said this was a case of the national and state parties pointing their fingers at each other, requiring the attention of the Affiliate Parties Committee.

In response to a question about use of volunteers, Ahmad said that there is a volunteer program but it needs to be strengthened to the point that people are always dropping by and available when work needs to be done. Dunbar said that when there is a project to be done enough volunteers can be rounded up, but that a four-day work week with later hours might help encourage more volunteers to drop by. Various people suggested other schedules.

12A. MKR PROPOSAL: Gingell presented Me Me King to answer questions about the proposal of MKR Associates to perform work on a contract basis for various committees.

Johnson asked where they would be working and how much time they would be spending, citing concern about their availability for media relations work. King said that they would work at their own offices, that the amount of time was not specified and they would probably be working on different things different weeks, but that they would be available.

In response to a question from Fielder, King said that for their entire proposal the cost would be \$44,000 plus 15% of gross, plus expenses.

13. AFFILIATE PARTIES COMMITTEE REPORT: Gingell circulated summaries of two proposals for APC contract work [Attachment W], and pointed out that there was also a related proposal from Tonie Nathan to the Media Relations Committee.

She submitted a written report [Attachment C], and highlighted her appointment of Dasbach as APC Vice-Chair, Marla Bottemiller's assumption of the role of telephone tree manager, and the publication of a new edition of the activist directory.

In response to a question from Ahmad about the status of the contractor proposals, Gingell said that decisions about most of them would not be made at this meeting.

There was a discussion of the effectiveness of the telephone tree, with several people questioning how many activists it really reaches; lack of participation in Taxpayer Action Day was cited as evidence that the messages are not getting through. Gingell said that 20 to 30 states were definitely contacted, and that for any given project it is

likely that no more than 20 states will respond.

Givot suggested that, given our limited resources, higher priority should be given to directly building the state parties rather than encouraging projects that lead people off in different directions. Gingell said that trying to build state parties before they are ready to grow did not work, and that the survey of already organized parties showed they considered help with organizing lower priority than other things. O'Brien commented that there was increasing resistance to doing protests since they have become too commonplace.

14. AFFILIATE CAMPAIGNS SUBCOMMITTEE REPORT: Dasbach submitted a written report of Campaign '90 Highlights [Attachment D] and an analysis of 1992 U.S. Senate and House races [Attachment X]. He noted that we had much more information about our candidates this time than two years ago. He said that we know how to fix problems that arose in operation of the Libertarian Election Service for 1992, except for the biggest problem: that many states are not bothering to report results on election night.

He said that election results were much better than last time, often twice as high.

He said that the money raised for state legislative races was targeted as well as it could have been given what we knew then; there were no better opportunities. He recommended keeping the same basic criteria, but also paying more attention to polling information, general level of Libertarian support in an area, and the success of local fundraising. Thies commented that attempts to unseat an incumbent were not worth pursuing unless the incumbent had been elected by only a small margin or had a big ethics problem.

Dasbach said that in the next cycle we should focus on four things:

(1) winnable races for non-partisan office, (2) getting someone to work with legislative candidates, (3) expanding the number of federal candidates, (4) conducting candidate training workshops. He proposed that we budget for staff to research "talking points" on issues that candidates could use, as well as other training materials and the cost of mailing these things to candidates.

Ernsberger noted that although 1982 was our peak year in terms of number of candidates, the vote percentages now are much higher, but only a handful of states have consistently run full slates over the years. He also said that few candidates have provided lists of prospects from their campaigns.

15. REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVE REPORTS: Walter asked that Regional Representatives concentrate on telling us how things look for next year, rather than repeating what is in their written reports.

Allard (Region 1) distributed an updated version of her report [Attachment Y] and reviewed highlights from it.

Neale (Region 2) submitted a written report [Attachment Z]. He noted that there has been conflict within California about the role of the state Executive Committee, and that state membership has been lagging behind national. He said they were studying the candidates who were elected to local office and that the main factor in their success appeared to be money.

Dasbach (Region 3) submitted a written report [Attachment E] and reviewed highlights from it.

Crickenberger (Region 4) submitted a written report [Attachment AA]. He said there are three types of state chairs: ones who are gung-ho and know what they are doing, ones that are gung-ho but don't know what to do, and ones who don't know why they are chair. He said

Georgia would probably need help with expenses for an appeal in their public television debate lawsuit.

Thies (Region 5) submitted a written report [Attachment F]. He said that petition signatures for 1992 had been filed in Maryland, and that a change of our nominating convention from 1995 to 1996 would cause ballot access problems for New Jersey. He described a letter sent by the Delaware state chair to Joe Trollinger, a member in Alabama; the letter contained vulgarities prompted by Trollinger's mention of God in an earlier communication. Thies suggested that party officers have an obligation to stay in office rather than allow people who will act this way to take over, and said that even though we cannot interfere in the affairs of an affiliate party we should take steps to disassociate ourselves from this state chair.

Kirkland (Region 6) submitted a written report [Attachment BB]. W. Gary Johnson, 1990 candidate for Governor of New York, presented a review of his campaign and reported that for the first time New York City Libertarians were permitted to examine canvass sheets at police headquarters. He said that Lenora Fulani, who campaigned full time and spent about \$100,000, got only about 6,000 more votes than he did spending about \$10,000.

Givot (Region 7) summarized the status of the state parties in his region. He said the Kansas party was disappointed about the apparent failure of their ballot drive, and that the Illinois party was "down in the dumps" because of not getting on the ballot this year and the court ruling against a tax limitation initiative.

Johnson (Region 8) submitted a written report [Attachment CC] and reviewed highlights from it.

Walter said that these were the best regional reports he had seen, and noted that everyone seemed to know what was going on in their states. He proposed that we allow five minutes each for discussion of three action items that had come up during the reports.

[Gingell assumed the chair.]

Allard reviewed the history of the incorporation of the Alaska LP as "ALP Inc." due to the prior incorporation by another group using the name "Libertarian Party of Alaska, Inc."; the Alaska LP has requested documentation from the national LP that they are the real affiliate. Ahmad moved to affirm that ALP Inc. is the affiliate. Givot moved to substitute that we ask both groups for information and let the Executive Committee decide between them. Gingell noted that our records of state party officers show that the current chair of ALP Inc. is the successor of the person who was chair prior to either incorporation. Ahmad noted that the delegates selected by ALP Inc. had been seated at the last convention with no objection.

[Walter resumed the chair.]

Givot said he was uncomfortable deciding without more information. Allard moved to postpone consideration to tomorrow and try to get more information. Andre Marrou was allowed to address the Committee, and said that "ALP" was the historical name used by the Alaska party and that ALP Inc. is the true successor organization. Allard withdrew her motion to postpone, and Givot withdrew his motion to substitute. The main motion passed unanimously.

Dasbach said that the Georgia lawsuit situation shows that we need to allow room in the budget for miscellaneous legal action. Redpath suggested deferring discussion until after making a decision about holding a convention in 1996, since that would lead to many other legal cases.

Givot moved that we pay for the legal expenses so far, approximately \$600. Dehn said that this would be setting a precedent that we might not want to set, and that we shouldn't necessarily be paying the whole amount.

O'Brien moved to postpone until discussion of the budget; the motion failed on a voice vote. The main motion failed on a voice vote. Dasbach noted that although he supported paying for taking this case to the Supreme Court, he voted no at this time because there is no money in the 1990 budget for it.

Robert Creager (Region 5 alternate, temporarily substituting for Thies) moved to instruct the Secretary to send a letter to Joe Trollinger from the LNC saying that "the Libertarian National Committee totally disagrees with Larry Sullivan's opinions about religious people and his vulgar expression of his opinions. We welcome the participation of all people, religious as well as non-religious, sharing the Libertarian non-aggression principle. We believe your reaction to Sullivan's vulgarity demonstrates that you share our socially tolerant views, and we ask you to reconsider your decision to resign from our party."

Redpath noted that Trollinger apparently resigned for other reasons.

Ahmad moved to insert "irrational display of" before "vulgarity". Alexander objected that we should not be making a statement about someone's state of mind. Ahmad commented: "I am amazed that some people still can't grasp the difference between expressing your own opinion and professing to express someone else's; it is our opinion that Sullivan's vulgarity is irrational, not his." Ahmad's motion failed on a show of hands.

Redpath moved to delete "opinions about religious people"; the motion passed on a voice vote with Ahmad voting no. The main motion passed on a voice vote.

16. MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE REPORT: Allard submitted a written report [Attachment G] and a budget proposal [Attachment H] and had a display of membership-related material set up on the wall. She reported that the "good as gold" mailing was very successful, and handed the coins over to Dunbar. She noted that the renewal letters which she was planning to have Committee members sign this weekend contained incorrect information about Richard Shepard's election results, but could be reprinted at a cost of about \$14.

Allard moved to delete section III of Resolution 65, which provides for contributions to be automatically treated as membership renewals. Dasbach noted that something in the resolution needs to define "dues are current". Ernsberger said that in the past few years a significant portion of our renewal rate has been accounted for by such automatic renewal based on contributions. Other comments included: we can still solicit such people for dues in addition to their contribution; we should decide one way or another how we are going to handle this and stick with it; it can be confusing for someone to give a contribution and shortly thereafter be solicited for dues; renewing as a member should be a conscious choice; a checkoff could be provided on contribution forms to indicate whether it should be counted as dues; some people want to contribute without being counted as a member. Alexander said that a problem with the current system is that it treats people differently based on what form they use for their contribution and on whether they make their contribution in one chunk or several. Walter said that a change like this would make comparison of membership statistics less meaningful. Dehn said he would not support this change by itself because large contributors would be getting notices telling them they won't get LP News unless they pay another \$15. Dasbach suggested considering the package of changes proposed by Perrv Willis first, and coming back to individual changes

only if that doesn't pass.

Allard withdrew her motion and moved that we adopt the changes contained in Willis' plan [Attachment DD].

Willis pointed out that the only standing resolution affected by his proposal is Resolution 65; the other policy changes are ones that can be implemented by the various committees on their own. In reply to a question from Ernsberger, Willis said that we should be able to improve our renewal rate and that the renewal rate should not be seriously affected by an increase in the dues. Allard, O'Brien [Attachment EE], and Ahmad expressed reservations about raising the dues. (Thies also submitted written comments concerning dues levels [Attachment I].) Redpath said that he has supported an increase to \$25 for a long time, and that we need as members not just people but "people with money and energy". There was general approval of the concept of integrating the pledge program with premium memberships and giving meaning to the premium memberships. In reply to a question from Johnson, Willis said it was his intent that the new plan would go into effect 1 February. Ernsberger warned that if this plan doesn't work our efforts to get ready for 1992 could collapse, and suggested putting off the change until after that election. Walter expressed concern that a drop in membership statistics resulting from a policy change would be badly perceived. Givot said that now, right after an election, was the least risky time to make such a change. In response to questions from Neale, Dunbar said that about 30% of our members are currently at the "subscribing" level, and that some sort of increase was called for because of postal rate increases. Dasbach and Redpath commented that our current policy is not providing the funds necessary for what we need to do. Ahmad said that arguments for specific features of the plan did not justify the whole package, and that a revenue decline was probable as a result of the dues increase. In reply to questions from Dehn, Willis clarified that what he was proposing was the membership schedule on pages 4-5 of his memo, plus the provision for \$10 dues payment by affiliate parties, to replace the existing sections I-III of Resolution 65. O'Brien noted that categories "subscribing" and above would be counted for delegate allocation purposes.

At Ahmad's request, a roll call vote was conducted. Voting yes: Gingell, Dehn, Fielder, Black, Alexander, Redpath, Allard, Neale, Dasbach, Crickenberger, Givot, Kirkland; voting no: Ahmad, O'Brien, Creager, Johnson, Walter; abstaining: Segal. The motion passed 12:5:1.

Allard said she would work with Dehn to write up the changes in a form of an amendment to the existing resolutions.

[The meeting was recessed at 6:19pm, and was called back to order by Dave Walter at 9:00am on Sunday, 9 December.]

16A. APPROVAL OF PREVIOUS MINUTES, part 2: The minutes of the meeting of 11-12 August 1990 were approved on a voice vote.

16B. MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE REPORT, part 2: Allard moved to suspend the rules to approve wording of changes to Resolution 65 reflecting the plan adopted yesterday; there was no objection.

Allard moved that Resolution 65 be amended as follows:

I. MEMBERSHIP CATEGORIES. The membership categories of the Party shall be as follows:

BASIC --

Obligation: sign the certification statement.

Benefits: membership packet, card, two issues of LP News, year end report and delegate eligibility

report, and delegate eligibility.

SUBSCRIBING --

Obligation: certification statement, plus \$25 per year.

Benefits: same as Basic Member plus LP News subscription and counts as current member toward affiliate's delegate allocation.

SUSTAINING --

Obligation: certification statement and \$10 per month credit card or EFT pledge, or a one time \$100 contribution, or \$100 in cumulative contributions in a twelve month period.

Benefits: same as Subscribing Member, plus Liberty Pledge News.

SPONSOR --

Obligation: certification statement and \$25 per month credit card or EFT pledge, or a one time \$250 contribution, or \$250 in cumulative contributions in a twelve month period.

Benefits: same as Sustaining Member, plus the benefits of the Vice President's Club.

PATRON --

Obligation: certification statement and \$50 per month credit card or EFT pledge, or a one time \$500 contribution, or \$500 in cumulative contributions in a twelve month period.

Benefits: same as Sponsor, plus the benefits of the President's Club.

LIFE BENEFACTOR --

Obligation: certification statement and \$100 per month credit card or EFT pledge, or a one time \$1000 contribution, or \$1000 in cumulative contributions in a twelve month period.

Benefits: same as Patron, plus life membership and the benefits of the Torch Club.

II. NATIONAL DUES REDUCTION. An affiliate party may obtain a national subscribing membership or LP News subscription for \$10. If the affiliate organization agrees, this can be done through a local LP organization.

III. MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE ...

IV. MEMBERSHIP FORMS IN LP NEWS ...

V. MEMBERSHIP REPORTS ...

VI. MEMBERSHIP PACKET ...

VII. MEMBERSHIP CARDS ...

VIII. ARCHIVING ...

Thies, noting that a person may be eligible to be a delegate by being a member of an affiliate party, moved to delete "and delegate eligibility" from the description of basic member benefits; the motion passed on a voice vote.

Dehn moved to delete "or a one time \$X contribution" from each of the premium levels, on the basis that such a contribution would already be counted under the provision for cumulative contributions of the same amount; the motion passed on a voice vote.

Givot suggested that a 60% discount for state parties was too much, and said just LP News and processing costs would account for \$10.

Black moved to insert "for an individual" before "for \$10" in section II; there was no objection.

Givot moved to amend the amount paid by state parties to be \$20. Dasbach said that the main objection from state chairs to a dues increase was that the combination of state and national dues would be too much; Crickenberger observed that even at \$10 we would be getting more for memberships from state parties than currently.

Ahmad moved to substitute that the Basic dues be changed to \$20, saying that the jump from \$15 to \$25 was too great. Neale said it would cause less trouble to have one \$10 increase than two \$5 increases.

Ahmad's motion to substitute passed 8 to 7. The substituted motion (to make the Basic dues be \$20) failed 8 to 8. The main motion (to amend Resolution 65) passed on a voice vote.

17. PROGRAM COMMITTEE REPORT: Givot presented proposed planks on "The Savings and Loan Fiasco" and "The Right to Keep and Bear Arms" and a letter from a member concerning the "Environment" plank [Attachment J]. He reported that Tonie Nathan was working on a plank concerning abortion.

Givot moved approval of the savings and loan plank, with several modifications in wording [Attachment KK]; he explained that he was asking just for an approval of the text, with a decision about whether to actually replace some existing plank to be made later. After a brief discussion, the motion passed on a voice vote.

Givot moved approval of the right to keep and bear arms plank, with several modifications in wording [Attachment LL]. After a brief discussion, the motion passed on a voice vote.

Givot asked for comment from the Committee on whether we should keep the Environment plank in the Program, suggesting that even though it is a popular issue it is one where our position is not easy to market. The general reaction was to keep what we have for now even though it is not entirely satisfactory, and to invite those who object to it to propose an alternative.

Givot moved to drop the AIDS and Immigration planks from the Program, explaining that he would have proposals for integrating the AIDS topic into the Health Care plank and the immigration topic into the Free Trade plank at the April meeting. Ahmad moved to divide the question; there was no objection.

The motion to drop the AIDS plank passed on a voice vote.

After some discussion of whether it was really necessary to include a plank on the right to keep and bear arms in the Program at this point, given that the text lacks any specific interim steps and that we already have a brochure on the subject, the motion to drop the Immigration plank failed on a voice vote.

Givot moved to insert the savings and loan plank; the motion passed on a voice vote.

18. OUTREACH COMMITTEE REPORT: Black submitted a written report [Attachment K]. She reported that there are people who are willing to work on advertising even if we don't have a large budget for it; they are willing to work on print and radio as well as TV.

She recommended against participation in the "Third Continental Congress" because we have other things to work on. Other members of the Committee suggested that we tell them that we are interested in finding out more but that we cannot commit our members to the project.

She also recommended against involvement in the "Coalition Against

Child Abuse", which appears to be concerned with Canadian divorce and child custody laws.

Black moved to amend Resolution 187 to read:

An Outreach Committee is created under the "General Guidelines for Action Committees" to develop and implement a program to educate the general public about libertarian ideas and to persuade individuals to join the party. The program should include both electoral and non-electoral public relations activities. The committee shall be responsible for development and distribution of appropriate literature. In targeting groups, the committee shall consider minorities and campus populations.

The motion passed on a voice vote.

In response to a question from Fielder, Black said that she would like to have money next year for developing additional literature, running print ads, participating in conferences, and revising Liberty Today. She said that if the Bill of Rights project is adopted we will need additional literature and probably radio ads. Money for national TV ads would be great but not something that seems practical to ask for.

Ernsberger said he wanted \$8000 for college outreach and \$5000 seed money for the Bill of Rights project. He said that outreach in 1990 had not been aggressive, but that this was not due to budget cuts; there was a lack of activity by the Outreach Committee or lack of interest on the part of affiliate parties and the budget was cut to reflect that. Black responded that budget constraints did cause her to defer work, and that she stopped working on developing new brochures because the last one she produced, on The Free Market, was not printed for lack of funds.

Ernsberger outlined plans for a Bill of Rights project, starting with a campus outreach effort and a fundraising letter to expired members. In response to a question from Walter, he said that he expected the project to be profitable. In response to questions from Gingell, he said that contributions were being solicited in the name of the "Committee for the Bill of Rights" but that the letter did not promise that the money would be spent exclusively on one project. In response to questions from Givot, he said that he could not say for sure how many people actually join as members from this kind of project; Walter said that we benefit when we can get non-members to fund our projects.

19. CONVENTION OVERSIGHT COMMITTEE REPORT: Neale submitted a written report [Attachment FF]. He said that LEI has provided a tentative schedule [Attachment L] and has no major problems to report. He has informed them that the schedule has the pre-convention LNC meeting on the wrong day, and that a Bylaws Committee meeting and post-convention LNC meeting need to be provided for. LEI has suggested that the LNC meeting be on Monday rather than Sunday night, so as not to conflict with our "Diehard Dinner" fundraising event. He said he told LEI that the presidential banquet should be prime rib if we expect to raise lots of money; Segal suggested that there be a pasta alternative for vegetarians.

There was a discussion of the starting time for convention business, which is shown as 11:00am in the schedule. An earlier time would allow for more business but, if it means that another event cannot be held in the same room immediately before, could make it more difficult to start on time and to get C-SPAN coverage of the business session.

Thies moved that business begin at 10:30am. After a straw poll indicated that more people supported starting at 11, O'Brien moved to substitute 11. After further discussion, Neale said he would inform LEI that we want to be flexible and not commit to a starting time

until arrangements are made with C-SPAN. O'Brien and Thies withdrew their motions.

Neale reported that LEI wants us to buy a program for making name badges and rent it to them; his recommendation is that we not get into the program rental business.

20. 1993 CONVENTION PROPOSALS: Neale noted that bids had been received for two locations: San Diego (letter [Attachment M]) and Salt Lake City [Attachment N].

Neale moved to accept Salt Lake City as the site of the 1993 convention. He said both have adequate resources to put on a convention, but that he favored Salt Lake City because: (1) San Diego is more of a media center and thus more appropriate for a presidential year, and (2) we should offer a less expensive location in the non-presidential year. He said Pat Wright should be invited to submit a bid for next time.

O'Brien said he favored San Diego because the larger population in the area would result in greater attendance and that it was cheaper to fly to California than to Utah. Dasbach said he favored Salt Lake City because Bob Waldrop promised to set a new standard for convention entertainment.

The motion to accept Salt Lake City passed on a voice vote.

Dasbach moved to invite Pat Wright to submit a bid for the next convention. Thies moved to substitute that we thank Wright for submitting a proposal and motivating a response from the winning bidder. The motion to substitute and the main motion passed without objection.

[The meeting was recessed at 11:25am and was called back to order by Dave Walter at 11:43am.]

21. 1996 CONVENTION: Givot submitted a written report [Attachment O] on holding a convention in 1996 rather than 1995. Advantages of doing this include expanding the window for candidates who wish to seek matching funds and placing our nominating process during a period when people are thinking about it. He said we need to make this decision now so that we will have legal standing to challenge the laws which set early petition deadlines.

Givot moved: (1) that the 1996 Presidential Nominating Convention of the Libertarian Party shall be held in the month of June, 1996, and (2) that bids from prospective organizers of that convention shall be reviewed by the National Committee between August, 1991, and December, 1991.

Redpath said he thought that Richard Winger overrates the ability of the LP to do petitioning, so more states will be in danger of losing ballot status than Winger suggests in his report. Various people pointed out that it would be possible to switch back to 1995 if legal efforts proved unsuccessful, but Givot said it was important to make a commitment now or the legal work would have no basis.

Other reasons cited for attempting to go to an even year included: providing more of a chance to see potential candidates in action before making the nomination; pushing more states into allowing us to get on the ballot by a party petition rather than one with a candidate's name, which might help us qualify for other races; opening up the possibility of other improvements in ballot access laws; maintaining the interest of supporters of all candidates through more of the petitioning process; and getting the interest of the media in the election year.

The motion passed on a voice vote.

22. RUSSIAN LIBERTARIANS (see item 11A)

23. MEDIA RELATIONS COMMITTEE REPORT: Johnson reported that Tonie Nathan's contract had been shortened by several weeks because of budget problems. Nathan provide a written report [Attachment P]. Johnson moved to adopt a resolution thanking her for her work [Attachment MM]; the motion passed on a voice vote.

Allard reported that Nathan will be finishing up the task of entering information on her media contacts into her computer; Walter said the file should be turned over to Johnson if Nathan is not hired to continue the work.

Johnson reported that Nathan wanted to be reimbursed for some additional expenses, but that he did not think this was appropriate because she went beyond her budget, was told that additional money was not likely to be available, and did not seek approval for projects. Dasbach said that we should reimburse her for those expenses specifically resulting from followup of the election, as opposed to new projects. Johnson noted that there is an 800 number which we will have to move somewhere if Nathan does not continue with media work.

Johnson said that almost any budget for media relations could be justified, and noted that this was an area of spending most approved of by activists. He said that interest had been expressed in doing media work by Nathan, MKR Associates, Jim McClarin, and Joe Knight, but that the proposals did not really say what they would do, except for Nathan who has defined the current position. In response to a question from Ernsberger, he said that the highest priority should be given to responding to inquiries, second to thanking media people for good coverage and maintaining a list of favorable contacts, and third to sending out news releases. Dasbach said that lining up people for talk shows is a cost-effective activity.

23A. BALLOT ACCESS COMMITTEE REPORT: Redpath moved to consider ballot access at this time; there was no objection.

He provided a written report [Attachment GG] outlining the status of all the states, and noted two changes: Utah now has ballot status, and petitioning in Oklahoma can start as soon as we know our candidates. He said gross fundraising requirements will total about \$400,000, of which about \$130,000 would be needed during 1991.

He said that telemarketing efforts had been pushed back by the poor response to the Paul Jacob fundraising letter, but that the approximately \$6,000 BAF balance resulted primarily from telemarketing. He said he expected fundraising for ballot access from now on to be the responsibility of the Finance Committee.

Ahmad noted that some additional help might be needed for Maryland.

24. FINANCE COMMITTEE REPORT: Alexander presented a written report [Attachment HH]. He said that the trends for this year have been bad, but noted a recent peak in contributions when fundraising for ballot access and for Campaign '90 are counted. He expressed hope that the new membership and pledge structure would allow us to better cover overhead, making possible more effective fundraising for other projects; he noted that "overhead" is not bad, and actually includes many of the things that members expect us to be doing. He said he would be trying harder on making the pledge program succeed, would be working immediately on the Torch Club, and was working with the Convention Oversight Committee on planning fundraising activities at the convention.

There was a general discussion of what our fundraising problems are

and what can be done to solve them. Walter noted that we have more contributors than before but each is giving less. Ernsberger provided statistics on the performance of recent letters, suggested that to turn the pledge program around would require a contractor working specifically on that, and criticized recent fundraising efforts as "not aggressive". Other comments included: we need to consider separately "outreach" vs. "fundraising" mailings; we should be more conservative in our revenue projections; some forms of fundraising work better for certain projects, e.g., telemarketing is most successful when applied for ballot access or TV ads; we need to do better at asking for larger amounts.

24A. BUDGET COMMITTEE REPORT: Fielder presented a written report [Attachment II], outlining projected revenue and projected cost of headquarters operation and LP News, and proposing ways to spend the balance, based on requests from various committees.

There was a general discussion of the validity of the revenue projections, with various people expressing concern about the effect of changes in membership/pledge policy, the effect of integrating BAC fundraising with the rest of our operations, and the accuracy of projections for particular categories of revenue. Fielder said he had taken a "generalized conservative optimistic approach", and cautioned that attempts to increase the accuracy of isolated line items would not necessarily improve the accuracy of the total.

Gingell moved to adopt the Headquarters Fundraising numbers in column C on page 2 of Fielder's proposed budget.

Walter moved to amend the Liberty Pledge figures to \$120,000 gross, \$30,000 cost, \$90,000 net. Redpath moved to substitute \$100,000, \$15,000, \$85,000. Various people argued against these changes on the basis that they involved a greater percentage of cost than in the original proposal, that the original numbers already represented an increase over this year, and that achieving such results for the year as a whole would require unlikely improvements in the short term.

The motion to substitute Redpath's numbers for Walter's numbers passed on a voice vote. After some further discussion of the difficulty of achieving incremental improvements in this area, the motion to change the numbers in the budget proposal failed on a voice vote.

Walter moved to amend the Dues via Affiliates figures to \$75,000 gross, \$45,000 cost, \$30,000 net, to account for the new dues policy and the increased incentive for dues payment through state parties. Several people argued that the discount to state parties should not show as a "cost" on our books, since we never see the money and the states are not required to charge any particular amount.

O'Brien moved to substitute \$20,000 gross, \$0 cost, \$20,000 net. Ahmad moved to divide the question, considering the question of "cost" separately from increasing the net amount to \$30,000; there was no objection. The motion to treat gross and net as equal in this category passed by a vote of 9 to 4.

Givot moved to amend the remaining portion of the motion, which would increase net dues via affiliates to \$30,000, to also reduce direct mail renewal gross and net by \$6,600, arguing that if more people are going to renew through state parties fewer will do so directly. The amendment passed on a voice vote.

The motion to apply these changes to the proposed budget failed on a voice vote.

Ahmad moved to reduce the figures for Direct Mail In House to \$100,000 gross, \$44,000 cost, \$56,000 net, arguing that the dues increase would mean a decrease in other contributions. The motion failed on a voice

mean a decrease in other contributions. The motion failed on a voice vote.

The main motion to adopt page 2 passed on a voice vote. Ahmad noted that he would have proposed other changes but it was obvious that they would not have passed.

Walter moved to adopt the remaining revenue figures, as listed in column C on page 4, with the exception that convention revenue figures be \$20,000 gross, \$2,000 cost, \$18,000 net. Ahmad moved to amend the convention figures to be \$11,000/\$1,000/\$10,000 as in the report. After some discussion of the difficulty in projecting banquet fundraising performance and the desirability of leaving the total net unchanged, Ahmad's amendment passed on a voice vote. The main motion to adopt page 4 passed on a voice vote.

After Fielder outlined some reshuffling of headquarters expense categories since last year, Givot moved to adopt the expense figures in column C on page 6. In response to questions from various members of the Committee, Dunbar explained the changes from 1990 in various figures. The motion to adopt page 6 passed on a voice vote.

Crickenberger moved to adopt the Management Expense figures in the third column on page 8. Givot moved to add a line for legal costs, not to include legal fees, of \$5,000, saying that this would allow the Executive Committee to take advantage of offers of pro bono representation. There was discussion of whether this would require cutting out something else, and whether the normal authority of the Chair to spend \$1,000 was enough to cover this kind of thing. Dasbach moved to substitute \$2,000 for \$5,000. The motion to substitute \$2,000 passed on a voice vote. The motion to add the legal cost line passed on a voice vote. The main motion to adopt the Management Expense section passed on a voice vote.

Fielder moved to adopt the Affiliate Parties Services figures in the third column on page 8. Gingell moved to replace those figures with the following:

contractors	9,000
committee expenses	12,500
Campaign '91/'92	8,000

She explained that this was a significant cut from 1990, but allowed for more staff assistance in the campaign area; the contract work would be part time and these figures would not include media work.

Ahmad moved to substitute \$3,000 for the Campaign category; the motion passed on a voice vote.

In response to a question from Thies, Gingell said that reducing contractor expense to \$3,000 would mean no money for an administrative contractor. Thies moved to substitute \$6,000 for the contractor category; the motion failed on a voice vote.

Laura Stewart was permitted to speak on the importance of funds for campaign research; Dasbach responded that we should wait until April to allocate funds for that since we don't have the money now to spend.

The motion to replace the original numbers by Gingell's numbers as amended passed on a voice vote. The main motion to adopt the Affiliate Parties section passed on a voice vote.

Walter moved to adopt the Membership Services section as on page 8 but with LP News being \$67,500 rather than \$70,000. Dasbach moved to amend the LP News amount to \$70,000, saying that he wanted to be sure that there would be enough pages to include campaign information and that having a 12 page issue every month starting in March will be

something we can show to members as improved service. O'Brien said that since his committee has no budget of his own, he also will be relying on an enlarged LP News to get information to members. Others expressed concern about increasing this category in light of the lack of reserves. The motion to increase LP News to \$70,000 passed on a vote of 9 to 5. The main motion to adopt the Membership Services section passed on a voice vote.

Johnson moved to adopt the Outreach figures in column A on page 8. Johnson then moved to increase the Media Relations amount from \$5,000 to \$10,000 to allow for the contract work no longer covered under the Affiliate Parties section. O'Brien moved to substitute that the Media Relations line be increased to \$10,000 and the CEDV line be reduced to zero. There was a discussion of whether we had made a commitment to spend any particular amount of money generally fighting the War on Drugs or specifically on CEDV.

At Ahmad's request, a roll call vote was conducted on O'Brien's motion. Voting yes: Gingell, Dehn, Fielder, Ahmad, Segal, Allard, O'Brien, Dasbach, Crickenberger, Kirkland, Johnson; voting no: Thies; abstaining: Neale. The motion passed 11:1:1.

Fielder said he was disturbed that we had budgeted lots of money for outreach in 1990 and it didn't get used, and that we were allocating a large amount of our discretionary funds the same way this year with the same Outreach chair. He suggested that the money would be better spent on trying to get a few specific projects done. Walter said that Black had offered to resign if somebody else wanted to do the job. Nobody volunteered.

Dasbach moved to set the Outreach Committee Other Projects line to zero; the motion passed on a voice vote.

The main motion to adopt the Outreach section passed on a voice vote.

Walter moved to adopt a capital budget as follows:

comprehensive software package	6,000
furniture and fixtures	3,000
leasehold improvements	3,000
computer hardware	2,000

Dunbar explained that the software budget was for a package that he might want to buy, but that he hadn't yet gone over it with John Famularo; that the furniture, fixtures, and leasehold improvements were for fixing up the office on which we just signed a 3 year lease; and the hardware budget was to cover the expected failure of a computer due to airborne particulates. Dunbar said that the software expenditure was not certain; Ahmad moved to delete it; there was no objection. After a brief discussion of how the leasehold improvements figure was arrived at, Ahmad moved to increase it to \$4,000; the motion passed on a voice vote. The main motion to adopt the capital budget passed on a voice vote.

25. BALLOT ACCESS COMMITTEE REPORT (see item 23A)

26. INTERNAL EDUCATION COMMITTEE REPORT: O'Brien submitted a written report [Attachment JJ] and highlighted various projects including: developing material to be published in LP News; preparation of material for local activists; his Libertarian MBA manual; a leadership training program he is working on with Janet Parkes.

27. ADVERTISING/PUBLICATIONS REVIEW COMMITTEE REPORT: Ahmad said the APRC had received some items from the Outreach Committee but there were no problems with them.

28. LP NEWS REPORT: Langhenry thanked various members of the Committee

for their help and encouraged everyone to send in material from their local areas. Walter suggested there should be more material on current events rather than just LP activities. In response to a question from Ahmad, Langhenry said he would probably be printing the new Program plank we just passed; he would be willing to run the whole Program again if we want but would prefer to do it a plank at a time. In response to a question from Thies, he said that he sometimes has had to turn down large articles about activities in some states. In response to a question from Alexander, he said that he was not supporting any particular presidential candidate and would give them coverage based on what they do.

29. LEGAL ACTION COMMITTEE REPORT: Walter said that to the extent we need legal help he has been relying on David Bergland and Bill Hall. He said he would include in his column in the LP News a request for lawyers to do pro bono work.

30. AUDITOR'S REPORT: Thies submitted a written report [Attachment Q] which said that there were no financial statements for him to audit. He said that he would schedule an audit of the year end statements before our next meeting.

There was a discussion of how and when we should respond to Marrou's offer to let us audit his campaign finances. Dehn moved to appoint Thies to be our auditor of the Marrou for President Campaign. In response to a question from Segal, Thies said that if other candidates made a similar offer we would establish criteria for when to start auditing them, based on something like the amount of money raised. The motion to appoint Thies passed on a voice vote.

31. BUDGET COMMITTEE REPORT (see item 24A)

32. CONCLUDING BUSINESS: Segal noted that the individual from New York who had been allocated time to speak at the end of the meeting was no longer present.

In response to a question from Ahmad, Dehn said he expected to have the minutes of this meeting prepared in compliance with the deadline set by resolution.

Marla Bottemiller thanked the Committee for giving her the opportunity to work as Field Coordinator.

In response to a question from Walter, Crickenberger said that the hotel for the next meeting had not been decided yet.

Walter noted that after consultation with Gingell he had decided that the Party should not sign on as friend of the court in the Rainbow Lobby's case against the Commission on Presidential Debates, since it appeared to be an attempt to take away somebody's tax exemption.

Kirkland reported that as our representative to the Coalition for Free and Open Elections she had voted to allow the Populist Party to join; the Greens were the only other group voting yes. Thies noted that the New Alliance Party voted no.

Ahmad moved to adjourn; the motion passed on a voice vote.

The meeting was adjourned at 4:00 pm.

Respectfully submitted,

Joseph W. Dehn III
Secretary

Attachments:

[Attachments distributed prior to the meeting]

- A. Vice Chair's Report
- B. Management Committee Report
- C. Affiliate Parties Committee Report
- D. Affiliate Campaigns Subcommittee Report
- E. Region 3 Report
- F. Region 5 Report
- G. Membership Committee Report
- H. Membership Committee Budget Request
- I. Thies Memo on Dues Levels
- J. Program Committee Report
- K. Outreach Committee Report
- L. LEI Report
- M. San Diego Convention Bid Letter
- N. Salt Lake City Convention Bid Material
- O. Report on Holding Convention in 1996
- P. Media Relations Director Report
- Q. Auditor's Report

[Attachments distributed at the meeting]

- R. Treasurer's Report
- S. Marrou Pledge on Matching Funds / TV Ads
- T. Marrou Pledge on Ownership of Names
- U. Marrou Pledge on Auditing
- V. Headquarters Operations Audit
- W. APC Contract Proposal Summaries
- X. Analysis of 1992 Congressional Races
- Y. Region 1 Report
- Z. Region 2 Report
- AA. Region 4 Report
- BB. Region 6 Report
- CC. Region 8 Report
- DD. Perry Willis Membership/Finance Proposal
- EE. O'Brien Comments on Dues Levels
- FF. Convention Oversight Committee Report
- GG. Ballot Access Committee Report
- HH. Finance Committee Report
- II. Budget Committee Report
- JJ. Internal Education Committee Report

[Attachments not previously distributed]

- KK. Program Plank Text: Savings and Loan Fiasco
- LL. Program Plank Text: Right to Keep and Bear Arms
- MM. Resolution Thanking Tonie Nathan
- NN. Budget as Adopted