

# ANNEXES

## A-1 – ACCESSIBILITÉ AUX SOURCES

Les annexes A-1 sont constituées des courriers que j'ai envoyés pour une première prise de contact, en juin et juillet 2013. Je souhaitais rencontrer des militants Tea Party, assister aux réunions des groupes, ou à leurs événements. J'indique également le profil posté sur Meetup, requis pour s'inscrire sur le site.

Comme je l'explique dans l'introduction générale, j'avais déjà rencontré en novembre 2012 Diana Reimer, du groupe Philadelphia Tea Party Patriots-Landsdale. Lorsque je suis revenue fin juin 2013, je n'arrivais pas à joindre cette dernière, très occupée par des formations et une campagne d'incitation au vote. J'ai donc cherché à établir d'autres contacts. Hormis le groupe Delaware County Patriots qui m'a proposé de rejoindre ses « marcheurs » lors du défilé du 4 juillet, je n'ai obtenu aucune réponse des groupes situés en Pennsylvanie. En ce qui concerne le Massachusetts, j'ai obtenu une réponse de Patrick Humphries, du groupe Greater Boston Tea Party.

### **COURRIER 1 : ENVOYÉ AUX COORDINATEURS DES GROUPES TEA PARTY TROUVÉS SUR LE SITE DE L'ORGANISATION NATIONALE TEA PARTY PATRIOTS – JUN 2013**

Good afternoon,

I am writing to you because I am a French scholar (besides my job as an English teacher at a Sports University in Paris) and I study the Tea Party movement. I am mostly interested in the grassroots people involved, as in your ways of organisation, communication, and how you encourage people to support the movement or become activists.

I am in Philly until July 12, sorry it is such short notice but I would be very happy to meet people who would have a little time to chat with me and share on their perspective. And also, if you are planning any meeting or event, I would be mostly interested in attending. It could be during the week or the week-end, in the day or in the evening, according to your schedule of course.

I understand you might be put off by the label "scholar" and my being a foreigner, but please note that my work is not focused on ideology, and that I mostly want to observe how the movement works and who the people are, and how the sense of community is focused on.

I could either come as an observer in a meeting or an event, or chat with any people interested!

Thank you very much for your consideration, and looking forward to reading you.

Best Regards,

Agnès Trouillet

**COURRIER 2 : ENVOYÉ AUX COORDINATEURS DES GROUPES TEA PARTY  
ORGANISANT UNE RÉUNION – JUIN 2013**

Good afternoon,

I am writing to you because I am a French scholar (besides my job as an English teacher at a Sports University in Paris) and I study the Tea Party movement.

I am mostly interested in the grassroots people involved in local groups sharing like-minded interests, as in their ways of organisation, communication, and how they encourage people to support the movement or become activists.

I am in Philadelphia until July 12, so it is very short notice but I would be very happy to meet people who would have a little time to chat with me and share on their perspective.

I saw that you are meeting on Tuesday with another group at 7.30 pm, and would like to attend. I was just wondering how to get to the Schuylkill River Road & 3rd Street from either Bridgeport station (Norristown Highspeed Highline) or Conshohocken station (Norristown Regional Rail). (I am staying in West Philadelphia and I have no car.)

Otherwise, I could meet you or any other people interested during the week or the week-end, in the day or in the evening, according to your schedule of course.

**COURRIER 3 : ENVOYÉ À LA COORDINATRICE DU GROUPE GREATER BOSTON TEA  
PARTY - JUILLET 2013**

Dear Mrs Morabito,

As I briefly explained in my Meetup biography, I am a French PhD student working on pre-revolutionary politics and the Tea Party movement.

I am mostly interested in grassroots people getting involved politically, mostly at the local level, as well as in how the movement operates in terms of organisation and communication (what we could call the "mechanics" of the movement), and how you encourage people to become activists.

I have been in the US for 1 month (in Philadelphia, and now in Boston). I have met with people from the Tea Party Patriots and from the Delaware County Patriots, and it was really an enriching experience (I attended one meeting, joined their parade on July 4 and met other people personally).

I am in Boston until August 2, which is of course very short notice, but if ever you had a little time, I would be very happy to meet you or activists who would be interested in sharing with me on their perspective. And also, if you are planning any meeting or event (other than September 12), I would be mostly interested in attending. It could be during the week or the week-end, in the day or in the evening, according to your schedule of course.

I understand you might be put off by the label "scholar" and my being a foreigner, but please note that I am a serious person interested in the movement which will be the subject of my dissertation. You could even get in touch with the Philadelphia Tea Party Patriots or Delaware County Patriots coordinators if you want to check about me !

Thank you very much for your consideration, and looking forward to reading you.

Best Regards,

Agnès Trouillet

**COURRIER 4 : MAIL ENVOYÉ À PATRICK DU GROUPE GREATER BOSTON TEA PARTY, SUITE À SA RÉPONSE AU COURRIER 3 – JUILLET 2013**

Dear Patrick,

Thank you very much for your welcoming mails, and I really appreciate your answering so quickly. I would be interested to speak to activists and organisers, to know more about organisation first. For example the frequency of your meetings (you told me you're meeting every other month for example), the number of attendees, the locations used for meetings, if you post agendas or minutes etc... In terms of communication: if your group uses more emailing lists, or Meetup or Facebook to reach the members for example, and who is in charge of the website. As far as involvement is concerned, I'm mostly interested in local politics, for example if your members/yourselves as organisers act as committee persons, on school boards etc.

I know it is difficult to find time extra from work, and especially with the election... but if you had a few minutes, I would be very glad to interview you. Or if you think of other members/organisers who would be interested, please tell me how I can introduce myself to them.

I noted the 7/29 and 7/31 events, which I would be happy to attend.

**PROFIL & MOTIVATIONS : BIOGRAPHIE PROPOSÉE SUR LE SITE MEETUP, POUR LES GROUPEs TEA PARTY INSCRITS SUR MEETUP – JUIN / JUILLET 2013**

**PHILADELPHIA**

**BIO :** English teacher at a Sports University in France and scholar studying the Tea Party movement and the original Tea Party. In Philadelphia to do research at the Library Company and to meet people interested/active in the Tea Party movement (know how they organize and communicate).

**WHY JOIN :** To be able to meet people and share with them, about their perspective on politics, and mostly to know how like-minded people meet, organize, and communicate.

**BOSTON**

**BIO :** I am a French PhD student working on the pre-revolutionary politics and the Tea Party movement. In Boston to do research at several libraries and to meet people interested/active in the Tea Party (involvement in local politics, organisation, communication).

**WHY JOIN :** I would like to share with people about their perspective on politics, and how they get involved at the local level.

## A-2 – QUESTIONNAIRES

### A-2.1. *QUESTIONNAIRE 1*

#### MILITANT TEA PARTY – VERSION COURTE QUESTIONNAIRE VIERGE – NOVEMBRE 2012

J'ai utilisé ce questionnaire comme support lors de ma première rencontre avec Diana Reimer, Présidente du groupe Philadelphia Tea Party Patriots-Landsdale, et Coordinatrice régionale de l'organisation nationale Tea Party Patriots, en novembre 2012.

L'entretien n'ayant duré qu'une vingtaine de minutes, toutes les questions n'ont pas été abordées.

Les réponses apportées par Diana ne sont pas transcrites ici ; elles sont utilisées dans le développement de la thèse.

1	Have you noticed an evolution in political involvement since 2009?
	“Tell me your story”: <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Why did you start involving in the movement in the first place?</li><li>- Why did you decide to go on?</li></ul>
2	How do you encourage involvement in people? <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- What is your message?</li><li>- What is the principle of your “Get out and vote” tour?</li></ul>
3	About medium & message: <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Do you think your action would have been possible/as far-reaching without social networks?</li><li>- What is your use/frequency of use of Facebook/Twitter/email?</li><li>- How do you communicate?</li></ul>
4	What is the weight of think-tanks / PACs / super PACs in your movement? <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- What about people (in a grassroots movement)?</li></ul>
5	To what extent is Tea Party Patriots different from other organisations? <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- Are there any specific points about Tea Party Patriots in Philadelphia?</li><li>- Any specific points about Pennsylvania organisation compared to other states? Dallas organisation ?</li></ul>
6	Do you agree that you are working in a “starfish” type of organisation”? <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- To what extent does it allow women to play an important role?</li><li>- Do you agree that women play a crucial role in the Tea Party movement? In Tea Party Patriots?</li><li>- Why are women so involved according to you?</li></ul>

7	<p>Do you think it is a good idea to get involved in politics “from scratch”, as opposed to professional politicians?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- To what extent do you think this affects the image professionals have from you?</li> </ul>
8	<p>More generally speaking, what do you think of the image people like scholars, intellectuals have from you?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Have you read the books written on the Tea Party by Jill Lepore, Skocpol etc? What do you think of these books?</li> <li>- Did you know that a very serious study on the movement has been done by a French scholar, Aurélie Godet? What do you think of this interest at an international level?</li> <li>- What do you think of the image conveyed by the media?</li> <li>- How do you think the “whole body of the people” consider your movement?</li> </ul>
9	<p>What do you think of the Occupy Wall Street movement?</p>
10	<p>What is your feeling about Obama? About Romney? About the election?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- What are your expectations/prospects after the election?</li> </ul>
11	<p>What is your perspective on the Tea Party event of 1773?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Did you know that it was called “the destruction of the tea” way into the 19<sup>th</sup> century? What do you think of the term “party”?</li> <li>- How is your movement similar / how is it different?</li> <li>- How can you be “part of history?”</li> </ul>
12	<p>What is your ideal, politically, economically and socially speaking?</p>
13	<p>Would you say there are biases in the Tea Party movement?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- racial biases or religious biases?</li> </ul>
14	<p>Is there such a thing as an “average Tea Party activist” in Philadelphia/Pennsylvania/elsewhere?</p>
15	<p>Why did you accept this interview?</p>

## A-2.2. QUESTIONNAIRE 2

### MILITANT TEA PARTY / MEMBRE DE COMITE DIRECTEUR VERSION LONGUE – QUESTIONNAIRE VIERGE – JUILLET 2014

Ce questionnaire vierge contient la version longue. Il existe des versions intermédiaires, que je n'indique pas ici.

J'ai proposé ce questionnaire à Diana Reimer en juillet 2014, qui a refusé de le remplir par manque de temps. Son emploi du temps était en effet extrêmement chargé, notamment du fait de son double statut, en tant que Présidente du groupe local Philadelphia Tea Party Patriots-Lansdale, et que Coordinatrice Régionale de l'organisation nationale Tea Party Patriots. En outre, Diana était à nouveau très prise par des formations, et des campagnes d'incitation au vote en vue des élections de mi-mandat (dans plusieurs Etats, pas seulement en Pennsylvanie).

Le questionnaire reflète le double statut de cette militante, et certaines questions diffèrent par rapport à celles des Questionnaires 3 et 4 ci-après (contenant les réponses de la Présidente du groupe local Delaware County Patriots, et du Président du groupe local Worcester Tea Party). De plus, je connaissais Diana depuis novembre 2012, et souhaitais obtenir des réponses par rapport à certains points précis.

La création des questionnaires m'a aidée à organiser mes idées et ma réflexion. C'était une façon de synthétiser mes résultats, et d'orienter ma recherche. J'ai fini par obtenir des réponses à la majorité de mes questions par d'autres biais, au fil du temps. Par exemple, j'ai trouvé la carte des adhésions à l'organisation nationale Tea Party Patriots, reflétant les évolutions de 2013 à 2015. J'ai également trouvé des éléments concernant le fonctionnement du mouvement (entre les groupes Tea Party, et entre les groupes Tea Party et non Tea Party par exemple). Enfin, les éléments concernant l'agenda politique de l'organisation nationale sont apparus clairement, par exemple sur ses alliances avec le Parti républicain.

La mise en page a été condensée pour ces Annexes, mais le questionnaire était présenté de façon à laisser de la place pour répondre aux questions.

1	the Tea Party = definition, name, label
<b>Definition</b>	
What is the tea Party ? - a group / - a movement / - an association - an organization / - other =	
Which label do you use when referring to yourself and the groups around the country in general ? - « the Tea Party » / - « the Tea Party movement » / - « the Tea Party groups » / - other =	
What is your definition of the Tea Party ? -	
How do you describe yourself (the Tea Party) today ? -	

How has the labelling evolved over the years since 2009 ? -	
Does it translate an evolution of the movement itself? To what extent ? -	
2	Tea Party Patriots = status, role
<p><a href="#">Evolution of the TPP status</a></p> <p>What was the statut of TPP at the beginning, in 2009 ?  - non-profit organization 501(c), 1,2,3,4 / - business / - other =  - Link with the IRS controversy =</p> <p>When did it evolve into a PAC ?  - date of evolution =</p> <p>What are the consequences of this evolution ? Has the TPP role changed?  - Educate and inform / - Endorse candidates / - other =</p> <p>What is the impact on diverse issues?  - on the financial issue (cf controversy on Jenny Beth Martin's fees as a speaker in 2014) ? / - other =</p>	
3	Tea Party groups affiliated to Tea Party Patriots = number
<p><a href="#">Assessment of the Tea Party / Tea Party Patriots coverage</a></p> <p>Number of groups :  - in the country / - affiliated to TPP nationwide / - affiliated to TPP in Pennsylvania  - affiliated to TPP in Philadelphia &amp; surrouding counties</p> <p>How does TPP record all affiliated groups ?  - email list / - list of attendees at meetings / - joining the TPP site / - other =</p> <p>What is the meaning of being « affiliated »?  Difference between « Tea Party group » / « Tea Party affiliated group » / « Tea Party Patriots affiliated group » ?  - respect of the TPP core values / - other =</p> <p>Is there a way of assessing the number in each category ?  - email list / - joining the TPP site / - other =</p>	
4	Tea Party groups = localization
<p><a href="#">Localization of groups</a></p> <p>Number of groups present in :  - cities = / - suburbs = / - the country =</p>	
5	Tea Party Patriots = Website
<p><a href="#">Website, evolution</a></p> <p>Who is the Webmaster ? - name(s) =</p> <p>Evolution of the site ? - date of modification =</p>	

Inclusion of the « Toolkit for activists » ? - date =

Use of the toolkits by the activists ? - frequency = / - mode =

Use of the tools ?

- the « Field Manual » = / - in the « Field Manual », chapter « How to organize a townhall meeting » =
- the « Sample Letter to Congress » = / - the « Sample Letter to the Editor » =

Assessment the use of the website by activists ? - mode of assessment (for ex. number of visits) =

How do affiliated groups consult their message box ? How often ?

- on the TPP site / - using their own mailing system

5B

Tea Party Patriots = Website

### [Website, contents](#)

(Questions concerning my search on the website in 2013)

Date of connection of the groups : Most of the groups indicated « joined « 1 year & 6 months ago » », which seemed striking, since meant that all these groups had joined in January 2012.

Was it :

- an automatic item reply

Or had all groups actually joined in January 2012 ?

- yes / - no / - Is it still working the same way ? / - yes / - no (explain) =

Is there a way of tracing the groups having joined :

- in 2013 = / - since January 2014 =

Drawing a map showing the evolution of groups joining the TPP since 2009.

Is it possible to have :

- the history & dates of adhesion =
- at least in Pennsylvania

(for ex. Philadelphia TPP Montgomery County, Philadelphia TPP Center City Chapter joined after 2012)

Coordination : Certain groups had no coordinators.

Is it still the case today : - yes / - no

How do these groups work ? - person in charge = / - mode of operation =

Communication : I wrote to 18 group coordinators (or members when there were no coordinators), and got 0 answer. Did it mean that :

- they did not consult their mailbox on the TPP site
- they had seen my message but were suspicious

(for ex. Diana must introduce me to people before I can contact them)

(for ex. Delco Patriots had read my message but not answered because thought it might have been a hoax)

What procedure should groups follow for joining the site ? - procedure =

5C

Philadelphia Tea Party Patriots = Website

### [Website](#)

In 2012 (nb : it is still the case in 2014), when I typed « Tea Party Philadelphie » in the Google search bar, the page « Philadelphia Tea Party Patriots » was displayed at the top of the list of results, as follows :



<p>Philadelphia Tea Party Patriots  /Philadelphia Tea Party (wikipedia)  /Boston Tea Party (wikipedia)  /Independence Hall Tea Party</p> <p>I found it striking that so few Tea Party groups were/are indicated. Reason :  - all groups are affiliated to the TPP = / - the groups don't have Tea Party in their names =</p> <p>Cost for having the name of your group ranking first in the Google Search results : - cost =</p> <p>The keywords displayed after the name of your group are : « Landsdale » / « patriotic » / « grassroots ».  Reason : - you specified it / - it is the random result of internet searches</p> <p>In 2012, I connected onto the site to consult it and look for meetings or events planned while I was in Philadelphia. I clicked on the « Contacts » section, and I remember having to specify information concerning my interest in the group. Is it still the case ?  - yes / - no / - new process =</p>	
6	Tea Party Patriots = communication
<p><b>Communication</b></p> <p>Mode &amp; frequency of communication  (for ex. Sunday evening one-hour call with all the national &amp; state coordinators)  - at the national level = / - at the state level = / - at the regional level =</p> <p>Special modes of communication  (for ex. « The Pennsylvania Call », a weekly one hour-call, Diana in charge for 5 years as state coordinator)  - location(s) = / - person(s) in charge =</p>	
6B	Philadelphia Tea Party Patriots = communication
<p><b>Communication</b></p> <p>Mode &amp; frequency of communication  - Meetings = / - Special Events = / - Conference calls = / - Phone calls =</p>	
7	Tea Party Patriots = communication = social media
<p><b>Social media</b></p> <p>Percentage of communication with :  - Meetup = / - Facebook = / - email lists = / - phone calls =</p>	
8	Tea Party Patriots = communication = with other Tea Party groups
<p><b>Communication with other Tea Party groups</b></p> <p>What is the relationship to other Tea Party groups (not affiliated with TPP) ?  Delaware County Patriots (Actually, they were affiliated to the TPP in 2013 when I consulted the site, it said « Active 13 days ago », Coordinator « Lisa Esler »)  - What makes you say they are not connected to the TPP ? =</p> <p>Yet you said they were not connected with the TPP now. - Is this the case with other groups ?</p>	

Pennsylvania Freedom Network ? American Tea Party Congress?  
- Do you know about them ? = / - Are their objectives similar to the TPP's ? =

9 | Tea Party Patriots = communication = outside the group (non Tea Party)

#### Communication outside the movement

What is the relationship with people outside the Tea Party movement, who are interested in the movement ?  
- the press = / - scholars, academics = / - other... =

Would you say there is suspicion in the first place ?  
- towards foreign people = / - French people =

When I contacted you in 2012, did you react quickly ?  
- because you wanted to know more about my intentions / - because it was an opportunity to « go public »

If I had contacted you in 2013, would you have reacted as quickly, and as openly? - yes / - no (explain) =

10 | Tea Party Patriots – organization

#### Evolution of your position in the TPPP

Your details in 2014 read : « Regional Support Team, Atlantic Region, National and PA State Coordinator  
Tea Party Patriots, Nationwide Local Group Coordinator. »

What is the role of, and what responsibilities are devoted to a :  
- national coordinator = / - state coordinator = / - regional coordinator = / - local coordinator =

Tasks in the schedule of a national / state / regional / local coordinator :  
- Get out the vote / - Speaker in Conferences / - Speaker / Trainer in Training Seminars  
- Follow-up on Travels / Campaigns / - other... =

General planning over a month / over a year :  
- Example of the most typical months = / - Example of the busiest months =

What have been the main changes in your schedule over the last year-18 months ? - main changes =

What is your relationship with the leaders ? - Jenny Beth Martin = / - other leaders =

Difficulty to separate your involvement in the TPP and in your local TP group (although affiliated to the  
TPP) :  
- in terms of planning = / - other =

Do you experience a tension between assuming your role within TPP and your own Tea Party group ?  
- date when you got from one to the other ? / - time devoted to each =

Do you still consider yourself a « grassroots activist », a « foot soldier » vs a « leader » ?  
(see Section « Grassroots activism »)  
- yes / - no (explain) = / - to what extent =

Would you speak of a significant evolution in your financial means ? - yes / - no (explain) =

Date of creation & role of the Pennsylvania Speakers Bureau : - date = / - role =

11	Leadership
<p><a href="#">Issue of leadership in the Tea Party</a></p> <p>The picture of the activist showing the sign « I am the Tea Party leader » is famous.  Would you qualify the Tea Party as a leaderless movement/organization ? - yes / - no (explain) =</p> <p>If you agree on the idea of leadership, would you speak of :  - an organizational leadership (explain) = / - an inspirational leadership (explain) =</p> <p>Would you qualify the TPP as a « starfish » organization ? - yes / - no (explain) =</p> <p>Leadership in the TPP : - at the different levels (explain) =  Leadership in the groups : - at the different levels (explain) =</p>	
12	Grassroots activism
<p><a href="#">Grassroots people, « foot soldiers »</a></p> <p>The Tea Party movement has been accused of being funded by wealthy and established conservative institutions, referred to as « astroturfs ». What is your definition of « grassroots » ? - definition =</p> <p>What are the characteristics of a grassroots group ? - characteristics =</p> <p>What would be an evidence of the grassroots aspect according to you ? - evidence =</p>	
12B	Financial support
<p><a href="#">Financial support</a></p> <p>Financial ways of funding your group :  - passing the hat / - own money / - tee-shirt, sticker,... sales / - other =</p> <p>Examples of financial help the TPP can give to an organization like Philadelphia TPP ?  - grants = / - amounts =</p> <p>Is it still possible to that extent, to speak of a grassroots organization ? - yes / - no (explain) =</p>	
13	Tea Party Patriots = women
<p><a href="#">Women involvement</a></p> <p>Leading figures or supporters are often women (for ex. Sarah Palin, Michele Bachman / Jenny Beth Martin, Keli Carender) : - other women involved =</p> <p>Motivation for these women ? - involvement in the public space = / - other =</p> <p>Percentage of women involved :  - in the groups / in the core groups = / at the national / - state / - local level =</p> <p>Role : - organizational = / - communication = / - technology = / - other... =</p>	
14	Tea Party patriots = membership
<p><a href="#">Membership</a></p>	

<p>Is it possible to draw a map showing the evolution of groups joining the TPP since 2009.  Is it possible to have :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- the history &amp; dates of adhesion =</li> <li>- at least in Pennsylvania</li> </ul> <p>(for ex. Philadelphia TPP Montgomery County, Philadelphia TPP Center City Chapter )</p>	
15	Motivation, mobilization
<p><a href="#">Mobilization</a></p> <p>After the landslide in 2010 elections, 2012 was experienced as a disappointment, which led to a decline in motivation and mobilization in 2013. Do you agree ? - yes / - no (explain) =</p> <p>Can you give statistics for 2010 / 2011 / 2012 / 2013 in terms of :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- number of groups = / - frequency &amp; attendance of meetings =</li> <li>- frequency &amp; attendance of important events = / - other =</li> </ul> <p>Conversely, 2013-2014 was experienced as a renewed effort in mobilization at the local level, with a perspective onto 2014 and further. Do you agree ? - yes / - no (explain) =</p> <p>2013 can be seen as a year of readjusting &amp; refocusing, notably at the local level (see local level involvement). Do you agree ? - yes / - no (explain) =</p> <p>Can you give statistics for 2014 in terms of :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- number of groups = / - frequency &amp; attendance of meetings =</li> <li>- frequency &amp; attendance of important events = / - other =</li> </ul>	
15B	Agenda /Establishment
<p><a href="#">Agenda 2014 / 2015-16</a></p> <p>Endorsement of GOP candidates supportive of Tea Party values : - yes / - no  Impact in relation to your « Change the party from within » rationale : - explain =  Relationship to figure heads like Ted Cruz, Paul Rand : - explain =</p> <p>Support of Tea Party candidates running for local/regional/state positions : - yes / - no (explain) =</p> <p>Connection of Tea Party groups : - yes / - no (explain) =</p> <p>Prospects : - November 2014 elections = / - post-2014 = / - with 2016 perspective =</p> <p>Desire to gain power vs the Establishment : - yes / - no (explain) =</p> <p>If in power, what attitude once in power : - objectives = / - agenda =</p>	
16	Tea Party Patriots = Get-out-the-vote
<p><a href="#">Get-out-the-vote-campaign</a></p> <p>Details concerning the GOTV campaign in November 2012 :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- dates of the campaign = / - different states visited = / - number of activists involved =</li> </ul> <p>Details concerning the tools used :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- sign-waiving (picture of the signs used) =</li> </ul>	

<p>- door-knocking (picture of the flyers used) =</p> <p>- petitioning (copy of the petition) =</p> <p>Details concerning the GOTV campaign in July 2013 (the 18 states) : (same list as above)</p> <p>Details of the campaign in June 2014 (Mississippi) = (same list as above)</p> <p>Other campaigns in which you were involved in in 2012 / 2013 / 2014 : - 2012 = / - 2103 = / - 2014 =</p>	
17	Local politics = Involvement in local politics
<p><b>Involvement of activists &amp; supporters in local politics positions</b></p> <p>Number of activists / Percentage of the group(s) / of the core group(s) involved in/as :</p> <p>- city commissioner =</p> <p>- committee person =</p> <p>- schoolboard (member / director) =</p> <p>- ward leader =</p> <p>- township supervisor =</p> <p>- judge of election =</p> <p>- other (judge of peace, ..) =</p> <p>- other level (ward, township, city...) =</p> <p>Drawing a map showing the evolution of this percentage since 2009</p> <p>- Is it possible (At least for the groups in Pennsylvania) ?</p>	
18	Local specifics = Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
<p><b>Democrat vs Republican balance</b></p> <p>Would you describe Pennsylvania as a conservative state? - yes / - no (explain) =</p> <p>Would you describe Philadelphia as a staunchly liberal, as opposed to Pennsylvania? - yes / - no (explain)=</p> <p>Do you think the rest of Pennsylvania is a more « fertile » ground for the Tea Party? - yes / - no (explain) =</p>	
18B	Local specifics = City of Philadelphia vs Suburban movement
<p><b>City vs Suburban movement</b></p> <p>Would you say that Tea Party groups are mostly concentrated in suburban areas vs inside the city ?</p> <p>- yes / - no (explain) =</p> <p>Where do you live? =</p>	
19	Issues = Representation, Democracy
<p><b>Representation, « Disenfranchisement », Democracy</b></p> <p>What is your definition of representation? - definition =</p> <p>What is your definition of « disenfranchised » ? - definition</p> <p>How can you proceed in order to change this? - process =</p>	

What is your definition of democracy ? - definition =	
19B	Issues = Representation, Townhall Meeting
<p><a href="#">Townhall Meeting</a></p> <p>What is your perspective on the issue of Town Hall Meeting ? (see the history with Arlen Specter, and responses like Demandatownhall.com) : - perspective =</p>	
19C	Issues = Sovereignty, Patriotism, American Dream, Liberal, Libertarianism
<p><a href="#">Sovereignty</a></p> <p>What is your definition of sovereignty ? - definition =</p> <p><a href="#">Patriotism</a></p> <p>What is your definition of patriotism? - definition =</p> <p>What is a patriot ? - definition =</p> <p><a href="#">American Dream</a></p> <p>What is your definition of the American Dream? - definition =</p> <p><a href="#">Liberal</a></p> <p>What is your definition of being a liberal? - definition =</p> <p><a href="#">Libertarianism</a></p> <p>How do you relate to Libertarianism ? - relation =</p>	
20	Historical filiation
<p><a href="#">Filiation to the original Boston Tea Party</a></p> <p>What is your filiation to the Boston Tea Party and the pre-revolutionary spirit ? - filiation =</p> <p>To what extent do you think the difference in context (18th vs 21st century) has an impact ? - impact =</p> <p>Do you think Tea Party people in general have a precise knowledge of the historic events? - yes / - no (explain) =</p>	

### A-2.3. QUESTIONNAIRE 3

#### MILITANT TEA PARTY / MEMBRE DE COMITE DIRECTEUR

#### VERSION LONGUE – DELAWARE COUNTY PATRIOTS – JUILLET 2014

Ce questionnaire a été rempli individuellement, sans que je sois présente, par Mary Ellen, la première présidente du groupe local Delaware County Patriots, en juillet 2014. Lisa Esler, qui l'a remplacée en 2014, occupe toujours cette position en 2017.

Les réponses de la militante sont indiquée **en gras**. Le champ de réponse est laissé vide lorsque Mary Ellen n'a pas répondu. Certaines questions ont été supprimées par rapport au questionnaire vierge initial (Questionnaire 2 – Version longue – Philadelphia Tea Party Patriots), ce dernier s'adressant à une militante à la fois Présidente d'un groupe local, et membre occupant une fonction importante au sein de l'organisation nationale Tea Party Patriots. Par ailleurs, la question sur le site Web ne figure pas dans ce questionnaire, car j'avais déjà obtenu des informations à ce propos lors d'un entretien avec Marilyn, autre membre du comité directeur.

De nombreuses réponses de Mary Ellen sont citées dans le développement.  
Il n'y a aucun commentaire de l'auteur dans le corps du questionnaire.

1	the Tea Party = definition, name, label
<p><b>Definition</b></p> <p>What is the tea Party ?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- a group</li><li>- <b>a movement</b></li><li>- an association</li><li>- an organization</li><li>- other =</li></ul> <p>Which label do you use when referring to yourself and the groups around the country in general ?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- « <b>the Tea Party</b> »</li><li>- « the Tea Party movement »</li><li>- « the Tea Party groups »</li><li>- other =</li></ul> <p>What is your definition of the Tea Party ? <b>A movement made up of people who want smaller gvt, adherence to the Const, and accountability by our elected representatives.</b></p> <p>How do you describe yourself today ? <b>I've backed away from the local organization but still very much believe in its principles.</b></p> <p>How has the labelling evolved over the years since 2009 ? <b>The media has really belittled the name « Tea Party » with false information and bad press. The labeling hasn't changed, I don't think.</b></p>	

Does it translate an evolution of the movement itself? To what extent ? <b>The mvt has been, to a certain degree, hijacked by those who've turned it into a business. There are many large organizations all vying for the same constituency to raise money and to get their agendas promoted.</b>	
2	Delaware County Patriots = status, role
<p><a href="#">Evolution of the Delaware County Patriots status</a></p> <p>What was the status of DCP at the beginning, in 2009 ?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- non-profit organization 501(c), 1,2,3,4</li> <li>- business</li> <li>- other = <b>Just a group of people who met for the purpose of education.</b></li> <li>- Link with the IRS controversy = <b>We were in the process of setting up a 501c4 when the IRS began targeting tea parties and other conservative groups. We didn't have the time or money to fight them so we stopped the process.</b></li> </ul> <p>Has the status evolved ? <b>No-see above.</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- yes / - no (explain)</li> </ul> <p>What are the objectives of the DCP? <b>The objective was to educate the public on issues facing the country. We focused mainly on federal and state level issues.</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>Educate and inform</b></li> <li>- other =</li> </ul>	
6	Delaware County Patriots = communication
<p><a href="#">Communication</a></p> <p>Mode &amp; frequency of communication between the core members / the members :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Meetings = <b>used to be monthly. Now sporadic.</b></li> <li>- Special Events = <b>4th of July Parade; Picnic</b></li> <li>- Conference calls = <b>Some participate in larger group (Tea Party Patriots, etc ;) calls</b></li> <li>- Phone calls = <b>N/A</b></li> <li>- Other = <b>E-mail; Facebook</b></li> </ul>	
7	Delaware County Patriots = communication = social media
<p><a href="#">Social media</a></p> <p>Website : <b>Not too familiar currently with the operation of the website.</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- name of the Webmaster =</li> <li>- evolution of the site =</li> </ul> <p>Inclusion of toolkits for activists :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- yes / - no (explain)</li> <li>- other =</li> </ul> <p>Percentage of communication with :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Meetup =</li> <li>- Facebook =</li> <li>- email lists =</li> <li>- Action Alert =</li> <li>- Eventribe =</li> <li>- phone calls =</li> </ul>	



8	Delaware County Patriots = communication = with other Tea Party groups
<p><a href="#">Communication with other Tea Party groups &amp; organizations</a></p> <p>What is the relationship to other Tea Party groups?  - <b>local groups = have tried to build a coalition but there's a bit of territoriality among the groups</b>  - <b>state / national groups = Use as resources for information on issues ; get as speakers</b></p> <p>What is the relationship to other Tea Party organizations?  - Tea Party Patriots = <b>some participate in their conference calls</b>  - Pennsylvania Freedom Network = <b>some belong as individuals</b>  - American Tea Party Congress = <b>don't know who they are</b>  - other = <b>American Majority – used to have a close relationship and they would do trainings fairly often. More limited now. Heritage Action/FreedomWorks – send us notices about events, etc.</b></p> <p>Are their objectives similar ? <b>Seems like the large national groups have evolved into fundraising machines for their own agendas.</b>  - yes / - no (explain)</p>	
9	Delaware County Patriots = communication = outside the group (non Tea Party)
<p><a href="#">Communication outside the movement</a></p> <p>What is the relationship with people outside the Tea Party movement, who are interested in the movement ?  - the press =  - scholars, academics =  - other... = <b>IMO (in my opinion)-the overall problem has been not having the time to cultivate media resources and others in the community. Relationship building takes times &amp; most of the people who are active work in some capacity. The ones who don't (the general membership) have no interest in doing very much.</b></p> <p>Would you say there is suspicion in the first place ? <b>I've not experienced it.</b>  - towards foreign people =  - French people =  (for ex. Cathy told me she had read my message but not answered because thought it might have been a hoax)</p> <p>When I contacted you in 2013, did you react quickly ? <b>I'd have to say I wanted to know more about you and your project.</b>  - because you wanted to know more about my intentions  - because it was an opportunity to « go public »</p> <p>If I had contacted you in 2014, would you have reacted as quickly, and as openly? <b>Yes.</b>  - yes / - no (explain) =</p>	
10	Delaware County Patriots = organization = affiliation
<p><a href="#">Affiliation</a></p> <p>You are affiliated to the Tea Party Patriot organization : <b>No</b>  - since when =  - other organizations to which you are affiliated = <b>None</b></p> <p>What is the meaning of being « affiliated »? <b>I would describe that as having interaction with other groups for the purpose of reaching a common goal. While the goals in most groups are very similar there's little banding together to form affiliations.</b></p>	

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- respect of the core values</li> <li>- relationship to the organizations to which you are affiliated =</li> <li>- other =</li> </ul>
10	Delaware County Patriots = Organization, Responsibilities
	<p><a href="#">Organization, Responsibilities</a></p> <p>Core group members &amp; function:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Lisa = <b>Lisa was a founder of the group and was very involved in getting speakers for meetings and provided input for the general direction of the group.</b></li> <li>- Cathy = <b>Cathy is the go to administrative person. She sends out the e-mails, keeps the membership lists, attends to about a million e-mails.</b></li> <li>- Joanne = <b>Joanne is currently our Common Core expert and disseminates information to a variety of people about it.</b></li> <li>- Mary Ellen = <b>Has backed off from the group because of disillusionment with participation of the membership. Still available as liaison with elected officials.</b></li> <li>- Marilyn =</li> <li>- Others = <b>Master of social media. Marilyn does our Facebook, Website, Twitter and is proficient in all of those.</b></li> </ul> <p>Detailed responsibilities devoted to each member : <b>See above.</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Lisa =</li> <li>- Cathy =</li> <li>- Joanne =</li> <li>- Mary Ellen =</li> <li>- Marilyn =</li> <li>- Others =</li> </ul> <p>Tasks in the schedule of each member: <b>I'm not sure how to answer as the group is not meeting regularly anymore.</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Get out the vote</li> <li>- Speaker in Conferences</li> <li>- Speaker / Trainer in Training Seminars</li> <li>- Follow-up on Travels / Campaigns</li> <li>- other... =</li> </ul> <p>General planning over a month / over a year : <b>See above</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Example of the most typical months =</li> <li>- Example of the busiest months =</li> </ul> <p>What time do you devote to the group ?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Lisa =</li> <li>- Cathy =</li> <li>- Joanne =</li> <li>- Mary Ellen = <b>very little at this point in time.</b></li> <li>- Marilyn =</li> </ul>
11	Leadership
	<p><a href="#">Issue of leadership in the Tea Party</a></p> <p>The picture of the activist showing the sign « I am the Tea Party leader » is famous.  Would you qualify the Tea Party as a leaderless movement/organization ? <b>Locally, yes. Nationally, many are competing for that title.</b></p>

- yes / - no (explain) =

If you agree on the idea of leadership, would you speak of :

- an organizational leadership (explain) = **Many national figures who've emerged in various tea party groups seem to be in it these days for the money. All of the large national groups are spending a ton of money soliciting on behalf of their own agendas. The inspiration that sparked the tea party movement has been superseded by fundraising – IMO.**

- an inspirational leadership (explain) =

Would you qualify the Tea Party as a « starfish » organization ?

- yes / - no (explain) = **Not sure what you mean.**

Leadership in the Tea Party:

- at the different levels (explain) = **Again national level tea party organizations are now in the business of fundraising. They discourage rallies (unless it is related to their group's agenda) and seem to focus mainly on money and exposure to further individual ambitions. Again, this is my opinion from watching the evolution.**

Leadership in your group :

- at the different levels (explain) = **No longer part of the leadership team.**

12

Grassroots activism

[Grassroots people, « foot soldiers »](#)

The Tea Party movement has been accused of being funded by wealthy and established conservative institutions, referred to as « astroturfs ».

What is your definition of « grassroots » ? **People at a local level who are interested in their government, their town, their county, their state, their country and who are willing to do whatever they can to make a positive change to good government.**

- definition =

What are the characteristics of a grassroots group ? **Here in our area, they are usually older, retired people who claim to want to make a difference but whose actions say otherwise. It's like they like the idea of belonging to a tea party but don't want to do the work it would take to make a difference.**

- characteristics =

What would be an evidence of the grassroots aspect according to you ?

- evidence =

12B

Financial support

[Financial support](#)

Financial ways of funding your group :

- passing the hat - **that's the way it's been done**

- own money – **many of the group leaders did pay out of pocket for many expenses**

- tee-shirt, sticker,... **sales - never made too much from that**

- other = **sometimes individuals would make donations**

Any financial help from an organization (Tea Party Patriots, Pennsylvania Freedom Network, other...) can give to an organization like Delaware County Patriots : **I know that at one point in time, American Majority offered financial support in exchange for running candidates at the local level.**

- grants = **from American Majority**

- amounts = <b>Don't remember but it seems it was around 3,000 dollars</b>	
13	Delaware County Patriots = women
<p><b>Women involvement</b></p> <p>Leading figures or supporters are often women (for ex. Sarah Palin, Michele Bachman / Jenny Beth Martin, Keli Carender) - other women involved =</p> <p>Motivation for these women? - involvement in the public space = <b>I'd say some because they're truly passionate about changing the direction of the country and I'd say others are looking to further their own ambitions.</b> - other =</p> <p>Percentage of women involved : - in the group = <b>80%</b> - in the core group = <b>99.9%</b></p> <p>Role : - organizational = <b>The steering committee handles all of these as a team.</b> - communication = - technology = <b>Marilyn is who I consider our « go to » tech person</b> - other... =</p>	
14	Delaware County Patriots = members
<p><b>Assessment of the membership</b></p> <p>How does DCP track its members/supporters? - <b>email list</b> - <b>list of attendees at meetings</b> - joining the DCP site - other =</p>	
15	Motivation, mobilization
<p><b>Mobilization</b></p> <p>After the landslide in 2010 elections, 2012 was experienced as a disappointment, which led to a decline in motivation and mobilization in 2013. Do you agree ? <b>Yes, for a time. But I think people will gear up for the November 2014 election.</b> - yes / - no (explain) =</p> <p>Can you give statistics for 2010 / 2011 / 2012 / 2013 in terms of : - number of groups = <b>locally or statewide or national ? I have no idea.</b> - frequency &amp; attendance of meetings = <b>We had monthly meetings &amp; always had pretty good attendance-70-150 people.</b> - frequency &amp; attendance of important events = <b>different story here. There's a core group of 15 or so who do everything-that's pretty much it.</b> - other =</p> <p>Reversely, 2013-2014 was experienced as a renewed effort in mobilization at the local level, with a perspective onto 2014 and further. Do you agree ? <b>No. Speaking for the DCP, there has never been the level of participation needed to make a difference. My guess is that in November, we will get the same</b></p>	

**15 or so people taking an active role in the election process.**

- yes / - no (explain) =

2013 can be seen as a year of readjusting & refocusing, notably at the local level (see local level involvement). Do you agree ? **No. I don't see it.**

- yes / - no (explain) =

Can you give statistics for 2014 in terms of : **I resigned from the Steering Committee & made a decision to stay away for a while so don't know.**

- frequency & attendance of meetings =

- frequency & attendance of important events =

- other =

15B

Agenda /Establishment

[Agenda 2014 / 2015-16](#)

Endorsement of GOP candidates supportive of Tea Party values : **We don't endorse candidates but do work for Republican candidates.**

- yes / - no

Relationship to figure heads like Ted Cruz, Paul Rand

- explain = **None**

Support of Tea Party candidates running for local/regional/state posts

- yes / - no (explain) = **Depends. The last candidate who ran didn't reach out for help even after it was offered, so hard to know personal motivations.**

Connection of Tea Party groups

- yes / - no (explain) =

Prospects :

- November 2014 elections = **no big elections in Delaware County. Congressman Meehan is up for re-election but is looking like that won't be much of a race.**

- post-2014 = **We have not been successful in getting people to run for office.**

- with 2016 perspective = **will likely support the Republican candidate.**

Desire to gain power vs the Establishment :

- yes / - no (explain) = **IMO-it's critical that both learn to work together and find common ground where they can do so.**

If in power, what attitude once in power :

- objectives =

- agenda =

16

Involvement in campaigns, events = Get-out-the-vote

[Involvement in events & campaigns](#)

Following the example of Joanne's material describing her involvement, details concerning different events and campaigns from in 2009 / 2010 / 2011:

- dates of events = **Sorry I don't know the dates but we used to participate in a lot of rallies in DC/Harrisburg.**

- dates of the campaign =

- number of activists involved = **the rallies drew 50 or so people in the beginning. Not so much now.**

<p>Details concerning the tools used :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- sign-waiving (picture of the signs used) = <b>Don't have any handy.</b></li> <li>- door-knocking (picture of the flyers used) = <b>This was difficult because we worked with the Republican party and national groups during political campaign. We handed out all of the literature but not together.</b></li> <li>- petitioning (copy of the petition) =</li> </ul> <p>Other campaigns &amp; events in which you were involved in 2012 / 2013 / 2014 :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 2012 =</li> <li>- 2103 =</li> <li>- 2014 =</li> </ul>	
17	Local politics = Involvement in local politics
<p><a href="#">Involvement of activists &amp; supporters in local politics positions</a></p> <p>Number of activists / Percentage of the group / of the core group involved in/as :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- city commissioner = <b>None.</b></li> <li>- committee person = - <b>We put on a big push and several people said they were going to run but didn't.</b></li> <li>- schoolboard (member / director) = <b>1</b></li> <li>- ward leader = <b>0</b></li> <li>- township supervisor = <b>0</b></li> <li>- judge of election = <b>0</b></li> <li>- other (judge of peace, ..) = <b>0</b></li> <li>- other level (ward, township, city...) = <b>0</b></li> </ul>	
17B	Local politics = Specific involvement
<p><a href="#">Specific involvement</a></p> <p>Lisa's involvement as a schoolboard director : <b>Amazing.</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- since (date) :</li> <li>- role :</li> <li>- frequency of meetings :</li> <li>- other specifics :</li> </ul> <p>To what extent have you noticed an impact on the local politics ?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- impact :</li> <li>- (describe) : <b>There's been no impact for the last few years. When we first organized and the party machine thought we were a force to be reckoned with, they more or less courted us. Once they realized there was no action they stopped. They come around now when they want our help with elections.</b></li> </ul> <p>Other members' involvement :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Mary Ellen-<b>committee person. The goal was to get several DCP members elected to the Republican committee in Delaware County so we could have a voice. It's very difficult being the only person in that organization to have any kind of impact (Delco is a very politically difficult county). I am working with a township Republican women's group and am going to try to make some inroads that way.</b></li> </ul>	
18	Local specifics = Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
<p><a href="#">Democrat vs Republican balance</a></p>	

Would you describe Pennsylvania as a conservative state?

- yes / - no (explain) = **No. We have a few large cities with large democratic populations. In Delaware County where there was a Republican majority for years, the trend has switched and it's about 50-50 now.**

Would you describe Philadelphia as a staunchly liberal, as opposed to Pennsylvania ?

- yes / - no (explain) = **Definitely very liberal. I suspect the other large cities in the state are as well.**

Do you think the rest of Pennsylvania is a more « fertile » ground for the Tea Party ?

- yes / - no (explain) = **In some of the rural areas-yes.**

18B

Local specifics = City of Philadelphia vs Suburban movement

### City vs Suburban movement

Would you say that Tea Party groups are mostly concentrated in suburban areas vs inside the city ?

- yes / - no (explain) = **yes. TPP has an organization in the city but its members are from the five county area-four of which are suburban.**

Where do you live?

- Mary Ellen = **Havertown.**

- Cathy =

- Lisa =

- Marilyn (I know)

- Joanne (I know)

- other =

19

Issues = Representation, Democracy

### Representation, « Disenfranchisement », Democracy

What is your definition of representation?

- definition = **Ideally, it's having a person in elected office who makes decisions based on the wishes of his or her constituency. Practically that's impossible all the time because of the diverse constituencies represented in any given area.**

What is your definition of « disenfranchised » ? **I don't like the term. It says that there are people who are left out of the process. Any citizen can take part-it's up to each individual.**

- definition

How can you proceed in order to change this? **I don't see it as a problem that needs to be fixed.**

- process =

What is your definition of democracy ?

- definition = **Democracy is rule by the majority. We aren't a democracy—we're a Constitutional republic which means, in theory, our government should function according to the United States Constitution.**

19B

Issues = Representation, Townhall Meeting

### Townhall Meeting

What is your perspective on the issue of Town Hall Meeting ? **Well, our congressman has tried to have them and the Left sends such vocal and disruptive protestors, it's just about impossible.**

(see the history with Arlen Specter, and responses like Demandatownhall.com)

- perspective =	
19C	Issues = Sovereignty, Patriotism, American Dream, Liberal, Libertarianism
<p><a href="#">Sovereignty, Patriotism, American Dream</a></p> <p>What is your definition of sovereignty ? - definition =</p> <p>What is your definition of patriotism? <b>Putting country above personalities. Currently we have a person who was elected president because of personality, hype, warped social justice attitudes, and rhetoric. People forgot the importance of liberty and freedom and didn't take the time to look beyond the glowing soundbites that were put out by the very liberal mainstream media.</b> - definition =</p> <p>What is a patriot ? <b>Someone who has a love of country and in the case of America, a love of freedom and liberty that's only achieved through small government.</b> - definition =</p> <p>What is your definition of the American Dream? <b>That you can achieve whatever you want—if you're willing to work hard and do what it takes to become successful—and that's an individual definition.</b> - definition =</p> <p><a href="#">Liberal, Libertarianism</a></p> <p>What is your definition of being a liberal? <b>Today in America, it means believing in a nanny state where government takes responsibility for the well being of the populace.</b> - definition =</p> <p>How do you relate to Libertarianism ? <b>In theory, it's great—everybody do your own thing. In reality, if true libertarianism existed, we'd have chaos.</b> - relation =</p>	
20	Historical filiation
<p><a href="#">Filiation to the original Boston Tea Party</a></p> <p>What is your filiation to the Boston Tea Party and the pre-revolutionary spirit ? - filiation = <b>Use as an example of what people can do when they stand together against an injustice.</b></p> <p>To what extent do you think the difference in context (18th vs 21st century) has an impact ? - impact = <b>People in the 21st century have become complacent and forget what the concepts of freedom and liberty mean and how hard won those were.</b></p> <p>Do you think Tea Party people in general have a precise knowledge of the historic events? - yes / - no (explain) = <b>Probably better than most but not as good as they should—as a whole. There are some who are very well versed in American history.</b></p>	



## A-2.4. QUESTIONNAIRE 4

### MILITANT TEA PARTY / MEMBRE DE COMITE DIRECTEUR VERSION LONGUE – WORCESTER TEA PARTY – AOÛT 2014

Ce questionnaire a servi de base pour l'entretien guidé avec Matt O'Brien, en août 2014. Matt allait devenir officiellement le deuxième président du groupe en septembre. Il occupe toujours cette position en 2017. Il a également servi de base pour l'entretien guidé avec Catherine White, autre membre du comité directeur du groupe local Worcester Tea Party, mais ses réponses ne figurent pas dans ces annexes.

Les réponses (indiquées *en italiques*) correspondent à la transcription de l'entretien. Le champ de réponse est laissé vide quand la question n'a pas été posée. Comme dans le Questionnaire 3, certaines questions ont été supprimées par rapport au questionnaire initial (Questionnaire 2 – Version longue – Philadelphia Tea Party Patriots), pour des raisons identiques. Les rubriques Extra et Extra1 correspondent à deux questions supplémentaires par lesquelles j'ai ouvert l'entretien.

De nombreuses réponses de Matt sont citées dans le développement.  
Il n'y a aucun commentaire de l'auteur dans le corps du questionnaire.

Extra	Politics
Do you come from a Republican / Democrat / Independent / Libertarian family ?	
<i>My family is more Republican, I come from an Irish family. But I mean Republicans over there in Ireland (very different from Republicans here in the US). My grandfather came shortly after the Easter Rebellion ; they were looking after him. And I'm from New York.</i>	
Are you a Republican / else ? Since when ?	
<i>I'm a Libertarian, for as basically as long as I have been able to vote. I am currently registered as a Republican, because the aim is to infiltrate the Republican party here in Massachusetts, that's all expedients.</i>	
<i>I studied economics but never graduated. I worked in building trades, sent paints ; I was a roofer, worked in hardware source management. I am a family man, I'm not looking for a career. I do volunteer work because of a passion for it.</i>	
<i>All my favourite economists are French, Bastiat, Voltaire... There are a lot of wonderful things in French culture. Core principles of the Tea Party. I'm surprised you don't have a Tea Party. I don't know enough about French politics to say...</i>	
Extra1	Concept of liberty
What is your definition of « American liberty » ?	

*The smallest... the government that governs least governs best. There needs to be competition, between governments, at all levels (state, town, church, business, people trying to do things for civil rights, environment...) Because government is one of our equals, not overarching on top of those. There is an interplay of different factions, and they are doing things that benefit us the best. This is the exact opposite of Mussolini, meaning everything in the state, in the government. That's why we talk about journalism as a separate entity. It can be used for good or bad, just as everything else. The interplay is what creates the checks and balances, in government and outside of government.*

1	the Tea Party = definition, name, label
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### Definition

What is the tea Party ?

- a group / - a movement / - an association / - an organization
- other = *a movement*

*It's an expression of people wanting to be free, a response to all the corruption the government has inflicted on religion, journalism, labour, everything... This is the response, I would say an international response ; cf Ireland complaining about the European Union, that's a manifestation of the Tea Party movement ; the Olympics, how far away it has gone from sport, this pomp and circumstance, fascistic, nationalist, away from the core idea of the Olympic Games ; the Arab spring, a natural desire to be left alone, live your life. These are universal human conditions, whether talking about human rights in China, children in Tunisia, Kuala Lumpur. It is transcendent to the human condition.*

Which label do you use when referring to yourself and the groups around the country in general ?

- « the Tea Party » / - « the Tea Party movement » / - « the Tea Party groups »
- other = *movement*

*because it is a leaderless organisation. You can start a chapter because you want it. So « movement » encapsulates it well.*

What is your definition of the Tea Party ?

- *We've expressed that, a leaderless response to the abuse of power by a centralized few, we could use the word oligarchs, tyranny of the expert, a lot of people talk about that. It's always presented as the solution. Everybody going at the same time the same way, not where the future is.*

How do you describe yourself (the Tea Party) today ?

-

How has the labelling evolved over the years since 2009 ?

- *Mostly when you say labelling, I think of the negative things people say, racist, sexist, homophobic, any xenophobes, nationalist, fascist, when of course that... we pay less attention to labels, and more to results. Of course I could wear a tricorn hat, but it's more about people getting involved, it's very easy today not being involved, pretend you're not part of society. Just because you don't take interest in politics doesn't mean that politics won't take interest in you (isn't this what the Ancient Greeks said) ? Nationalized medicine is the biggest issue we face today. In America there are a few diverging doctors, if you have conditions, who offer all sorts of remedies. Dallas Buyers Club is a Tea Party movie! People take risks, and we're talking about risk for your life, the risk in medicine, in your business. People make choices and you can't protect them from making choices, they have to be able to fail to succeed. As Edison said: « I've only found N ways not to make a light bulb » ; everything is part of a process, of an evolving movement. Ebola in Africa, it is trial and error, only by trial are we able to move forward. Unemployment insurance expanded, people in Congress, the Tea Party wants to stop that. People say we want to starve people. Yet government went back to reason, 2000 people found a job. Safety net takes away ambition and opportunity.*

Does it translate an evolution of the movement itself? To what extent ?

*- I do see an evolution, a growth, people doing things better and smarter, expanding their knowldege about the topic, understanding better how to use the democratic process, talk about the failures. The solutions we propose not crazy, it's just rewriting some laws, changing some attitude. You can do that when you know who you are and you have a conversation with people. We are still a very young organisation, movement, it's a very exciting time.*

2

Worcester Tea Party = status, role

### Evolution of your connection with Tea Party Patriots

What was your connection with Tea Party Patriots at the beginning, in 2009 ? Today ?

*- Yes we are connected officially with Tea Party Patriots, TP.net and a dozen others. Tea Party organization, Tea Party unity, these things will come and go; it will be like a forest, some trees will grow big, some other will stay as saplings. These organizations are an attempt to try to codify things, catch lightning in a bottle. I believe in successful local organization, and not in a national Tea Party.*

Do they help you?

*- I think they help us, their expertise must be respected, but we're primarily state and local. We do lend our voice on national issues, calling congressmen, on the immigration bill for example. But mostly our focus in Massachusetts, we have a lot of work to do here in Massachusetts.*

Do they help you on local issues ?

*- I'm not sure they can. I think you have to do it for yourself, and get our membership working ourselves.*

What is your status ? Are you a non-profit organization 501(c), 1,2,3,4 ?

*- 501c 3*

How long have you had that status?

*- Since the beginning basically.*

Have you experiences difficulties with the IRS ?

*- The previous president handled all of that. It's one of the things that burned him out, but I don't want to speak about it for him.*

*- business / - other = / - Link with the IRS controversy =*

When did it evolve into a PAC ?

*- date of evolution =*

Do you have any intention of evolving into a PAC?

*- No, not at this time.*

3

Tea Party groups = number

### Assessment of the Tea Party coverage

Number of groups in Massachusetts ?

*- I would say there are about a dozen active groups. There have been more, and they're more, but they're dormant.*

What is your definition of « active » ?

*- Groups that meet regularly, are able to do standouts or support candidates, create events. That's really... not meeting once a week over coffee. That means groups that are able to affect things. We have 300 members, maybe a tenth is able to muster at any tie. Yet I take the 10% and have done so much with them. People raised the fees for motor vehicles for example, and people in Worceseter complained about that.*

*They complained about regulation. People must be able to speak, we must defend our civil rights. I can't sit here and point at victories, but we're getting better everytime. War goes on... I don't like to use the military terminology, it sounds violent, but it is a struggle. For Martin Luther King, for Gandhi, it was a struggle, non violent, but a struggle. I don't like to superimpose military language on top, there are enough wars in this world. Do I not destroy my enemy when I make him my friend ? I think Lincoln said that.*

Are you « affiliated » with the national organization Tea Party Patriots ?

*- I am on their email lists, they send me updates of what they're doing. They ask me for money. It's the mother's milk of politics, everybody needs money.*

Do they help you?

*- No, they never showed up. They sent people to speak at our events. They gave us a grant but that what years ago, that's how we got our sign. It's an electronic sign, a billboard that we can program to send messages to our group. They gave us the grant, and we decided to buy that. Mostly we're more requested to support the national organization, than they come and volunteer to help us.*

Do you experience tensions with national organizations (American Majority, Americans for Prosperity, FreedomWorks...)?

*- Places like the Franklin Center for example, some think tanks, places like this are happy to give away information and expertise. Other people are more reserved.*

4	Tea Party groups = localization
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#### Localization of groups

Number of groups present in :

- cities = *Boston Tea Party, Worcester Tea Party, Twin City, (Fitchburg)*
- suburbs / - the country

Is the Tea Party also well represented in the Western part of the state ?

*- The Knoxtrail has diffused it through more rural parts of Massachusetts.*

What about the localization of Tea Party groups in Massachusetts in general?

*- It's more an urban movement. The North East is a very urban area, so it's just by nature of the beast. A group from Worcester, they're mostly urbanites.*

5	Worcester Tea Party = Website
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#### Website, evolution

Who is the Webmaster ?

*We're looking for one, we're probably give you a good title... « executive director, no salary included », no (he smiles)... people do it , right now it's on catch as can basis, everybody takes a turn.*

Evolution of the Web site ? Date of modification ?

*- Yes, we've had a few different websites. Now it's a WordPress website, which I think doesn't work. It's a Website architecture supposed to have features, but it doesn't work quite well... Yet it's up and running.*

Inclusion of the « Toolkit for activists » ? Date ?

*- Yes, that's one of the things we do. There is an NOI internet site for activists that are progressives and socialists, and we steal their stuff and rebrand their site.*

Use of the toolkits by the activists ? Frequency ?

*- I'm not a 100% sure how often to be honest. We're planting seeds and watering them, but not sure if we're harvesting the fruit. We try to do our little bit, we're not trying to codify. It's also part... I would think*

*other organizations would be more practical—with the idea of costs and benefits. With the Tea Party movement, things are more casual. How many people called, I don't know, but more than if I didn't send the email. And somebody has to call Washington, because they will be hooked up on it.*

- mode =

Use of the tools ? - the « Field Manual » / - in the « Field Manual », chapter « How to organize a townhall meeting » / - the « Sample Letter to Congress » / - the « Sample Letter to the Editor » =

Assessment the use of the website by activists ? Mode of assessment (for ex. number of visits) ?

*- We have a counter but I haven't paid attention to it. It's there but I also know because of this: people in Russia are checking my site. See if they can put up Russian girls dating sites too (he laughs).*

How do affiliated groups consult their message box ? How often ?

- on the Website / - using their own mailing system

6	Worcester Tea Party = communication
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### Communication

Mode & frequency of communication

(for ex. Sunday evening one-hour call with all the national & state coordinators)

- at the national level = / - at the state level = / - at the regional level =

Mode of communication =

*- Daily between the group, almost daily between the « executive committee », but not like at 9am. We have a conference call, I call X, he calls Y etc... It flows that way. I've been trying to systematize that, but that didn't work. If it gets systematized, it gets ignored. That's why wikis are good. People can say « What's going on ? » They look at their wikis, and make their suggestion and move forward.*

The executive committee =

*- Ken M., John W., and me, three people currently. We still have other members but they are less active.*

*Plus 20 to 30 people regularly, that's enough to raise...*

Special modes of communication

- location(s) = / - person(s) in charge =

7	Worcester Tea Party = communication = social media
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### Social media

Percentage of communication with Meetup / - Facebook / - email lists / - phone calls / Twitter

*- Mostly Facebook. Large Twitter presence, yet it is hard to see where one ends and the other begins.*

8	Worcester Tea Party = communication = with other Tea Party groups
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### Communication with other Tea Party groups

How do you communicate with other Tea Party groups ?

*- Almost by email, with the exception of Patrick (Greater Boston Tea Party). I call people in Rhode Island, because people have moved there...In Northborough, with John O'Mara, who was one of our executive, now he has his own organization. It's elastic. We don't need to have a fixed number, if someone wants to get on the board, that's fine. Worcester, Marlborouh, Northborough, they all have their Tea Party group. But Waland has no group.*

American Tea Party Congress?

- Do you know about them ? / - Have they any similar objectives as your group ?

9

Worcester Tea Party = communication = outside the group (non Tea Party)

### Communication outside the movement

What is the relationship with people outside the Tea Party movement, who are interested in the movement ? the press / - scholars, academics /- other... =

- *Mostly my experience with academics has been adversary. Generally because they're politically adversarial, they really are emotionally adversary. My opinion is not as valuable as theirs. Even if they have a PhD or an office... they chaf at that idea, and I at the idea that they know better than me how to run my life.*

Do you think there is a misunderstanding ?

- *I think so. I really think if I get more artful in my language, I will succeed in explaining them and they will understand. I just think I'm not presenting it appropriately.*

Would you say there is suspicion in the first place ? - towards foreign people / - French people ?

- *Not towards foreign people. I know we have several foreign people interested. One is a Russian immigrant ; if you have been to meetings, you have seen we also have several Hispanics.*

Are there any Black people ?

- *Yes, not many, we need more people. To be frank, we need to reach out to people better. We have this canvassing where we talk about the NDAA, people being terrorits without trials, just because of rumors, or wrong phone calls. When I speak to young black men, they see that as a real risk happening to them. Stop and Frisk policy in New York for example, is one of these areas where the Tea Party is in favour of civil rights ; being able to walk in the street without being frisked by the police, or searched for weapons or drugs.*

When I contacted you, did you react quickly because you wanted to know more about my intentions /- because it was an opportunity to « go public » ?

- *Because it's an opportunity to go public, to live up to my title ; I need to be talked about too as often as I possibly can.*

A form of advertising ?

- *I hope so, and even if not. Even if all it is, is a form of practise, it's good. Faith is walking down the stairs even if you can't see the end of the staircase. That's from Martin Luther King.*

10

Worcester Tea Party – organization

### Organization

What is the difference between being in the leadership as opposed to the membership ?

- *I do get the feeling people think I'm rich, I'm sorry to disappoint them. People think of trust funds, they think our bills are paid by the Koch Brothers. I don't know how to express it, I have a modest lifestyle based on my modest means. That's also one of those things that serve us, we have to say no occasionally. This house is full with toys, I can't say no to kids, but do we eat steaks and lobsters every night ? No, we have to balance things... We have to set priorities, decide what's more important.*

How do you relate to previous movements?

- *We steal all the best possible ideas we can possibly come up with.*

Would you qualify the Tea Party as a « starfish » organization ?

- *Exactly, as opposed to a spider organisation.*

11	Leadership
<p><b>Issue of leadership in the Tea Party</b></p> <p>The picture of the activist showing the sign « I am the Tea Party leader » is famous. Would you qualify the Tea Party as a leaderless movement/organization ? - Yes.</p> <p>If you agree on the idea of leadership, would you speak of :- an organizational leadership (explain) / - an inspirational leadership (explain) = And you are part of the leadership in your group. - <i>Leadership means I get more hated than other groups. I would speak about inspiration. But sure, tactically we use ideas used in colleges by people who are deadset against us ; philosophically our ideas are 200 years old.</i></p>	
12	Grassroots activism
<p><b>Grassroots people, « foot soldiers »</b></p> <p>The Tea Party movement has been accused of being funded by wealthy and established conservative institutions, referred to as « astroturfs ». What is your definition of « grassroots » ? - <i>We are the definition of grassroots, following our conscience and doing the best we can.</i></p> <p>Do you have the characteristics of a grassroots group ? - <i>Absolutely (see above)</i></p> <p>What would be an evidence of the grassroots aspect according to you ? - <i>Definitely sadly amateurish metrics on how ineffective we are, and the lack of being paid.</i></p>	
12B	Financial support
<p><b>Financial support</b></p> <p>How do you finance the group ? - <i>We ask members for donations at our meetings, for specific projects at specific times. It's all volunteer, all the time. I put in from my own pocket.</i></p>	
13	Worcester Tea Party = women
<p><b>Women involvement</b></p> <p>Leading Tea Party figures or supporters are often women (for ex. Sarah Palin, Michele Bachman / Jenny Beth Martin, Keli Carender). Are there any other women involved ? - <i>Some attacks were directed to her (Sarah Palin) as a woman. Most reprehensible things were said to her. There is definitely a price to pay (as a woman). Women in the media like Mary Catherine Ham, Dana Lousch are doing great things, they are fearsome patriots. Michelle Malkin, also. You can feel your book with women leaders. Unfortunately we haven't had lately women stepping up in our area. Christine Morabito was the president (Greater Boston Tea Party) before Patrick. We haven't had a woman in Worcester the same way, I'm wondering are we doing something wrong ? Obviously not ; we're such great leaders, that nobody would step forward (he laughs). We're all amateurs here, all working from zero. I'm not sure why we don't have more women in leadership roles.</i></p> <p>Can you rate the women involvement in your group? - <i>We've had women on our executive committee. We had two women, one ran for office. Because it vacillates back and forth.</i></p>	

Are there more women than men in the membership ?

*- It doesn't seem there are more women showing up. But they haven't felt comfortable taking a leadership role ; I think there is a cultural part. Having a man as a leader is more comfortable. People are more ready to defer to a man. But I'm not even sure I believe that. Nationwide there are so many women leaders.*

Do you have an explanation for this?

*- I don't know that I have an explanation.*

Motivation for these women?

- involvement in the public space = / - other =

14

Worcester Tea Party = membership

### Membership

How many members do you have approximately?

- email list / - joining the Website / - other =

*- Website, email list, Twitter account, Facebook, ... We have 1500 people on Facebook, 3500 on Twitter, and 2000 people we send out emails to. There are always new faces, there is curiosity. Sometimes we have an event, and ten people show up. It's kind of disappointing, but it's always based on what's going on in life, how passionate people feel. This weekend there was an anti-immigration rally, unfortunately I was not able to attend, but there were 1000 people down there.*

15

Motivation, mobilization

### Mobilization

After the landslide in 2010 elections, 2012 was experienced as a disappointment, which led to a decline in motivation and mobilization in 2013. Do you agree ? - yes / - no (explain) =

*- I think so, it's a fair way to phrase it.*

Can you give statistics for 2010 / 2011 / 2012 / 2013 in terms of :

number of groups / - frequency & attendance of meetings / - frequency & attendance of important events =

*- I really don't have numbers like that, we lost members, people declined. Just like after 2012, we suddenly had a flock of members ; nothing succeeds like success, and people are happy to join and help out.*

*It's the nature of this, when you're not dealing with a hierarchy. It's also part of the amateur nature of this. Everybody gets to play, you show up and you play.*

Reversely, 2013-2014 was experienced as a renewed effort in mobilization at the local level, with a perspective onto 2014 and further. Do you agree ? - yes / - no (explain) =

2013 can be seen as a year of readjusting & refocusing, notably at the local level (see local level involvement). Do you agree ? - yes / - no (explain) =

Can you give statistics for 2014 in terms of :

- number of groups / - frequency & attendance of meetings / - frequency & attendance of important events =

- other =

15B

Agenda /Establishment

### Agenda 2014 / 2015-16

Endorsement of GOP candidates supportive of Tea Party values : - yes / - no

Impact in relation to your « Change the party from within » rationale : - explain =



<p>Relationship to figure heads like Ted Cruz, Paul Rand : - explain =</p> <p>Support of Tea Party candidates running for local/regional/state positions : - yes / - no (explain) =</p> <p>Connection of Tea Party groups : - yes / - no (explain) =</p> <p>Prospects : - November 2014 elections = / - post-2014 = / - with 2016 perspective =</p> <p>Desire to gain power vs the Establishment : / - yes / - no (explain) =</p> <p>If in power, what attitude once in power : / - objectives = / - agenda =</p>	
16	Worcester Tea Party = Get-out-the-vote
<p><a href="#">Get-out-the-vote-campaign</a></p> <p>Do you run « Get out the vote » campaigns?  <i>- We ran a voter registration campaign about 4 years ago. We decided after the Tea Party rally to get out and register people to vote. We spent a lot of time, had meetings, downloaded the paperwork for people to vote... registration forms, how to conduct a registration, all open material. And we registered 12 people. We went to various events, parades, July 4, fireworks, things over the summer, and lack of results ended up with lack of interest into participating.</i></p> <p>What about this year ?  <i>- Honestly now we're aiming at a different aim, being activated in having people work on political campaigns. We would like to convince our members to be involved in political campaigning ; doorknocking, signholding... signature gathering for petition drives. There's plenty of work, plenty candidates you can respect and follow.</i></p> <p>How will you do that ?  <i>- In telling people in our communications « Now is the time to do this ». The time between now and November is 100 days, a 100 days that you can make count. Send emails, posting on Facebook, tweeting.</i></p>	
17	Local politics = Involvement in local politics
<p><a href="#">Involvement of activists &amp; supporters in local politics positions</a></p> <p>Are some of your members involved at local positions ?  <i>- That's what we've done pretty well. There are a lot of these committees... where a good number have held offices ; school committee, recreation committee, landuse committee, zoning boards. A lot of our members are fairly busy in their communities. For us it's about 20%, but that's still not enough. Here in Marlborough for example, a quorum could not be reached in a senior committee. We need to have more people involved in politics, that's also part of it.</i>  <i>Some members can be very involved in a project, they will call daily ; and after the project, you hear nothing from them for two weeks, although it is a very active member.</i>  <i>We're working together, and we're not working together. That's why the social meetings, meeting at a restaurant for example, reinforce the bonds ; it helps collaborate.</i></p>	
18	Local specifics = Massachusetts
<p><a href="#">Democrat vs Republican balance</a></p> <p>Would you describe Massachusetts as a conservative state?  <i>- Inherently a liberal state, which is part of the uphill battle we have. Part of the inroad we need to overcome.</i></p>	

Would you speak of hotbeds of conservatism in Massachusetts ?

- *Absolutely. I've always felt it's sort of a problem when we talk about conservatism, because we're conserving something very liberal. Core liberal values, this is what is meant when you speak about everyone making their own choice. Conservative for me means Tory, less radical. I'm pretty radical. Standing up and putting your face on the front of the Tea Party movement is pretty radical, yes.*

Would you describe Boston as staunchly liberal ?

- *Yes, but in the most unpleasant way. There is one party-rule, tribalism, all the hallmarks of... This is not « liberal » in the way I would want it to be liberal. The language has been corrupted this way.*

19

Issues = Representation, Democracy

[Representation](#), [« Disenfranchisement »](#), [Democracy](#)

What is your definition of representation? - definition =

What is your definition of « disenfranchised » ? - definition

How can you proceed in order to change this? - process =

What is your definition of democracy ? - definition =

19B

Issues = Representation, Townhall Meeting

[Townhall Meeting](#)

What is your perspective on the issue of Town Hall Meeting ?

- *It's active and a great thing, but not all people are equal. The deck is stacked before you show up, so you got to make your homework and go there with your friends who will vote for you. If you think you can just show up and say something and all your neighbors will agree, you're wrong.*

19C

Issues = Sovereignty, Patriotism, American Dream, Liberal, Libertarianism

[Sovereignty](#)

What is your definition of sovereignty ? - definition =

[Patriotism](#)

What is your definition of patriotism? - definition =

What is a patriot ? - definition =

[American Dream](#)

What is your definition of the American Dream? - definition =

[Liberal](#)

What is your definition of being a liberal? - definition =

[Libertarianism](#)

How do you relate to Libertarianism ? - relation =

20	Historical filiation
<p data-bbox="183 264 678 295"><a href="#">Filiation to the original Boston Tea Party</a></p> <p data-bbox="183 331 853 362">What is your filiation to the original Boston Tea Party ?</p> <p data-bbox="183 365 1460 396"><i>- They fought for, they originalized the fight for these ideas. We're trying to invoke their passion with ours.</i></p> <p data-bbox="183 432 630 463">What about the East India Company?</p> <p data-bbox="183 465 1460 595"><i>- Well, mercantilism is still an issue. Socialized medicine, government control, lack of freedom, lack of representation, it's tied neatly in the issues we are facing today. None of this is new, or different from what our forefathers fought against in any aspect of this. It's sad but true, every generation had this sort of fight on their hands.</i></p>	

## A-3 – ENTRETIENS

Les entretiens qui suivent sont des retranscriptions d'entretiens semi-guidés ou libres, dans leur intégralité, ou sous forme d'extraits.

Dans les entretiens longs, j'indique les repères temporels, en les faisant précéder d'un espace afin de faciliter la lecture. Un espace précède également certains paragraphes à cette fin.

Entre parenthèses sont indiqués les renvois à des conversations/entretiens précédents, les réactions non verbales du type rire ou geste, la situation, ou encore les mots inaudibles.

Il n'y a aucun commentaire de l'auteur dans le corps de l'entretien.

La mention « Fin de l'entretien » indique où l'entretien s'est arrêté, ou bien le moment où il prenait une tournure personnelle qu'il n'y a pas lieu d'intégrer dans ces Annexes, ou encore la fin de la transcription.

Les entretiens proposés ici sont une infime partie de l'intégralité des entretiens conduits avec les militants et sympathisants. Ils offrent cependant, avec les questionnaires, un échantillon qui se veut le plus représentatif possible dans ces conditions.

Pour des précisions sur le contenu, se référer au développement.

### A-3.1. *ENTRETIEN 1*

**Diana Reimer, Philadelphia Tea Party Patriots-Landsdale, 7 juillet 2013.**

**Entretien libre. Durée totale : 32:53 minutes. Extrait.**

**Entretien conduit en voiture, avant d'arriver au domicile de Don et Diana Reimer à Landsdale, en banlieue de Philadelphie, où j'étais invitée pour un « Sunday barbecue ».**

Diana : Back when I was younger, my father was a Democrat committee person. And back then, it was really different from what it is today. They really cared about people. They did really give people a hand out, they really wanted people to be independent. But, what happened, I believe, with many of us, and I'm not talking for everybody, but I know what happened with us, is we trusted our party. If our party said, « Ok, vote for this guy, he's great, we've vetted him, and that's the guy you should vote for. » We voted ! We didn't vet him, we didn't do anything. And now we're in this mess. And now groups, people have woken up and they're saying « No, we have to vet people »

And they're not taking just the work of the party anymore. Because basically, myself, I don't trust this government. I don't trust anything they say. If they say « It's good for you, » I know it's not good for you. (She laughs) I mean, that's how bad it is. And I think a lot of people think that way.

A : And when you said « Change the party from within » ? (I refer to a conversation we had earlier.)

D : From within. And the only way you're going to do that, is by ordinary citizens becoming committee people, getting on schoolboards, on whatever boards there are around, and any place that... These people are making a decision about your money. That's where you want to be.

A : All right.

D : You know, so that *you* can be a voice and say « No, I don't think that's right ».

A : Yes, and schoolboards, committees...

(We arrive at her home)

D : Mi casa es tu casa.

## A-3.2. ENTRETIEN 2

**Don Reimer, Philadelphia Tea Party Patriots-Landsdale, 7 juillet 2013.**

**Entretien libre. Durée totale : 1 heure 24 minutes.**

**Entretien conduit au domicile de Don et Diana Reimer à Landsdale, en banlieue de Philadelphie, où j'étais invitée pour un « Sunday barbecue ». L'entretien a lieu après le repas.**

Don : And I said « Check out my website » (He is talking about Diana).

Agnès : And what did she say ?

D : She said there were no pictures on it. So I put some pictures on it. I was reflecting back since you're here, I was reflecting on what my life has been over the past four and a half years. I put twenty years on the military so I'm retired from the Military and the US Navy. And I worked in corporate for 29 years and I was never interested in politics other than... to vote. And really all I did was when it was time to vote, I would go vote. It was not until... and I was a Democrat by the way.

A : You too. Because Diana told me that her father had been a Democrat all his life and she had been a Democrat until Reagan.

D : And my family was Democrat. And we got traffic tickets fixed, you know, by the committee men and all that stuff.

So Diana and I changed our party from Democrat to Republican when our neighbour came over. He said « Who are you voting for ? » I said « I'm voting for Carter ». He said « Why are you doing that? » I said « Well, he's a Christian ». And he put four years in... cause I didn't know what he did. I was not interested. Anyway he told me what he did, he told me that there were Americans held hostages over there for over a year, and he had launched a rescue mission which had failed miserably. He had social programs going on and really, he was not paying attention to the Constitution. And he told me about Reagan. I knew about Ronald Reagan because he was a movie star. He told me that he had been involved in a union for the Actors' Guild. He was like the steward, he was head of the union there. Then he told me about Reagan's vision for the country. And everything he said, I agreed with. So basically the next day Diana and I changed our party. But still we were voting and not really, you know, we were thinking « The Republican party is putting up a candidate, Senator, Representative, President... They know what they're doing, I trust them, so I'll vote the party line. And that's about it. »

A : And you chose to vote Reagan because he had been involved... What really decided you to vote for Reagan ?

D : He showed leadership compared to Carter. And he showed a sense of American exceptionalism where he talked with a belief. And Carter was a peanut farmer down in Georgia or Alabama down there.

A : What size was his farm?

D : A big farm. He had people working for him. ...

What I was reflecting is that when Obama was running in 2009, at work there was a group of people that were Republicans and a majority of Democrats. And unfortunately we all got the same area so instead of talking with Democrats, we talked among ourselves and they would hear us, and hopefully through us they would get the message that Republicans were doing something good for We the people. So I followed what Obama as a candidate was saying in his speeches, and very few of his speeches... and they really didn't say much. And then of course he was getting such (positive) views and the country... the trick was hope and change. Because he did identify and people they all had their idea about what hope was and what change was, so he did satisfy the individual but he didn't really have a plan. Well he did have a plan, but he didn't tell us about it.

So the thing was, I retired from my work April 1 2009, from corporate work. And we had plans before the election of 2008 to travel to Italy, to Ireland, I had a big itinerary. So instead of doing that, we paid attention to what our country was doing and we really became attentive to what this new administration was doing.

07 :00

And of course we had Clinton before that, and as soon as Clinton got in, the first lady tried to do what Obama did, a universal health care program. The country closed her down, so that was the end of it. She didn't really do anything else because she thought that was her call in life to get a universal program. At least Clinton, when his polls were going down, he was smart enough to find out what the people wanted and to compromise with the Republicans, and they got some work done for the people.

Obama, five days before the election, he said « We're five days away from fundamentally transforming the United States of America. » When I heard that, I could not believe it. So I started doing all this research on the internet and I got all these articles and I sent them to Diana, by email. Diana sent back and said « What am I supposed to do with these? » I sent back a message, I said « Read them, because I have. » They give a lot of information about the candidacies, the candidacy of Obama and everybody. That's just about the time that a fellow by the name of Rick Santelli, he had his rant on national TV. And I saw it and it for a fact pissed me off. And from what I saw I agreed with him because he was talking about the housing bubble in Boston. And we realized that we should have sold it a year ago because it was too late now because now the housing, the value of the house has gone down. That made us both upset, Diana was more upset than I was. So she saw the Atlanta Tea Party on TV and she called them up and said « I want to have one here in Pennsylvania ». That's how I got involved. So she was really the vanguard and I would assist her.

So she would think « We're going to do this », and then she would get the idea and then she would go on to something else. And I was there and I would do all the operational, and I was fine with that. And then we got the group...

But the point I want to make is that : « What made me give up my retirement and volunteer all my time, building a website, getting the message out, get a group started, work with my own group, going out and demonstrate in front of offices, representatives, and senators? Why did I do that? » So really, I think it was the fact that Reagan, when he became president, the morale of everybody in the United States was ten points from zero. And he raised the morale, not only of the military but also of We the people. And he gave us real hope and... that we can change... And you know, the gas prices had just gone through the roof, and it was like 5 dollars a gallon for gas in 73. Of course that was ten years before that, but... So it was that spark that I relied on from his presidency that made me realize that « Hey, I can do something », which I didn't do when he was president, except to vote... that I could do something to help this country. So I could have been... Well, I have probably ten thousand dollars worth of baseball cards that I could be selling out individually. That's what I wanted to do...

12:00

D : You know what baseball cards are?

A : No, I don't.

D : Well they're certain football players, hockey players, basketball players, baseball players... They're stars. They would have a little card with their picture on it and they're called baseball cards. And they would be traded through that particular... I guess you would call it... Those who would have an interest in doing that, we trade our cards and they would be valued because somebody would want it... and the person who had the card would sell it at a higher price that they bought for it.

A : Is there only one card per player?

D : No, there were many many cards. I have boxes full of cards. I have one card that I bought for 3 dollars and it had a special card inside of it, that at that time was worth 600 dollars. Today it's worth 2000 dollars and it was part of a set..., it was a gold, signature card but anyway... That was my pastime. So I thought I would go through all these cards and we would do some travelling. You know we have friends in Florida, in California, in Texas and we would go visit them.

But with my work I gave that all up because we felt that it was up to us to do what we hadn't done before. To do what we could, with what we had. And the first two years, we used our own money. You can know a grassroots group because there are no funds available. You always have to go by donations. So we used our own money to finance our events, things like that. And I really have no regrets. So, I'll be doing this until probably the day I die because I don't see anything that's more

worth it than trying to get this country back to where it was... and that is, fiscally responsible because... you know... the spending of Washington is out of sight. We're paying all these taxes and they're giving it to whom they want to give it to. They're not listening to what we want, even though they hear our voice. They hear our message, they just don't pay attention to us. In 2010, we took over the House of Representatives in Congress. And we came close to taking over the Senate, but we didn't. And the House of Representatives and the grassroots movement in this country really pushed back so that the Obama administration wouldn't be able to get passed everything that they wanted to get passed. And believe me there were four or five things that they wanted to get passed. The only thing they got through was the Affordable Care Act. And they had this big program, and what they ended up passing was maybe two thirds of that program. So we were successful in stopping the worst of the worst. Just single payer insurance, government insurance, government based insurance. So we were successful in doing that.

16:00

So the idea is, why would somebody give away the golden years in their life to work voluntarily on something that... To go against one person, to go against the government? But it really was more than one person. It's millions of people. Even if we were millions of people when we had that 2009 tax payer march in Washington DC. It was a 1.5 million people showing up. The media said « There is two hundred thousands, five hundred thousands... never got past five hundred thousands. » When we left, there was no trash left, ok, because we have values. However when the Obama administration had its first inaugural address, Washington DC had to pay 300 000 dollars to clean up the mess. So, you know, there is a big difference. There was a movement called the Occupy movement. Do you remember that? And they were comparing that to the grassroots movement. There really is no comparison. Because it was funded by the millionaires, the billionaires, you know, funding the Democratic party. There are all kinds of people. The leaders are the ones that instigated the events and everything, with the megaphones. But people... there were bad people, I mean they had no hygienic conscience, they didn't have any discretion or discreteness, you know as far as guys and girls getting together. So, you know we've been around since March of 2009, and they started in maybe 2010, the end of 2010, something like that, and they're not around anymore.

So the fact is, you have to have a sense of being a patriot, you have to have a sense of being a citizen that really can make a difference, if you have a number of people of like mind. And Saul Alinsky, he said: « Power comes in two forms, it comes in money, and it comes in flesh and blood. » All we have is flesh and blood and that has pushed back against what this administration wanted to do. And that's what we're going keep doing, we're going to keep pushing back, keep building relationships, inviting people to run against the (combins) who aren't doing their job, you know... senators, representatives. Try to get the message out. And I think what we really need to do now is to talk to our neighbours because right now after four years, we talk into the choir so to speak.

A : What does it mean ?

D : The choir sings one song. So if you want to sing a song to them, I mean, they know the song. You want to sing to people that aren't in the choir around here. So they get the message out about fiscal responsibility, constitutionally limited government, free market economy. We have to talk to the people and get them to find that spark in them to be a patriot. And get them do what they have not been doing all their life. So I have no misgivings about what I'm gonna be doing in the near future and in the long future. So, that's what I wanted to tell you.

A : That was very interesting. Thank you very much for sharing that with me.

20:34

A : You retired from the corporate. You were employed...

D : I was employed. I worked for a company called Hartford Stickball, an insurance and inspection company.

A : And you were supposed to retire...

D : Normally people retire when they reach age 65. I retired when I reached age 70. And I really retired because my wife was working in retail business for someone else, the big chain stores. And she was doing this after work, and during her lunch hour. And she wasn't getting much sleep because she

wouldn't go to sleep until after 12. Sending emails, talking to people on the phone. So I said to her « You have to make up your mind about doing a grassroots movement fulltime, or forget it and just work to bring money in the family full time ». So we decided she would quit to do this full time. I said « Well, now if I retire, I'm gonna be on fixed income ». There would be no income coming except our savings. And we both decided to do that. And God is good. He brought money into the family. As we were doing our events, people would give donations so we wouldn't have to put on any more money of our own. So God is faithful if you trust him, and that's what we do.

I'm so glad that you chose the interview, so my name is on the band.

A : Your name will be quoted only if you wish. But I want to record people to really relate their words as they were spoken. I don't want to interpret, transform or distort anything. That's why it's very important to record.

D : To record it, yes.

A : Last Thursday Diana told me many things at your nephew's, but I was not able to record her. And and I might ask her again if she would like to repeat a few things. But I definitely want to record as much as possible.

D : Sure. Did you record her? I mean, when you were together, did you ask her?

A : Well, I don't want to... I mean it's Sunday dinner, so she'll do as she wants to.

23:40

D : Well the idea is when you go to that meeting, you can ask Rob Boysen, or Lil his wife, if you can record the meeting. I'm sure they will say yes. And you can interview basically anybody that you want to. Somebody stands up and says something that you know is thoughtful, you might want to ask if you can interview that person. We had a young fellow that was doing his Master's degree. In 2009, he followed us around for a year and a half. He went to all our events. We used to have a lot of events.

And then when we started getting individual groups, my group was Philadelphia Tea Party Patriots AIM group. AIM is an acronym for Attract, Inform, and Mobilize. That's the AIM. We would inform ourselves, and we would go out, and do sign waving and demonstrate and write some letters. And that's really what we did. Right now, because of the 2012 election, a lot of people got discouraged. They still came to meetings. 2012, nobody comes to meetings. So my group is now called Philadelphia Tea Party Patriots. It's a cyber group, which means everything is on line.

A : No physical meeting?

D : There is a physical meeting. We meet every third Tuesday, I show a DVD for information. If I had gone to a meeting, and liked a schoolboard meeting, or the commissioners meeting, which are these little county governments, city governments, small governments, like a schoolboard. They are all different types of governments. If there was something important, I would make a report to the people that came to the meeting. But it's not... it's really devoted to... maybe fifteen minutes of giving information about the meetings I attended, or if someone had attended a meeting, they would share. And the rest of the time, the rest of the hour and a half is given to watching a DVD. So the online... what I have here... I had it in hard copy and I still have it in hard copy. And when I wanted something, somebody to do, is take this hard copy and actually volunteer to attend this meeting twice a month and report back to the group. I didn't get too much volunteerism.

So what I decided to do, was to put all the websites for these different governments, local governments, on my website. And what they would do... There are videos... We have a three-person commissioner for the Montgomery county. Montgomery county is one county of the 67 counties in Pennsylvania. So Montgomery county is where we live here. There are three commissioners that have the executive authority, and the legislative authority, and some portion of the judiciary authority when they would be on a panel or something like that. They take care of business here in Montgomery county. Then Landsdale has a city government, with a mayor and a city council, and a business manager. Then there is Towamencin township, which is both Landsdale and Towamencin townships. We live in Towamencin township, that's part of Montgomery county. And townships, they have supervisors. So there is nine men, men and women, that have the executive and legislative authority to take care of this township, and they have meetings. Then there is the schoolboard, which is its own



gouvernement. The members ... I think there are 12 members, they can be Democrats or Republicans. They have a president and a vice president, and they have different committees. But... property owners pay for schooling through taxes, so they have the authority to use our tax money, to get the job done in educating the children, paying the teachers, paying the... If you go to a meeting, there are certain things you're gonna find out, and they may be important. They may want to raise taxes because of the budget. So if it's something that's favourable, you can come back to the group and say « We really want to support this ». So a number of people would go to the next meeting, and they would stand up and they would support it. Or if you want to oppose it, you would do the same thing. A group of people would come and then the spokesperson would oppose it.

So... that's if you go to a physical meeting, but you can still do that through a video. Because they videotape the schoolboard meeting, the commissioners meeting, the city council meeting, and the supervisors meeting. So all you need to do is just click on your computer, and look at the video and take those, if it's something you want to report, you go every third Tuesday and make a report. Because it's a cyber, you know. And if I know who's looking at the videos and I will communicate with that person, and we collaborate to put something together, and we put it online so everybody can read it. So it's a cybergroup now.

A : So the videos of the meetings, schoolboards, county, township, city council, you're saying they are available on the Internet?

D : Yes.

A : Do you need to be a constituent to have access to them?

D : No.

A : Can I access them?

D : Yes, you can.

A : Because that's exactly what I'm interested in, how you can act at the local level.

D : Say you want... There's a city of Philadelphia, and the county of Philadelphia... and really the city and the county are one, because they have a charter. They have a mayor, a city manager, and a city counselor. And their meetings are videotaped. So you just go on Google... I can do that for you. I can send you an email and I bring up the videos. And they have them archived too, and you have the current one. And you can watch that, or you can watch any county. There are five counties that really run the legislature in Pennsylvania. And they're all here. It's Delaware county, Chester county, Philadelphia county, Montgomery county and Bucks county. There is a caucus of representatives, that any law that comes up, they have to say yea or nay. It's unfortunate. You know how the government works in the US ?

A : Well, I know but... thank you for telling me this because I need to know how it precisely works.

D : Did I give you one of these already ?

A : Not this one. (He gives me a document a brochure describing how government works)

D : This government has three branches, the executive which is the president, and his cabinet, the legislative which is Congress, the Senate and the House of Representatives, and the judicial which is the Supreme Court, the Federal judges and the local judges. It's unfortunate in America, but the legislature has given lots of its power to the executive branch. Even in Pennsylvania. The Governor of Pennsylvania, Tom Corbett... the Governor's office determines the budget on their own, then presents it to the legislature, and they say yea or nay. They can change it or they can accept it. It should have been the other way round. The legislature should get the budget, and give it to the Governor's office to say yeah or nay. Because he's not gonna say yeah, because if he doesn't have any money, he can't govern. But for some reason it changed. So the Pennsylvania General Assembly, which is comparable to the Federal Congress, has given up that responsibility and that authority to the Governor's office, the executive branch. And it's not right because we have a Constitution that doesn't say that it could happen. It just happens. If you go on Google, and enter « Types of government in the USA », « Type of government bodies in the USA », they will tell you about the federal government, they will tell you about state government and how it's organised. They'll tell you about the local government, broken down into counties, municipalities, towns, cities, villages... And I thought « Let me find out what the executive branch in this cabinet does. » So I went on to a government site. I went on to the Board of Education, which is a cabinet post. And it told a beautiful story, but it didn't work that way. I went on to the Labour ... beautiful story, but it didn't work that way. I went on to the Justice Department,

man... it doesn't work that way. Everything was so nice in print. But that wasn't the reality. When Lincoln was president... he was the first president of the Republican party. He had five people in his staff. Do you know how many Obama has? Take a guess ?

A : Over a thousand, I don't know exactly.

D : Over two thousands. He has 49 or 50 lawyers, just lawyers. It's gone out of control.

38:30

D : If you want to understand how a schoolboard works... In Montgomery County, I think there are 32 schoolboards.

A : For how many inhabitants?

D : Northwales school district takes in Northwales, which is a little down there, Hatfield, which is over here, and Landsdale. So it's a pretty big school district. There are over 30 schoolboards, just there in Montgomery County. And of course all of them have a website, so if you know the name of the school district, you can like type that in. Like North Penn school district, they have a very good website, they tell you about everything you need to know. They have minutes, they have agendas of their meetings passed. And they have video, you can watch them and so... All that's available, but people don't know it.

A : No, people don't know.

D : That's why the media... Unless you have a media that is dedicated to true journalism, you really don't have what we don't have in America today, which is a low information population... They just know what they know about, their friends, how they'll do on Friday night and that stuff.

A : You were saying that you were looking for people that would report...

D : They would attend the meeting and make a report.

A : ...And there were not so many volunteers.

D : No, there were just... the average attendance was above 25 people toward the end. In the beginning we had between 40 and 45 people. But now it's like 20 people, 15 people. Now we would have 3 or 4 people who would actually go to a meeting. And that in itself was not consistent. So what I want to do is to get two people, one person has to do something and the other person can cover. And it wouldn't take that much time, maybe four hours a month. And they don't even want to do that.

(Diana, present at that moment, added: « Well, this is a different area. See, every area in the city and the suburbs are different. This is turning more Democratic. It used to be Republican. Now it's Democratic. If you go to Rob (Lower Bucks County)... he always has 25-30 people in his meetings.)

D : Sure.

A : Because it is Republican ?

D : It is Republican.

Diana : And more so in Lower Bucks. But this is Montgomery County, and it used to be red, which is Republican, and now it isn't.

D : No. That's right. This is Montgomery County (He shows me a map). You know what a precinct is ?

A : Yes.

D : There are 415 precincts in Montgomery County. This is, say, Landsdale. From Landsdale down through Philadelphia, it's all progressive Democrats. From Towamancin West, it's Conservative. The further West you get, the more Conservative you get. And most of the good politicians come from West Pennsylvania. Most of the politicians that are not so good come from Philadelphia and Bucks County. So it's really surprising because I didn't do the « get out the vote » campaign, but I looked at all the four hundred plus precincts in the 2010 election. And I found there were 81 precincts that had very close votes... where if the Democrats won, they won by 2, 20, 50, maybe up to 202 of the 81. So what I did, I've got a walking street map, and I had people just go and talk to independent voters, registered independent voters, in this corner called swing precincts. And all we wanted to do was to talk issues and get them to vote, get them to the polls. I needed a 130 people every Saturday, for 8 weeks, to cover all the 81. So we covered about a third of them, we covered a third of them in these 8 weeks, because sometimes you have 30 people, sometimes you have twenty people. And it didn't make a difference. Because the independents were low information. And that's the key, inform the people.

A : And do you think that with a cybergroup, you're more able to access people with information, than with a physical meeting?

D : Well, we had good success in 2009, 2010. We had minimal success 2011. And when 2012 came and went, everybody was just devastated.

A : What about 2013, is it getting up again?

D : Well 2013, the election that is coming up is for judges, judiciary and local... Like I'm running for judge of election in my precinct. We have a precinct here and in Towamancin township, we have nine precincts. So my precinct is 1-1, so I'll be elected judge of elections for this precinct 1-1, and we meet up in school here. So the judge of election is the boss of that precinct. Everything that goes on goes through him. If he says « Don't do it », you don't do it. And that's the way a judge of election is. And they have a minority inspector and a majority inspector. And they have two clerks for each one of those. And they have a machine operator, a constable, and a judge of elections. So everybody in there works for the judge of election.

A : So if you become a judge of elections, you can have some leverage?

D : I got all leverage.

A : But will you be able to devote as much time as before to the Movement?

D : Well actually it's two days twice a year. You have a primary election and a general election. So, the presidential election is 2012, so you have a presidential primary, and a presidential general election. 2013 are for judges. 2014 would be for representatives, every two years, and one third of the Senate—they have a six year-term, one third of the Senate. Then 2015, you're gonna be doing more judges, schoolboard, things like that. And then 2016 is the presidential election again. So every two years, you elect representatives and a third of senators, and every four years, you elect the president, along with senators and representatives. So, there would just be one, two days primary. So in the next four years, which is my term, there'll actually be six times I would do it. Six, eight times. It really doesn't take much but I really have to go training for three hours every year.

49:25

A : And you maybe have to do some promotion for people to vote for you beforehand?

D : Yeah, in the primary, I ran on the position. So there was no Democrat that ran against me. And there were no other Republican that ran against me.

A : You were alone?

D : I was alone, so I voted for myself. I was on the ballot.

A : Have you already been elected a judge of elections before?

D : No. I won the primary, which allows me to go on the ballot before the general election.

A : And the primary was this year?

D : Yes, the primary was in April or May. Then the general election is in November. You know, if I vote for myself again, I may, because the other fellow retired. He has been doing it for at least twenty years.

A : Can you stay as long as you want?

D : Well, every four years you must be reelected.

A : But you can be reelected as many times as you want?

D : Yes.

A : And the fellow who is retiring, is he a Republican or a Democrat?

D : No he's Republican. Towamencin is Democrat. Landsdale is Democrat.

A : And Landsdale and Towamencin are counties?

D : Yes, Landsdale and Towamencin belong to the Montgomery county.

A : So they are counties in a county?

D : There are 67 counties in Pennsylvania. Montgomery county is one of them. And then, within Montgomery county, you have towns, municipalities, townships, and cities or boroughs.

A : You have municipalities?

D : Yes, Towamencin is a municipality.

A : And the commissioners you were talking about before...

D : For the county.

A : Is it the same as a committee person?

D : No, it's much more responsibility.

A : I am interested in the committee people, because as we said before, people involved in the Tea Party movement can easily become committee people, if I understood right.

D : That's right.

A : And how would you encourage them to do that?

D : My neighbour is my committee person. There's either men or women, two men or two women. It doesn't matter. In some places it matters, some places it's only two women, some places only two men. And some places you can't be married. It's all different by laws that take care of that. In Towamencin, we have nine precincts. So that means we have two times eighteen committee people.

A : It's two committee persons by precinct?

D : Yes. And what they're supposed to do... Everybody in their precinct is supposed to be their constituent. They're supposed to visit their house, « How are you doing ? What kind of needs do you have ? Do you know about this issue ? »..., they don't do that.

A : They don't do it.

D : No.

A : And what does a commissioner do?

D : Now a commissioner... There are three of them. It's either two Democrats and one Republican, or two Republicans and one Democrat, or all Republicans or all Democrats. So it can be a mix. But what party has the majority, actually has the chair.

53:52

In 2010 there was one Republican, two Democrats. And the Democrats have done a pretty good job for the people. But that's because of what went on before... I won't get into that but it was a mess... lot of corruption, politicking, all that stuff. They spent all our money, put us in debt... taxpayers' money. So I went on to see the powers or the authority that the commissioners had. There is a list about this long, and they control everything, the legislative, the executive, they control everything, it's amazing.

A : And the commissioner is by county?

D : That's right. Some counties, they have some sort of commissionership. Philadelphia county, they have what they call a charter, a charter government. And the charter government has a mayor and a city counselor, a business manager. Landsdale has a charter, and Towamencin has a commissioner. Hatfield... Municipalities have supervisors. Hatfield has supervisors. Northwales down there, they have a mayor and a city counselor. And you know, it can be little, or it can be big. It's just the form of government that they have.

Committee people are important because there are two people in charge of the endorsements of the nine precincts. You have a municipal leader and an area leader. Both of those have a vote. All the committee people, along with those two people... All the committee people in Montgomery county, they all get together, of course there's a chairman... And both parties get together, but separately. And they say « These are the candidates we have, and these are the ones we want to endorse. » It's very important... usually the endorsed candidate wins because he gets money from the party. It's a lot of help from the party. But not all the time, they may not win all the time. But if they do... if an independent or another Republican beats up the endorsed candidate in the primary, then he's responsible for getting all the money and all the support up to the general election. And if he doesn't have that support, then he's not gonna win. Because the Republican party is not gonna support him because he's not the endorsed candidate. It's politics. But the point I was trying to make is, the people that have the vote, they determine two things, countywide and statewide. They determine who is going to be the endorsed candidate for whatever office, and what the policy is for the Republican party, and the bylaws. The bylaws are specific to a county. The platform or the policies are specific to GOP and the whole thing. So you cast a vote.

So you can run for a committee man, like my nextdoor neighbour, you can be an area leader or a municipality leader. You can be a county chairman, or you can be a state committee person. The state committee person is where the policies are made, where the endorsements are made with the help of everybody else. But if you get Conservatives that have the majority of the state committee people, then they can determine what they want cause they vote on. Right now in Pennsylvania, we have 40%

percent of state committee people that are for the people. The other 60% are for the Republican party. So if we can get above 50%, then we can perhaps do away with endorsements.

59:43

A : You mean 40% percent are for the Tea Party and 60% for the Republican party?

D : No. That would be 40% of state committee people that could be Republicans, but Republicans and Tea Party. They're not always... There can be people that have an ear for the people. They are Conservative in their make up. They can be very liberal and still be a Republican. If we can get above 50%, if we can get to 60% of like-minded Conservative state committee people, then we can determine bylaws, we can determine the platform, what candidate is gonna be running. So we have control. ! You know what this county did, Montgomery county? 2009, the grassroots movement started. In 2009 they changed the... all the chairmans for the Pennsylvania counties, they all got together and they changed the bylaws. It used to be that every two years, a committee person would have to run for reelection, they changed that to four years. Because we were going to be taking over, the committee spots. So they changed it from two years to four years. Now, each county, they don't have to follow the laws. Some counties kept the two years, and some counties went for the four years. Because each county had their own bylaws. So you go down to Chester county, their committee people are reelected every two years. In Montgomery county it's every four years. And that's a very important point, because we were ready to overhaul the Republican party as far as state committee people. And they stopped us from doing it because of the bylaws.

1:02:30

D : A group of people can do a lot of things, but they have to have focus, they have to have end results and they have to be...

A : they have to be constantly on it...

D : ...be informed

A : ...educated and regular...

D : The Progressives, they live for that. If they win a little or lose a little, doesn't bother them. They go on and on. A Conservative, there is a problem, they address the problem, they win and then they go back to their life. You get another problem, they face it and go back to their life. They don't do it like the Liberals or the Democrats. And it's unfortunate, but that's why we have problems. If a citizen would just use his or her civic responsibility... It's simple, be informed... So you have to be. And if you read something that you disagree with, then it would be up to them to take some action... But they don't get informed, they don't get informed. It's sad, very sad.

So you've got a lot homework to do. A lot.

A : You gave me such a political course here, that was so interesting. I'm trying to understand how it goes...

1:04:37

A : Do you think that people involved in the Tea Party movement... it's difficult to generalize, you can't generalize... Do you think that everyone is as informed, politically speaking, as you are ?

D : Every organization is a small core of people, no leaders. The leaders are informed. And... Diana is a leader. She gets hold of something, an issue... She goes for it. I follow along. So people of like mind will follow leaders. And the whole grassroots movements is first : be informed. First be informed, because then you can make decisions based on good information. And if you're not informed, why make decisions?

A : You can't make decisions based on something out of the blue. That's why I was wondering how you can get to people just for the sake of them being informed. So is it easier with a cyber group ?

D : When I get everything up, it's to the same place. And I get everything up there (he shows his desk)... I mean it's been like three months I haven't put anything there yet. But when I get up there, then I can put keywords into my operating program for my internet. And I can hire a company that would just put me in Pennsylvania. Now the 67 counties... So I'm concentrated on one county, which is Montgomery County, and really, it's just a small portion of Montgomery County right around here. So that's where I'm started. However, if people from the West of Pittsburgh go on my website, they would see that this forming, this idea, could very well be done in Pittsburgh. Then all you have to do

is copy the formatting, which is... find out what schoolboards they have, what videos are available. You just click on it, you go right to that site, you watch the video and do the whole thing. So I haven't tried campaigning them yet, but if it's working locally then we can you know ...

A : Export the model...

D : ... to others. I can go round speak at different Tea Party meetings or something, and say « Look, it's working for us. Would you like to do it because the benefits are great? »

A : But how would you know that it's working for you, since you are on a cyber group? How can you assess the response?

1:08:20

D : I would have an introduction. So somebody would read my introduction and they were interested. And then I would say « Contact Donald Reimer ». So they would send me an email, and I would say « Where do you live? What are your interests? Why did you contact me? »... « Well, I live in Hatfield »... « Would you be willing to become a cyberpatriot? » And what you do is watch these videos, give me a sense in maybe three hundred words or less of what the meeting was about. Or if it was just a general meeting, just a little paragraph. And then send that to me, and we collaborate. And then I put that up on a website, as a report, for everybody to see that comes on our website.

So the idea is, through the website, through the cybergroup, for people to really see and contact me. And then we work together, they go ahead and do their part, and I will do my part. We do a report, we publicize our report. And... suppose they're raising taxes, and there's no need to raise taxes. Then we can send out an email to all our friends, all the people that are on our email list, and say « We've been attending these meetings, this issue is going to cross the taxpayers. » If we can oppose this with reasonable questions as to why they're doing it, and show them perhaps they don't have to do it because... whatever. And then you actually go to a physical meeting, and you have a speaker, and they present the group's opposition to this or support to it. And then you would go the meeting the next week, and see what they did about it. Because the press is there all the time, the news media, they attend those meetings.

A : They do? For example, Wednesday evening at Rob Roysen's meeting (Lower Bucks) they might be some media present?

D : No, at schoolboards, supervisors, commissioners, city councils.

A : All those meetings, the press is there?

D : Absolutely. So in the agenda, there's a time slot for citizens to speak out. Every citizen is given five minutes. And they can talk about anything and anybody. And if it's interesting to the press, if it's an issue like taxes, or interested in budget, new curriculum for the school, all that stuff, they will print that in the paper.

1:11:26

A : Might there be any meeting of that type in the summer? Well, I won't have time to go while I'm here, but maybe in Boston?

D : You want to go to a schoolboard meeting in Boston?

A : Yes.

D : Sure. You get Diana to give you the contacts. You call them in advance and tell them what you would like to do. You can attend a schoolboard meeting, absolutely.

A : That would be interesting.

D : It would be interesting ! Liberty and freedom is there ! But people take it for granted.

A : In France, many people don't vote. It's the only time you're asked about your opinion. So you should give it. Even if you vote blank.

D : That's right. There are 550.000 registered voters in Pennsylvania.

A : Half a million.

D : Yes, half a million. And if you get 60% of the people to vote, that's a lot. So here is another 40%. What are they doing? Some people only get to vote for the presidential election. But we have an election every year.

A : The mayor's election will take place in 2014 in Paris. But when it comes to local meetings and that type of things, I don't know about it in France either I must say. But it also comes from the fact that I haven't been involved or interested in politics before.

D : That's the way I was in 2009 and before. I couldn't care less. Let me tell you something, if you get five people to visit a representative's office or senator's office, he sees five hundred people, five hundred voters, for just five people showing up. That's how important the vote is to them. There are two things a politician needs, that's money for reelection, and votes. Without one or the other, you're not gonna be reelected. So, we had nine bluedogs, I don't know if you know what a bluedog is. It's a Democrat that might vote for a Republican issue. There were nine bluedogs when it came down to the energy bill that Obama tried to get passed in 2008, the Cap and Trade. When the House of representatives met, these bluedogs, we sent them faxes, we called them on the telephone and we told them to vote No, vote No. One of the nine changed his vote from Yes to No, because of two hundred people, they called and they said « We want him to vote No, we're constituents, we're voting No because this is going to cost us money, and so far and so on. » So he took those two hundred people's opinion and changed his vote. The other people did not move. But what he saw there was two hundred times a hundred votes. That's what he saw, and he wanted to be reelected. Apparently others, they didn't really care.

1:17:02

A : You're talking about state representatives here.

D : Yes. And that's because he had someone in each of his district offices, in direct communication with his phone. And he was on the floor of Congress. And when somebody would get in, they get a call, and that call would be... They take a tally, the guy would say « Ok we have ten against and fifteen for », and then it would just go up and down. And what he found out was, for him to change his vote, people that called for that reason was higher than the ones that didn't. And he changed his mind. But see, he was in direct communication with the people in his offices. Maybe these other people weren't. So they didn't really know what the people wanted. It all depends on... The only way a politician is going to listen to the people, is if he knows someone is in the wings to replace him in the next election every two years.

A : Otherwise he doesn't move?

D : Otherwise he doesn't know what he wants to do.

1:19:00

A : And so when you want to send a message to people, you use an email list?

D : We send an email. Of the five hundred thirty five Congressional members, it's a hundred senators, and four hundred thirty five representatives, they're all on the web. They have Facebook, Twitter accounts, they have emails. You can send them any question you want. You can just tell them « You're doing a good job, you're not doing a good job. We want you to move this way, that way. » And if they get enough of those, they start thinking about it. So communicating, while electronic means is important, but if you can go when they recess from Congress and they come home, if you can visit them in their office, one on one, that's even better. And if you can come with ten people... We went to see Senator Toomey, and Senator Toomey wasn't available, so he sent Genes, who is the legislative director, but Genes wasn't available, so we got somebody else. But we were five of us. And each one of us had a turn to speak to this representative for the senator, and he would be taking notes. And then we delivered our letter. And and he looked over the letter and he said « Who is this signed by ? ». I'm part of this Tea Party so I'm representing them, and there are about fifty, sixty members. He wrote that down as well. So all that goes back to the senator and then he makes his decisions on what he's gonna do. So personal visitations, building relationships, sending faxes, emails, personal letters, and having somebody in the wings to run against him, all these things will help him to listen to what you have to say.

(Diana pops in : And I'm gonna add to that, they're all politicians. Sorry to say.)

D : They're all politicians.

Diana : They're all politicians. But what they want to do, it's not all what constituents want them to do. They're only a few that really stand by their principles. And that's what's important. And Lou (Bareletta) in Congress, has not signed on to the four bills for immigration. And he is so downright, right there on immigration. He was a mayor in Hazletown and he knocked down on them. That's it. He did not sign on these bills and I want to know why. And I have a contact.

They're all... I have no confidence in any of them for the future.

D : I talked to a freshman that became a Congressman. And he was at a townhall. It was a meeting group, very small. And he said he'd been there for a number of months and the leadership in the Congress told him he would have to work four hours a day to raise money for his next election. Four hours a day, and he had to fill a (quarter) as well.

A : Well, thank you very much. That's very instructive and clear, and shows much involvement and much knowledge.

Diana : We're all citizens. This is what they don't get. We're all citizens.

***FIN DE L'ENTRETIEN***



### A-3.3. ENTRETIEN 3

**Rob et Lil Boysen, Philadelphia Tea Party Patriots-Lower Bucks, 10 juillet 2013.**

**Entretiens libres. Durée totale : 1 heure 18 minutes.**

**Il s'agit ici de trois entretiens. La première partie correspond à l'entretien conduit au domicile de Rob et Lil Boysen—un mobilhome situé dans un « trailer park » en banlieue de Philadelphie—avant de partir pour la réunion organisée par le groupe, dans un « diner » situé dans une ville voisine. L'entretien a été poursuivi dans la voiture, pendant le trajet pour se rendre sur le lieu de la réunion.**

**La dernière partie correspond à la conversation téléphonique, après la réunion, qu'ont eue Rob et Lil avec Diana. Cette dernière, en tant que coordinatrice Tea Party Patriots, vérifiait comment la réunion du groupe local s'était passée. J'étais avec eux dans la voiture qui était à l'arrêt, et j'ai pu enregistrer cette conférence téléphonique car Rob avait branché le haut-parleur.**

#### **Première partie (30:56 minutes) :**

Robert : I joined dozens of Tea Party groups. I must have joined literally every TP group in the country.

Lily : Oh, he did, literally.

R : I mean, I was in all of them.

L : He got emails from everybody.

R : I still get emails from everybody. And a week or two later, I got this call from Diana Reimer. She is... and she asked me if I liked to go to a Tax Day Tea Party protest at Love Park in Philadelphia. She found out that I was in the Navy and she asked me if I would be a color guard. The rest is all history (he laughs).

Agnès : How did she know about you ?

R : As I said, I joined every Tea Party group there was, and one of them was Tea Party Patriots. Diana is one of, I believe, five ladies that, when... if you heard the whole story about the Tea Party, it actually started as a guy with the name of Rick Santelli. Within hours... few days...

L : Tell her the guy was in the Chicago Stock Exchange.

R : She knows about it.

A : Yes, I know about it.

R : She was one of five or six ladies that... they formed the Tea Party. They called it the Tax Day Tea Party Patriots, or whatever it was. And through all that, they started coming ... they went through... Diana was a coordinator for Pennsylvania, so she started contacting everybody that was in Pennsylvania, to come to the protest. And I was one of them. First we had Freedom Park... and then Love Park, and then we had a protest in Washington D.C. And that's when we started going to our Congressmen and our Senators. And then in September, we had the big march on Washington. The Tea Party Patriots was one of the sponsors. And Diana and Don, and myself, and a friend of mine from New York, we ended up being involved with FreedomWorks which was the main sponsor of that thing. And you had to see at the rally... We were hoping for maybe ten thousand people. (Lil laughs)

R : We had over a million.

L : It was unbelievable.

R : Yeah. I mean, I have the pictures, and it's like... I was one of the... they called me a « block captain. » And they put me out, it was in the Freedom Plaza, in Washington D.C. And my friend and I got there, we had to get there by 6:30 in the morning. And people just started coming in from all sides. And it was incredible. It's really something. It's really a heck of a ride, that's for sure.

L : And then she... we branched... She had what, about like eight groups or something?

R : We were the first group she started, the Philadelphia Tea Party Patriots. She asked Lil and I to be their first group. We're the first and we're the best. (He laughs)

L : I wasn't involved. I really wasn't involved. I was on and off... thinking... Well I was a bit chicky. You know, that's the way... And I wish I would have stayed that way sometimes. What I know now, is scary, it's really scary, because it's not the same world it was. What I was talking to you about yesterday, you know. (refers to a phone conversation we had the day before).

R : Ok you two, smile ! (Rob takes a pictures)

L : Don't get my fatness. (She laughs)

R : Oh sorry, too late... But, it's been a long ride.

L : Yes, we started March of 2010 ?

R : Yes, we started in March. Our actual birth date is February 27. Diana made sure we met February 27, which was the anniversary of the Tea Party group.

A : The first Tea Party group in Philadelphia ?

R : In the nation. That was the day of Santelli's rant. And that's when he called for the Chicago Tea Party. It's been phenomenal. The Tea Party Patriots has over 4000 groups throughout the country. We're the largest. And there is a whole bunch of other TP groups. 9/12 groups, Freedom groups. There's just so many of us.

L : It's one goal, but everybody's individualist.

R : There's no central command.

(Lil tries to check something on television)

R : No, you won't see it on CSPAN. This is a private conference, that's being held with seven within the Republicans Caucus...

6 :30

A : So, what decided you to join your husband and the movement?

L : I don't know. What happened. Rob? (She calls her husband who has gone to the kitchen) I really don't know, why I became involved.

R : Why did you become involved ? Because I practically dragged you kicking and streaming... (He laughs)

L : You know what, it's because I'm a very organized kind of person. I like to communicate, I like to get information out. And I'm very good at it. And I guess, competitiveness of me wanted to get it out to everybody and... it was important to me, you know.

R : (He is back in the living room). Well, I couldn't do what I do without her. She's the brain, the nuts and bolts of the operation. I'm just the mouthpiece.

L : (She laughs) He's a good mouthpiece. I can't, I don't have the... I'm still learning. I know a hell of a lot more than I ever did. But I can't verbalize what I want to say, you know. He's very good at verbalizing. He knows his history.

7:30

R : I studied political science when I was in college.

A : Oh, you studied political sciences So you must know what you're talking about.

R : I didn't know I would use it (he laughs). I always thought, when am I gonna use it? Originally, I wanted to work for the State Department. And kids, and marriages, life just got in the way, so I never got into it. I'm glad I did because it gave me quite a good foundation of what I do. But I'll tell you what, in the last four years... everything that I learned before, I'm really learning a lot more.

A : Yes, and you put theory into practise.

R : Yes, and I'm sorry because almost my entire family, back in California, are very liberal.

A : In California I guess, there are many liberals.

R : California isn't a state... I mean, it's a beautiful state, but the taxes are so high. And the politics are so far to the left. I could not live up there now. I'm gonna go back, see my daughter, my grandson, father, brother and sister, my aunt and uncles and, I would like to go back, you know. But I'll never go back and live there.

L : It's really funny because, I remember last year, he and his father, oh my God...

R : The last three years...

L : ... The last three years, it's been horrible. Cause his father is very very staunch liberal, and Rob is a very very staunch conservative. And, oh my Gosh... one time I thought he was gonna burst, he was so red. I mean, they were screaming at one another.

A : And you can't find common ground where you agree with one another?

R : Well, sometimes we do. I mean, sometimes we'll meet in the middle.

L : Short and sweet !

R : Short and sweet

L : Conversation is just short and sweet.

R : He, my father, like most liberals, feel that the government should do as much for the people as they can. Well, and I disagree on my father on that, because the government can't afford. They just don't have the money. The U.S. has developed into... we are a debtor nation now. I mean, it used to be, fifty years ago, we were a force for good with our economic power, military power. But we've gone so much to the point where we don't have... We really shouldn't be doing anything. Our aircraft carriers, our military should be parked in Norfolk, in San Diego and Washington. We really can't afford to be out there. But because the dollar is the world's currency, we're able to print, what we want to do... we can keep things going...

L : Oh my! Just print money!

R : Just print money. It's like, I don't know how...

11:52

R : The world we're fighting for, as far as we are progressive is to try and never let government in what is its ability to force us, We the People, to do. Because the government over the last fifteen, twenty years has gone to the point where... The Constitution is the framework of the government, but the government doesn't basically follow the Constitution. And that's what we're fighting for. We want a limited government, we want the ability to expand our free market economy throughout the world, for the good of the world. And we're just not there, I mean... President Obama, from our point of view, is probably the worst president we've ever had.

L : He stands so much, so much to destroy this country. And we're trying so, so hard to bring it back. And it's sad because, we're fighting so hard for our kids and what have you, and it's scary to think that's there's not gonna be in the next generation the same passion that we have right now. They're not gonna have the same passion, and we don't know what's gonna happen in this country.

R : No, we don't.

L : It's scary, it's just really scary.

13:39

R : Well, the problem is, we do know what's gonna happen, we do know.

L : Yeah.

R : If we continue on the path that we're on, the U.S. is not going to be the country that so many, billions of people, when they think of America, they think of freedom. They think of a land of opportunity...

L : It was always number one.

R : Well...

L : It was!

R : Sure, but... we're now looked upon because... We're not a perfect country, and we never will be. We made many mistakes. I'm a Vietnam veteran. And I know, from when I was 18 years old, went into the Navy, went to Vietnam, forty years ago. I thought it was my duty but, looking back with hindsight, we shouldn't have got involved in Vietnam War. But... all countries make mistakes. All countries... there's no such thing as the perfect country.

L : No, it's a learning curve.

R : It's always a learning curve. But I think the U.S. is such a... peak into the world, and people want to come here because they do see the U.S. as a land of opportunity. One of the biggest problems we have right now is we're dealing a lot with illegal immigration from Mexico. I'm not angry with Mexicans for wanting to come to this country, because it is a land of opportunity. But I am angry at them for not following our laws, to come in the country the right way. And that's really where the bad is. I mean, there's no other country... I know that France... you either had or you still have a problem

with Saudi Arabs that are coming to France, and you're paying the price for it. And it is because of liberal thinking that... we bring these people in. In your case, I think you brought them in for their skills, and they were only going to be there for a limited amount of time...

A : We brought them because we needed a workforce.

R : Right, you needed a workforce.

A : And then, the idea was to gather the family, so that a husband, a father would not live alone. And so they created policies to allow all the families to come live in France. Plus, they were put in those projects in the suburbs, and that doesn't help to assimilate you know...

R : No, that's dividing the population.

A : So, that was a mistake and...

R : Well, it's the same thing in Germany...

A : There are many Turkish people in Germany, and it's a workforce too, so there is this resentment on the part of the immigrants. The second generation, that is... because the first generation struggled to assimilate, as it was the way to earn money and to earn one's living. The second—and third generations have more claims...

R : That's what happened here...

L : Yeah. This is the same thing.

A : And, it's understandable, but you can't satisfy everyone. That's very difficult. You have to make choices and... it's very complicated because you can't send these people back. They are here, so you just can't send them back.

L : It's the same thing. We have people, well 11 million here, or more than that.

R : It's more than that, it's more like 20 or 30...

L : You just can't run them all up and ...

R : No, I do want them to assimilate our values, learn English, learn our history.

L : And English is our language.

R : Yes, that's one of the thing that we... I do think, that if I were to move to France, it would be my obligation to learn French.

L : (nods)

R : I couldn't see... I wouldn't expect for me to go over there, and for me to demand that you speak English. No, it's your country. As bad as I am with languages, I would have to learn French.

L : (laughs)

R : (laughs)

L : He isn't very good (She laughs). The dialect, he knows the dialect.

R : « Parlez-vous Français ? S'il vous plaît ? » I speak Spanish.

L : Then you have to go to Spain.

R : No, I would not go to Spain.

L : We're trying to find a place to go.

A : In Europe? To live or for vacation?

L : To live, to get out.

R : Yes.

L : Oh yeah (she laughs).

A : The saying is grass is always greener on the other side.

R : Yes.

L : Here, it's browner. It's browner sometimes.

R : Part of our problem is that we see our country as deteriorating. And we're gonna keep fighting, because we are trying to get our kids and our grandkids to understand what they're losing. This country is... it's irreplaceable. There's no other country like it in the world. And we have to fight to maintain our ability to be that beacon to the world.

L : You know, what is so, so sad is that there are so many who are just so complacent in this country, and they're not awake. Like I was telling you yesterday about my own family, my own kids. There is my son, he's an ultraconservative.

R : Oh! (He laughs)

L : You know I call it Ben J's world. He could live with a cow and a candle. And I have three daughters that... I think they don't want to face things.

R : Well, they're comfortable in what their lifestyles are.

L : You know, they're busy with their kids, and soccer, and what have you. They just don't think of all this outside kind of stuff that is coming, that's happening.

R : No, because that's not affecting them yet.

L : Yet.

A : Do they live in Philadelphia?

R : No, all four live within a five-mile radius of us. Two of them are that way, two of them that way (shows different directions), two of them are like five minutes away from here. So, that's good.

A : That's nice to have your children around you, and the grandchildren.

L : Yeah but you know...

R : When they show up!

L : When they show up. But I mean, it's very difficult because I can't speak to them about... We don't speak about political stuff.

A : You never... ?

L : No. Especially... I have my daughter, and her husband is a teacher, they belong to teacher unions. You know it's a balancing.

R : We don't balance too well.

L : I do.

A : I'm a teacher too, so I totally understand this...

L : Do you have unions in France?

R : Oh yes.

A : Yes. France is one of the countries where unions are the most powerful. The demonstrations in France are often promoted by union leaders and activists. They are very powerful, in proportion to their membership. They have big leverage...

R : That's our problem here.

A : In France, it is first and foremost about the « Republic », yet it's not Republican in the American sense, but in the French sense. So the State is very powerful. It's a completely different perspective on things.

R : Right.

24:52

R : With the liberals out here, it's like... you try to reason... Some of them you can talk to, but a lot of them... It's like, they want the government to be there from cradle to the grave. And, you can't do it. They don't understand we just don't have the money.

L : In France, what's the welfare system?

A : The welfare system is one of the best in the world.

L : Oh!

A : What is called « Social Security » in France is not for retired people, it's for everyone. And there is a similar feeling among a part of the population, who resent the fact that some people don't « contribute » to the system.

L : It's the same in every country, it just has a different name to it, but it's the same thing.

A : It depends on the welfare system. I know that in England for example, unemployment money is granted for a shorter time than in France.

L : It sounds very familiar.

R : The 92 weeks of unemployment...

A : How much is it in years?

R : It's almost two years, at an average, about 1600 dollars a month.

A : In France it is calculated on what you've earned...

L : ...on your last quarter.

R : That's what it is here.

A : No, that's not calculated exclusively on the last quarter for unemployment money. I don't know if the two equate, I should look into that. However, it's important to have welfare...

R : Oh sure, the safety net.

A : But people do worry in times of crisis. It's a natural reaction. Yet the idea is to be able to help everyone.

R : It will be possible throughout the world... in this country, as long as the dollar is the currency of the world, this country is ok. But if the dollar at some point is not the world's currency, this country will collapse. We won't be able to do what we do. And that's one of our biggest fears. Because there are many forces, the Chinese, the French, the Germans, Japan... They've had secret, not so secret meetings to try to create a new world's currency so that they can in fact collapse the U.S. dollar. But that's all geopolitical stuff. If... it would be... I don't know how this country would react, and how we would be hammered. It would be a disaster for everyone.

L : How do you feel... How do they feel in France about the new world order?

A : You mean with Russia and China...

L : No, like we feel here with George Soros having a... the world order... How he wants things to be... that's the collapse in the US.

R : George Soros... Many people agree with him, they want the U.N. to be the world government.

A : Not in France, not that I am aware of.

L : Oh it's very prevalent here.

R : We got to get going.

### ***FIN DE L'ENTRETIEN***

#### **Deuxième partie (11:41 minutes) :**

Rob : My father, he studied German.

Agnès : But nobody learns German anymore at school in the U.S. ?

Lil : Usually it's Spanish and French, and some Italian.

R : And Chinese.

L : But not around here.

R : If I could, I would love to learn French.

L : It is a beautiful language.

R : It is.

A : We don't hear it when we speak of course. We love Italian, we think Italian is the most beautiful language in the world.

L : Italian is beautiful. My granddaughter was over on Monday, and we were watching... myself a show taking place in Italy. It's beautiful the way they sound.

A : And it's a beautiful country too, Italian people are very nice.

L : My girlfriend's daughter went to live abroad, and on May 22 she just came home. She loved it there, and everyday she would send pictures. And it's almost like we were there, it's a beautiful country. St Peter's...

A : The museums, the churches...

L : Gorgeous. And the food... She said I'm having this for dinner (she laughs).

A : Portugal is a nice country too. People are very friendly. And it's cheaper than other destinations. And it's a beautiful country too.

L : What's the government like?

A : Right now... I have no idea... I should know but...

L : Probably Europe is a better place to go...

R : No, no.

L : Ok.

R : Well, depends what you really want to do. I mean, if you got a good job...

L : I'm running away. The U.K. is the best.

R : The U.K. is the best. Or Germany.

3:45

A : So your job...

R : I worked... I retired about thirteen years ago, I was a corrections officer in California.

A : Corrections officer, what is it ?

R : That's a correctional counselor, and I worked in a youth prison, in California, with girls. And then I retired from there, and I came down here, and I didn't want to go back in the corrections. And this one (he shows Lil with a smile) gest me a job in the Department of correction. Well, I'm not a correction officer anymore. What I do is I work in the Central office and I take care of what's known as the General Education Diploma which is a highschool equivalency exam that we give throughout the country, and I take care of all New Jersey. I work with inmates who got locked up.

A : What is the name of your position?

R : My title is Instructor Counselor but I'm actually the GED coordinator for the New Jersey Department of corrections. I take care of all the incoming data related to the GED.

A : So these inmates are able to sit at an exam that would be the equivalent to the A-Level?

R : Yeah, that would be a highschool diploma.

A : So they are able to go to university afterwards, and study.

R : Yeah, that's the idea.

L : Rehabilitation.

R : We try to encourage them to... like we've given... The Department of correction this year, so far we've given about a thousand exams so far.

A : Out of how many?

R : That's a total of one million taking the test so far, and that's the peak of the time (study to take the exam). We have like 23,000 inmates in New Jersey. And about one thousand have passed the exam. The way it works is, if you're under 18, you have to go to school. Once you turn 20, you don't have to go to school anymore. That depends on how many years you're sentenced. Most people... the average sentence is about 4 years. They will go, and some are gonna take advantage of it, take the GED, and the ones who take the GED, they have about 70% chance of not coming back to prison.

A : That's interesting.

R : But the problem is that we can't get them to study and do it.

A : Because they are not...

R : They are not motivated.

A : They are not aware of the opportunity...

R : No, no they are aware of it, we make them very aware of it. But what happens is that, when they come in, they usually come in through the county jail to us. And in the county jail, they are made aware of it. When we take them in our processing unit, which is right next door to where I work, we give them a battery of test, and we tell them: Well, when you get assigned to your prison, this is the program that is available. Unfortunately, a lot of them don't want to take advantage of it.

A : Well I'm a teacher. Maybe I didn't present myself as a teacher when I introduced myself, and maybe I did well because teachers are not very... (I laugh) And I understand. But, it's a calling.

R : Yes!

A : It's a very beautiful mission.

R : Yeah.

A : But it's very frustrating too, and one must be aware of that. Because what you did is the same. You try to instruct people and to help them, and to motivate them, and to show them that knowledge is important.

R : Oh yeah! I'll tell you what. Here in New Jersey, in the Department of correction, I was a Teaching Assistant and I got promoted to Instructor Counselor and I taught class. Classes that were moral learning through recognition therapy, and I also substituted for... I taught Marketing and Finances, and I would substitute for teachers of History and Geography classes. Everyday we would have discussions. we would come in, and say : Here is what we do. I enjoyed that. They called it « Boot camp », and it's a very unique place, this Department of correction. They closed it about five years ago.

A : « Bootcamp » ?

R : Yeah, it was like a military style bootcamp. They all wore uniforms.

A : Right.

R : Everything was « Yes, Sir » « No Sir. » « Yes, M'am » « No, M'am. » They worked on a merit system. They had to agree to stay in the program for eighteen months. And if they completed the program in eighteen months, they would get parole. And then what happened is that they closed the program. I don't know... it was all about the money. It was about 3 million a year in that program...

A : What is 3 million dollar a year when it's to put people back on the right tracks ?

R : Yes. And it was one of the most effective programs in the country. And... they closed it. But I was very lucky because I was able to be part of that, and I was very lucky because when they closed that, normally I would have been sent back to a normal prison.

### ***FIN DE L'ENTRETIEN***

#### **Troisième partie (19:21 minutes) :**

Diana : I hope you and Agnes had a good time ? Agnes, you couldn't be with better people.

Agnès : No indeed, I couldn't.

Diana : (She laughs)

Lil : Yes, we had a good time. It just wasn't long enough.

Robert : It would be great if she could stay a couple of days. We could show her around and... She's coming back next year during the Congressional races so...

D : We'll have our hands on her.

R : Oh yes. We're gonna take her down to D.C., and make arrangements so that she can meet (Mike Congressman), and see Congressional office, and take her down on the sites in D.C.

D : Ok.

R : So what's everybody saying about Common Core?

D : Oh, it's just a mess. There's just too many things going on about it. Don and I will feed you on it.

L : One of the guys is Lower Southhampton Republican Committee Chair, and he's really for the Tea Party, and he was just great.

R : Who's that, Jason?

L : Jason.

R : Yeah, but he works for Chuck McLeoy (they laugh) I gave him my condolences.

D : Well, I'll tell you what. I don't trust any of these guys. None of them. Even (Cowdy), I don't trust him. I don't trust McCarthy. None of them.

L : Do you know anything about what happened today?

D : //Thinner

R : Yes, we don't know. What happened?

D : Oh, he is not going to bring the Senate bill on the floor.

R : Yes!

D : I'm sorry, I'm not excited about it, because it's all blowing smoke.

R : Why?

L : What happened ?

Don : He cannot bring a bill out of a committee.

L : No.

Don : And they are.

R : I thought that this all thing was about that today !

Don : No, the meeting was about voting on the Senate bill as it is. And they decided to toss that bill out.

R : Ok.

Don : Now, they're thinking about bringing a bill, or bills, out of a committee, and if they do that, then the whole procedure is going to be...

R : So, what they're doing, the four bills that are in the judiciary committee, they're gonna bring more of them out? That's correct?

Don : Yes.

R : Aargh !

L : Not good.

D : Not. So, no matter what they say, no matter what they do, don't believe them.

L : Man, that stinks.

D : I know.

L : Now, what do we got to do?



D : Agnes, I'll talk to you tomorrow.

A : Yes.

D : Good night everybody.

4:32

L : That was not good.

R : No, that's not what I wanted to hear. Definitely.

A : So, about the four bills...

R : Yes, what was happening is, we've been constantly on... everybody in the Tea Party has been constantly on a Congressman to not vote on a Senate bill that came up on immigration. We think that's a non-starter. What the House did... well the Republicans in the House, they voted against the Senate bill, which is a good thing. However, the House Judiciary Committee has four separate bills on immigration. And what we've been fighting against there, is for them not to bring any of those four bills out of committee work that can be voted on in the House. Because once it's voted on in the House, then the House and the Senate will have a conference, and they'll come to some agreement. And then what will happen, is they'll go back to... each side will come back, and say « Ok, this is what we want. » They'll come up with a conference bill that they agree on. Then it will go to the House and the Senate, and it will be voted on. And then we're gonna have amnesty.

L : And we don't want that. We don't want them to vote on any bills at all.

R : No, because what they'll do, they will use whatever bill comes out of the House, then they'll resurrect the Senate bill that has all the things that we don't want. They'll just use that as a way to have a vote on.

A : You mean that if any of these bills goes through, they can redesign it afterwards the way they want.

R : Any one of the four bills. It doesn't have to be all four. They would only have to bring one out of the Judiciary Committee that would be voted on by the full House. Then our only hope there is to bombard... I mean, phone calls, visits, emails, Facebook, Twitter, everything to the Republican members of the House, and hopefully they don't vote for it. If they don't vote for it, then it will die. But if they do... All they really need... I think we have two hundred and...

L : It's two hundred and eighteen votes.

R : 218, and I think we have 205 Republicans. So if they did any combination of 218. If they don't get 218 Republicans voting for it, then it will die.

A : Ok.

R : But it's not good, because what's going on is that the Republicans, a lot of Republicans are afraid that if they don't vote for it, for the amnesty bill, that they're gonna lose their elections.

L : That's what they're afraid of.

A : Of course, they're thinking about votes.

R : They only think about themselves.

A : And that's often the problem with people getting important positions. Once they are in their seats, they follow the flow, because that's easier to do.

L : In France, is it better with the new government compared to the old government ?

A : It depends on what subject we're discussing.

R : You have a socialist president, right ?

A : We have a socialist president, yes. The last one was a conservative.

R : Sarkozy ?

A : Sarkozy, yes.

L : Where is he now? Is he still in France?

A : Yes, but he's not very active politically.

L : He's still with a little one. Does he have a child with Carla?

A : Yes, that's right. So he must be busy with the child. And the new government has been elected in big part because people were fed up with the old one. It was mostly a vote against.

R : Yeah, that's what it is here too. Not much different.

A : French people are very disappointed right now...

L : That's the same with Obama, they wanted hope and change. And now they're still disappointed, but what are we gonna do?

R : The Liberals, the Democrats are disappointed.

A : I think some Liberals are disappointed too.

R : A lot of Democrats think Obama hasn't done enough.

L : They're not all on his side.

R : The majority of them are. Still polls run very good for him. When you run a Democratic poll, and you poll Democrats, he still gets very good results.

L : But it is split.

R : Yes, mainly because of the Independents, and us. I mean, we never liked him so... They don't bother talking with us.

11:35

A : In France, the government suggested that wealthy people would be taxed as high as 75%.

L : Oh!

A : God bless America? (I laugh)

R : Oh yeah. I would think that every person that has to pay 75% would be running to America.

A : (I laugh)

R : If they can get in.

L : Well, the borders are open.

R : If you're coming in the right way, it's hard to do.

A : So of course, many people were not very happy about that decision.

R : No.

A : So there was this reference to Roosevelt who raised taxes as high as 75% as an effort for war.

R : Yes.

A : It was a different context. France is in an economic crisis, but asking 75% of the income is a lot.

R : That leaves them with 25%.

L : Where are gaz prices in France?

A : It's more expensive than here. It would be about 8 dollars or so a gallon. So it's very expensive, and people are really struggling with it. I sold my car three days before leaving. It was nineteen years old, so I didn't get much money out of it. But it was a very good car.

L : (She laughs) Don't they have the bicycles, or scooters that you could just ride all over ?

R : They introduced that in New York.

L : I saw that somewhere.

A : We have bikes that you can pick and leave in any place. That's very handy. You pay a subscription a year, which is very cheap, and you can use these bikes whenever you want. Or you pay on the go. It's encouraging people not to drive their cars. And of course Paris is so small, it's really crowded. The mayor is really trying to empty Paris of cars.

R : Do you have any American cars out there?

A : We have mostly French and German cars.

R : Probably a lot of small cars.

A : Yes. We don't have trucks as big as you have here. There are some four-wheels vehicles but... they are less fashionable as they used to be in Paris.

L : Have you always lived in Paris?

A : I've lived two years in Belgium, and I've lived one a half year in Germany, in Berlin. And actually I was born in Morocco.

R : Oh really ?

***FIN DE L'ENTRETIEN***

### **A-3.4. ENTRETIEN 4**

**Paul Johnson, sympathisant Tea Party, 5 juillet 2013.**

**Entretien guidé. Durée totale : 1 heure 02 minutes.**

**Entretien conduit au café Starbucks, à New Brunswick, New Jersey, avec un sympathisant Tea Party rencontré la veille, lors de l'événement organisé par le groupe tri-étatique Independence Hall Tea Party pour célébrer la Fête de l'Indépendance américaine. Paul Johnson vit à Morristown, dans le New Jersey (voir son profil particulier dans le développement).**

**Pour cet entretien, j'ai utilisé certaines questions de mes questionnaires, en les adaptant puisque Paul n'est pas un militant Tea Party.**

Agnès : I thought I would just ask you to tell me about your story.

Paul : Ok, I won't go through my biography, as far as how I ended up politically, someone who is sympathetic, a supporter of the Tea Party. I was introduced to the Tea Party in 2009. As a child I lived in Morristown, New Jersey. It's not a big city, but it's a big enough area where the people congregate. There were three Tea Party groups in Morristown. I went to a meeting at one of them through the invitation of a friend. This friend is very involved in Republican politics. He is not terribly Conservative. He's Conservative, but he's more Republican, as a political institution. Anyway I went to his meeting and I found it very interesting and... The Federal government in Washington D.C. is spending a lot of money and they aren't interested in keeping the responsibilities of Washington D.C. within the limits of our Constitution.

I believe that the genesis of the movement is a result of the end of the Bush administration. We had a financial crisis in 2008, I don't know if you remember, and the response was to spend a lot of money to bail out the banks in Wall Street. It cost billions, hundreds of billions of dollars. And the people in the United States erupted—they thought « This is too much, we shouldn't be doing this. » And the eruption was across the board politically. I mean, there was disagreement, but it was not a situation where Conservatives went one way and Liberals went another. A lot of Liberals thought « No, we shouldn't be filling up the banks either ». I think that was really the genesis, of what became the Tea Party. It didn't have a name at that point, but there was a lot of anger. And then, once Barack Obama came into office, it really started to gel. We came together, and they called themselves the Tea Party, and different groups around the country formed independently, but they all seem to have one thing in common. It is to use the footprints of the federal government, spend less money, and just concentrate on those things that the Constitution provides for.

This appeals to me. I am someone who throughout the Bush years thought the federal government spent too much money, even back in 2001, 2002. The national debt keeps going up, and up and up, and I think this is a bad thing. It's gotten worse since Obama came into office, but I was concerned about it even back, as early as 2000. And I've always been a big fan of the Constitution, and taking it seriously. Most Americans like the idea « We have a Constitution », but very few people have read it. And even politicians don't really care to follow it.

In 2009 and 2010, the Tea Party groups were very active. I've been at meetings, every Monday there was a meeting. Speakers would address the people. And I would try to go, not to all of them, but to many of them. In the last two or three years, it's not as busy. They still have meetings, but it's not as frequent. But they're still active.

A : Still active, what does it mean ? What about the frequency of the meetings ?

P : That's a good question. I used to get many emails, when they would have meetings. I don't get them anymore. I'm not sure why. One reason could be that the person who used to send me the emails for the meetings now lives in Pennsylvania.

There is a meeting if they have a reason for having a meeting. But they may have meetings that I don't know about as well. So I don't know, I'm not quite as informed about when things happen as I used to be. But I would just say that it's less frequent. I can't tell you how often but... in 2009, 2010,

we had at least one meeting a month, and now it could be every third month or something, but I'm speaking only about the Tea Party at my area. Different groups around the country do different things.

A : Are there still three groups in your area ?

P : Yes... I hesitate because there has been some consolidation. But yes, there are still three groups, the Morris Patriots, Americans for Liberty, and the Morristown Tea Party. They still go by these names, but I'm not sure.

A : And what about the relationship between those three groups ? Is there corporation versus competition ?

P : There's some corporation, and there's some disagreement. I think of one group that formed because there were difficulties within the ranks. People wouldn't get along for whatever reason and what was left of them formed a different group. So personalities sometimes, even if you have the same goal, it doesn't always work out. But I would say « Yes, there is corporation ». People of one group attend the other's meetings. If there is a good speaker, they'll go. And when they had trips to Washington DC, they had buses to go, and they coordinated, they tried to organize how many buses they wanted and they needed. That is corporation.

A : For example, July 15 (2013), the trip to Wahsington DC. Have you heard about this one ?

P : No, I haven't.

A : The Tea Party Patriots sent information about it. It's on their website, I saw that yesterday. Do you know if the news has spread ?

P : Not to me, but maybe others know about it.

A : You said at the beginning, that a friend had invited you over. Did you invite a lot of people after that ?

P : I invited one person. Someone who ordinarily would not be sympathetic but was more curious. So she came to two meetings and found them interesting. I've invited one other person, who is sympathetic. She was very skeptical about the Tea Party. She is a very Conservative woman but very skeptical about the Tea Party.

A : Why was she skeptical ?

P : She thought Tea Party may be racist.

A : And why did she think that ?

P : That is a common misconception or common belief. It's not necessary widespread but... I would say, the one criticism about the Tea Party is that they are anti-Obama, and the opposition to Obama is largely due to race. So even people who don't like Obama or don't like his policies don't want to be affiliated with the Tea Party because they believe that is what their motivation is.

A : Do you think it is still the case today, that people don't want to be affiliated with the Tea Party because they would be classified as racists?

P : No... I would say, a lot of people think the Tea Party is extreme. And mixed into the extreme is this element of racism. I think some people are skeptical of the Tea Party because they're not quite sure of what to think about it. But yes, there is a little bit of feeling that the opposition is racial. I think since the election is over, I hear less of that. So I'm not sure.

12:30

Since Obama is running again, it's not an issue. A lot of people thought the tea Party wanted to jinx Obama because they wanted to get this particular Black person out of the White House.

A : Do you think it is larger than that ? That it relates more to federal goverment and spending?

P : Yes, I think the genesis is really the policies of the Bush administration. And I think a lot of people were unhappy during the Bush years, the second term especially, but even the first term. But these people stayed quite. People kind of ran about their lives. But it was not until 2007, when Bush tried to push through immigration reform, which is now happening again. And then it really made people crazy after the financial crisis when the governement spent a lot of money bailing out the banks. That was really the genesis of it, but people associate the Tea Party with being formed due to Obama being president. I would take this as tiny (he laughs) but the housing crisis happened right about the time of the election. And the wave of the Tea Party formed right around the time Obama took office. So it's easy for people to confuse the two things. That being said, I think there is some racial problem. In other words, it's not the fact that he's Black that is the problem, it's the policies. But it's made worse by the fact that he's Black. It's an additional thing, an amplifier.

A : About the meetings, you would have attended a meeting in the beginning?

P : Until 2009, 2010, and I would say probably I would try a meeting a month, roughly, maybe two every three months. But roughly monthly.

A : And you got the information by email?

P : By email.

A : By someone who's in charge of connecting people?

P : Yes, and also I would check the websites. So I knew that they were active. I would go on their website and see what meetings were coming up.

A : So you were actively searching the websites?

P : Searching the websites, but I also got an email from one of the groups as well.

16:16

A : About the meetings, what did they look like? Was it more like a conference like the one we attended the other day ? (reference to the event organized by the tri-state group Independence Hall Tea Party on July 4, 2013) Or was it a meeting where people sit around tables and take part in?

P : I would say... Some meetings took place in a library. They would part the library and there would be roughly 40 people.

A : It's a lot !

P : That would be the Morris Patriots I would go to. The Morristown Tea Party was a bit bigger sometimes. There could be as many as a hundred people. Maybe hundred and fifty. So I would say most meetings..., and if there was a good speaker or the topic. But you could get anywhere between forty and a hundred people. Usually around fifty.

A : So there is a speaker, and chairs facing the speaker?

P : Yes.

A : Did you attend meetings where it was more collaborative discussion?

P : I don't think so. No.

A : But then you had the opportunity to ask questions.

P : Well, the meetings... Each Tea Party group has a leader. The leader would talk about whatever issue they wanted to talk about. And he introduced speakers. Sometimes there would be a movie. So they would play a movie for us. But normally someone would speak, the leader of the group, and then introduce a guest speaker, if there was a guest speaker. Sometimes there would be meetings just to say « We're planning to go to Washington DC, or we're planning to support a candidate and we need people to knock on doors and ...

A : For example, did you do that? Knocking on doors...

P : I haven't done that... but I would say most meetings typically, again it's hard to say « a typical meeting »... But normally there would be a speaker, someone who had... an expert on a particular topic. Someone who knows about what they call Obama care, the health care. Or there would be some sort of meeting about... Someone would read a book about something and they would give a talk about what's in the book. Or there were Congressmen. There was one meeting where our representative talked to us. We call it a Townhall meeting where he speaks and then we ask questions.

A : I'm interested in the town meeting precisely. I know it's a New England format of meeting. A few states have them. I know there used to be town meetings in Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia. What about New Jersey?

P : It's more of a townhall style meeting. It's a term we use... maybe it's a reference.. where you go literally to the Town Hall, and the politician will speak to you in the Town Hall, and then take questions from the constituents. It's the same idea except now they'll be in a library. The idea of the Town Hall and what it really refers to is just... The politician speaking « This is what I'm working on, and Washington issues like... how important and this is how it looks. » He'll take questions back and forth.

A : It's a form of town meeting.

P : Well, it's not in a town hall, but it's this style of meeting. That's why we say it's a townhall style meeting

A : I know that in the summer of 2010, members of the Tea Party were encouraged to go to the town meetings, precisely when state representatives were presenting the health care reform. Some Tea Party activists went to these meetings and were quite aggressive of what I've heard.

P : Yes, absolutely.

A : Have you participated, attended? Have you seen that ?

P : No, what I've seen is one town hall meeting where a member of Congress, his name is Rodney Frelinghuysen, he's a Republican, but he's more a moderate Republican, not very Conservative. And he understood coming talking to the Tea Party, that he would get some opposition. And everyone was generally polite, but they were passionate. They were people who were holding copies of the Constitution and they were saying « Please, stop spending money ! » Stop bringing home the bankers, please stop doing so. So it was not rowdy, it was not crazy, but passionate. But respectful.

25 :14

A : So basically you attended meetings frequently to know what was going on and to stay aware ?

P : Stay aware. I also... Firstly, I like politics, so I'm always anxious and interested in meeting other people who think the way I do. So part of it is social to me.

A : That's very interesting.

P : And I think for some it is social, but mostly it's people getting involved when they feel that the country is moving in the wrong direction and they want it to stop. It's almost how exactly I feel. By me it's finding what's going on, trying to figure what it is I can do, but also just to meet other people.

A : Did you go to Washington on a rally?

P : Which one ? !!

A : There were several...

P : I've been to Washington on one, on August 28 2010. There was a very big rally by Glenn Beck, Restoring America. I don't know if you've heard about this a lot..

A : Yes, I did.

P : Sarah Palin was speaking, and I wanted to hear her, see her speak.

A : You wanted to hear her speak?

P : Yes, that was the reason I went. It was a very hot day, and it was so crowded you couldn't get a hotel room anywhere in Washington. It was incredible. So many people were going. The trains, the Amtrak trains to Washington DC were almost all sold out. It was insane.

A : Precisely for that rally, how did you get organize? With which group did you go?

P : I went by myself. There were many groups that went and you could get a bus or a hotel but I went as a solo. I would just say that I'm a supporter of the Tea Party, I'm loosely affiliated to one or two of them, but I'm not a strong member of a group. I attend some of the meetings, but I wouldn't say that I am a core member.

A : If you had known about the next rally on July 15, would you have gone again this year, to see what's going on?

P : Sure, I would love to go. The problem is that it's during the week, during the work week. I just don't like to take vacation days unless I really need to. If it were on a Saturday and I had nothing else to do, I would definitely go, absolutely.

28:45

A : That's interesting, because on the morning of July 4, I went to Springfield, West Philadelphia. There was a parade and the Delaware County Patriots were marching. It seems that is one of the only events I could attend. I went there. It's a small organization, that is starting to grow. It's interesting because some of the Tea Party organizations might have been in a kind of decreasing process, but they are growing. And the coordinator, the woman who coordinates the group, told me it's very difficult to find time. When you're working and have a family, coordination and organization take a huge time. It might be the reason why it's easier for retired people or housewives to be involved in the movement. What do you think ?

P : Absolutely, I didn't talk much about that. It's still a year ago, I was in Washington DC, it was the end of June and, you may recall the Supreme Court of the United States went to rule on the health care administration, the Obamacare. The Supreme Court was going to rule whether it violated the Constitution or not. The last day of the Supreme Court term, was a Monday, the 25th I think. The Supreme Court always releases the most interesting (failures) at the very end of the term. So I went down for that Monday, but then they decided to extend the term. So they had a release on the Thursday. So, while I was there, there was a big crowd in front of the Supreme Court, everyone was there waiting for the decision to come down. And I met these two women, one was from Florida, one was from Iowa. They are Tea Partiers who go to various parts of the country to organize and to help out. And I'm thinking « How do you do this? » But they're homemakers, their children are grown and

they don't have to be at home all the time. There was a recall election in Wisconsin, for Scott Walker. And they were out in Wisconsin they told me, to help Scott Walker to fight off the recall I think. But that's very interesting, that's a lot of fun what they do. So people who are older, and women, who have rich husbands (he laughs), who live comfortably I mean...

A : who have time or money...

P : ... they can be more active.

A : Would you go to another rally?

P : Depending on what it was. But yes, I would definitely go.

A : Depending on the issue ?

P : Depending on the issue, and who is speaking, yes.

A : Would you, if the Tea Party Patriots went to Arkansas next week, do sign waving in front of the senator's office?

P : No, that's not something I would do. I don't think.

A : Would you accept to do some doorknocking if it was for a very crucial issue?

P : Yes. I had done doorknocking, in 2008. I was... I am a Mitt Romney supporter. I mean, I also supported him in 2012. But he ran in 2008, I supported him then. I went up to New Hampshire, in January, very cold, and knocking on doors, wild snow, ice on the ground, on the sidewalks... I did that. I was also on the telephone. Before I was knocking on doors, I was in a room, on a telephone, with a script, calling people and asking them to vote for Romney.

A : How long did you do that ?

P : For one day, one day and a half.

A : And how did you get involved? Did one of the Tea Party groups ask you?

P : No I went there myself. There was no Tea Party.

A : My mistake, it was 2008.

P : I was interested in Mitt Romney and I wanted him to win the New Hampshire primary. I knew he was in trouble because he had lost the Iowa caucus to Mike Huckabee. So I went to help out. So I did it by myself.

A : Is it frequent that people would do that ? Going by themselves to help a candidate ? »

P : Yes. It's not unusual. I don't know how frequent, but it's not unusual. I met a number of people while I was up there, people from different states helping out as well. But there were people helping other candidates. John Edwards had a group of people within the same building. He had an office there, with people on the telephone.

A : So you met people endorsing other candidates ?

P : I didn't meet them but I knew they were in the same building. And I assume there were people from other towns helping him.

36:00

A : What about the three groups in New Jersey ? Are they grassroots ? Or are they more about endorsing candidates, like the Independence Hall Tea Party for example ?

P : Which groups are you talking about ?

A : You told me there are three Tea Party groups in North Jersey ?

P : Near me. There are several in Northern Jersey, but there are three based in Morristown.

A : Yes, thank you for being specific. So, the three you know, are they about endorsing candidates or more grassroots ?

P : Less about endorsing specific candidates. I don't believe that as a group, they endorse any candidate. I mean, within the Republican ranks, they're all against Obama. So, when in 2012, Romney had won the nomination for the Republicans, everybody was for Mitt Romney, or just about everybody. But I don't recall anyone in the Tea Party, in any of the groups, endorsed among the Republicans. I think people within the Tea Party groups had different opinions about who they wanted. So I don't think there's a form of endorsement by any of the groups.

A : I've understood that you need to be a PAC to be able to endorse a candidate. Because if you get a tax exemption, you're not allowed to encourage people to go in this or that direction. Is that right ?

P : Certain types of PACs... there are different classifications within the tax code. Certain of them, depending on which tax exemption you're looking for, you can't formally endorse any candidate. But I'm not an expert on tax, so I don't know specifically.

A : For example, the three groups you know about, do they have a PAC, or not ?

P : I don't know. I think yes, but I don't know for sure.

A : And how did you know about the Independence Hall Tea Party conference? Did you receive an email ?

P : No, I learned about it through Facebook. One of the speakers was Dr. Elisa (X), she's running for United States Senate here in New Jersey. I went on to her website, I went on her Facebook page and I saw a notification about this event in Philadelphia. And, I had a day off and I thought I would take the train, it would be a good opportunity to hear what she had to say and possibly meet her. So I did.

A : Did you get a chance to meet her?

P : I did.

A : Were you able to have a good conversation?

P : About five minutes, which is long enough.

A : I spoke with one of the women who organize the Independence Hall Tea Party events. I spoke with the President, Terri Adams, and she told me that the group was more about endorsing candidates for the Senate than a grassroots organization.

P : You may notice, there are two major parties, the Democratic party and the Republican party. During the primaries, the Democrats decide which candidate they want to support, to get a Democrat nomination. The Republicans decide who they want to support to get a Republican nomination. As I mentioned, I don't know that the Tea Party groups will get involved as an organization, which Republican they support. But once is decided which Republican they support, they will endorse a Republican over a Democrat. Or at least they will work, with telephones, and they will knock on doors. I don't know if that's formally endorsing a candidate or not. But it's certainly true that they will rent an office and do some room and have people on telephones, calling, because that's just a way of monitoring the vote.

A : They will call the people and say that they are supported.

P : They will call and say « Please come up and vote for Mitt Romney. » Or « please come up and vote for Senator so and so. »

A : « And how do they choose the people to call? Do they have a list, or do they use the precinct ?

P : No, they have a list. I don't know where the list comes from. But usually political consultants have lists. It would be based... maybe on if you're a registered Republican. And that's public information. And they have figures based on last year election and on how you voted, and if you're actively Republican.

43:15

A : Since you went in 2008 by yourself to support Mitt Romney, it means you were involved in politics before the Tea Party came into being ?

P : I've been interested in politics before the Tea Party came into being, yes.

A : Because many people were not involved in politics at all.

P : Yes.

A : That's interesting, how all of a sudden, they started doing something because their situation became... and.. they just did it.

P : Yes.

A : Besides attending meetings and doing what you did for example in 2008, what do you think are the means of getting involved politically speaking ? Can you be active in a school board for example ? What are the local ways of getting involved ?

P : One thing you can do, as you mentioned, is being involved in a schoolboard. One thing I've been asked to do is to become a committeeman. Basically you get an elected position. Each town has two, a man and a woman, for each party. And I've been asked to run as a Republican committee person. What they do, is they get involved... They do a lot of things. If someone for example dies in office, sometimes it's the committee man that can recommend a replacement until the next election. They get involved with rally people to come out to vote. So basically you become really a member of the Republican National Committee or the Democratic National Committee, but you're locally elected so you have a lot of say, locally, about who's on the ballot.

A : You mean you have the power on who is going to win the ballot ?

P : Well... these things have been described to me. Since I don't do it, I don't know exactly. But as I mentioned before, for example if someone dies in office, or gets removed from office or resigns, the committee men can, I guess, recommend or maybe select a replacement. So it's a very powerful



office, if they get to act... they can be very powerful. But I'm not an expert... But I know... It's an elected position, you can win very easily. If you can get all your friends to vote, you can win. It's not like running for Congress you know.

A : But you didn't accept? You were asked to become a committee man for the Republican Committee but you said no ?

P : I was reluctant. I don't want... I didn't want to get involved in party politics. I have opinions about who I want to be in office. Most of them happen to be Republicans but not all of them. The older I get, the less I like the Democratic party. In fact I hate the Democratic party. I don't like the Republican party very much either. But the politicians I like the most tend to be in the Republican party. I like their principles. But most politicians won't act on their principles. It's like religious leaders who say religious principles but don't behave in a certain way. Republicans, they say certain things, which I would agree with, but often do the wrong thing when they're in office... So I might change my mind in the future about running for committee. But I have to find the specifics about what it is they do.

A : So you might. It's not utterly out of the question.

P : Exactly.

A : But do you know someone who is a committee man ?

P : Yes, several people.

A : And do you feel they have changed since they are committee persons ?

P : Oh no.

A : How long can you be a committee man ? Is it a term ?

P : Yes, I think it is a term, maybe two years. I don't know but I think it's usually two years, maybe three years.

A : I meant « changed » in the sense that they would be more trying to get people to vote for them.

P : Well, it's not like being a member of Congress. It's not a full time job at all. It's just that you're involved in Republican politics and you do things for the party, for the good of the party. But it's not like you're passing laws, you're not doing that. So the people who are committee persons, the two I remember are both women. They have not changed at all. There is no opportunity for them to change. But they're not passing laws. They don't need to do this job. It's not something, that is important... I shouldn't say that, it seems important but it's not the sort of job that would easily corrupt somebody.

A : I'm interested in knowing if there are people from the Tea Party who are elected as committee men, since you said it can be a powerful position. It might be interesting to know, because I think the Tea Party has understood that playing at the local level can be a way to get their ideas, their voice heard, in schoolboards, as committee persons.

P : Yes, the two people I know, the two women I know are involved in the Tea Party, they are active members, active Tea Party members.

A : Are they still active as committee persons, and still affiliated with the Tea Party ?

P : Yes.

A : I was just checking the time... I didn't want to take too much of your time. I didn't know what your schedule was.

P : Sunday mornings I normally watch a lot of television. There are lots of news shows, they have politicians and they do interviews... That's my Sunday morning ritual.

A : So you can catch up with what's been going on in the week.

P : But they replay them during the day. So I saw some of it this morning, but if I came earlier I would have missed most of it. But that's fine, I'd rather speak to you. This is a lot more fun.

A : I was wondering if we could Skype when I'm back in France, if I have questions.

P : I skyped once with a woman on vacation, so I know how it works.

A : It's so funny, and so cheap. That could be interesting. I was wondering...

53:58

A : Would you say that you have stepped down a little bit, as far as your interest in the Tea Party activities is concerned?

P : I've just had much going on. If I'm around... Part of the problem, and it's a small problem, where I'm working now, a lot of meetings start at 7am and I can't get there in time. But I go if I know about, but I've not heard anything so...

A : For example the three groups you know, you haven't heard about any meetings ?

P : I haven't heard but also I haven't looked in their websites.

A : I'm really curious to know if all groups... I won't study all groups of course, but if some of them are more using Facebook, or Meetup. I know that many use Meetup, it's a good way to inform people in time.

P : There is another Tea Party group based in a neighbouring county. I live in Morris County, there is one in Union County. She... I met her at another gathering, and she runs this other Union County Tea Party. I get her emails, she does invite me to her meetings. These meetings are actually in a diner, at nighttime so it's not too crowded. Her meetings are maybe twenty people, they usually get coffee and they sit around in a circle around a big table and they talk.

So compared to what I've talked about earlier, it's more intimate settings. She leads the discussion and she talks about the issues which they care about. If the United Nations is doing something that they find offensive, that you should get involved. If Congress has something that you should know about, they inform people. So I get invited to these, but I only attended one of those meetings a few months ago.

A : And did you like it ?

P : It was okay. It's okay.

A : Do you think it's more interesting to sit in a circle and being able to talk as a group, than listening to a speaker ?

P : It depends on the speaker and if I have anything to say about the topic. If I'm in a circle, if I have something to say. If I don't know anything about the issue, or I don't care about the issue, it's not going to work. It's not terribly interesting.

A : And last time how was it ?

P : It was okay.

A : Did you have anything to say ?

P : No. But it turned out I was very hungry, so I ordered food while the meeting was going on. So... It was after work.

A : What time was it ? Like 7 or... ?

P : Something like 7 I guess.

A : I'm interested in basic details.

P : I can tell.

A : It's important... because you say « I was hungry, I ordered food and then the meeting was over... »

P : No that it was not over, I was eating while the meeting was going on.

A : So it was not over but since you were eating it was not the same as if you were free to talk...

P : I couldn't interact.

A : So it's difficult to find a time that arranges everyone ? At weekends people sometimes go away, in the evening you might be tired of your day of work, or you simply can't make it because it's too early, and if you arrange a meeting at 8:30 it might be too late for some people.

P : Yes, I got there after the meeting started because I was working then and I was hungry. So the meeting was going on... And I was hungry so, that was not the ideal situation.

A : A last question maybe. Did the woman who's the leader... You spoke about different issues, but did she suggest any type of action ?

P : Yes, I don't recall what she said but yes, I think she did. But I can't give you the details.

A : But was it « Let's meet again... ? »

P : Well, « Let's meet again, we are going to Washington... » I don't want to give any bad details. But basically things like « If you want to call your Congressmen, call... » So there are instructions.

A : Instructions and encouraging people. I know the Tea Party Patriots site proposes a toolkit to people who are active members. They say exactly how you can do this and do that. Yesterday I went on the Cincinnati Tea Party website which has very specific material. And there are instructions, where they say how you can do this and do that. I don't know if it is the case for all.

P : Yes, they do have... One of the things I know they have... are day-long seminars, and how to be an activist, what you should do. I've never attended but they do have instructions, instruct forces on how to do things.

A : And you were not interested in going ?

P : Not terribly.

A : Why, if I may ask ?

P : It costs too much time. I don't have much time these days. It depends how you allocate your free time. Sometimes you just don't want to spend the whole day in a classroom. I'd rather lay on the couch or get some tea or...

## ***FIN DE L'ENTRETIEN***

### **A-3.5. ENTRETIEN 5**

**Keli Carender, Coordinatrice régionale de l'organisation Tea Party Patriots, 2 juillet 2014.**

**Entretien semi-guidé. Durée totale : 20 minutes. Extrait.**

**Entretien téléphonique avec Keli Carender, la militante libertarienne considérée comme l'une des figures principales à l'origine de l'émergence du mouvement (voir le développement). C'est Diana Reimer, qui m'a mise en contact avec cette militante qui a joué un rôle important au sein de l'organisation nationale, avant de démissionner en 2015 pour raisons familiales.**

**Etant donné la durée très courte de cet entretien, je me suis concentrée sur la question de l'investissement des militants Tea Party au niveau local, et du *town meeting*. La retranscription est faite à partir des notes prises pendant la conversation téléphonique.**

Agnès : Do you think the people in the Tea Party groups are involved at the local political level ?

Keli : As for the people in my area, there is little involvement, because it is a small area (Keli lives in the region of Seattle, Oregon). But I know of many other people involved at the municipal level. I know a woman in Memphis, Tennessee, who is a City Councilor, I should get you in touch with her. I can also give you the example of the City Council of my town, who have decided to impose an ordinance on dogs : you are allowed to walk only a specific number of dogs, at a certain time, in a certain way. And some people turn other people in when they don't follow the rule. This is a stupid regulation. Moreover, it means that you spy on your neighbour, and we don't need people spying on us. It is the type of little things where people can have an influence. It took them months to get rid of this ordinance, but they got rid of it in the end. I also know a Tea Party Patriots coordinator in Ohio who is involved in a State schoolboard. People get involved at the local level because they feel they can have an impact on their local area.

A : Is there a way of knowing the proportion of people involved in different groups ?

K : It is difficult to have that type of information.

A : Do you think it would be possible to do a survey ?

K : The solution would be that I pass the survey out for you (she means to groups affiliated to the Tea Party Patriots organization), yet I could not guarantee that people would answer because they are skeptical. Yet I would say that almost every group I know are involved, even here in my area.

Another example is the Mayor of Seattle, who has decided to raise the minimum wage to \$15 an hour. So the City Council has raised the minimum wage. A group of people has been working to organize a referendum to overturn it, saying it couldn't be \$15 an hour. That is the type of things we are doing here. Basically, it is about undoing the damage that they have done.

A : What proportion of people in the groups would you say is involved ?

K : I would say over 90 %.

A : Where do you get this figure from ?

K : From my talking to people. And especially now, people are not nationally focused, because they know they can have no impact on Washington D.C. So they have turned to local issues. You can really see things bubbling up in local areas. Besides, they know that politicians start at the local level. That is what the liberal involvement is about now, starting at the local level, and then go further if possible.

A : What about the issue of town meetings, or town hall meetings ? Are there town meetings organized in your area ?

K : Sometimes, yes. For example, there was a town meeting organized for the raise of the minimum wage. It is City Council town meetings. Yet they organize them over the lunch period, so it is not easy to attend. The format is sixty minutes for the side supporting the issue, and thirty minutes for the open comment period from the opposing side and from the audience. However they only left a few minutes for the opponents, and they barely had time to make their comments. They were against people who opposed the issue and did not leave them time to express themselves. Therefore the opposing side is trying to put the issue to a vote.

A : People from the Tea Party and conservative organizations complain that there has been a decline in the number of town meetings organized since 2009, after incidents with people from the Tea Party disrupting the meetings. Notably after the incident that happened with Arlen Specter. One of the arguments for organizing fewer of them is that it is time consuming, and that you can reach more people at once through mailing lists and phone calls.

K : Indeed since August 2009, there has been a decline. They never used that excuse before, but since then it has been used repeatedly.

A : What can you tell me about the ways people get involved ?

K : They write petitions, do sign waving, they attend public meetings or they speak during meetings. They pay attention to who runs for office, or some people themselves run for office. That can be for positions in the Water Commission for example, where nobody ever goes or hears about. And the huge thing local groups are working on is the Common Core. The vast majority of them are involved with this issue.

And about the survey, I am not sure I could do it. My organization first needs to agree to it. Tea Partiers don't like to give this type of information, they are independent you know.

A : How much of your time do you devote to the movement ?

K : Almost all my freetime. I gave up almost everything to be able to work with the Tea Party.

A : Now you are employed by the Tea Party Patriots. How long have you been employed by them ?

K : Since July 2010.

***FIN DE L'ENTRETIEN***

## **A-3.6. ENTRETIEN 6**

**Diana Reimer, Philadelphia Tea Party Patriots-Landsdale, 29 juin 2014.**

**Entretien libre. Durée totale : 36:35 minutes. Extrait.**

**Entretien conduit en voiture, avant d'arriver au domicile de Don et Diana Reimer à Landsdale, en banlieue de Philadelphie, où j'étais invitée cette année encore pour un barbecue.**

**Cet entretien contenir des explications détaillées entre parenthèses car j'ai pris également de nombreuses photos, et quelques vidéos.**

Diana : Don and I had the first Tea Party at Love Park. It was April 15. Many people attended. From that, many groups started. People from all over the South East (of Pennsylvania), and even people from Quakertown, Bucks County, and they started groups. A lot of people started groups on that day. So those coordinators came... many of them came down with me in Missouri (for the McDaniel campaign).

A : So the group started...

D : April 15, well shortly after April 15 of 2009. That's when everybody said « Ok, we've had enough, let's start a group. »

A : And of these groups that started at the time, what percentage is still working, would you say ?

D : Oh yes, they're still working groups so the fifth anniversary was to celebrate the grassroots Tea Party movement in Pennsylvania. And so all the coordinators from SouthEast... That's why Don and I are so well known, because basically we had the first Tax Day Tea Party.

A : You mean, in Pennsylvania ?

D : In Pennsylvania.

A : In Philadelphia, but not in whole Pennsylvania ?

D : See, I don't know exactly in all of Pennsylvania. But then I became the State coordinator for Tea Party Patriots Pennsylvania.

A : Yes, at that time. In April 2009.

D : Yeah. Shortly after that. And that's why I know all the groups over Pennsylvania. But Don and I are extremely well known for basically the Tea Party movement in the Philadelphia surrounding area and Pennsylvania. People know us all over.

A : And you were saying that Lower Bucks is a Quaker county ?

D : No, they're Bucks County. Quakertown is still in Bucks County, but that's another group. Quakertown, Allentown, Chester, Valley Forge.

A : I've seen that Valley Forge has a meeting in a few days, and I was wondering if I could go there.

D : Well, I can certainly send an introduction, and see if that would be fine with them.

A : Thank you, it would be great.

D : Betty Dunkel Herson was at our five year anniversary. Like I said, we know all of them, all of them know us. They know us for the work that we've done in Pennsylvania. And this is North Wales. So you see, we're all not too far from each other. So basically, I go to the one that has the best parking. (she laughs)

D : Have you ever heard of Merck, the pharmaceutical ? This hotel (she shows me an hotel on the left side of the road) was built for Merck, because they have so many people coming for training for working. We call it « Merck University » because it's so big. For example, they bought these houses, because they wanted that property. (She shows me all the premises.)

Merck is one of the biggest taxpayers in Montgomery County. It's huge.

A : The biggest employer in the county probably ?

D : They're very huge. I have a friend, she was from Germany, that worked here. And she got laid off, and got a job in Japan.

A : But it's an American company or a German company ?

D : No, it's an American company. They bring people from all over the world. So, this is all Merck. To your left, this is all Merck shopping mall. This road here was built for them. There was a road down there, and they closed it off to build this road. They have it all. I don't know of other company that is this big.

A : You mean in the county ?

D : Anywhere. I mean, this all...all of this is Merck. They have the Daycare.

A : Yes, it's a town in itself.

D : It is ! And it keeps going, and going, and going.

A : Like miles of them. (We can see « Merck Gate 3 ».)

D : This is where it ends.

A husband and wife, they are coordinators for Tea Party Patriots-Central Montgomery County, they both used to work at Merck. And the husband got laid off, but the wife is still there. He's working somewhere else, I don't know where.

A : And they created a group ?

D : Yes, it's the Philadelphia Tea Party Patriots-Central Montgomery.

D : So Don and I were talking and... because we want to help you to accomplish your goal. But what exactly is your goal ?

A : My goal is to understand the operationals of the group, of the movement. How you communicate, how you gather... That's one side. This is why I asked you last time if I could attend a conference call. And I'm sorry if I'm being pushy.

D : Oh no, you're not.

A : But I'm just asking, because sometimes you could say yes and...

D : That would not be my decision. I would have to get permission.

A : Yes, I understand that.

D : Now, we have... and I started this five years ago, a Pennsylvania call, just for Pennsylvania. But unfortunately... (she sighs) It's very frustrating. I had a very good attendance when I was running the call. But unfortunately I can't run the call anymore. I'm too busy.

A : You're too busy ! So who's doing it ?

D : Someone else...

A : And it's not as efficient.

D : It's not me, and people were used to me, so the attendance went way back.

A : All right.

D : So I said, « Ok, let's stop the call for a few months, regroup, and we'll start it up. » I said, « You guys have to figure out what to do, I don't. » I mean, take the initiative, take responsibility, and figure out what to do !

A : Yes, that's part of the tactics. And I'm also interested in how people respond to that. I mean, how they commit.

D : It's a commitment.

A : Of course it depends on how much time people have to devote to it.

D : It's an hour call. One hour.

A : A week ?

D : An hour !

A : All right. Because the call you were talking about yesterday, it's a national call...

D : That's a national call.

A : I understand.

D : And I got excuses this week, my God ! But anyway. (she laughs)

A : All right. So, and the Pennsylvania call...

D : ...used to be once a week, every Wednesday from 8 to 9.

A : And you did it for how long ?

D : Five years.

A : Oh ! For five years, so you just stopped recently doing it.

D : I just stopped, so X and Y, and Don... Don can't be a State coordinator, because he's married to me.

A : Oh, all right.

D : So it would look like favoritism. Which is too me, bunch of balloney but that's all right, that's what they want.

A : All right.

D : I don't know what the heck X has done as State coordinator. I don't really think a whole lot. I still know more people in Pennsylvania than he does, and that's ridiculous if you call these coordinators. It's a commitment for Pete's sake.

D : I'm sorry, I jsut seem so frustrated.

A : Of course.

(She shows the highschool.) There are 5,000 students in the highschool. It's huge ! There are students from the North Pennsylvanian area, Towamencin, Gwyneth, all over Montgomery County. (Dozens of school buses are parked.)

D : So that was to help you.

A : And I've been a bad pupil, I haven't done my questionnaire, but I'm working on it.

D : That's all right.

A : I mean, you've got so much already. So the tactics, operationals, organisation, communication...

D : Don knows as much as I.

A : And the other thing is, I would like to have an idea of how many people are involved in local politics. If there is a way of knowing how many people, in the different groups, are in schoolboards, in committees, and city councilors...

D : I understand that... That's a hard one. That would have to be... Every group would have to feed you on that.

A : Yeah.

D : There is no way...

A : ...of knowing...

D : No way of knowing.

A : That's really proper to each group.

D : Like I know one group, Coalition for Advancing Freedom, they had 16 people running for committee people at one point. Fourteen got it.

A : Wow, that's a lot !

D : That's amazing. So you need to...

A : When was that ?

D : A couple of years ago.

A : I should get in touch with them.

D : Yes, you need to talk to X and Y. They are the ones.

The Delaware County group, they're kind of strange. I know Lisa.

A : Lisa in on a schoolboard.

D : Right.

A : And I hope I will be able to interview her at some point. I don't know her. I met her last year.

D : Mary Ellen ?

A : Yes, I know Mary Ellen, and Cathy, and Marilyn, and Joanne.

D : They're very strange. They really are not connected with the rest of us, as much as the other groups are.

A : Yes, but that's also interesting for me, you know because that's part of the peculiarities of this movement, I think... that it is difficult to apprehend, because it's diverse.

D : It is diverse. And everybody has their own things that they're working on. What people decided to do, a couple of years ago, is concentrate on their local government and their state governement, rather than Washington. Cause Washington, basically, is a lost cause.

A : Yes ! And that's what I'm interested in too, local cause. Plus, I'm alone, I have to circumscribe my research. And I can follow what's happening in Washington in the news, you know. You can get the national statistics from big institutions. But what happens locally, in the groups, is very interesting for me. And talking to individuals, I can have a picture of what's happening, maybe not in all groups, maybe not as a regular process. But something I can't get from outside, you know.

D : I see.

A : That I can't get from statistics, from big institutions. And I'm more interested in that because that will be my... (I realize my video card is full...)

D : This is our neighborhood.

A : Yes, but this is what I need ! (I laugh) I wanted to make a video of the neighborhood, of the house, I have to come back ! (I laugh)

D : Oh yes, sure. Absolutely.

A : I can take pictures as well.

D : Don is gonna get our American flag up.

A : I really need to write a list of like 6-7 points so that you can introduce me to people, so they know what it is that I want.

D : Right. And please contact... Lil and Rob. Just send them an email.

A : Right.

D : And did you contact Kevin ?

A : Not yet.

D : Please do. He is a wealth of information.

A : All right, that's great.

(She shows the garden. I take pictures of the house and the yard, and the car in front of the house)

D : I will show you bumperstickers. Some of them are very provocative. This is something I would not normally do. (she laughs)

A : I don't know, it might be a bit dangerous for you.

D : Don said « We are Christians, » I said « And so are they supposed to be Christians ! ». I'm done playing nice.

(She shows me more of the garden, the barbecue. We joke about it)

(I take a picture of the back, and ask if I can make pictures of the kitchen, living room, to show where Tea Partiers live, to which she agrees.)

(She asks about the difference with Paris, and I say that you won't find that type of houses in Paris ; you would have to go in the suburb. Their neighborhood is more like the country for me.)

D : Yeah, this is nice. Actually, when we moved here... we've been here since 1999. Now, this whole community, nothing new has been built. But the surrounding area...

A : ...has changed a lot ?

D : Oh yes. Like that shopping area that's right above us. Well anyway, we lost one of our trees this year, from the storm.

A : Oh ! But there was no casualty ?

D : The fence was ruined in a few areas, but they were going to renew their fence anyway. So we paid for part of the tree removal, and they paid for part of it. That's fine.

When we first moved to Landsdale, we rented for a year because... We couldn't afford to buy at that time. So we moved to Harleysville, which is fifteen minutes off the road. But then after my mum died, we had to find a place.

A : That was 1999 ?

D : Yes... (She apologizes for the house, they were away for weeks.)

(I ask if I can make pictures inside. I take pictures of the kitchen.)

D : Hamburgers ! Do they eat hamburgers in France ?

A : Very little. It's really an American thing. We sometimes do, we go to McDonalds.

D : Oh god they have McDonalds there ? So sad !

A : Yes, it is. (we laugh) And they have the best locations in town, you know.

D : That is sad.

A : Yes. But we're not very big hamburger eaters.

***FIN DE L'ENTRETIEN***



### **A-3.7. ENTRETIEN 7**

**Patrick Humphries, Greater Boston Tea Party, 19 juillet 2014.**

**Entretien semi-guidé. Durée totale : 2 heures 7 minutes. Extrait.**

**Entretien conduit en voiture avec Patrick, pendant le trajet pour se rendre à la visite guidée de la Maison des Adams à Braintree, dans le Massachusetts (voir le développement). L'entretien s'est poursuivi pendant le trajet pour aller voir un film au cinéma à Boston, et enfin pendant le trajet de retour.**

A : Can you tell me about the evolution of your position in the Greater Boston Tea Party ?

P : Christine Morabito, who had been the president before, she had been at it for two years, and I think she was tired of it. She wanted to step down, so that's what she did, and we were looking for a new president, and I was there. We have a steering committee. It's not like we pull the whole leadership and ask people to do it. We're kind of like every organization. It's just a core group of people. It's called a steering committee. And any decision for what we're doing, and the group, and meetings, I assume the leadership, and I became president in January (2014).

A : But, a president like an elected, an official president?

P : Well, it's just within the steering committee. We're just kind of a governing council as it were.

A : But, what is your status? What is the status of the Greater Boston Tea Party? Is it a non-profit, is it a PAC? What is it?

P : It's a non-profit. It's... (he has a moment of hesitation)

A : Is it a 501c3?

P : We're operating like we're a 501c3 group.

A : But you're not?

P : We're not officially, no. We never filed all the paperwork. Back when we were looking at doing it two years ago, the lawyer we consulted said: « You might as well not bother, » which turned out to be true.

A : And how can you operate as one if you're not one?

P : Oh, we do everything as if we were. But people know that any donation they make are not tax deductible. It's more of a tax filing status. It's just a conglomeration of people. We're looking at it now. We're looking at formalizing our status now actually.

A : But in the meantime you've not had a business status...

P : Correct...

A : ...where you have to declare how much goes in and how much goes out.

P : No, we're not doing that. Various groups have done different things. I only know of a couple in the state that actually did get a 501c type status.

A : What would be the number?

P : Actually, I don't know. I've never polled, I've only heard one group say that they had.

A : Out of how many groups?

P : I've only asked to three or four. When I said: « What did you guys do ? » There's only one out of three or four. And even that one, the IRS took away their status from them for a while, so... They were kind of getting stuck.

A : What does that mean?

P : I think some paperwork they had to file.

A : They didn't keep the 501 status?

P : No, they didn't keep it.

A : But they have it again?

P : Yes, again.

A : So you can have it taken away for a time, and get it back?

P : Yes. I think you do file it once, but you have to renew the paperwork every year. Like I said, I'm not sure exactly about the other groups. What people have been talking about recently is following a corporation. Because based on a case called Citizens United, under tax law, you don't have to really be worried about how close you're got to watch your speech, what you do. Essentially the corporations have the ability to spend money on political speech.

A : And a corporation status, what does it depend on?

P : You have to file it. And what a corporation is can vary by State. Massachusetts is a little bit harder on corporation, which, to be honest, doesn't surprise me too much. There is a 500-dollar a year filing fee, so even if you're doing a very small business, you have to have a 500-dollar a year filing fee, plus other people... And I know a person or two who has done that as well, they've been doing Tea Party-like activities. So, that might be something we're looking at to do, although there's expensive fee with that.

A : I've heard that to file an application for the IRS you need a lawyer as well...

P : Yes.

A : Because it's pretty complicated and you cannot do it by yourself.

P : Yes.

A : So, you the Greater Boston Tea Party are thinking about becoming a corporation?

P : That's one of the things we're looking at. We want to file for a 501c4, I guess.

A : Because there is a difference between c3 and a c4?

P : Yes, c3 is « education only » and they're much more...how shall I say, aggressive with them, the IRS is. They will question you, they can be downright mean (he laughs). Actually, that's one of the things, I never saw... I got a bumper sticker called: « IRS is unfair ».

A : Yes, I need to take a picture of that.

P : There's actually a movie that is shown based on that premise. That's from that movie. And they're talking to various Tea Party people, and other people too that the IRS is going after. It's really rather scary.

6 :55

P : In one case, they went after a veteran of a foreign war group down in Texas. Because they had a donation jar out, to collect two dollars for, as kind of a nominal way to pay for the food they supply to people. They fined them fifty thousand dollars. It's crazy.

A : When you're a 501c3, you cannot have a jar ?

P : I don't know the details exactly, I saw it in the movie.

A : I thought you could have it, but you had to declare how much you had won.

P : Yes, I'm not sure what happened with that particular group, why the IRS went after them. It sounded like they were.. I guess they were considering that a payment of some type. It wasn't necessarily... Because they were collecting money for food, it was not considered a donation but a charge. The IRS does a lot of bad things as far as I'm concerned, and that was the premise behind the movie. One aspect they talked about in the movie too, is foreign adoptions. Basically, foreign adoption, you can write off a certain amount of the expense involved with the adoptions in general off on taxes. They want to encourage adoption, so that's one thing that they (prevent) taxpayers to do.

A : Adoption of children?

P : Yes. Foreign adoptions, I guess, they say there is a one hundred percent assumption that you're gaming the system. They will come after you one hundred percent of the time, which just seems crazy to me. You know, they're assuming everybody's lying.

A : And you said 501c3...

P : 501c3 is educational, 501c4 can do advocacy, which... Actually another group we're working with Massachusetts Fiscal Alliance, is a 501c4. They've actually a full-time staff too. When you're bringing more money, you can actually pay staff. Everything in our group is purely volunteer.

A : 501c3 is more with volunteers?

P : It's volunteering, and they're supposed to have more of an educational focus.

A : But what does that mean ?

P : Teaching classes on things... We were talking about governance, it's part of that. We were talking about the Constitution.

A : The Constitution classes refer to this educational status, for example?

P : Yes.

A : If you do classes on Twitter, Facebook, Constitution...

10 :10

P : We also invite candidates to come out, and do candidates forums as well. We don't endorse candidates, but we want people educated on them. Who they are, so they can talk about their positions on things.

A : Advocacy means endorsing candidates?

P : Yes, advocating for candidates... Yes.

P : Like literature-dropping and...

P : Yes. Newspapers inserts. Like this is a newspaper insert for the Massachusetts Fiscal Alliance. This is to say: « We want legislators to go for smaller government, less taxes ». So the Massachusetts Fiscal Alliance goes through their c4, and they advocate up on Beacon Hill, our State government, and say: « We want people to vote for smaller government, lower taxes, good governance issues »... like, they want transparency in government. Two of the issues they talk about there, deal with EBT cards ; EBT is food stamps, and I don't remember the other one... and they talk about transparency in government. So they're a good governance organization. And they do a very good job. One side is the Massachusetts Senate and the other is the Massachusetts House of Representatives. What's nice too, is they advocate. So they hand out to people too, they put out two waves of those (he shows me a newspaper insert). They had one wave of 150.000 and they had another wave of 350.000, and put those newspapers inserts.

A : Wave of numbers of these flyers?

P : Yes. They do insert in newspapers to inform people on how their representatives are voting.

A : They put it in the newspapers under that format ?

P : Yes.

A : So when you buy the newspaper, you get that paper inside.

P :

Yes.

A : And what newspaper?

P : I'm not sure exactly. They said they did it in over 70 newspapers, I don't remember the ones that they did it in. I mean, not the Boston Globe (he laughs). They're gonna do it in places were they don't have to spend a lot of money. They are fiscally conservative, they're also tight with their money. They also concentrate on areas where there are competitive races. If somebody scores very low on their score, and if they know there's a solid conservative candidate running in that district, they will be more likely to put the word out there. But they're pretty free about publishing that in as many places as they can. It's a way of informing voters about how people are voting. The gentleman who does that, he said there're actually some Democrats who score very well with them. As a matter of fact, one of the Senators is a Democrat, who has I think like an 80% grading rate with them. You can have conservatives or Democrats, fiscally conservative. Maybe they're not so conservative on social issues but... they deal with Fiscal issues. They're kind like a Tea Party. We ally with them as much as we can. They are a good organization. Their focuses are similar to ours. Although we do talk about Second Amendment issues, they don't. Neither of our groups get involved of social issues.

A : Yes, that's what you were telling Pat (Hess).

P : She was asking about MARA. That's another organization. They call themselves the Republican Wing of the Republican Party. Massachusetts Republican Assembly.

A : And how long have they been around?

P : It's been around I think for a while. I think that's a much older organization.

A : And, do they have any link with the Tea Party?

P : Well, since they do bring in social issues, I promote their things sometimes, they promote some things I've done. But we kind of stay at arm's length. In the past, our organization has had issues with people of a social conservative group because they wanted to bring in people who were speaking about gay marriage or abortion, in our discussions. We don't think that's an appropriate thing to have at a Tea Party meeting. I mean, we don't mind talking about it, but it's not a focus of a Tea Party meeting. Massachusetts is a fairly liberal State. And the people who are somewhat fiscally conservative, a fair number of them are libertarians. And libertarians are very much, you know they just want the

government out of everything, which means they shouldn't be in the bedroom quote to quote as well not talking about that.

16 :36

A : So, coming back on your position in the group. You became president, like an official president because... Do you have a board?

P : We do. We have a steering committee.

A : ...registered somewhere?

P : The organizational documents that we have... We have a steering committee, and we keep minutes of our meetings. So we do have an ongoing organization.

A : But these organizational documents are just for your personal use?

P : At the current time, yes.

A : It's not to be registered somewhere in any official or State agency, or anything?

P : Not currently, no.

A : So you said there are six of you in the steering committee?

P : Yes.

A : And a thousand people on the mailing list?

P : Yes.

A : What has been your involvement in terms of time devoted to the activities of the group since you became president?

P : I've been busy a fair amount of the time. It's a very captive role. I like to go to other organizations' meetings as well. So this past week I was at four different meetings. Monday I went to Catherine's Constitution class. Tuesday we ran a meeting in Holbrooke for the Greater Boston Tea Party. Wednesday I went to the Merrimack Valley Tea Party, which is north of Andover. And on Thursday, there was the Worcester Tea Party.

A : Too bad I was not here this week!

P : (he laughs) Yes, it was a busy week.

A : You organize meetings, you attend meetings. How do you encourage activism?

P : We always talk about it. In this particular meeting, the Holbrooke meeting I was running, and actually also at Merrimack Valley, the another meeting I was speaking about, we were talking about Common Core. And the Glenn Beck movie coming out. I think it's good to go to those things and... What's happening with Common Core is, that's one thing that is a Tea Party-type issue, but it's not strictly been talked about by Tea Party people. There are parents who are concerned, there are school committees that are concerned. This is kind of any large number of people, in very big ways that say: « Why are we changing our education standards? Why are we changing these testing system? » Textbooks are a huge expenditure for schools. Just a couple of years ago, they said : « Now, we're going to start implementing Common Core, » so... Five years ago, they bought new textbooks, they thought they would gonna last for six, eight years... Well, now you have to change the textbooks. And it's a mandate that's... Actually, what's funny is that when talking with people across the country, Common Core was not something that was sought after by anybody. Nobody went around there and said : « I want to join the Common Core. I want to go with these education standards. » The State of Massachusetts didn't say: « Let's do that! » ; Indiana didn't say :« Let's do that! ». It's something that... there is federal government money out there called « Raise to the top, » one of those nice catchy phrases that's put out here... Massachusetts received 256 million dollars of « Raise to the top » money to implement Common Core, and at first we rejected it.

A : What is « Raise to the top ? »

P : It's a federal Department of education program to encourage high standards.

A : It's national.

21 :51

P : Yes, the federal government wants standards to enhance... essentially it's Common Core, which was started by the Gates Foundation, which is very interesting stuff. And what's also funny though is that Common Core is making for very, very strange political bedfellows. I don't know if you have heard this phrase before: « Politics makes for strange bedfellows ».

A : No, I haven't.

P : People of differing opinions, or differing philosophies... It essentially means you're in bed with somebody else that you normally wouldn't be in bed with, quote to quote, as in working together on something. And it's strange because, in the case of Common Core, because there's a number of Republicans like Jeb Bush who's been talked about as potential presidential candidate in 2016. He's one of the Bush brothers. He's very pro-Common Core. He's also made education policy one of his signature issues. He's a Republican, I wouldn't say conservative, but he's a Republican who's very pro-Common Core. Teachers unions are typically very liberal. Probably 95% of any union money from any type of a union goes to support Democrat candidates. This past... it was either May or June, the Massachusetts teachers association elected somebody who is very much anti-Common Core. A teachers' union, very liberal group, going out against Common Core! In Massachusetts, one of the groups being pro-Common Core is the Massachusetts Business Alliance. For businesses, they should be theoretically somewhat conservative, but they are pro-Common Core.

A : And what is their argument ?

P : They think it's a good standard. They think it's a good thing, and they think it's gonna be good for business I guess.

A : Because it's gonna be easier to scout students maybe?

P : What's interesting is... Jamie Gass speaks about it. There's a couple of good videos about it. There are two or three people who talk very much about it. Jamie Gass makes the point that Common Core is really to produce workers. It's more geared towards producing workers in the workforce, and it's not, as much as they want to suggest that it's higher in STEM, science, technology, engineering and maths, it's called kind of the harder curricula. They say it's supposed to build that, but a lot of people say it doesn't. Actually it's having algebra starting a year later than they had to. Typically, I think it's moved from the 8th grade to the 9th grade when you're taking algebra for the first time. That's not a good thing, that will lower the standards. Why they're for it, I don't know.

A : Maybe it's easier to select a bunch of students who respond to the criteria, and that answers specific needs in the business. They know they won't have to train them more in this or that field. Maybe, I don't know.

P : What's funny though is that Common Core... the curriculum has been implemented in Massachusetts... and the latest test scores show that our results dropped five percent. It's bad!

A : Whom does it depend on to get rid of Common Core in Massachusetts?

P : The standards we currently have, have brought us really to the first of the nation status, when it was first implemented that was a bipartisan effort. Tom Birmingham, who is a Democratic Senate leader... worked with the Governor Bill Well who is a Republican. They were people who said let's come up with, let's develop these high education standards.

A : When was that?

P : Back in the nineties. We came up with a very high education standard.

***FIN DE L'ENTRETIEN***

## A-4 – LA « CONTROVERSE IRS »

### A-4.1. Chronologie des événements, publiée par le média Politico

## POLITICO TIMELINE OF THE IRS SCANDAL



#### APRIL 2010

A "Sensitive Case Report" on the targeted tea party groups is shared with Lerner. This is the first time a top IRS official is given details about the spike in tea party applications.

#### JUNE AND JULY 2011

Lerner is briefed that employees are using search terms such as "tea party," "patriots," "9/12 Project," "government spending," "government debt," "taxes" and "make America a better place to live" to flag applications. Lerner, after learning about the search terms, tells the Cincinnati office to revise its guidelines for flagging applications. The guidance is expanded to include "organizations involved with political, lobbying, or advocacy for exemption under 501(c)(3) or 501(c)(4)."

Also in June, Lerner's hard drive crashes, erasing two years' worth of emails investigators deem vital to their probes.

#### DECEMBER 2011

House Ways and Means Oversight Subcommittee staffers meet with Lerner, but she doesn't mention the targeting program.

#### JANUARY 2012

Cincinnati employees change their search terms again — without telling management. This time, the search terms aren't as specific as "tea party" and "9/12," but they still focus on political positions such as "limiting/expanding government" and "social-economic reform/movement." Upon discovering the change, Lerner institutes new rules requiring all changes to the search term criteria be approved by management.

#### MARCH 2012

Republican House Oversight Committee Chairman Darrell Issa expresses concern to the IRS inspector general that tea party groups are being unfairly targeted by the agency. Doug Shulman, IRS commissioner when the targeting program got underway, vehemently denies to lawmakers in March 2012 that the agency was targeting conservative groups. He is briefed two months later but never follows up with lawmakers.

#### JUNE AND JULY 2012

Issa officially requests that the inspector general audit the IRS to see how employees are processing applications for nonprofit groups. IRS Inspector General J. Russell George writes a letter to Issa confirming an audit is underway.

#### NOVEMBER 2012

Shulman leaves his post atop the IRS due to term limits. Steve Miller becomes acting IRS commissioner.

#### MARCH 2013

Treasury officials are told of the IRS inspector general audit's initial findings and are provided with an early draft report.

#### MAY 2013

**The scandal erupts:** At the request of Miller, Lerner responds to a planted question by apologizing for disparate treatment at an American Bar Association meeting in Washington. "That was wrong. That was absolutely incorrect; it was insensitive, and it was inappropriate. That's not how we go about selecting cases for further review," Lerner says on May 10.

**Days later:** the inspector general releases the findings, congressional hearings begin and the FBI starts a probe. Miller steps down at the White House's request on May 15.

**On May 22:** Lerner goes before the House Oversight Committee and declares her innocence before invoking her Fifth Amendment right and refuses to answer questions from lawmakers. She is placed on administrative leave the following day.

#### SEPTEMBER 2013

Lerner retires from the IRS.

#### FALL 2013 - SPRING 2014

Republicans continue to release Lerner emails showing she allegedly leaned left and may have taken a special interest in Crossroads GPS.

#### MAY 2014

The House votes to hold Lerner in contempt of Congress.

#### JUNE 2014

The IRS tells Congress that it "has determined that Ms. Lerner's computer crashed in mid-2011" and that some of her emails were lost, preventing the IRS from handing the emails over to the panels investigating her.

#### JULY 2014

A federal judge orders the IRS to explain under oath how it lost emails connected to Lerner. The Justice Department tells lawmakers it is investigating the circumstances surrounding the lost emails.

#### SEPT. 5, 2014

Sen. Carl Levin, who chairs the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, releases a report suggesting that the IRS improperly treated both liberal and conservative groups applying for tax exemptions while criticizing the 2013 report from the Treasury Inspector General for Tax Administration for focusing only on the scrutiny given to tea party groups.

Graphique inséré dans l'article « Timeline of IRS scandal », de Rachael Bade, publié le 22 septembre 2014

**A-4.2. Extrait du courrier envoyé par l'animateur conservateur Mark Levin à l'Inspecteur général du Trésor, le 23 mars 2012, pour demander la conduite d'une enquête afin de démontrer les abus de l'IRS.**

Mark Levin envoie le courrier au nom de son organisation Landmark Legal Foundation, dont il est le Président.

This level of inquiry goes well beyond the scope of the Form 1023 application for exempt status and appears to be improper. As you are aware, to qualify as a tax-exempt organization under 501(c)(3), the organization must prove that it is both organized and operated exclusively for tax-exempt purposes. Treas. Reg. Sec. 1.501(c)(3)-1(d)(1)(i)(a). To meet the organizational test, it must show that its Articles of Incorporation do not authorize it to undertake any non-exempt activity. 26 U.S.C. Sec. 501(c)(3)-1(b)(i)(iii). To meet the operational test, the organization must show that it operates exclusively for exempt purposes, that it has no substantial non-exempt purpose, and that no benefits inure from it to private individuals. Treas. Reg. Sec. 1.501(c)(3)-1(c). Any inquiry by the Service should be limited to determining whether an applicant satisfies both the "organizational" and "operation" tests. The questions presented herein go well beyond making such a determination.

Moreover, inquiries about personal associations and political viewpoints are not only inappropriate, but impinge upon constitutionally-protected freedoms of speech and association. Although the Internal Revenue Code has limited the tax exemption subsidy of 501(c)(3) organizations to groups that do not participate in political activity, the Service must still tread lightly when dealing with fundamental constitutional rights. Inquiring about the positions a prospective organization adopts on various policy issues serves no valid purpose if the organization does not engage in political activity. Such inquiries appear to be designed only to intimidate the applicants. As it has been upheld repeatedly by the Supreme Court, the government cannot regulate political speech with laws that chill permissible speech. Finally, reports that Tea Party-related organizations are being singled out for the IRS's intrusive inquiries raises serious questions about the propriety of the personnel involved in the evaluation of tax exemption applications.

Landmark Legal Foundation respectfully requests an immediate and thorough investigation to determine whether IRS employees are acting improperly in the evaluation of exempt status applications. This investigation also must determine whether the relevant IRS employees are acting at the direction of politically motivated superiors.

Sincerely,  
  
Mark R. Levin  
President

## A-4.3. Formulaire 1023-EZ

Formulaire allégé (3 pages au lieu de 26) pour effectuer une demande d'exonération fiscale selon la section 501c3 du Code des impôt. Pages 1 et 2 (sur 3).

You must complete the Form 1023-EZ Eligibility Worksheet in the Instructions for Form 1023-EZ to determine if you are eligible to file this form. Form 1023-EZ is filed electronically only on Pay.gov. Go to [www.irs.gov/form1023ez](http://www.irs.gov/form1023ez) for additional filing information.

Form <b>1023-EZ</b> (June 2014) Department of the Treasury Internal Revenue Service	<b>Streamlined Application for Recognition of Exemption Under Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code</b> ▶ Do not enter social security numbers on this form as it may be made public. ▶ Information about Form 1023-EZ and its separate instructions is at <a href="http://www.irs.gov/form1023">www.irs.gov/form1023</a> .	OMB No. 1545-0056  Notice: If exempt status is approved, this application will be open for public inspection.
<input type="checkbox"/> Check this box to attest that you have completed the Form 1023-EZ Eligibility Worksheet in the current instructions, are eligible to apply for exemption using Form 1023-EZ, and have read and understand the requirements to be exempt under section 501(c)(3).		
<b>Part I Identification of Applicant</b>		
1a Full Name of Organization _____		
b Address (number, street, and room/suite). If a P.O. box, see instructions.		c City _____
		d State _____ Zip Code + 4 _____
2 Employer Identification Number _____	3 Month Tax Year Ends (MM) _____	4 Person to Contact if More Information is Needed _____
5 Contact Telephone Number _____		6 Fax Number (optional) _____
		User Fee Submitted _____
8 List the names, titles, and mailing addresses of your officers, directors, and/or trustees. (If you have more than five, see instructions.)		
First Name:	Last Name:	Title:
Street Address:	City:	State: _____ Zip Code + 4: _____
First Name:	Last Name:	Title:
Street Address:	City:	State: _____ Zip Code + 4: _____
First Name:	Last Name:	Title:
Street Address:	City:	State: _____ Zip Code + 4: _____
First Name:	Last Name:	Title:
Street Address:	City:	State: _____ Zip Code + 4: _____
First Name:	Last Name:	Title:
Street Address:	City:	State: _____ Zip Code + 4: _____
First Name:	Last Name:	Title:
Street Address:	City:	State: _____ Zip Code + 4: _____
9 a Organization's Website (if available): _____		
b Organization's Email (optional): _____		
<b>Part II Organizational Structure</b>		
1 To file this form, you must be a corporation, an unincorporated association, or a trust. Check the box for the type of organization. <input type="checkbox"/> Corporation <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Unincorporated association <input type="checkbox"/> Trust		
2 <input type="checkbox"/> Check this box to attest that you have the organizing document necessary for the organizational structure indicated above. (See the instructions for an explanation of necessary organizing documents.)		
3 Date incorporated if a corporation, or formed if other than a corporation (MMDDYYYY): _____		
4 State of incorporation or other formation: _____		
5 Section 501(c)(3) requires that your organizing document must limit your purposes to one or more exempt purposes within section 501(c)(3). <input type="checkbox"/> Check this box to attest that your organizing document contains this limitation.		
6 Section 501(c)(3) requires that your organizing document must not expressly empower you to engage, otherwise than as an insubstantial part of your activities, in activities that in themselves are not in furtherance of one or more exempt purposes. <input type="checkbox"/> Check this box to attest that your organizing document does not expressly empower you to engage, otherwise than as an insubstantial part of your activities, in activities that in themselves are not in furtherance of one or more exempt purposes.		
7 Section 501(c)(3) requires that your organizing document must provide that upon dissolution, your remaining assets be used exclusively for section 501(c)(3) exempt purposes. Depending on your entity type and the state in which you are formed, this requirement may be satisfied by operation of state law. <input type="checkbox"/> Check this box to attest that your organizing document contains the dissolution provision required under section 501(c)(3) or that you do not need an express dissolution provision in your organizing document because you rely on the operation of state law in the state in which you are formed for your dissolution provision.		

For Paperwork Reduction Act Notice, see the instructions.      Catalog No. 69267N      Form **1023-EZ** (6-2014)



You must complete the Form 1023-EZ Eligibility Worksheet in the instructions for Form 1023-EZ to determine if you are eligible to file this form. Form 1023-EZ is filed electronically only on Pay.gov. Go to [www.irs.gov/form1023ez](http://www.irs.gov/form1023ez) for additional filing information.

**Part III Your Specific Activities**

- 1 Enter the appropriate 3-character NTEE Code that best describes your activities (See the instructions): \_\_\_\_\_
- 2 To qualify for exemption as a section 501(c)(3) organization, you must be organized and operated exclusively to further one or more of the following purposes. By checking the box or boxes below, you attest that you are organized and operated exclusively to further the purposes indicated. Check all that apply.
 

<input type="checkbox"/> Charitable	<input type="checkbox"/> Religious	<input type="checkbox"/> Educational
<input type="checkbox"/> Scientific	<input type="checkbox"/> Literary	<input type="checkbox"/> Testing for public safety
<input type="checkbox"/> To foster national or international amateur sports competition	<input type="checkbox"/> Prevention of cruelty to children or animals	
- 3 To qualify for exemption as a section 501(c)(3) organization, you must:
  - Refrain from supporting or opposing candidates in political campaigns in any way.
  - Ensure that your net earnings do not inure in whole or in part to the benefit of private shareholders or individuals (that is, board members, officers, key management employees, or other insiders).
  - Not further non-exempt purposes (such as purposes that benefit private interests) more than insubstantially.
  - Not be organized or operated for the primary purpose of conducting a trade or business that is not related to your exempt purpose(s).
  - Not devote more than an insubstantial part of your activities attempting to influence legislation or, if you made a section 501(h) election, not normally make expenditures in excess of expenditure limitations outlined in section 501(h).
  - Not provide commercial-type insurance as a substantial part of your activities. Check this box to attest that you have not conducted and will not conduct activities that violate these prohibitions and restrictions.
- 4 Do you or will you attempt to influence legislation?  Yes  No  
(If yes, consider filing Form 5768. See the instructions for more details.)
- 5 Do you or will you pay compensation to any of your officers, directors, or trustees?  Yes  No  
(Refer to the instructions for a definition of compensation.)
- 6 Do you or will you donate funds to or pay expenses for individual(s)?  Yes  No
- 7 Do you or will you conduct activities or provide grants or other assistance to individual(s) or organization(s) outside the United States?  Yes  No
- 8 Do you or will you engage in financial transactions (for example, loans, payments, rents, etc.) with any of your officers, directors, or trustees, or any entities they own or control?  Yes  No
- 9 Do you or will you have unrelated business gross income of \$1,000 or more during a tax year?  Yes  No
- 10 Do you or will you operate bingo or other gaming activities?  Yes  No
- 11 Do you or will you provide disaster relief?  Yes  No

**Part IV Foundation Classification**

Part IV is designed to classify you as an organization that is either a private foundation or a public charity. Public charity status is a more favorable tax status than private foundation status.

- 1 If you qualify for public charity status, check the appropriate box (1a - 1c below) and skip to Part V below.
  - a  Check this box to attest that you normally receive at least one-third of your support from public sources or you normally receive at least 10 percent of your support from public sources and you have other characteristics of a publicly supported organization. Sections 509(a)(1) and 170(b)(1)(A)(vi).
  - b  Check this box to attest that you normally receive more than one-third of your support from a combination of gifts, grants, contributions, membership fees, and gross receipts (from permitted sources) from activities related to your exempt functions and normally receive not more than one-third of your support from investment income and unrelated business taxable income. Section 509(a)(2).
  - c  Check this box to attest that you are operated for the benefit of a college or university that is owned or operated by a governmental unit. Sections 509(a)(1) and 170(b)(1)(A)(iv).
- 2 If you are not described in 1a - 1c above, you are a private foundation. As a private foundation, you are required by section 508(a) to have specific provisions in your organizing document, unless you rely on the operation of state law in the state in which you were formed to meet those requirements. This specific provision requires that you operate to avoid liability for private foundation excise taxes under sections 4941-4945.
  - Check this box to attest that your organizing document contains the provisions required by section 508(a) or that your organizing document does not need to include the provisions required by section 508(a) because you rely on the operation of state law in your particular state to meet the requirements of section 508(a). (See the instructions for explanation of the section 508(a) requirements.)

Form 1023-EZ is filed electronically only on Pay.gov.

## A-5 – PROFIL SOCIO-ECONOMIQUE DES MILITANTS

Tous les documents de cette annexe proviennent de mes archives personnelles.

### A-5.1. Don et Diana Reimer, groupe Philadelphia Tea Party Patriots-Landsdale



Leur domicile à Landsdale, en banlieue de Philadelphie (Montgomery County), en Pennsylvanie



Leur véhicule



Le canapé dans le salon



La cuisine

## A-5.2. Marilyn, groupe Delaware County Patriots



Son domicile à Springfield, en banlieue de Philadelphie (Delaware County)



Son véhicule



Le salon



La cuisine-salle à manger

### A-5.3. Rob et Lil, groupe Philadelphia Tea Party Patriots-Lower Bucks



Le Easter Dawn Mobile Home Park à Trevose, en banlieue de Philadelphie (Bucks County)



Rob et Lil devant leur mobile home



Leur véhicule

#### A-5.4. Joanne, groupe Delaware County Patriots



La salle à manger, dans son domicile situé à East Goshen, en grande banlieue de Philadelphie (Chester County)



La cuisine



Le salon



Le salon côté fenêtre

### A-5.5. Matt, groupe Worcester Tea Party



Le domicile de Matt, à Marlborough, dans le Massachusetts



Matt à côté de son véhicule



Le salon

# A-6 – DOCUMENTS CONCERNANT LE GROUPE DELAWARE COUNTY PATRIOTS

**Tous les documents de cette annexe proviennent de mes archives personnelles.**

## **A-6.1. Marque-page distribué lors du défilé du 4 juillet 2014**

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Bill of Rights</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">First 10 Amendments to the Constitution</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Written by James Madison Ratified December 15, 1791</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>First Amendment</b></p> <p>Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Second Amendment</b></p> <p>A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Third Amendment</b></p> <p>No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Fourth Amendment</b></p> <p>The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Fifth Amendment</b></p> <p>No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Sixth Amendment</b></p> <p>In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor; and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Seventh Amendment</b></p> <p>In Suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise reexamined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Eighth Amendment</b></p> <p>Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Ninth Amendment</b></p> <p>The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Tenth Amendment</b></p> <p>The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: center;">PRINTED COURTESY OF THE <b>DELAWARE COUNTY PATRIOTS</b> ADVOCATING FOR FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY • FREE MARKETS CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES Facebook Pgs: The Delaware County Patriots Education Watchdog PA - commoncore1 delcopatriots@yahoo.com (610) 572-3442 <a href="http://www.delawarecountypatriots.com">www.delawarecountypatriots.com</a></p> <hr/>
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A-6.2. Résultat du sondage effectué lors du pique-nique annuel du groupe, le 13 septembre 2015

PICNIC ATTENDEES - SEPTEMBER 13, 2015  
2016 STRAW POLL TALLY

2016 CANDIDATES	COUNTS	TOTAL
BUSH, JEB		—
CARSON, BEN	HHH LHH	10
CHRISTIE, CHRIS	11	2
① CRUZ, TED	HHH LHH HHH HHH HHH LHH	29
FIORINA, CARLY	HHH LHH HHH	15
GILMORE, JIM		—
GRAHAM, LINDSEY		—
HUCKABEE, MIKE	111	3
JINDAL, BOBBY	HHH 111	8
KASICH, JOHN	111	3
PATAKI, GEORGE		—
PAUL, RAND	1111	4
PERRY, RICK		—
RUBIO, MARCO	11	2
SANTORUM, RICK		—
② TRUMP, DONALD	HHH HHH HHH HHH	20
③ WALKER, SCOTT	HHH LHH HHH 1	16
MOST IMPORTANT ISSUES	COUNTS	TOTAL
CLIMATE CHANGE		
ECONOMY	HHH LHH 111	13
EDUCATION	1	1
GUN CONTROL	HHH 1111	9
① IMMIGRATION	HHH HHH LHH HHH HHH LHH 1	31
NATIONAL DEBT	HHH HHH LHH	15
② NATIONAL SECURITY	HHH HHH HHH HHH 11	23
③ OBAMACARE	HHH HHH LHH 11	17
Big Gov't	1	1
WORLD LEADERSHIP	1	1
CONSTRUCTION		
Will Trump stay in the race?		
① Yes	HHH HHH HHH 11	17
② No	HHH 11	8



**A-6.3. Formulaire servant de support à une enquête conduite lors d'une réunion du groupe, le 18 novembre 2015**

**TAG**

**TAXPAYERS FOR ACCOUNTABLE GOVERNMENT**  
 Email: TAG.Delco@gmail.com • (484) 995-1540

*Please print clearly!* Date \_\_\_\_\_

Name		
Street		
Postal Town	State	Zip
Name of the Town or Borough You Actually Reside In <i>(If different from Mailing Address above)</i>		
<small>Note: Address, Phone and Email info is for our private use only (meetings, action alerts, etc.).</small>		
Home Phone		
Cell Phone *	*Permission to Call? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No	Your Initials Here
Email Address		
Occupation		
Age Range	<input type="checkbox"/> 20-29	<input type="checkbox"/> 30-45
	<input type="checkbox"/> 46-60	<input type="checkbox"/> 61-74
		<input type="checkbox"/> 75+

*Please check all that apply:*

I am an Activist and think I can help the group on the organizational level. Committees, etc.

I would like to participate in occasional rallies, parades, special projects and/or events.

I have held elected office: What? \_\_\_\_\_  
 Where? \_\_\_\_\_ When? \_\_\_\_\_

I have campaign/organizational experience and want to help get conservatives elected.

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Use this space and the back page for your suggestions or comments.

### A-6.3. Sondage distribué lors d'une réunion du groupe, le 18 novembre 2015

2016 PRESIDENTIAL STRAW POLL  
11/18/15

**IF TODAY WAS ELECTION DAY - WHO WOULD YOU VOTE FOR?**

<input type="checkbox"/>	BUSH, JEB
<input type="checkbox"/>	CARSON, BEN
<input type="checkbox"/>	CHRISTIE, CHRIS
<input type="checkbox"/>	CRUZ, TED
<input type="checkbox"/>	FIORINA, CARLY
<input type="checkbox"/>	GILMORE, JIM
<input type="checkbox"/>	GRAHAM, LINDSEY
<input type="checkbox"/>	HUCKABEE, MIKE
<input type="checkbox"/>	JINDAL, BOBBY
<input type="checkbox"/>	KASICH, JOHN
<input type="checkbox"/>	PATAKI, GEORGE
<input type="checkbox"/>	PAUL, RAND
<input type="checkbox"/>	RUBIO, MARCO
<input type="checkbox"/>	SANTORUM, RICK
<input type="checkbox"/>	TRUMP, DONALD
<input type="checkbox"/>	
<input type="checkbox"/>	

**WHAT IS YOUR #1 ISSUE?**

<input type="checkbox"/>	CLIMATE CHANGE
<input type="checkbox"/>	ECONOMY
<input type="checkbox"/>	EDUCATION
<input type="checkbox"/>	GUN CONTROL
<input type="checkbox"/>	IMMIGRATION
<input type="checkbox"/>	NATIONAL DEBT
<input type="checkbox"/>	NATIONAL SECURITY
<input type="checkbox"/>	OBAMACARE
<input type="checkbox"/>	
<input type="checkbox"/>	

**QUESTION**

Yes	Should Pennsylvania accept Syrian refugees?
No	

### A-6.5. Email invitant au pique-nique annuel du groupe, en septembre 2017

Delaware County Patriots  
 À : agnestrouillet1@orange.fr  
 Announcing Annual Picnic, Delaware County Patriots!

8 août 2017 15:07  
[Détails](#)



Join The Delaware County Patriots  
 for  
**The 2017 Annual Group Picnic!**

Let's give **FALL** a patriotic welcome  
 Sunday, September 10<sup>th</sup>

## A-7 – DOCUMENTS CONCERNANT LE GROUPE GREATER BOSTON TEA PARTY

**Tous les documents de cette annexe proviennent de mes archives personnelles.**

### **A-7.1. Distribution de prospectus pour une candidate républicaine, à Worcester, en août 2013**



Une militante républicaine remet les prospectus et la « walking list » (liste des électeurs par circonscription) à Patrick



La militante et Patrick, arborant un tee-shirt citant les premières lignes du roman *Atlas Shrugged* d'Ayn Rand.

Ward	Pct	NAME	ADDRESS	APT	Party	Notes	Issues
6	1	RYAN ZAZA	20 VALE ST	2	U		
6	1	CARLTON KEMP	24 VALE ST	2	R		
6	1	SUSAN THOMSON	17 VERNON ST	2	R		
6	1	JOSHUA EASON	19 VERNON ST	1	R		
6	1	RAMON ZAYAS	21 VERNON ST	2	R		
6	1	LUIS SANTOS	27 VERNON ST		R		
6	1	JOSE RIVERA	27 VERNON ST		R		
6	1	LUIS ROHENA	33 VERNON ST	2	R		
6	1	WANDA ALVAREZ	47 VERNON ST	1	R		
6	1	RICHARD RODRIGUEZ	47 VERNON ST	1	R		
6	1	JAMES GIL	59 VERNON ST	2	R		
6	1	HENRY BERNAL	1 VERNON TER	3	R		
6	1	JOSEPH WHEELER	3 VERNON TER	2	U		
6	2	DIANNE COONAN	56 ACTON ST		U		
6	2	MOUSTAPH FALL	58 ACTON ST		R		Scott Brown
6	2	JOHN KING	59 ACTON ST		U		Suppo

La walking list classée par noms d'électeurs



Patrick utilisant son téléphone pour chercher les noms de rue sur Internet.



Patrick insérant un prospectus dans la porte d'entrée d'une maison.

### **A-7.2. Actions militantes contre le Common Core, en juillet 2014**



Patrick faisant signer une pétition contre le Common Core, avant la projection du film de Glenn Beck

# A-7.3. Autorisation du Boston Parks and Recreation Department, pour le rassemblement Tax Day Tea Party organisé par le groupe en 2015



## Boston Parks and Recreation Department 2015 Park Permit



**Contract #:** 9759 **User:** Class  
**Date:** 23 Jan 2015 **Status:** Firm

I hereby grants Greater Boston Tea Party (hereinafter called the "Licensee") represented by Patrick Humphreis, permission to use the Facilities as outlined, subject to the Terms and Conditions of this Agreement contained herein and attached hereto all of which form part of this Agreement and is non-transferrable.

- i) Purpose of Use Large Scale Event/Concert  
Tax Day Rally
- ii) Conditions of Use Any tents over 10x10 must have building permit from Boston Inspectional Services. Generator must be diesel only-no gas powered generators. Amplified sound requires an Entertainment License from Boston Consumer Affairs and Licensing. No moon bounces or any mechanical or inflatable rides. No alcoholic beverages allowed in park
- iii) Date(s) and Time(s) of Use # of Bookings: 1 Starting: Sat 11 Apr 15 10:30 AM Ending: Sat 11 Apr 15 06:00 PM Expected: 2,000

Facility/Equipment	Day	Start Date	Start Time	End Date	End Time	Fee	XFee	Tax	Total
Boston Common - Parkman Bandstand (Zone 5)	Sat	11 Apr 2015	10:30 AM	11 Apr 2015	06:00 PM	\$0.00	\$180.00	\$0.00	\$180.00

iv) Additional Fees

Extra Fee - Bookings	Hours	Quantity	Charge	Tax	Total
Electrical	7:30	1	\$180.00	\$0.00	\$180.00
	7:30	1	\$180.00	\$0.00	\$180.00

v) Payment Method  
 Maintenance, Electrical and Park Ranger Details payable to: "Boston Parks & Recreation Department",  
 Promotional/Donation payable to: "The Fund for Parks & Recreation",  
 Detail fees are estimates only. Any adjustments will be made following the event.

Extra Fees	Damage Deposit	Total Applied	Balance	Current
\$180.00	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$180.00	\$180.00

Balance of rental due and payable immediately.

The undersigned has read and on behalf of the Licensee agrees to be bound by this Permit/License and the Terms and Conditions contained herein and attached hereto, and hereby warrants and represents that he/she executes this Permit/License on behalf of the Licensee and has sufficient power, authority and capacity to bind the Licensee with his/her signature.

X: \_\_\_\_\_

Patrick Humphreis  
 Greater Boston Tea Party  
 11 William Street

Bedford MA 01730  
 Home #: () Business #: (781)  
 Fax #: ()

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

X:   
 For Chris Cook  
 Commissioner

Saturday, March 28, 2015

We hope you enjoy the use of our beautiful open spaces. Please help us to keep our parks clean for other users.  
 No Smoking in Boston Parks and have a great season!



## Boston Parks and Recreation Department 2015 Park Permit



Contract #: 9759  
Date: 23 Jan 2015

User: Class  
Status: Firm

hereby grants Greater Boston Tea Party (hereinafter called the "Licensee") represented by Patrick Humphreys, permission to use the Facilities as outlined, subject to the Terms and Conditions of this Agreement contained herein and attached hereto all of which form part of this Agreement and is non-transferrable.

- i) Purpose of Use: Large Scale Event/Concert  
Tax Day Rally
- ii) Conditions of Use: Any tents over 10x10 must have building permit from Boston Inspectional Services. Generator must be diesel only-no gas powered generators. Amplified sound requires an Entertainment License from Boston Consumer Affairs and Licensing. No moon bounces or any mechanical or inflatable rides. No alcoholic beverages allowed in park.

iii) Date(s) and Time(s) of Use # of Bookings: 1 Starting: Sat 11 Apr 15 10:30 AM Expected: 2,000  
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Boston Common - Parkman Bandstand (Zone 5)	Sat	11 Apr 2015	10:30 AM	11 Apr 2015	06:00 PM	\$0.00	\$180.00	\$0.00	\$180.00

iv) Additional Fees

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	7:30	1	\$180.00	\$0.00	\$180.00

v) Payment Method  
Maintenance, Electrical and Park Ranger Details payable to: "Boston Parks & Recreation Department",  
Promotional/Donation payable to: "The Fund for Parks & Recreation".  
Detail fees are estimates only. Any adjustments will be made following the event.

Extra Fees	Damage Deposit	Total Applied	Balance	Current
\$180.00	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$180.00	\$180.00

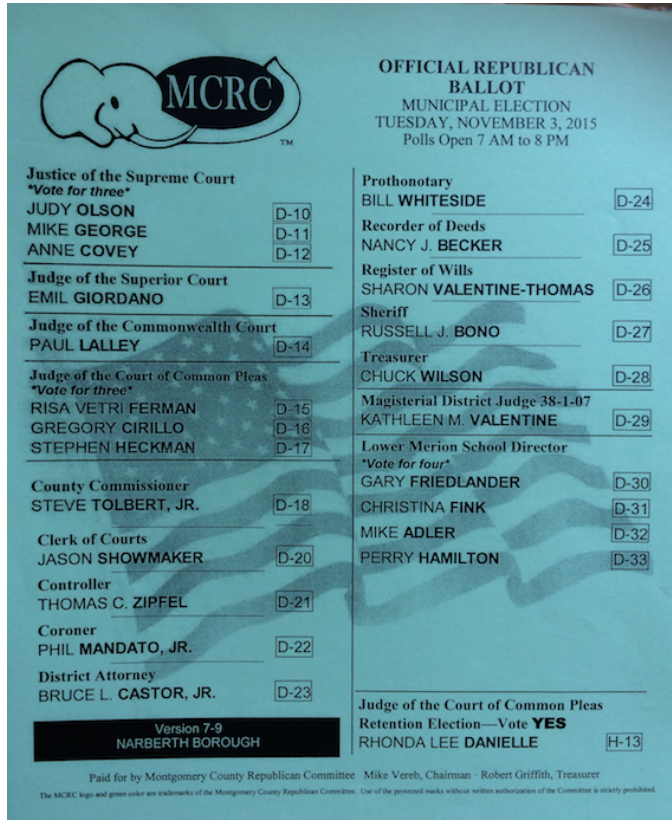
Balance of rental due and payable immediately.

Coût du rassemblement Tax Day Tea Party organisé par le groupe

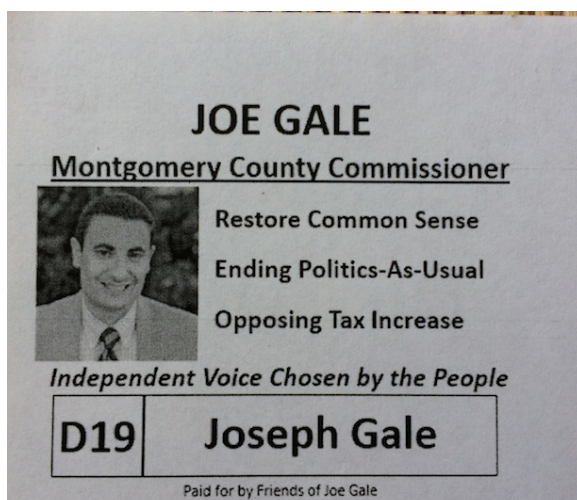
## A-8 – DOCUMENTS CONCERNANT JOE GALE ET LA CANDIDATURE WRITE-IN

Tous les documents de cette annexe proviennent de mes archives personnelles.

### A-8.1. La candidature de Joe Gale à l'élection de Commissaire de comté de Montgomery, le 3 novembre 2015



Le bulletin républicain, sur lequel n'apparaît pas le nom du candidat



Le prospectus du candidat, imprimé en noir et blanc sur papier souple, pour que les électeurs puissent l'emporter dans l'isoloir

E. WRITE-IN PROCEDURES FOR VOTER INSTRUCTION

Step 1: Press the **Write-In** Square for the chosen office.

Step 2: The arrow will flash. The arrow will continue flashing until the write-in is complete or until the square is pressed a second time to deselect the write-in.

Step 3: Using the write-in keypad below the ballot, key in the name you wish to write-in. You will see the letters appear in the window to the left of the keypad.

Step 4: If you make an error on a write-in, press the left arrow key to move back. To make a space, press the right arrow key.

Step 5: When you are finished keying the name, press **Enter** on the write-in keypad.

WHILE YOU ARE IN THE PROCESS OF A WRITE-IN VOTE, YOU MAY NOT VOTE ANY OTHER PART OF THE BALLOT.

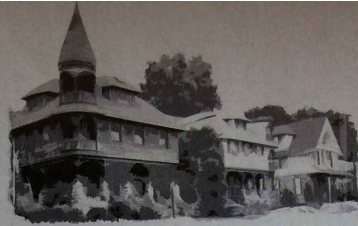
Le rappel de la procédure à suivre pour voter pour un candidat « write-in », également imprimé en noir et blanc sur papier souple

**SAMPLE BALLOT**  
2015 MUNICIPAL ELECTION  
MONTGOMERY COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA  
NOVEMBER 3, 2015

Writings Party	Democrat	Republican	Independent	Independent Local	WRITE-IN	RESTRICTION QUESTION
Mayor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Council	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Judge of the Superior Court	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Judge of the Commonwealth Court	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Judge of the Court of Common Pleas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Prothonotary	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recorder of Deeds	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recorder of Wills	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recorder of Births	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recorder of Deaths	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recorder of Marriages	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recorder of Adoptions	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recorder of Divorces	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recorder of Estates	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recorder of Probates	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recorder of Trusts	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recorder of Wills	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recorder of Births	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recorder of Deaths	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recorder of Marriages	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recorder of Adoptions	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recorder of Divorces	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recorder of Estates	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recorder of Probates	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recorder of Trusts	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recorder of Wills	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recorder of Births	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recorder of Deaths	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recorder of Marriages	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recorder of Adoptions	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recorder of Divorces	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recorder of Estates	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recorder of Probates	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recorder of Trusts	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recorder of Wills	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recorder of Births	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recorder of Deaths	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recorder of Marriages	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recorder of Adoptions	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recorder of Divorces	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recorder of Estates	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recorder of Probates	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recorder of Trusts	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recorder of Wills	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recorder of Births	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recorder of Deaths	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recorder of Marriages	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recorder of Adoptions	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recorder of Divorces	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recorder of Estates	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recorder of Probates	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recorder of Trusts	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Recorder of Wills	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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## A-8.2. Prospectus faisant la promotion de trois femmes candidates write-in au poste de Borough Council de Narberth, le 3 novembre 2015



### Keep Narberth *Narberth*

**Vote for Rosemary McDonough, Susan Snow and Terry Fox**

We are running as write-in candidates for Narberth Borough Council. First, because we treasure the unique quality of life that is Narberth; second, because we strongly believe that the Borough Council elected to serve us must put the will of the people before the desire of developers who seek to profit at the expense of our quality of life; third, because an uncontested election is counter to democracy.

#### **Easy Write-In Process**

Press the Write-In buttons - Type in our names on the keypad

**Rosemary McDonough** has lived in Narberth for 31 years. She and her husband, Walter, have raised their son and daughter here. Rosemary is a development consultant and freelance writer who has provided fund raising, campaign planning and management counsel to dozens of non-profits, from universities and schools to hunger relief and arts organizations. She is former chair of the National Council For Adoption, and enjoys mentoring inner city children. Rosemary is a graduate of Franklin and Marshall College and the Harvard Graduate School of Education. She considers Narberth a model community, and is dedicated to helping it remain that way.

**Susan Snow** is a proud third generation Narberth resident. Susan attended Narberth School, Lower Merion High School and moved on to the Philadelphia College of the Performing Arts. She is currently head of the Social Ministry Team at Holy Trinity Lutheran Church in Narberth that has partnered with the Narberth Food Bank to help make a difference for those in need. An active member of New Horizons Senior Center, she has volunteered in support of many Narberth programs. Over the 93 years that her family has resided in Narberth, civic pride and participation has been at the forefront of their everyday lives. Susan raised both of her sons in Narberth and is pleased that their families have become the fifth generation to live in the Borough. Professionally, she's a Realtor with Berkshire Hathaway Home Services Fox and Roach.

**Terry Fox** has been a resident of Narberth since 1977. Terry holds a Master's degree in counselor education and counseling psychology and has worked as a teacher and counselor in a variety of settings, including schools, sheltered workshops, and social service agencies. Terry grew up in Philadelphia, living in a variety of neighborhoods before moving to Narberth, an experience she describes as "dying and going to heaven." While raising their three children, Terry appreciated Narberth's friendly small town community that embraced and protected them over the years. Terry is interested in giving back to the community that has served her family so well by working towards keeping Narberth as a close-knit, family-focused community for the next generation.

# A-9 – DOCUMENTS CONCERNANT LE MOUVEMENT PROGRESSISTE « INDIVISIBLE »

## A-9.1. Extraits du Guide « *A Practical Guide for Resisting the Trump Agenda* », diffusé par l'organisation nationale Tea Party Patriots en décembre 2016

**INDIVISIBLE** About Us The Guide Act Locally Resource Library Press Donate

### IMMIGRANT ALLY TOOLKIT

Immigrant Ally Toolkit Download | April 22, 2017

[DOWNLOAD PDF VERSION](#)

The frightening reality is that immigration officers are terrorizing our communities. Raids on immigrant families are escalating. Mothers who have been here for over a decade have been ripped from the arms of their children. Immigrants with lawful status have been unlawfully detained. Deportation forces have targeted parents picking their children up from school and even waited outside of courts to track down domestic abuse victims seeking protection. Because of fear of being detained or deported, immigrants are avoiding going to the doctor when they get sick, parents are pulling their kids out of school, and others are hiding deeper in the shadows.

Download this toolkit today and learn how to be an Immigrant Ally.

**IMMIGRANT ALLY TOOLKIT**

**Introduction**

**Rise Up: Planned Nationwide Activities for May 1**

**Connecting with Local Immigrant Rights Groups**

**What Your Indivisible Group can do on May 1 to Support Immigrant Families**

**How You Can be an Immigrant Ally Locally**

**DOWNLOAD TOOLKIT**

**Immigrant Ally Toolkit**  
Immigrant Ally Toolkit Download

**RELATED RESOURCES**

**Response to Immigration Raids and other Attacks Against Immigrants and Refugees**  
Explainers

La boîte à outils pour venir en aide aux immigrants « Immigrant Ally Toolkit »

### THE TEA PARTY'S TWO KEY STRATEGIC CHOICES

The Tea Party's success came down to two critical strategic elements:

**1. They were locally focused.** The Tea Party started as an organic movement built on small local groups of dedicated conservatives. Yes, they received some support/coordination from above, but fundamentally all the hubbub was caused by a relatively small number of conservatives working together.

- » **Groups started as disaffected conservatives talking to each other online.** In response to the 2008 bank bailouts and President Obama's election, groups began forming to discuss their anger and what could be done. They eventually realized that the locally based discussion groups themselves could be a powerful tool.
- » **Groups were small, local, and dedicated.** Tea Party groups could be fewer than 10 people, but they were highly localized, and they dedicated significant personal time and resources. Members communicated with each other regularly, tracked developments in Washington, and coordinated advocacy efforts together.
- » **Groups were relatively few in number.** The Tea Party was not hundreds of thousands of people spending every waking hour focused on advocacy. Rather, the efforts were somewhat modest. Only 1 in 5 self-identified Tea Partiers contributed money or attended events. On any given day in 2009 or 2010, only 20 local events – meetings, trainings, town halls, etc. – were scheduled nationwide. In short, a relatively small number of groups were having a big impact on the national debate.

Les choix stratégiques du mouvement Tea Party

**2. They were almost purely defensive.** The Tea Party focused on saying NO to Members of Congress (MoCs) on their home turf. While the Tea Party activists were united by a core set of shared beliefs, they actively avoided developing their own policy agenda. Instead, they had an extraordinary clarity of purpose, united in opposition to President Obama. They didn't accept concessions and treated weak Republicans as traitors.

- » **Groups focused on defense, not policy development.** The Tea Party took root in 2009, focused on fighting against every proposal coming out of the new Democratic Administration and Congress. This focus on defense rather than policy development allowed the movement to avoid fracturing. Tea Party members may not have agreed on the policy reforms, but they could agree that Obama, Democrats, and moderate Republicans had to be stopped.
- » **Groups rejected concessions to Democrats and targeted weak Republicans.** Tea Partiers viewed concessions to Democrats as betrayal. This limited their ability to negotiate, but they didn't care. Instead they focused on scaring congressional Democrats and keeping Republicans honest. As a result, few Republicans spoke against the Tea Party for fear of attracting blowback.
- » **Groups focused on local congressional representation.** Tea Partiers primarily applied this defensive strategy by pressuring their own local MoCs. This meant demanding that their Representatives and Senators be their voice of opposition on Capitol Hill. At a tactical level, the Tea Party had several replicable practices, including:
  - » Showing up to the MoC's town hall meetings and demanding answers

### Les choix stratégiques du mouvement Tea Party (suite)

»»	<b>WHAT THE TEA PARTY ACCOMPLISHED</b>	<b>WHY WE ARE NOT THE TEA PARTY</b>
	<p>The Tea Party organized to end hope for progressive reform under President Obama. Their members:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Changed votes and defeated legislation</li> <li>• Radically slowed federal policymaking</li> <li>• Forced Republicans to reject compromise</li> <li>• Shaped national debate over President Obama's agenda</li> <li>• Paved the way for the Republican takeover in 2010 and Donald Trump today</li> </ul>	<p>The Tea Party's ideas were wrong, and their behavior was often horrible. Their members:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ignored reality and made up their own facts</li> <li>• Threatened anyone they considered an enemy</li> <li>• Physically assaulted and spat on staff</li> <li>• Shouted obscenities and burned people in effigy</li> <li>• Targeted their hate not just at Congress, but also at fellow citizens (especially people of color)</li> </ul>
	<p>These were real, tangible results by a group that represented only a small portion of Americans.</p>	<p>We are better than this. We are the majority, and we don't need petty scare tactics to win.</p>

Le tableau des accomplissements du mouvement Tea Party, et ce qui distingue le mouvement Indivisible du Tea Party .

**A-9.2. Mémo « Rocking the Town Halls –Best Practices » de Robert MacGuffie, diffusé par l’organisation nationale Tea Party Patriots en 2009**



**Rocking the Town Halls – Best Practices**

**A Political Action Memo**

We here in Fairfield County Connecticut conducted an action at Congressman Jim Himes’s Town Hall meeting in May 2009. We believe there are some best practices which emerged from the event and our experience, which could be useful to activists in just about any district where their Congressperson has supported the socialist agenda of the Democrat leadership in Washington.

Our objective was to “pack the hall” with as many of our people ready to challenge the Congressman, put him on the defensive, and give him a reality check from we-the-people. We were successful in organizing about 30 people and we spread out among the crowd of about 150 people in the hall. We used some techniques early on which immediately made Himes uncomfortable, and several of us got our chance at the microphone to ask questions. Himes clearly left the hall staggered, as the meeting, billed as a progress report for his economic solutions, clearly did not go as he had planned.

We humbly submit the following as a potential playbook to conduct similar events to achieve similar outcomes in most any targeted district.

Extrait 1

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## Inside the Hall

- Spread out in the hall and try to be in the front half. The objective is to put the Rep on the defensive with your questions and follow-up. The Rep should be made to feel that a majority, and if not, a significant portion of at least the audience, opposes the socialist agenda of Washington. They need to leave the hall with some doubts about their agenda. The other objective is to illustrate for the balance of the audience that the national leadership is acting against our founders' principles which are on the other side of the debate - and show them that there are a lot of solid citizens in the district who oppose the socialist approach to the nation's challenges. We want the independent thinkers to leave the hall with doubts about the Democrat solutions continually proposed by the national leadership.
- You need to rock-the-boat early in the Rep's presentation. Watch for an opportunity to yell out and challenge the Rep's statements early. If he blames Bush for something or offers other excuses – call him on it, yell back and have someone else follow-up with a shout-out. Don't carry on and make a scene – just short intermittent shout outs. The purpose is to make him uneasy early on and set the tone for the hall as clearly informal, and free-wheeling. It will also embolden others who agree with us to call out and challenge with tough questions. The goal

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is to rattle him, get him off his prepared script and agenda. If he says something outrageous, stand up and shout out and sit right down. Look for these opportunities before he even takes questions.

- When the formal Q&A session begins get all your hands up and keep them up – be persistent throughout the entire session. Keep body language neutral and look positive to improve chances of being selected. When called on, ask a specific prepared question that puts the onus on him to answer. It can be a long question including lots of statistics/facts. You will not be interrupted from reading a solid question. If you ramble on too long without a focus, you will be stopped. After the Rep answers, or more likely diverts or dodges, be prepared with a follow-up – take the initiative and you will be able to follow-up. The balance of the group should applaud when the question is asked, further putting the Rep on the defensive. If the Rep tries a particularly odious diversion, someone from the group should yell out to answer the question. These tactics will clearly rattle the Rep and illustrate some degree of his ineptness to the balance of the audience.
- 

## Extrait 2

### **In Summary**

When the session ends, those who asked effective questions should seek out any press remaining at the hall, providing their names for attribution – you may be quoted in the press article. If the gameplan above is implemented the resulting impact will likely be:

- A Rep and his staff set back on their heels, recognizing that people in their district can see past the charade and are angry about the socialist agenda, infringement of our liberties, and profligate spending. After a couple of these sessions one of the weaker ones may consider swaying from the party voting line.
- Audience members expecting business-as-usual go home recognizing that many of their neighbors oppose the agenda, see the dire financial impact, and see a Rep exposed to some degree as a charlatan, and put on the defensive.
- Articles appearing in the local press will amplify the above points to the local community, rather than being puff pieces for the local Representative. Two local newspaper articles about the Himes Town Hall are also attached.

We believe we achieved the desired impact with a modest amount of planning and the dedication of only a few hours to attend the event. We will be travelling the state to provide a similar reality-check for all five of the Reps, and of course Chris Dodd. Just imagine what we can achieve if we see to it that every Representative in the nation who has supported the socialist agenda has a similar experience!

In liberty,



Bob MacGuffie

[bobmac@rightprinciples.com](mailto:bobmac@rightprinciples.com)

[www.RightPrinciples.com](http://www.RightPrinciples.com)

Extrait 3

## A-10 – IDEOLOGIE TEA PARTY

Les documents de cette annexe proviennent du Public Religion Research Institute.

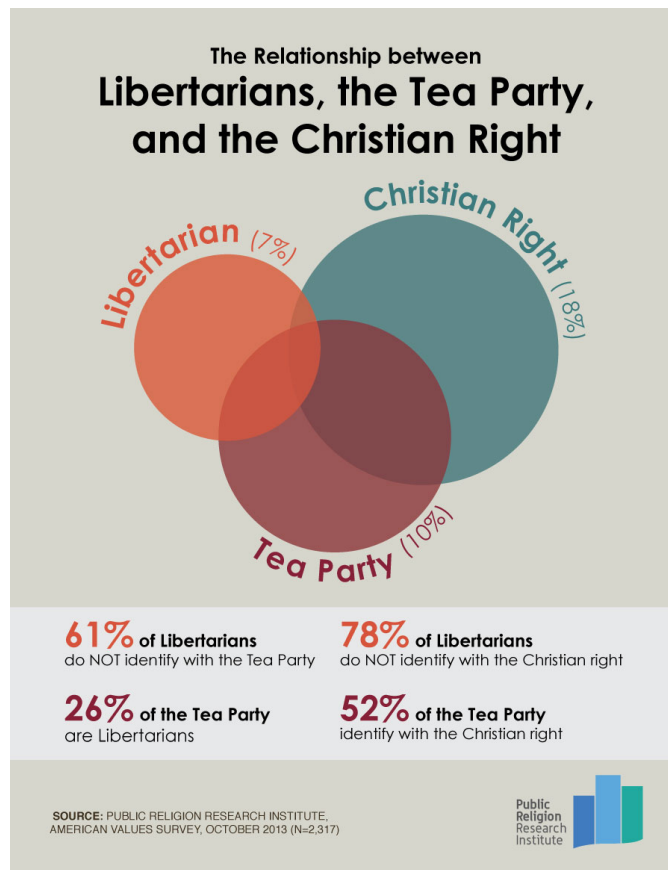
Le Public Religion Research Institute est une organisation non partisane qui a pour vocation la recherche indépendante sur des sujets situés à l'intersection des domaines de la religion, de la culture et des politiques publiques.

Chaque année, l'organisation publie les résultats de son enquête intitulée « American Values Survey ».

Voir Cox, Daniel, Navarro-Rivera, Juhem & Jones, Robert P. « The 2013 American Values Survey: In Search of Libertarians in America ». Public Religion Research Institute. Oct. 29, 2013.

<https://www.pri.org/research/2013-american-values-survey/>. Consulté le 17 juillet 2017.

### A-10.1. Intersection entre Libertarianisme, Droite chrétienne et Tea Party



Graphique représentant les intersections entre Libertariens, membres de la Droite chrétienne et membres du Tea Party. Source : Public Religion Research Institute, American Values Survey, October 2013.

Capture d'écran effectuée le 30 janvier 2016. <https://www.pri.org/research/2013-american-values-survey/>

Définition du libertarianisme :

Pour les besoins de l'enquête, l'organisation PRRI a déterminé une échelle d'orientation libertarienne (*Libertarian Orientation Scale*) à l'aide de neuf questions, portant sur trois dimensions : sécurité nationale et intervention à l'étranger, politique économique, et questions portant sur la liberté personnelle. À l'une des extrémités de l'échelle sont classées comme libertariennes, les personnes indiquant des préférences pour une faible intervention du gouvernement dans la sphère internationale, en politique économique et pour les questions relatives aux libertés personnelles. À l'autre extrémité, sont classées comme « communalistes » (*communalists*) les personnes préférant une plus grande intervention de l'État, même si cela implique que certaines libertés personnelles doivent être sacrifiées.

L'organisation a observé que les libertariens « systématiques » représentaient seulement 7% de la population américaine, à l'extrémité de l'échelle, suivis de 15% tendant au libertarianisme. À l'autre extrémité, la même proportion d'Américains (7%) étaient des communalistes « systématiques », suivis de 17% tendant au communalisme. Une majorité d'Américains (54%) présentait un profil idéologique mixte, situé entre les orientations libertariennes et communalistes.

Ci-dessous, quelques conclusions sur les préférences des électeurs de chaque groupe (Libertariens, mouvement Tea Party, Évangéliques protestants blancs) par rapport aux candidats du Parti républicain (en 2013) :

④④ Among libertarian voters who identify with or lean toward the Republican Party, Paul (26%) was the most popular potential candidate, while 18% prefer Cruz, 16% prefer Rubio, and 13% prefer Ryan. Fewer libertarian voters prefer Christie (10%) or Bush (6%).

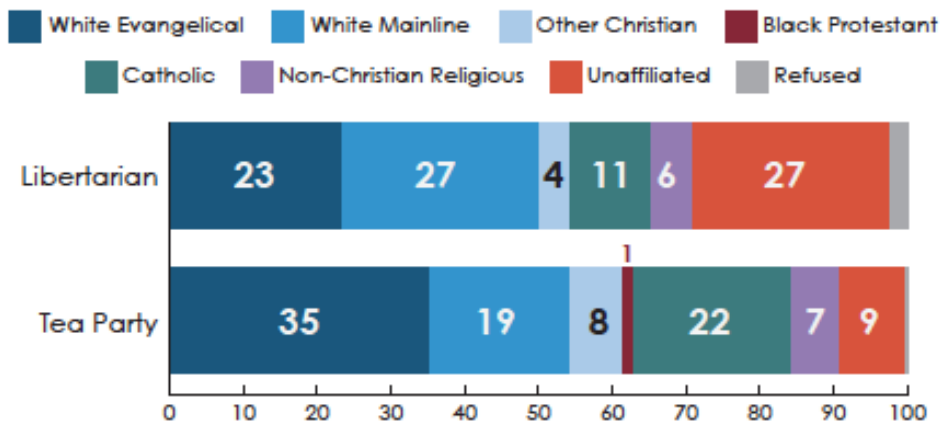
④④ Among Tea Party voters who identify or lean Republican, Cruz is the most preferred candidate (22%), followed by Rubio (18%), Ryan (14%), and Paul (13%). Roughly 1-in-10 Tea Party voters prefer Bush (11%) or Christie (12%).

④④ White evangelical Protestant voters have less clear candidate preferences than libertarian and Tea Party voters. Among white evangelical Protestant voters who identify or lean Republican, top preferences include Ryan (19%), Christie (16%), and Bush (15%), while roughly 1-in-10 prefer Rubio (13%), Paul (11%), or Cruz (10%).



## A-10.2. Affiliations religieuses des Libertariens et des Tea Partiers

### Religious Affiliation of Libertarians and Tea Party



Source: Public Religion Research Institute, American Values Survey, October 2013 (N=2,317)

Libertarians are significantly less likely than those who identify with the Tea Party or white evangelical Protestants to describe religion as important in their lives. Only 15% of libertarians say religion is the most important thing in their lives, and nearly 4-in-10 (38%) say religion is one among many important things in their lives. More than 4-in-10 libertarians say either that religion is not as important as other things in their lives (19%) or that religion is not important in their lives (25%). By contrast, nearly 3-in-10 (28%) Tea Party members say that religion is the most important thing in their lives, and nearly half (49%) say religion is one among many important things in their lives. Only 11% of Tea Party members say religion is not important in their lives. More than 9-in-10 white evangelical Protestants report that religion is the most important thing in their lives (44%) or one among many important things (50%). Only 1% of white evangelical Protestants say religion is not important in their lives.

## A-11 – AUTRES ARCHIVES SUR LES MILITANTS (ET SYMPATHISANTS) TEA PARTY

Tous les documents de cette annexe proviennent de mes archives personnelles.

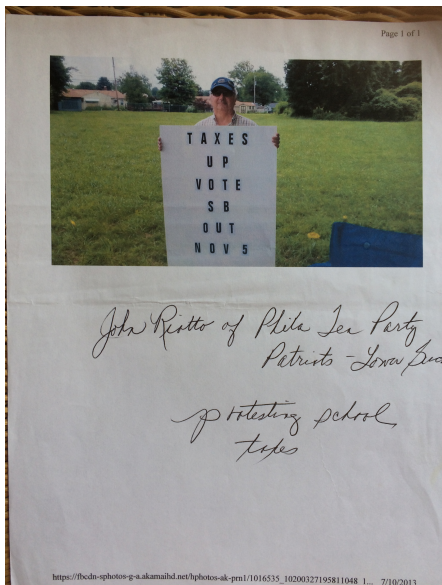
### A-11.1. Membres de comité directeur, membres de groupe et sympathisants



Kat et Austin Hess, membres du comité directeur du groupe Greater Boston Tea Party, dans le Massachusetts – Photo prise lors de la réunion du groupe le 4 août 2014 à Boston.



John O'Mara, Président du groupe Marlborough Tea Party, dans le Massachusetts - Photo prise lors du Rassemblement anti-immigration clandestine à Boston le 26 juillet 2014 – voir plus loin).



Membre du groupe Philadelphia Tea Party Patriots-Lower Bucks, rencontré lors de la réunion du 11 juillet 2013.



Paul, sympathisant Tea Party, Philadelphie, voir A-3.4. ENTRETIEN 4.

A-12-ÉVÉNEMENTS SYMBOLIQUES  
&  
LE GROUPE DELAWARE COUNTY PATRIOTS

Tous les documents de cette annexe proviennent de mes archives personnelles.

A-12.1. DÉFILÉ DU 4 JUILLET 2013,  
SPRINGFIELD, DELAWARE COUNTY

*CHARS, ET PARTICIPANTS NON TEA PARTY*



Participante individuelle



Voiture du Parti démocrate de Springfield

**SPECTATEURS**



**GRUPE DELAWARE COUNTY PATRIOTS,  
MILITANTS, PANNEAUX, ET PROMOTION DU GROUPE**





**A-12.2. DÉFILÉ DU 4 JUILLET 2014,  
SPRINGFIELD, DELAWARE COUNTY**

***CHARS DE PARTICIPANTS NON TEA PARTY***



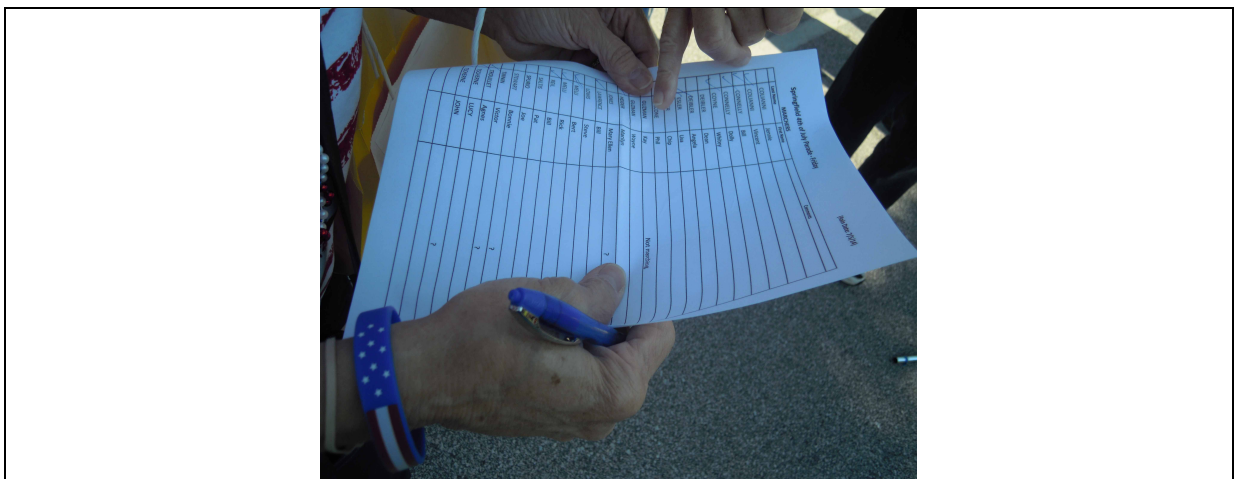
***PARTI DÉMOCRATE - BANNIERES ET PROMOTION***



**GRUPE DELAWARE COUNTY PATRIOTS  
PREPARATION : LISTE DE MARCHEURS ET PRODUITS DE PROMOTION**



Sur la photo de gauche, au milieu les mains dans les poches, Bill Lawrence, auteur d'un blogue conservateur, qui couvre les événements du groupe Delaware County Patriots depuis sa création.



**DEPART DU DEFILE**  
**BANNIERE DU GROUPE, PANNEAUX ET PORTRAITS DE MILITANTS**







***DISTRIBUTION :  
MARQUE-PAGES AVEC LE BILL OF RIGHTS POUR LES ADULTES  
AUTOCOLLANTS « PATRIOTIQUES » POUR LES ENFANTS***







A-13 – LIEUX SYMBOLIQUES  
&  
ORGANISATEURS NON TEA PARTY

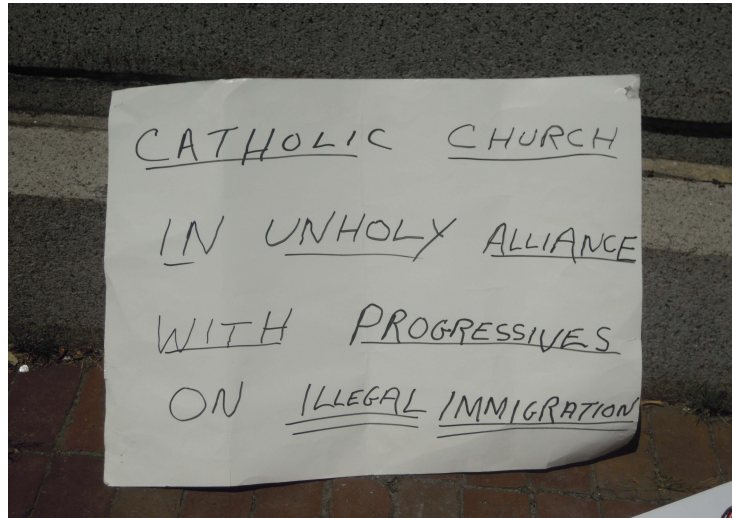
Tous les documents de cette annexe proviennent de mes archives personnelles.

**A-13.1. RASSEMBLEMENT ANTI-IMMIGRATION CLANDESTINE  
ORGANISÉ PAR L'ANIMATEUR CONSERVATEUR JEFF KUHNER,  
DEVANT LA MASSACHUSETTS STATE HOUSE DE BOSTON,  
26 JUILLET 2014**





Le proverbe indiqué sur cette affiche « *Charity Begins At Home* » (Charité bien ordonnée commence par soi-même) est loin d'être novateur. Il est fréquemment utilisé lors des actions de protestation, afin de justifier l'opposition à tout type de dépense.



Affiche indiquant une alliance « impie » de l’Eglise catholique avec les progressistes, sur la question de l’immigration clandestine. Ce message renvoie aux questions de conservatisme social, et aux positions adverses ou communes sur les thèmes défendus à droite du spectre politique. La justice sociale constitue désormais un thème défendu à droite comme à gauche du spectre politique.



Jeff Kuhner, l’animateur conservateur organisateur du rassemblement, s’adressant à la foule. À l’arrière-plan à gauche, on peut distinguer Mark Fisher (en costume-cravate, sous le panneau O’Connell), candidat affilié Tea Party à l’investiture républicaine pour le poste de Gouverneur du Massachusetts en 2014. Lors des primaires, le 9 septembre 2014, il perd contre le candidat de l’establishment Charlie Baker.



Différents messages sont exprimés sur les panneaux :

- l'absence de confiance dans le camp « *liberal* » (le Président Obama, Patrick Deval, Gouverneur du Massachusetts, Eric Holder, Ministre de la Justice, Nancy Pelosi, Présidente de la minorité à la Chambre des Représentants, Martha Coakley, candidate démocrate adverse de Scott Brown lors de l'élection sur le poste de Sénateur du Massachusetts en 2010)
- un appel à Obama, lui demandant de « faire son travail »
- une adresse directe—et vulgaire—à Patrick Deval, montrant que ce type de message n'est pas propre au Tea Party, mais plutôt aux rassemblements de masse quels qu'ils soient. Les représentants des groupes Tea Party présents lors de ce rassemblement ne brandissaient d'ailleurs aucun panneau ce jour-là..

Le panneau « *I was tired of yelling at my TV so I came here* » est une référence directe et évidente aux messages de protestation des rassemblements Tea Party, en 2009 et 2010.

# A-14 – DOCUMENTS ET SUPPORTS COLLECTÉS LORS DE RÉUNIONS, OU D'ÉVÉNEMENTS DE GROUPES TEA PARTY


Tous les documents de cette annexe proviennent de mes archives personnelles.

## A-14.1. Documents concernant l'immigration clandestine

ACT for America Page 1 of 3

**ACT!**  
*for America*

Rising in Defense of our  
Security, our Liberty,  
and our Values.



**Sign our letter urging Congress to secure our nation before anything else!**

Add your name to the group of 14,405 people who have already signed using the Internet!

Please read our letter below and fill in the form to add your signature. Then, forward this letter to your friends and family.

(ACT! For America Privacy Policy: We value your privacy and we will not give, rent or sell your contact information to any other organization. By providing us this information you help us ensure that everyone who signs the letter participates only once.)

**An Open Letter to the Leadership of the U.S. Congress**

**As You Continue Consideration of Immigration Reform Legislation,  
Remember: SECURE OUR NATION FIRST!**

<p>Representative John A. Boehner, Speaker, U.S. House of Representatives</p> <p>Senator Harry Reid Majority Leader, U.S. Senate</p>	<p>Representative Nancy Pelosi Minority Leader, U.S. House of Representatives</p> <p>Senator Mitch McConnell Minority Leader, U.S. Senate</p>
--	---

Dear Speaker Boehner, Minority Leader Pelosi, Majority Leader Reid, and Minority Leader McConnell,

As members and supporters of *ACT! for America*, the nation's largest and fastest growing national security grassroots organization, we are notifying you of our continued strong opposition to any comprehensive approach to immigration reform such as S. 744, immigration legislation recently passed by the U.S. Senate.

Our nation must have sound and effective legal immigration policies and secure borders before the U.S. Congress addresses any other aspect of immigration reform.

Though at the last hour, language supposedly addressing national security issues was quickly included in the Senate's 1,200 page bill, we contend that the new provisions do not adequately improve our border security or immigration enforcement. Additionally, the Senate bill continues to take an "amnesty first" approach to immigration reform—which is unacceptable to us.

Further, immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) National Council President, Chris Crane has said of the Senate's legislation, ***"this bill fails to address the problems which have led to the nation's broken immigration system and in fact will only serve to worsen current***

<http://tool.donation-net.net/public/ACT4A/signup/enter.cfm?dn=1097&source=2030&CF...> 07/24/2013

Pétition en ligne proposée par l'organisation ACT! for America, demandant aux Représentants du Congrès américain d'assurer la sécurité à la frontière, avant d'aborder tout autre point de la réforme de l'immigration.

Première page (la seconde permet d'indiquer ses coordonnées et de signer la pétition).



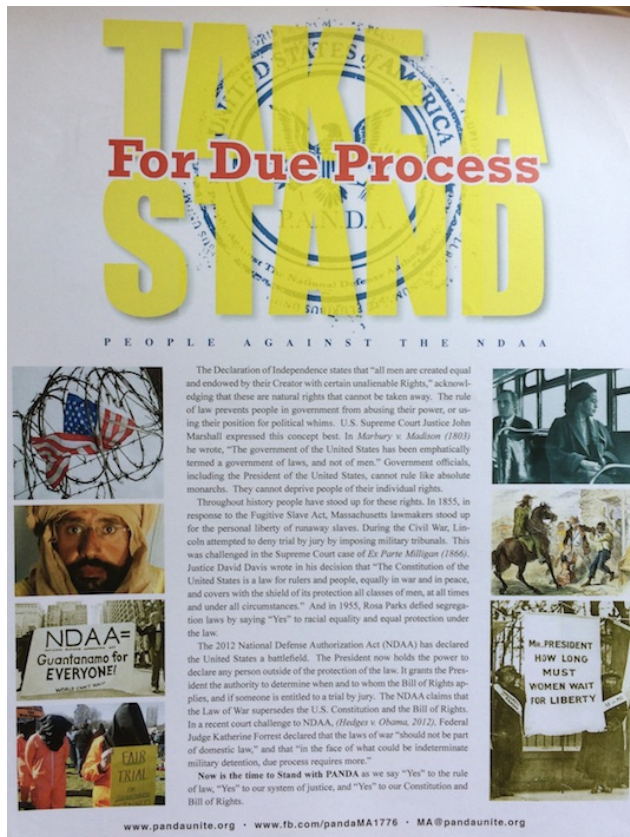


Prospectus de l'organisation America First Immigration Reform, distribué lors de la réunion du groupe Marlborough Tea Party le 31 juillet 2014.

AFIR se présente comme une organisation non partisane, composée entièrement de citoyens bénévoles, oeuvrant pour que les lois sur l'immigration respectent les intérêts à long terme de l'Amérique.

On peut distinguer l'adresse électronique de John O'Mara, le Président du groupe, que ce dernier m'avait ainsi communiquée.

## A-14.2. Documents concernant le National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA)



Prospectus distribué par l'organisation PANDA (People Against the National Defense Act), qui comme son nom l'indique est opposée au National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA) de 2012. Les sections 1021 et 1022 de cette loi autorisent la détention militaire indéfinie, sans charge d'accusation ni procès, de tout individu, y compris de tout citoyen Américain. Selon l'organisation, cette loi applique le « droit de guerre » (*Law of War*) sur le sol américain, devenant ainsi un « champ de bataille » en toute légalité.

Voir le site de l'organisation à l'adresse <http://pandaunite.org/aboutus/#siVOhDkQBr1OJm7L.99>

Le prospectus cite les documents et événements suivants :

- la Déclaration d'indépendance, et les « droits inaliénables » (*inalienable rights*) des individus
- l'arrêt *Marbury contre Madison*, et « le gouvernement par des lois, et non par des hommes » (*governement of laws, and not of men*)
- la réponse des États du Nord (*Personal Liberty Laws*) au *Fugitive Slave Act* de 1850, dont le vote du Massachusetts, en 1855, pour « la liberté des esclaves fugitifs » (*personal liberty of runaway slaves*)
- l'arrêt *Ex parte Milligan*, jugement rendu par la Cour Suprême en décembre 1866, déclarant anticonstitutionnel le recours à des tribunaux militaires pour juger des civils en des lieux où les tribunaux réguliers fonctionnent encore, même en temps de guerre
- l'action de Rosa Parks, qui défie en 1955 la politique de ségrégation, en refusant de céder sa place à un Blanc dans une section de bus qui lui est réservée.

## What is the NDAA?

- NDAA = National Defense Authorization Act
- Annual funding bill for the military and DOD
- Passed every year for 50 years
- Has become a "haystack" bill
- 2 very dangerous "needles" in 2012 version



MASSACHUSETTS  
STATE TEAM



## How is it bad?

- It declares the United States as part of the "battlefield"
- It applies the "laws of war" to persons in the United States



MASSACHUSETTS  
STATE TEAM



## How is it bad?

- Sections 1021 and 1022 authorize the indefinite military detention of any person without charge or trial
- These sections expand and codify into law the 2001 Authorization for Use of Military Force (AUMF)



MASSACHUSETTS  
STATE TEAM



## How is it bad?

### Text of the AUMF:

*Section 2 (a) IN GENERAL - That the President is authorized to use all necessary and appropriate force against those nations, organizations, or persons he determines planned, authorized, committed, or aided the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001, or harbored such organizations or persons, in order to prevent any future acts of international terrorism against the United States by such nations, organizations or persons.*



MASSACHUSETTS  
STATE TEAM



## How is it bad?

- The AUMF is tied SOLELY to the attacks that occurred on 9/11
- This set a policy of retribution against those involved in the attacks
- NDAA changes it to a preventive policy
- "Precrime"



MASSACHUSETTS  
STATE TEAM



Diapositives extraites d'un diaporama sur la loi NDAA, projeté par un représentant de l'organisation PANDA (branche de l'État du Massachusetts), lors d'une réunion du groupe Marlborough Tea Party, le 31 juillet 2014.

**RESTORING CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNANCE  
RESOLUTION OF RUTLAND, MASSACHUSETTS**

**WHEREAS**, the town of Rutland, Massachusetts is not a "battlefield" subject to the "laws of war;" and

**WHEREAS**, Federal Judge Katherine Forrest has ruled Section 1021 of the 2012 NDAA is unconstitutional;

**WHEREAS**, the U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that neither Congress nor the President can Constitutionally authorize the detention and/or disposition of any person in the United States, or citizen of the United States "under the law of war" who is not serving "in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger;" and

**WHEREAS**, for the purposes of this resolution, the terms "arrest," "capture," "detention under the law of war," "disposition under the law of war," and "law of war" are used in the same sense and shall have the same meaning as such terms have in the 2012 NDAA, Section 1021(c); and therefore

**BE IT RESOLVED**, that notwithstanding any treaty, federal, state, or local law or authority, enacted or claimed, including, but not limited to, an authorization for use of military force, national defense authorization act, or any similar law or authority enacted or claimed by Congress or the Office of the President directed at any person in Rutland, who is not serving "in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger," it is unconstitutional, and therefore unlawful for any person to:

- a. arrest or capture any person in Rutland, or citizen of Rutland, within the United States, with the intent of "detention under the law of war," or
- b. actually subject a person in Rutland, to "disposition under the law of war," or
- c. subject any person to targeted killing in Rutland, or citizen of Rutland, within the United States; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, that the Town of Rutland requests the Massachusetts State Legislature recognize the duty of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to interpose itself between unconstitutional usurpations by the federal government or its agents and the people of this state, as well as the duty to defend the unalienable natural rights of the people, all of which is consistent with our oaths to defend the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts against all enemies, foreign and domestic; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, that the Town of Rutland, requests our Congressional delegation commence immediately with efforts to repeal the unconstitutional sections of the 2012 NDAA, towit,

sections 1021 and 1022, and any other section or provision which will have the same or substantially the same effect on any person in the United States not serving "in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger;" and be it finally

**RESOLVED**, that Rutland, requests our Congressional delegation introduce, support, and secure the passage of legislation which clearly states that Congress not only does not authorize, but in fact prohibits the use of military force, military detention, military trial, extraordinary rendition, or any other power of the "law of war" against any person in the United States not serving "in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger."

Recognizing our duty to defend the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, as well as recognizing the duty of the people to protect our unalienable natural rights to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" as articulated in the Declaration of Independence, we, the Town Meeting of Rutland, Massachusetts, do hereby adopt this resolution.

###

~~~~~

\*\*\*\*\*

**The Resolution proposed above will be presented on the Warrant of the Rutland Annual Town Meeting in 2014 for the voters of Rutland to vote upon.**

Pétition à l'initiative de la ville de Rutland, dans le Massachusetts, adressée à l'Assemblée législative de l'État du Massachusetts, et demandant l'abrogation des sections 1021 et 1022 de la loi NDAA de 2012, décrites comme « anti-constitutionnelles ».

La pétition utilise exactement le format des pétitions qui circulaient au XVIII<sup>ème</sup> siècle. La dernière phrase indique que le Town Meeting de Rutland a adopté la résolution : « *We, the Town Meeting of Rutland, Massachusetts, do hereby adopt this resolution.* »

Les dernières lignes du document indiquent que la pétition sera présentée lors du Town Meeting annuel de la ville de Rutland, afin d'être proposée au vote des électeurs de la ville.

## A-14.3. Documents concernant des thèmes phares pour le mouvement : le Common Core, et la Déclaration des droits (Bill of Rights)

**Join Now**

**Common Core Forum (CCF)**

is a statewide, non-partisan, volunteer citizen group dedicated to replacing the Common Core State Standards Initiative in Massachusetts with academically rigorous sets of mathematics and English language arts standards.

**The Common Core initiative, if fully implemented, will Federalize our public educational system. Although Massachusetts is a leader in standardized student test results, Common Core will ...**

- ❖ Eliminate local school control; replace it with Federal control
- ❖ Massachusetts will spend millions to lower its high standards
- ❖ Dramatic increase in data gathering and the monitoring of students, a.k.a. social engineering of career paths by the Federal Government

America's future depends on our young people's appreciation of the ideals, values and traditions that provided the context for America's extraordinary success. But,

There are forces in America that seek to undermine those ideals, values and traditions by radically reinterpreting the key concepts of freedom and democracy – which they do through the media, unfettered government intervention, social activism (backed by corporations) and the dumping down of our educational system.

**You can help** CCF prevent the implementation of Common Core.

**Contact: Donna Colorio dcolorio2014@gmail.com  
www.commoncoreforum.org  
Like us on Facebook: CommonCoreForum  
Follow us on Twitter: CommonCoreForum**

**BILL OF RIGHTS DAY**  
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 15, 2015  
*And the 24<sup>th</sup> Annual*  
*Bill of Rights*  
*Commemorative Banquet*

*Family Style Dinner*  
Roast Turkey with Gravy  
Cranberry Salad, Fruit Cup  
Dutch Potato Filling  
Sweet Potato Crunch  
Green Beans & Dessert Bar

**Remembering our  
LEGACY of  
LIBERTY and FAITH**

**Tuesday Evening  
Dec. 15, 2015  
6:30 P.M.  
(Registration begins at  
6:00 p.m.)**

**Yoder's Restaurant**  
14 South Tower Road  
New Holland, PA 17557  
**(717) 354-4748**  
<http://www.yoderscountrymarket.com/>  
<https://www.facebook.com/events/2012577685461046/>

*Once Again!  
Special Music by  
Charlie Zahm*

*Panel Discussion*  
Participants to be  
Announced  
*Check FB Page for Updates*  
"How Fares Liberty?  
What's to be Done?"

*Announcing*  
2015 Bill of Rights  
Award Honoree

*Sponsored by:*  
BILL OF RIGHTS  
BICENTENNIAL  
COMMITTEE  
P.O. Box 912  
Concordville, PA 19331

Please make \_\_\_\_\_ reservation(s) for the 2015 BILL OF RIGHTS BANQUET in the name of: \_\_\_\_\_

*Please Indicate Number:*

NAME \_\_\_\_\_ ADULTS - \$27 \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_ CHILDREN 3 TO 10 - \$17 \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

TELEPHONE \_\_\_\_\_ Email \_\_\_\_\_

Payment enclosed in the amount of \$ \_\_\_\_\_ 2 YEARS & UNDER - FREE \_\_\_\_\_

Mail Reservations to: **BILL OF RIGHTS BICENTENNIAL COMMITTEE**  
P.O. Box 912, Concordville, PA 19331

Please call Carris Kocher at 610-476-3482 to make reservations by phone.

Prospectus de l'organisation Common Core Forum, distribué lors du rassemblement anti-immigration clandestine à Boston du 26 juillet 2014 (voir plus loin)

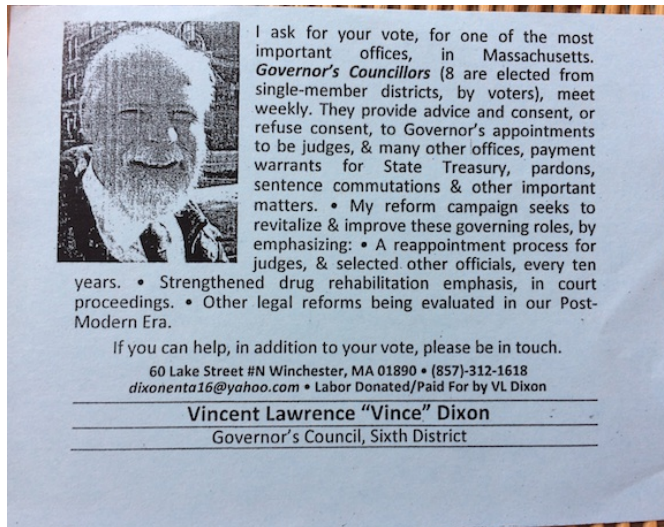
L'organisation se présente comme un groupe de citoyens bénévoles, non-partisans, oeuvrant à l'échelle de l'Etat, afin d'obtenir le remplacement du système d'évaluation Common Core State Standards Initiative dans le Massachusetts, par des critères d'évaluation rigoureux en Mathématiques et en Lettres.

Invitation à la 24<sup>ème</sup> édition du « banquet commémoratif de la Déclaration des droits », organisé le 15 décembre 2015 par le Bill of Rights Bicentennial Committee, afin d'honorer l'héritage américain de liberté et de foi.

Remise de prix (2015 Bill of Rights Award Honoree) et conférence sur le sujet « How Fares Liberty? What's To Be Done? ». Il est intéressant de noter l'usage du titre de l'ouvrage de Lénine, publié en 1902 (*What's Te Be Done ?*).

En 2017, le Bill of Rights Bicentennial Committee organise son 26<sup>ème</sup> banquet commémoratif, toujours dans le même établissement, entre-temps rebaptisé Yoder's Country Market, et toujours avec remise de prix. Cette année, le sujet de la conférence est l'impact de la Réforme sur l'héritage de la liberté (« The impact of the Protestant Reformation on the Legacy of Liberty »).

## A-14.4. Documents de promotion pour des candidats non Tea Party



I ask for your vote, for one of the most important offices, in Massachusetts. **Governor's Councillors** (8 are elected from single-member districts, by voters), meet weekly. They provide advice and consent, or refuse consent, to Governor's appointments to be judges, & many other offices, payment warrants for State Treasury, pardons, sentence commutations & other important matters. • My reform campaign seeks to revitalize & improve these governing roles, by emphasizing: • A reappointment process for judges, & selected other officials, every ten years. • Strengthened drug rehabilitation emphasis, in court proceedings. • Other legal reforms being evaluated in our Post-Modern Era.

If you can help, in addition to your vote, please be in touch.  
60 Lake Street #N Winchester, MA 01890 • (857)-312-1618  
dixonenta16@yahoo.com • Labor Donated/Paid For by VL Dixon

---

**Vincent Lawrence "Vince" Dixon**  
Governor's Council, Sixth District

Ce candidat fait campagne sur l'un des huit postes de Conseiller du Gouverneur (*Governor's Councillor*) du Massachusetts, qu'il décrit comme l'un des postes les plus importants de l'Etat. Se réunissant toutes les semaines, les Conseillers ont un pouvoir de décision dans les choix du Gouverneur en matière de juges, d'amnistie, de transformation des peines entre autres.



**MAKE A DIFFERENCE THIS TIME...**  
On November 4, 2014  
**Vote for Pat Kriegel**  
Third Norfolk State Representative



Paid for by Committee to Elect Patricia Kriegel Third Norfolk State Representative  
25 School Street, Quincy, MA 02169 -- (617) 827-6768 -- Karen Preston, Treasurer

Be sure to check our Website at [ElectPat.com](http://ElectPat.com)



**John Lock**  
for STATE REP

Vote On Nov. 4th!  
The Constitution  
Needs Your Vote

WEB: [www.JohnLockforArticleV.com](http://www.JohnLockforArticleV.com)  
TEL: 617-596-5626  
EMAIL: [JLock@JohnLockforArticleV.com](mailto:JLock@JohnLockforArticleV.com)  
FACEBOOK: [www.Facebook.com/JohnLockforRep](http://www.Facebook.com/JohnLockforRep)

Documents collectés respectivement aux occasions suivantes :

- « Vince Dixon » : réunion du groupe Greater Boston Tea Party du 4 août 2014 à Boston, dans le Massachusetts
- « Pat Kriegel » : visite guidée en groupe de la Maison des Adams à Braintree, dans le Massachusetts, organisée par l'animateur conservateur Jeff Kuhner, à laquelle j'ai participé avec Patrick, du groupe Greater Boston Tea Party
- « John Lock » : levée de fonds organisée au premier étage d'un pub irlandais pour Monica Medeiros, candidate républicaine à un poste de Représentante d'Etat dans le Massachusetts

# A-15 – CONDITIONS DE PARTICIPATION AU VOTE

Les documents de cette annexe proviennent du Brennan Center for Justice.

## A-15.1. Conditions de participation aux élections Lois d'identification des électeurs



### SUMMARY OF VOTER ID LAWS PASSED

Arkansas, Alabama, Kansas, Mississippi, North Carolina, North Dakota, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and Wisconsin all passed new voter ID laws in their 2011, 2012, or 2013 legislative sessions. For each state, this memorandum provides: a brief description of the substance of the new law; its effective date and current status; the types of photo IDs accepted; exceptions to the ID requirement, if any; any affidavit alternative to providing a photo ID; the photo ID requirements for early and absentee voting, if any; provisions relating to obtaining free ID; and public education requirements.<sup>1</sup>

En-tête et extraits du document « Voter ID Laws Passed Since 2011 », Brennan Center for Justice, 12 novembre 2013 <https://www.brennancenter.org/analysis/voter-id-laws-passed-2011>.  
Consulté le 2 mai 2016.

### RHODE ISLAND

**Effective Date:** July 2, 2011. Certain provisions effective Jan. 1, 2012 and certain other provisions effective Jan. 1, 2014.

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### BRENNAN CENTER FOR JUSTICE

#### **Photo IDs Permitted**

Proper ID is defined as “a valid and current document showing a photograph of the persons to whom the document was issued, including without limitation”:

- Rhode Island driver’s license;
- Rhode Island voter ID card (*i.e.*, new, free ID card for voters);
- U.S. passport;
- Photo ID from U.S. educational institution;
- U.S. military photo ID ;
- Any photo ID card issued by U.S. or Rhode Island; or
- Government-issued medical card with photo.

Until Jan. 1, 2014, voters may also prove their identity by showing non-photo documentation, “including without limitation”:

- Birth certificate
- Social security card
- Government-issued medical card

## NEW HAMPSHIRE

**Effective Date:** New Hampshire's law was first passed on June 27, 2012, after the legislature overrode a gubernatorial veto. In 2013, the list of acceptable forms of ID was amended further, and the effective date is now September 15, 2013.

### **Photo IDs Permitted**

Prior to voting, a voter must provide one of the following valid forms of photo ID (the name on the ID must be "substantially similar" to that of the voter registration record):

- A driver's license issued by the state of New Hampshire or any other state;
- An identification card issued by the director of motor vehicles;
- A United States armed services identification card;
- A United States passport or a passcard;
- Any other valid photo identification issued by federal, state, county, or municipal government;
- A valid student identification card (all student identification cards issued after January 1 2014 are required to have a date of issuance; in all elections before September 1, 2018, student ID cards without a date of expiration or issuance will still be acceptable);
- A photo identification not authorized specifically above, but determined to be legitimate by the supervisors of the checklist, the moderator, or the town or city clerk.<sup>6</sup>  
The ID cannot have expired more than five years ago, except that anyone 65 years or older may use an expired form of identification that would otherwise be deemed valid.

### **Non-Photo IDs Permitted**

Verification of the person's identity by a moderator, supervisor of the checklist, or the town or city clerk is also acceptable.<sup>7</sup>

## PENNSYLVANIA

**Effective Date:** The law was passed with an effective date of March 14, 2012, but it was challenged in Pennsylvania state court<sup>8</sup> and is now subject to a preliminary injunction. Under the terms of that injunction—issued by the Commonwealth Court of Pennsylvania on October 2, 2012—voters may be asked for photo ID at the polls during the November election but voters lacking such ID can still vote a regular ballot. The petitioners' application for a permanent injunction of the law remains outstanding. In addition, the Department of Justice initiated an investigation on July 23, 2012 into whether the law complies with Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act and other federal voting rights laws.

<sup>8</sup> *Applewhite et al. v. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, et al.* Commonwealth Court of Pennsylvania (Filed May 1, 2012).

### **Photo IDs Permitted**

Prior to voting, a voter must provide one of the following valid forms of photo ID:

- Photo ID issued by the department of transportation that is not more than twelve months past the expiration date;
- Unexpired photo ID issued by the U.S. government that includes an expiration date;
- U.S. military photo ID that does not contain an expiration date, but notes that the expiration date is indefinite;
- Unexpired municipal employee Photo ID that includes an expiration date;
- Unexpired student photo ID from an accredited public or private higher education institution that includes an expiration date; or
- Unexpired photo ID from certain state care facilities that includes an expiration date.

### **Non-Photo IDs Permitted**

A voter who has a religious objection to being photographed must provide a valid-without-photo driver's license or a valid-without-photo ID card issued by the department of transportation.



## **TEXAS**

**Effective Date:** In effect.

### **Photo IDs Permitted**

The following are acceptable forms of photo identification:

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## **UNAN CENTER FOR JUSTICE**

- A driver's license, election ID certificate, or personal ID card issued to the person by the Department of Public Safety that is unexpired or expired no earlier than 60 days before the election (note: an election certificate issued to a person 70 years or older does not expire);
- U.S. military ID card that contains the person's photograph and is unexpired or expired no earlier than 60 days before the election;
- U.S. citizenship certificate issued to the voter with their photograph;
- U.S. passport that is unexpired or expired no earlier than 60 days before the election; or
- A license to carry a concealed handgun issued by the Department of Public Safety that is unexpired or expired no earlier than 60 days before the election.

Student IDs are not accepted in Texas for purposes of identification for voting.

### **Exceptions Available**

A person may obtain an exemption from the ID requirement on the basis of disability if they produce a statement in a form determined by the Texas Secretary of State that the applicant does not have any of the prescribed forms of identification, and they have an:

- U.S.Social Security Administration determination of disability; or
- U.S.Department of Veterans Affairs disability rating of at least 50%.

## A-16 – JENNY BETH MARTIN, PRESIDENTE DE L'ORGANISATION NATIONALE TEA PARTY PATRIOTS

Les documents de cette annexe proviennent des sites  
zimbio.com, gettyimages.com, wsj.com, c-span.org.  
Captures d'écran effectuées le 16 août 2017.



Avec Mark Meckler, co-fondateur de  
l'organisation Tea Party Patriots,  
après la 1<sup>è</sup> réunion du Tea Party Caucus,  
20 juillet 2010



À la tribune, lors de la 2013 Conservative Political  
Action Conference (CPAC),  
15 mars 2013



Conférence de presse de Michele Bachmann,  
Représentante républicaine du Minnesota, avec  
des membres du Tea Party et des membres du  
Congrès, à propos du scandale de l'IRS,  
15 mai 2013



« *Jenny Beth Martin, Head of the Tea Party  
Patriots, is trying to harness energy generated by  
the IRS controversy to make tea-party voices heard  
when lawmakers are home in August* »  
Melissa Golden for the *WSJ*, Juillet 2013

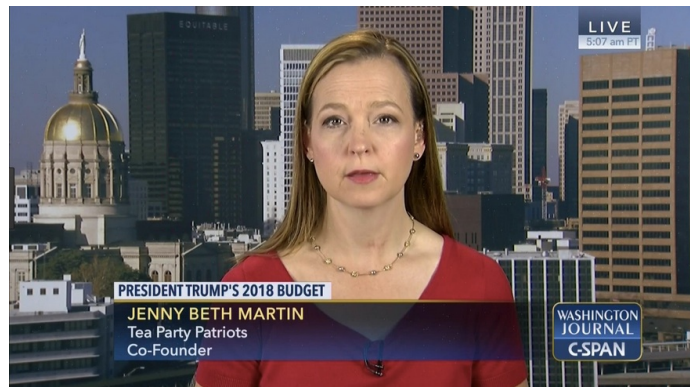
On distingue le Sénateur républicain du Texas  
Ted Cruz , le chef des Républicains au Sénat  
Mitch McConnell, et le Sénateur républicain  
du Kentucky Rand Paul



Jenny Beth Martin accueille Michele Bachmann sur la scène, lors de la 41<sup>ème</sup> édition de la CPAC, 7 mars 2014



Jenny Beth Martin devant la Cour Suprême des États-Unis, lors de l'audition de *United States v. Texas*, visant à attaquer les lois sur l'immigration votées par l'administration Obama, 18 avril 2016



Interview de Jenny Beth Martin sur les prévisions budgétaires de Trump en 2018, retransmise sur la chaîne C-SPAN, 24 mai 2017

## A-17 – CITIZEN INFORMATION, CITIZEN JOURNALISM LE JOURNALISME CITOYEN

Tous les documents de cette annexe proviennent de mes archives personnelles.

### A-17.1. FRANKLIN CENTER FOR GOVERNMENT & PUBLIC INTEGRITY PROSPECTUS, ET EXTRAITS DE BROCHURE

*American citizens own their government. We make sure they remain informed about it.*

#### THE FRANKLIN CENTER: FILLING A VOID

Franklin Center for Government and Public Integrity was founded in 2009 to address falling standards in the media as well as fill the large void created by newspapers cutting back on their statehouse news coverage and investigative reporting.

Our goal is provide fresh, original, hard-hitting news content that is published on our own Web sites and in traditional media sources.

All publications have a mission and a voice. We are unabashed in ours: to spotlight waste, fraud and misuse of taxpayer dollars by state and local governments.

#### WATCHDOG.ORG: KEEPING CITIZENS INFORMED

Watchdog.org encompasses reporters, news sites, investigative journalists and affiliates across the country — and we're growing.

Investigative journalists and capitol news reporters across the country are doing what legacy journalism outlets prove unable to do: share information, dive deep into investigations, and provide the fourth estate that has begun to fade in recent decades.

Watchdog.org promotes a vibrant, well-informed electorate and a more transparent government.

#### WATCHDOGWIRE.COM: GIVING CITIZENS A VOICE

Watchdog Wire empowers citizen journalists by providing a platform where they can post original content covering the issues that are ignored by the mainstream media. It is the go-to news site for citizens dedicated to holding elected officials at every level accountable.

The Citizen Watchdog team also provides critical journalism trainings across the country teaching citizens how to be information activists and watchdogs at the local, state and federal level.

Want to join the army of citizen watchdogs? Get involved at [www.WatchdogWire.com](http://www.WatchdogWire.com).

WATCHDOG BUREAUS ■  
WATCHDOG AFFILIATES ■



## Who Let the Watchdogs Out? A Citizens Guide to Taking Back America

[www.WatchdogWire.com](http://www.WatchdogWire.com)

- About Franklin Center (3)
- Why Be a Citizen Watchdog (4)
- Six Steps to Becoming an Information Activist (6)
- News Writing (12)
- Public Meetings and Open Records Laws (16-17)
- Steps to a Successful Interview (19-20)
- Getting Sources To Talk (21-22)
- On and Off the Record (23)
- Your Right To Take Photographs (24-25)
- Online Resources and Tools (26-27)



Franklin Center strives to “promote the education of the public about waste, corruption, incompetence, fraud and taxpayer abuse by public officials at all levels of government.”

### About the Franklin Center

[www.FranklinCenter.org](http://www.FranklinCenter.org)

“The Salvation of the State is watchfulness in the citizen.”  
—Inscription on the Nebraska State Capitol

Working against a growing tide of cutbacks in news media, the Franklin Center is committed to filling the void of information about state and municipal government. With transparency, accountability and fiscal responsibility as its watchwords, the Franklin Center identifies, trains, and supports investigative journalists working to detect and expose corruption and incompetence in government at the state and local levels.

The Franklin Center believes that government transparency and accountability is not a conservative or liberal idea – it is an *American* idea. A free flow of information is essential to maintaining our free republic and the first step in holding government officials accountable to the people. For the problem we face today is not only the rampant waste, fraud and abuse that exists in government, but the lack of reporting to expose it. Franklin Center works with citizen journalists to bridge that gap.

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### Learn Your State and Local Government

Don't spend your time covering what is happening in Washington, DC, if you live in Texarkana unless it has a direct impact on your community or state. There are hundreds of national capitol reporters waiting to scoop you on the latest federal legislation or the president's new job proposal. But good state and local reporters in your community are lacking due to significant cuts in the journalism industry. This provides you with a unique opportunity to make a real difference being a watchdog right where you are.

So start by becoming an expert on your community. Sure you may know a little bit about everything. But what would you want someone to know if a new family moved to your neighborhood? Answer the following questions to get your thoughts flowing:

- How is the school system? How do students' test scores compare with the national average? What is the true cost per student?
- How are the property taxes compared to neighboring communities? Have they gone up or down recently?
- Are there any recurring special elections? How often do they take place?
- Are there any controversial local ordinances?
- How does the local law enforcement operate?
- Are there strict curfew laws for minors?
- Is your community a safe haven for convicted sex offenders?
- How well are public resources like parks and libraries taken care of?
- What costs are hidden and deferred in the annual budget?

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- *Why*- The *why* makes your story come alive – it goes beyond the facts and gets readers to think about the bigger picture. Why is this policy necessary? Why does this cost so much? Who should be responsible? The *why* will get your readers to talk about this issue with their friends and neighbors
- *How*- The *how* often makes a good side bar or bullet since it can involve a more complex explanation of a procedure, ruling, or historical background

### Basic Writing Guidelines

- *Always use original sources* – Do not trust what others have published. If others tell you something, ask how they know. Were they there? Did they see it or hear it themselves? The journalism rule is: If your mother says she loves you, check it out.
- *Write tight*- Keep sentences and paragraphs short. If you can say the same thing in fewer words, do it. Use clear language, action verbs (no passive voice), and get to the point quickly
- *Write how you speak*- Use everyday language and avoid philosophical rants. If it sounds like an essay, it probably needs to be rewritten
- *Write for your audience*- Make it relevant. Why does your reader care? This is citizen journalism so write for the citizen. It is good to include facts and figures, but be sure to give them meaning and context
- *Find your focus*- Can you sum up your story in one sentence? Use the lede as a guide. If you start to get

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## Steps to a Successful Interview

1. **Get the Interview:** Call the source directly or at his/her office to schedule an interview. Identify yourself and the purpose of the meeting. You may have to go through an administrative assistant. Have a date, time, and location in mind. When explaining the purpose, be vague. For example, if you want to drill your mayor or city councilman about specific line items on the city budget that waste taxpayer money, say you want to talk about the mayor's proposed budget and how it will affect residents in the city. The latter description is less hostile and gives the mayor or councilman an opportunity to talk about the impact of budgeting tax dollars on citizens
2. **Prepare:** Preparation is key. Research your source. Google his or her name. Ask competitors and allies what they know about your source. What is the appropriate title to address him or her? Walk through the story in your mind and prepare about 15 interview questions
3. **Control Your Emotions:** Leave your ego at the door. Don't show emotion. Don't fight with the source. You are not there to change his or her mind, you are there to report – and sometimes challenge – his or her point of view
4. **Breaking the Ice:** Getting started is the hardest part when tensions are high and the source doesn't know what to expect from you. A friendly opener helps your source relax and put his or her guard down. Look around the office. Is there evidence of a favorite sports team, alma mater, or hometown? Are there interesting photos, paintings, or awards that could be good conversation starters?

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- Police officers may legitimately order citizens to cease activities that are truly interfering with legitimate law enforcement operations. So don't get in their way while you are taking photographs
- The right to photograph does not give you a right to break any other laws. For example, if you are trespassing to take photographs, you may still be charged with trespass

### If you are stopped or detained for taking photographs:

- Always remain polite and never physically resist a police officer
- If stopped for photography, the right question to ask is, "Am I free to go?" If the officer says no, then you are being detained, something that under the law an officer cannot do without reasonable suspicion that you have or are about to commit a crime or are in the process of doing so. Until you ask to leave, your being stopped is considered voluntary under the law and is legal
- If you are detained, politely ask what crime you are suspected of committing, and remind the officer that taking photographs is your right under the First Amendment and does not constitute reasonable suspicion of criminal activity
- Always remember that no matter what the law says, at that moment the police officer has total power over you


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## Your Right to Take Photographs/Videos

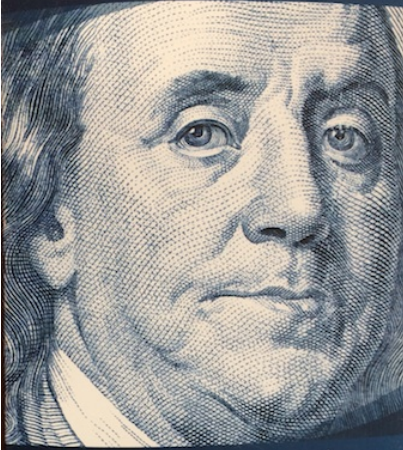
Be sure you know your photography rights as a citizen and don't be bullied by officers who don't want to be caught on camera. Below are a few points outlined by the [American Civil Liberties Union \(ACLU\)](#) website:

- It is your constitutional right to photograph anything that is plainly visible from a public space. This includes federal buildings, transportation facilities, and police and other government officials carrying out their duties. This is good news for the citizen watchdog and is also important in a free society
- When you are on private property, the property owner sets the rules about taking pictures. If you disobey the property owner's rules, they can remove you from their property and possibly even charge you with trespassing
- Police officers may not generally confiscate or demand to view your photographs or video without a warrant. The courts may approve the seizure of a camera in some circumstances if police have a reasonable, good-faith belief that it contains evidence of a crime. But they would still need approval before they could legally take your camera. So ask to see a warrant or court order before handing over your camera
- Police may not delete your photographs or video under any circumstances. Even if you are arrested, deleting photos would be tampering with evidence

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FRANKLIN CENTER  
for  
GOVERNMENT & PUBLIC INTEGRITY



LEADING THE NEW WAVE OF  
NON-PROFIT JOURNALISM

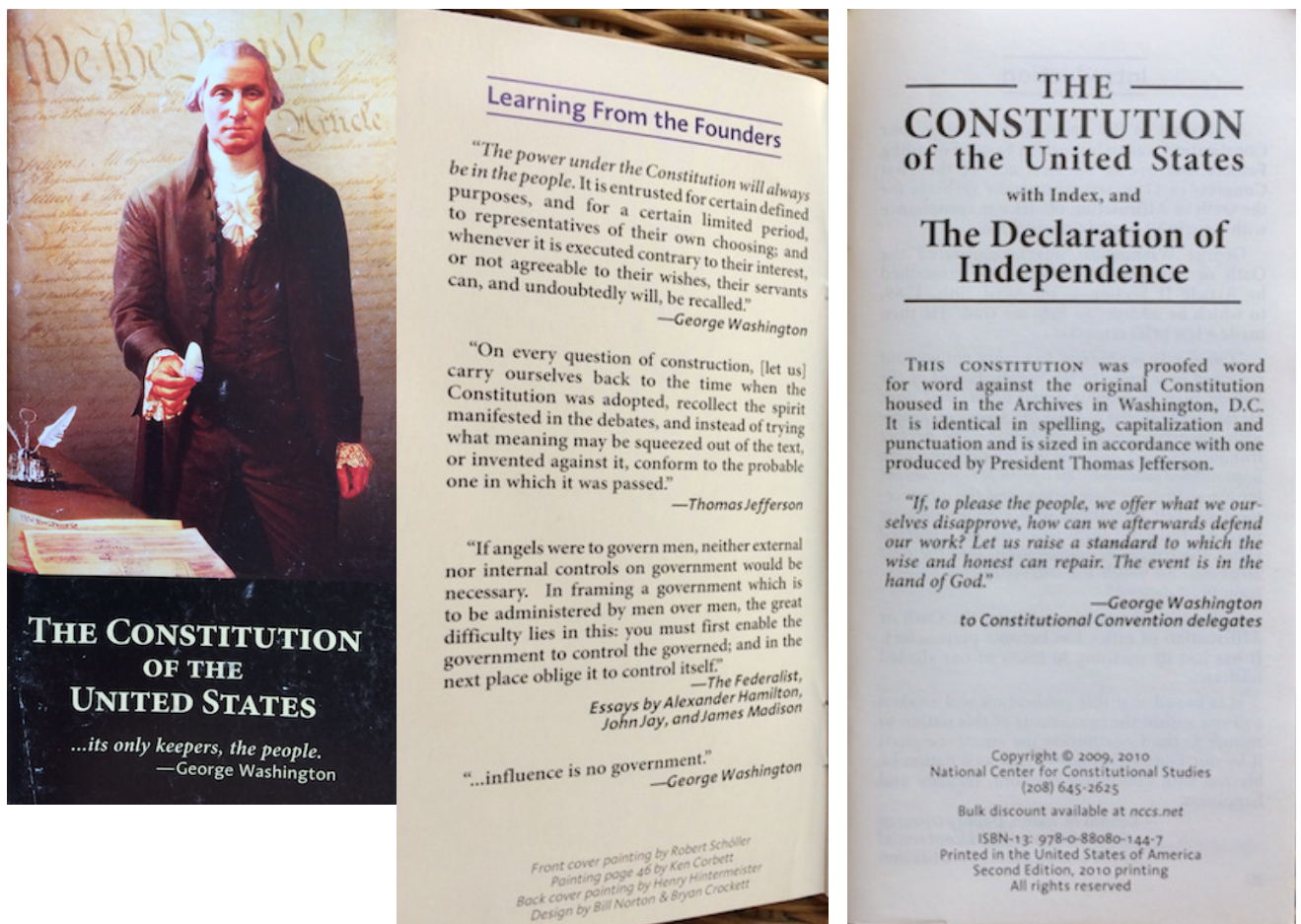
WWW.FRANKLINCENTERHQ.ORG

## A-18 – CONSTITUTION DES ÉTATS-UNIS

Tous les documents de cette annexe proviennent de mes archives personnelles.

### A-18.1. ÉDITION DE POCHE DE LA CONSTITUTION, PUBLIÉE PAR LE NATIONAL CENTER FOR CONSTITUTIONAL STUDIES

#### EXTRAITS



## Learning From the Founders

"The power under the Constitution will always be in the people. It is entrusted for certain defined purposes, and for a certain limited period, to representatives of their own choosing; and whenever it is executed contrary to their interest, or not agreeable to their wishes, their servants can, and undoubtedly will, be recalled."

—George Washington

"On every question of construction, [let us] carry ourselves back to the time when the Constitution was adopted, recollect the spirit manifested in the debates, and instead of trying what meaning may be squeezed out of the text, or invented against it, conform to the probable one in which it was passed."

—Thomas Jefferson

"If angels were to govern men, neither external nor internal controls on government would be necessary. In framing a government which is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty lies in this: you must first enable the government to control the governed; and in the next place oblige it to control itself."

—The Federalist,  
Essays by Alexander Hamilton,  
John Jay, and James Madison

"...influence is no government."

—George Washington

Front cover painting by Robert Schöller  
Painting page 46 by Ken Corbett  
Back cover painting by Henry Hintermeister  
Design by Bill Norton & Bryan Crockett

# THE CONSTITUTION of the United States

with Index, and  
The Declaration of  
Independence

THIS CONSTITUTION was proofed word for word against the original Constitution housed in the Archives in Washington, D.C. It is identical in spelling, capitalization and punctuation and is sized in accordance with one produced by President Thomas Jefferson.

"If, to please the people, we offer what ourselves disapprove, how can we afterwards defend our work? Let us raise a standard to which the wise and honest can repair. The event is in the hand of God."

—George Washington  
to Constitutional Convention delegates

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National Center for Constitutional Studies  
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## Educating the People

"A well-instructed people alone can be permanently a free people."

—James Madison

"A primary object...should be the education of our youth in the science of government. In a republic, what species of knowledge can be equally important? And what duty more pressing...than communicating it to those who are to be the future guardians of the liberties of the country?"

—George Washington

"I know of no safe depository of the ultimate powers of [a] society but the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion by education. This is the true corrective of abuses of constitutional power."

—Thomas Jefferson

"Say...whether peace is best preserved by giving energy to the government, or information to the people. This last is the most certain and the most legitimate engine of government. Educate and inform the whole mass of the people. Enable them to see that it is their interest to preserve peace and order, and they will preserve them. And it requires no very high degree of education to convince them of this. They are the only sure reliance for the preservation of our liberty."

—Thomas Jefferson

"The good sense of the people will always be found to be the best army. They may be led astray for a moment, but will soon correct themselves."

—Thomas Jefferson

# CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

## Article. I.

**Section. 1.** All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

**Section. 2.** The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

[Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons.]\* The actual Enumeration

\*Changed by section 2 of the Fourteenth Amendment.



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### Celebrating the Constitution

To commemorate the September 17, 1787 signing of the Constitution of the United States, Congress has designated *September 17th* of each year as **CONSTITUTION DAY** and *September 17-23* of each year as **CONSTITUTION WEEK**.


In 2004, Public Law 108-447, Section 111 was passed requiring the following:

*"Each educational institution that receives Federal funds for a fiscal year shall hold an educational program on the United States Constitution on September 17 of such year for the students served by the educational institution.*

*"...each Federal agency or department shall provide educational and training materials concerning the United States Constitution to each employee...on September 17 of each year."*

In keeping with these congressional mandates, recent presidents have solicited help from federal and local government leaders as well as civic and religious leaders to hold events to commemorate the occasion.

We encourage all citizens to use their influence to organize and support programs that honor the Constitution. Resources for holding such a celebration may be found at [nccs.net](http://nccs.net).



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Visit [nccs.net](http://nccs.net)

### Expanding Our Knowledge




**THE MAKING OF AMERICA**  
*The Substance and Meaning of the Constitution*  
920 pages, hardcover

Addressing the Constitution clause by clause, this book is one of the most thorough compilations of statements by the Founding Fathers relating to constitutional interpretation.




**THE REAL GEORGE WASHINGTON**  
*The True Story of America's Most Indispensable Man*  
928 pages, 119 illustrations

Rather than focus on interpretations of historians, this unique book tells much of the true story of George Washington's life in his own words and includes his most insightful writings arranged by subject.



**THE REAL THOMAS JEFFERSON**  
*The True Story of America's Philosopher of Freedom*  
709 pages, 58 illustrations

Meet Thomas Jefferson as he really was, in many of his own words, and learn how his eloquent force of expression made him a powerful advocate of freedom. Includes his most influential quotations listed by subject and fully documented.

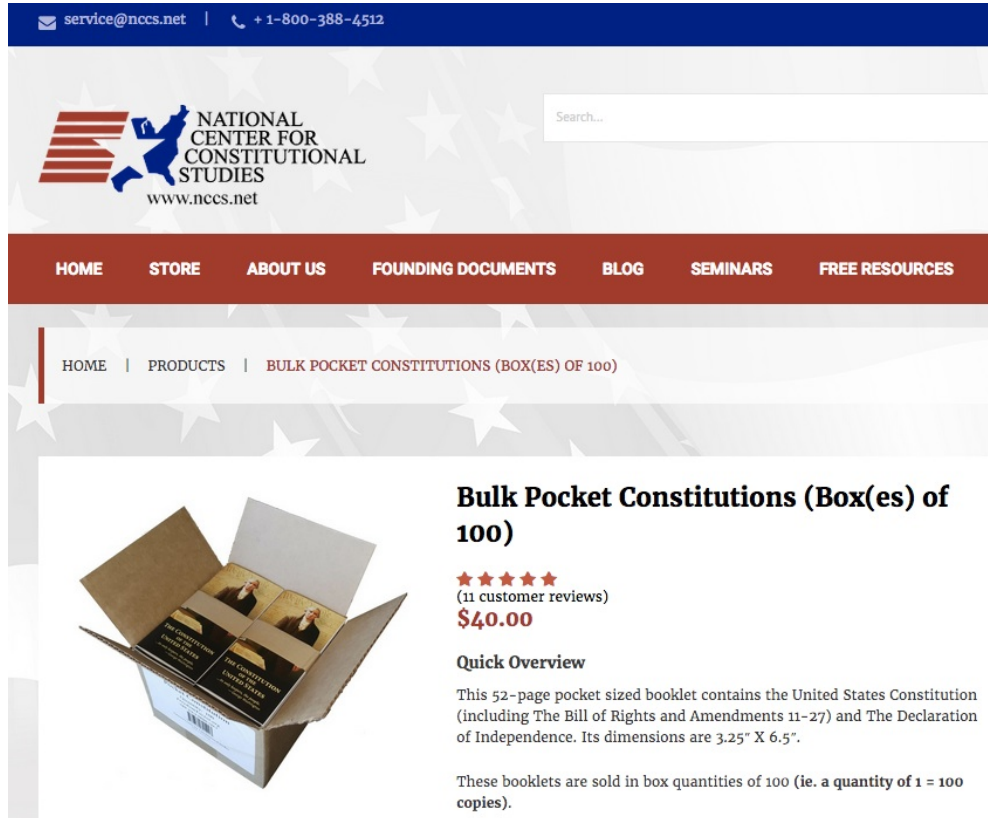


**A MIRACLE: THE 5000 YEAR LEAP**  
*A Miracle That Changed the World*  
337 pages, bulk discount available

Discover the 28 Principles of Freedom our Founding Fathers said must be understood and perpetuated by all who desire peace, prosperity, and freedom. Learn how adherence to these beliefs during the past 200 years has brought about more progress than was made in the previous 5,000 years.

## A-18.2. SITE WEB MARCHAND DE L'ORGANISATON

Page permettant de commander l'édition de poche de la Constitution, par cartons de cent exemplaires, sur le site <https://nccs.net/product/bulk-pocket-constitutions>, capture d'écran effectuée le 12 août 2017.



The screenshot shows the website for the National Center for Constitutional Studies (NCCS). At the top, there is a dark blue header with contact information: an email icon followed by "service@nccs.net" and a phone icon followed by "+ 1-800-388-4512". Below this is a white navigation bar with the NCCS logo on the left, which includes a stylized American flag and the text "NATIONAL CENTER FOR CONSTITUTIONAL STUDIES" and "www.nccs.net". To the right of the logo is a search bar with the placeholder text "Search...". Below the navigation bar is a dark red horizontal menu with white text for "HOME", "STORE", "ABOUT US", "FOUNDING DOCUMENTS", "BLOG", "SEMINARS", and "FREE RESOURCES". Below the menu is a breadcrumb trail: "HOME | PRODUCTS | BULK POCKET CONSTITUTIONS (BOX(ES) OF 100)". The main content area features a product listing for "Bulk Pocket Constitutions (Box(es) of 100)". On the left is an image of an open cardboard box containing several small booklets. To the right of the image, the product title is displayed in bold. Below the title is a five-star rating with the text "(11 customer reviews)" and the price "\$40.00" in a larger, bold font. Underneath is a "Quick Overview" section with a brief description of the product's content and dimensions. At the bottom of the overview, it states that the booklets are sold in box quantities of 100.

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**Bulk Pocket Constitutions (Box(es) of 100)**

★★★★★  
(11 customer reviews)  
**\$40.00**

**Quick Overview**

This 52-page pocket sized booklet contains the United States Constitution (including The Bill of Rights and Amendments 11-27) and The Declaration of Independence. Its dimensions are 3.25" X 6.5".

These booklets are sold in box quantities of 100 (ie. a quantity of 1 = 100 copies).

FIN DES ANNEXES

