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Libertarian reservist defending Liberty



■ Maj. Mitch Goodrich, USAR

By J. Daniel Cloud
LP NEWS EDITOR

Mitch Goodrich: Christian school teacher, competitive marksman, soldier who recently returned from active duty in Afghanistan, martial artist ... and Libertarian Party member.

As attempts to stereotype Libertarians have proven, generalizations are futile. It's no more reasonable to say members of the LP are far right than it is to say they're far left — although party members are frequently hit with both labels. And you can't safely say Libertarians are anti-military — assuming the military is being used properly for national defense.

In fact, there are hundreds of military personnel in the party's membership — many of whom were recently asked to consider telling their stories for the monthly *LP News*.

One of the first to respond was Maj. Mitch Goodrich of the Vermont Army National Guard, who served in the Air Force for eight years, attaining the rank of captain before he left the military for a brief period.

"I have never noticed a conflict between my libertarianism and my uniformed service," Goodrich said. "In fact, I feel they are closely linked."

"The military is a large, impersonal machine by necessity, but the preservation of liberty requires it. Living in liberty

See **LIBERTY** Page 9

Portland chosen for 2006 convention

The Libertarian National Committee voted recently to hold the LP's 2006 convention in Portland, Ore., overwhelmingly selecting that city over Austin, Texas, and Denver.

When the votes were tallied at the LNC's meeting in Washington, D.C., in November 2004, 12 members selected Portland, one picked Austin and four voted for "none of the above." The LNC Convention Committee had recommended Portland by a 2-1 vote. The event will be held at the Hilton Portland and Executive Tower.

The Libertarian Party's biennial national convention is the single largest event on the party's calendar — a time when Libertarians across the country converge on one city to elect national officers, to develop strategies, to hear an interesting line-up of speakers, to consider changes to the party platform and, most importantly to some, to be in the presence of hundreds of other Libertarians.

By tradition and design, the party moves its conventions around the country, primarily because "we don't want to get in the rut of holding the convention in the same cities all the time," LP National Chairman Michael Dixon said. "We also want to move it around because it gives a wide range of our delegates the opportunity to host a convention."

For example, Atlanta, Ga., was selected for the 2004 convention in part because no LP conventions had ever been held in the southeastern United States.

Early in the 2006 site-selection process, LP headquarters staff determined which regions of the country had been underserved in the past, then focused on cities with hotels large enough to hold such an event, Dixon said.

"There really are not a lot of hotels with facilities large enough for our delegate population," he said. "We could book a convention center near a large hotel, but that would significantly increase the cost."

On the short list for the 2006 convention were Portland, Austin and Denver. But in Denver, "the only hotel that would be large enough for our event has not yet been built," Dixon explained. "It's very difficult for a picture of a building to compete with a real building. However, Denver is a great city and would be a good site, so we'll probably look at it again in the future."

That left Austin and Portland, he

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■ Portland, Ore., one of America's most beautiful cities, will host the 2006 LP National Convention.

Kansas county attorney changes from Republican to Libertarian

After being elected twice as a Republican to the position of county attorney in Anderson County, Kan., Fred Campbell decided following the Nov. 2 elections to drop his Republican Party affiliation in favor of the Libertarian Party, saying the GOP has abandoned the idea of minimal government.

Campbell was re-elected in November with no opposition. He has been a Republican for years, primarily because he's "always been in favor of less government rather than more," he said.

"I've always thought that the Republican Party was the major party that went along with that philosophy," Campbell explained. "But in the last four years, I've seen no evidence of that. For the last four years, we've had a Republican majority on the national and local level. But even though the Republicans had the majority in the national arena, I haven't seen a reining-in of bureaucracy; I don't see anything getting smaller; I don't see government getting out of my life."

"Government is way too big, and too involved in every facet of our lives. After the election, I thought, 'Why do I maintain support for this Republican Party that is not doing anything to change the way things are?' So I decided to change my af-

filiation to something that more accurately represents what I believe."

He followed that decision with action, heading down to his county clerk's office to fill out a new voter registration form — thereby making a statement that he wants to see changes in government.

He didn't expect his statement to be made public, at least not as rapidly as it was.

"Apparently the county clerk was worried about the next election, four years from now, and called the secretary of state's office to see how my leaving the Republican Party would affect me in that race," Campbell said. "And the newspaper picked up on it somehow, and it became news."

Campbell graduated from law school in 1997, and the same year was hired as an assistant county attorney in Anderson County — a small rural county in east-central Kansas.

The Republican county attorney he was hired to assist never bothered to move to the county, however, and in 1999, Campbell was asked to replace him.

"After that, I ran unopposed in both the 2000 and 2004 elections, as a Republican. Ever since I've been in this position, I've told people that if I am ever opposed in an election, I will lose — because I don't tell

people what they want to hear. I'm not a good politician; I'm actually ashamed to call myself a politician. I'm just here to do what I think is right for the community and what is right for the job."

"The interesting thing about this last election was that, although we are a Republican majority county, almost all Republicans that ran for local office lost to Democrats. In all national and state elections, the county voted Republican, but in local elections, the voters went for the Democrats. I think there's a great deal of frustration with the Republican Party here, and I find that very interesting."

With that in mind, Campbell decided to follow his personal ideals — which led him to the Libertarian Party.

"I don't remember where I first heard of the Libertarian Party," he said. "I've considered myself basically a Libertarian for years because I think the views that are expressed are very much in line with what I personally believe, including primarily a belief in minimally intrusive government."

"A year or two ago, I read the entire writings of Lincoln, seven or eight volumes of his works. And I decided (while reading what he wrote during the founding of the

See **CAMPBELL** Page 2

NEWS BRIEFS

CA county LP wins open meetings lawsuit

Three years ago, Secretary Robert Bakhaus of the Santa Barbara Libertarian Party sued the Isla Vista Recreation and Park District, or IVRPD, board for holding meetings in secret — and on Dec. 23, 2004, a judge ruled in favor of the LP.

The suit stemmed from a barbecue at the home of one park board member, where enough members were present to constitute a majority of the board — and where the discussion included official business. And because other members of the community were denied entrance to the gathering, Santa Barbara County Superior Court Judge Thomas Anderle ruled the meeting violated California's open meetings law.

The lawsuit could have been avoided if the board members had admitted their mistake up front, and if the board had altered its policies to comply with the law, Bakhaus said.

"Instead, they decided to fight it," he said.

So far, approximately \$250,000 of the IVRPD budget has been spent arguing the lawsuit, according to press reports — and the judge's decision means that the board will have to pay the county LP's legal fees as well, assuming the board doesn't decide to appeal the decision.

Board representatives told reporters after the decision that they have not decided whether or not to appeal. If they do, the total cost of the suit could reach \$500,000, Bakhaus said, depending on how much the attorney's fees are.

He added that the county LP's attorney has agreed to waive his legal fees if the board doesn't appeal the judge's decision — a move that would save the board both a large amount of money and further embarrassment that could come with the appeal.

Bakhaus said he does not regret taking the park board to court, even though it means the board must spend hundreds of thousands of taxpayer dollars to defend itself.

"The law has to be enforced," he said. "It's not a question of price; it's a question of principle."

Petition to keep Texas taxes down fails

Libertarians in Jefferson County, Texas, fell short in their mid-December 2004 attempt to cut the growth of property taxes in their county — whose board of commissioners recently voted to increase the tax rate by almost 10 percent.

By Texas law, community residents can petition for a referendum to roll back the tax rate to the previous rate if a taxing entity (such as a county, city or school district) approves a tax hike of more than 8 percent. Opponents of the tax hike needed to collect signatures from 10 percent of the registered voters in the county, meaning they needed 13,617 valid signatures by Dec. 20 to officially call for a referendum.

A count of the signatures on Dec. 21 revealed that only 11,987 signatures were collected on the 952 pages of signatures turned in to the county clerk on Dec. 20 — not enough to mandate the referendum. Of that number, the Libertarian Party of Jefferson County collected approximately 7,000 signatures, said local LP Chairman Allen Lee, noting that the party got involved in the petitioning process only about nine days before the deadline.

Another group of concerned citizens got involved before the Libertarians, collecting several thousand signatures before deciding the task was going to be unsuccessful and giving up with the collection.

"When we got started, they told us they had about 8,000 or 9,000 signatures, so of course we thought we'd have no problem collecting the rest," Lee said. "But they only had about 3,000 signatures, nothing like what they'd told us. We did the best we could, out petitioning in the cold, but we still fell a little short."

Increasing the tax rate will yield an additional \$5 million for the county coffers over the coming year, Lee said — and the tax was raised to fund the \$80 million budget for the year.

However, the county has already been consistently downsizing its staff through attrition, has cut benefits for county employees and has frozen wages over the past three years, he said.

"The truth is, they need the extra money to pay for an entertainment complex they built in 2000 — Ford Park — which loses money for the county," Lee added.

"The county built this complex without voter approval. It cost the county's taxpayers between \$150 million and \$170 million to build, and taxes are going up to pay for it. They've budgeted \$450,000 for maintenance and upkeep for it, but in just the last quarter, it cost the county about \$750,000. That's where a lot of this money is going, not to salaries."

According to a Dec. 21 newspaper article in the *Beaumont Enterprise*, the Ford Park "has not performed as expected," and "cost the county \$3 million in the last fiscal year, with more than 40 percent of the money going to wages and employee benefits," verifying Lee's estimate of the cost.

Candidates request 2nd Ohio ballot recount

Michael Badnarik and David Cobb, the 2004 presidential candidates from the Libertarian and Green parties, are seeking a second recount of the Ohio presidential vote.

The request, formally filed on Dec. 30, 2004, before a federal judge in Ohio, alleges that proper procedures were not followed in the original recount, which showed Republican George W. Bush winning the election by 118,457 votes (2.858 million votes to Democrat John Kerry's 2.739 million votes). Badnarik won 14,695 votes; Cobb took 186 votes.

"We are basically not happy with the first recount," Badnarik explained. "We asked for the first recount because there were so many anecdotal stories about voter fraud. Since then we have collected tangible evidence of fraud on the part of Ohio's secretary of state, including fraud during the recount."

Contrary to many news reports, the national Libertarian Party played no role in either recount request.

"While we wish our candidate the very best in his endeavor to counteract vote fraud, we need to remind everyone that our candidate and Mr. Cobb speak for themselves and not for the national Libertarian Party," said Michael Dixon, the party's national chair.

Badnarik said on Jan. 3 that he understands that the public, and many Libertarians, are angry about

the recount because it will cost taxpayers money without changing the outcome of the election. Nonetheless, he insists it is a worthwhile effort in that it will shed light on problems in the electoral process.

Noting that Kerry came 300 votes closer to Bush through the hand recount, Badnarik said, "Because there was a difference between the first count and the recount of only a few hundred votes, many people are saying that recounting the votes again isn't going to change anything. But overturning the election is not the goal. The goal is a valid election, and the point is that there was not a valid election. We now have more conclusive evidence to that fact, and I think we now have a much more firm legal standing than we did before the recount."

The Green Party collected most of the \$113,600 required to pay for a statewide recount; by Ohio law a randomly selected 3 percent of ballots from each voting precinct must be counted by hand. The money fronted by the two candidates was expected to pay less than 10 percent of the recount's actual cost of nearly \$1.5 million.

John Bonifaz, an attorney with the National Voting Right Institute who is representing Badnarik and Cobb, says the recount was not conducted in accordance with uniform standards throughout the state, as required by the U.S. Constitution, because counties did not randomly

select precincts for the manual recount and because some workers altered votes to prevent a full hand count.

"The first recount was supposed to be a random recount of 3 percent," Badnarik said. "But it wasn't random. Ohio Secretary of State Kenneth Blackwell had apparently pre-selected the precincts that would be recounted."

"What we would like would be for all 5.5 million votes to be recounted. That's not going to happen. So what we are proposing would be a truly random recount of 10 percent of the votes."

"As candidates, David Cobb and I have the right to request a recount, and that recount is to follow certain rules on the federal and state level. The recount that has been done in no way conformed to those rules."

That's not enough, however, to win over the leadership of the national Libertarian Party, which has contributed no funds to the recount effort, Dixon pointed out.

"The national committee has never discussed or acted upon this matter; in fact, it has never been brought up as an item of discussion," he noted. "The campaigns raised their challenge funds from their own donors. While we support all candidates' rights to request recounts, the national Libertarian Party is not joining Badnarik and Cobb in this action with financial support."

Campbell changes political parties

Continued from Page 1

Republican Party) that in this day and age, Lincoln would be a Libertarian. From what he wrote about the origins of the Republican Party, it sounds much more like he was describing the Libertarian Party than the Republican Party we have now."

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One question that remains to be answered is whether Campbell's affiliation will affect the way he goes about his job as a prosecutor for the county; he doesn't think his actions will change.

"It's my job to enforce the laws, whether or not I believe the laws are just and right," he said. "I had this discussion with a judge a few weeks ago, not before the bench but in conversation."

"I was concerned about a charge that I had made: I charged someone with a weapons crime that I disagree with, but the law is on the books. The judge said I have prosecutorial discretion, which essentially means

I can decide which laws to prosecute people under.

"But as I told him, if I used my discretion to eliminate [all crimes] I think the government shouldn't have a hand in, the judge would have a very light load. As an elected official, as a county attorney, I'm supposed to do what the law says. But I certainly would like to see some of these laws gone."

"The best way to get a bad law repealed is to uphold it strictly."

"I've been dealing with this philosophical problem for years," he said. "That's not going to change. There are laws on the books that shouldn't be there."

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The Mission Statement of the Libertarian Party: "To move public policy in a libertarian direction by building a political party that elects Libertarians to public office."

Jim Gray returns to bench after U.S. Senate campaign

Judge Jim Gray, the Libertarian candidate for U.S. Senate from Santa Ana, Calif., returned to the bench on Nov. 9, the Tuesday after Election Day, after taking an extended leave of absence to run for office.

He earned about 180,000 votes in the senatorial election.

Gray, a judge in the Orange County Superior Court, announced in November 2003 that he would be running against Democrat incumbent Barbara Boxer for the Senate, and that his campaign would focus on his signature issue, ending the War on Drugs. He won the Libertarian Party's nomination at the California LP's convention in March — at which time he had already stepped away from his bench for the duration of the campaign.

Gray became a member of the LP February 2003 after a lifetime as a Republican — saying that both the Democrat and Republican parties are committed to the Drug War, and that the LP is his "natural home."

His stance came as no surprise to LP members; Gray detailed his opposition to the war in his 2001 book, *Why Our Drug Laws Have Failed and What We Can Do About It: A Judicial Indictment of the War on Drugs*.

After almost a full year on the campaign trail, Gray said he was disappointed in the election result.

"The good news is that about 180,000 people voted for me; the bad news is that that number rep-

resents less than 2 percent of the people who voted," he said.

One thing is for sure: The lack of attention didn't stem from a lack of effort. Gray was both vocal and visible throughout his campaign, received hearty endorsements from several high-profile members of the community — including the Mendocino County district attorney and sheriff — and ran persistent radio and television ads in the weeks leading up to the election.

"We ran five television ads a day on each of four cable TV stations in Orange County for weeks, and about 20 radio ads a day for four weeks in Mendocino County," Gray said.

"We also sent a mailing to every voter in Mendocino County, including the information that I had the endorsement of the district attorney and the sheriff, and I still got only about 5 percent of the vote there. Frankly, I expected to do better than that. It obviously takes more than one mailing and 20 radio ads and 20 TV ads per day."

One of the hardest hits the Gray campaign took was when the League of Women Voters denied him access to the Senate race debate.

"We were frozen out of that debate, and that was crippling to the campaign," he said. "It was so important that I brought a lawsuit against them; I tried to restrain them from holding the debate unless they included me, but it was not successful. And once that hap-

pened, I was marginalized and could not recover."

A lack of funds also proved detrimental to the campaign, he said.

"Yes, we worked hard on this election. There were lots of Libertarians and other good people who tried hard as well, but Barbara Boxer ended up with 57.8 percent of the vote — a blowout over both me and Republican Bill Jones.

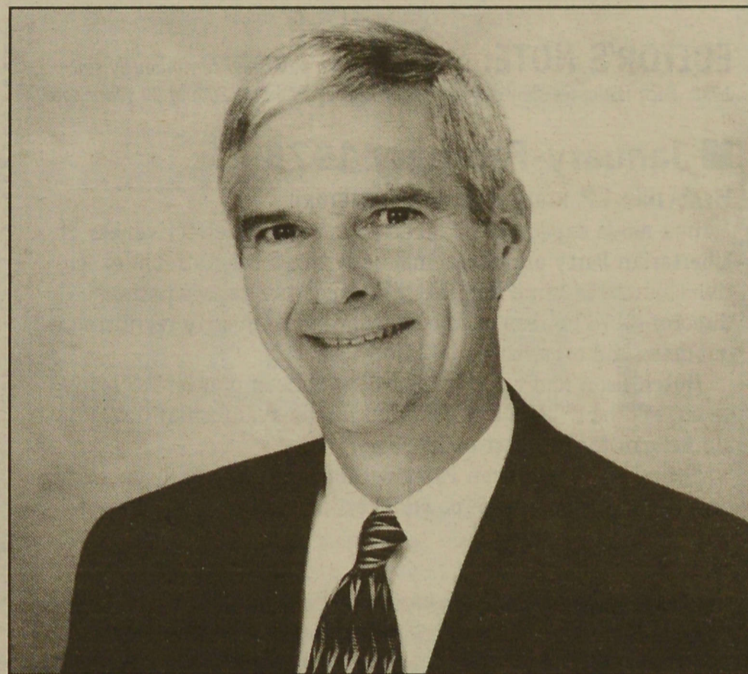
"How? She came to the campaign with about \$8 million to spend, then raised and spent about \$7 million, so she ended up with about the same amount she began with. That's \$7 million spent on this election, compared to a few hundred thousand dollars the Republican spent, and compared to the \$220,000 we raised for my campaign.

"We generated less than a quarter of a million dollars in a year's time; that's less than I generated in just a few months when I ran as a Republican for Congress."

In 1998, Gray ran for the Republican nomination for a congressional race, earning approximately 25 percent of the primary vote.

"In the future, my recommendation is going to be that we find a very well-known, very wealthy candidate for Senate or president and support that candidate strongly. If we can't do that, we need to find candidates for local or state office and really pour our resources into those local office races," he said.

By last count, the Libertarian



■ California Superior Court Judge Jim Gray

Party had just over 600 representatives in elected or appointed offices around the nation — a number that has slowly grown over recent years.

It's through these lower-level offices that the party will gain respect and recognition, Gray said.

"You put my \$220,000 into an assembly race or a large city council race instead of in a U.S. Senate race — put it in a race where that kind of money can make a big difference — and we'll start to get the building blocks we need to win the larger

racers."

Gray said he has no immediate plans to run for office again.

"I am a judge. You cannot continue leaving the judgeship and running for partisan office and expect people to respect your neutrality as a judge. I don't anticipate running for office again while I'm a judge."

That doesn't mean he won't run for office again; Gray noted that he's "been a judge for 20 years, and I certainly don't expect to keep doing this forever."

Beatrice Jones: 'To be effective, build coalitions'

Libertarians have the right ideas — cut taxes, make people pay their own way, encourage civil liberties — but Libertarian Party candidates cannot single-handedly change the social and economic climate. So says Beatrice Jones, a member of the Hardeeville, S.C., City Council who has managed several winning campaigns, both for Libertarians and for representatives of other parties.

And she should know: She is a Libertarian. She was elected to office in 2002. She has consistently worked with non-Libertarians to forward policies that are "as close to libertarian as possible." And, she has been active in a number of campaigns — supporting those candidates who have libertarian tendencies, even if they aren't party members.

When she manages campaigns, Jones said, she insists on forming coalitions with like-minded organizations, individuals and leadership — regardless of party lines.

Jones said she joined the LP eight years ago because the party's "values and precepts were what I truly had believed in all along — values that I earlier thought were in the Republican Party."

After joining the party, she was elected to two two-year terms as

state LP vice chair.

Yet she became "disgruntled with the attitudes of many Libertarians," who insist on putting "totally unelectable candidates" on the ballot.

"What discourages me about the LP as a whole is the coffeehouse attitude," Jones said. "Most refuse to form coalitions with like-minded groups. And many will argue to the point of infinite boredom the intricacies of Austrian economics or Objectivism — but few will get off of their barstools and actually make a difference."

And the few Libertarians who manage to get elected apparently have two options, she said: They can either form coalitions with non-Libertarians to get something accomplished, for which they are often dismissed or insulted by their fellow LP members, or they can cling to a "pure-libertarianism-only" ideal and accomplish nothing in office — for which they will eventually be voted out of office.

If elected Libertarians want to accomplish something, they have to be willing to work with other people to forward near-libertarian ideology — and other Libertarians shouldn't insult them for doing so.

As an elected official, Jones has had ample opportunity to put this concept into practice.

"In the past two years, in a city of 1,500 residents, we have built a \$4.2 million dollar recreation and city office complex; fixed a 12-year-old road drainage problem that was the root of two lawsuits against the city; bought three brand-new fire trucks and doubled the employment at our fire station; bought four new police cars and paid them off early; doubled the size of the city; and developed a 24-hour cable access channel that broadcasts (in conjunction with a local college) accredited college courses that people can take at home," she said. "And we have done all this without raising taxes."

More than that, the city council is working on a plan through which they hope to eliminate residential property taxes within five years.

How? By making incoming businesses and individuals pay for the services they require — such as transportation impact fees — instead of forcing current city taxpayers to pay for the expenses of new residents, Jones said.

Jones's foray into political campaign management started rather innocently, when a "fellow firefighter and drinking buddy" decided to run for city council — a nonpartisan post — and asked Jones for help writing a speech. She became his campaign manager, and he was

elected. He kept running for office, eventually being elected mayor.

Two years ago, as mayor, he asked her to run for a city council seat; she did, and she won.

"It was odd, being the recipient of the phone calls that said, 'go there and talk to so-and-so,' rather than being the campaign manager who made those calls — but it was worth it to keep the progression alive," she said. "We have grown and formed coalitions to sponsor growth and common goals. Gradually, the vicious and selfish people are either being voted out of office or fired from what they thought were permanent positions of power."

Her term on the city council will end in 2006, and she has indicated that she does not intend to run again because she has other plans for the future.

"However, the coalitions that helped put me in office have threatened to lock me in my house, run my ads, give my speeches, then let me out to be on the porch of the precinct on Election Day to shake hands," Jones said.

Among her other projects, she has written a handbook that encourages Libertarians to put their knowledge before the public in a reasonable fashion — so they can be elected.

"I was amazed at the ignorant arrogance of Libertarians who repeatedly insist on putting up completely unelectable candidates as Libertarian choices," she said. "My state party chair, Chris Panos, read the book and became very excited. Because he also has a lot of election experience, we edited the book together, turned it into a workbook and reference manual and have proposed two-day, highly intensive classes both here in South Carolina and in the Southeastern Libertarian Alliance that he is forming."

Jones spoke at a Jan. 21 convention of state party leaders in St. Louis.

Panos and Jones have also set up an eight-hour class for new candidates, based on the book.

"The hard part is breaking apart the stagnating, self-righteous and self-promoting groups that are determined to keep the Libertarian Party small, and to keep its candidates ineffectual," she said. "It's time to stop 'getting the word out' and start getting involved."

"If Libertarians are tired of believing that candidates spring fully formed from Ayn Rand's forehead and actually want to do something real and viable to grow the party as a political force, it's time to get moving."

LOOKING BACK

EDITOR'S NOTE: LP News has been published continuously since 1972. Each issue, we showcase a few top stories from 10, 20 and 30 years ago.

January-February 1975

HEADLINE: LP HIRES NATIONAL DIRECTOR

In a move expected to "greatly increase the effectiveness of Libertarian Party organizational activities," the national executive committee hired Ned Hutchinson as the party's national director — to be responsible for coordinating party recruiting, publicity and organizational efforts.

Hutchinson had been active in Republican politics for many years, and had "been a top aide to former [California] Gov. Ronald Reagan for the past eight years."

"I find the Republican Party without principle and sustained only by a quest for more power over individuals," Hutchinson was quoted as saying.

HEADLINE: CHALLENGING CAMPAIGN REGULATIONS

"In early January, the national Libertarian Party joined ... a suit challenging the federal election campaign laws," LP News reported. On Jan. 24, the federal district court for the District of Columbia found that the plaintiffs had raised substantial constitutional questions and moved the case to the federal circuit court of appeals for review.

"The suit raises many important civil liberties objections to the campaign laws. The brief filed in the suit argues that the First Amendment rights of free speech and freedom of association are directly undermined by restrictions on their exercise during political campaigns."

November 1984-February 1985

HEADLINE: ANDRE MARROU GAINS STATE HOUSE

"For the first time since 1982, the Libertarian Party has an elected member in a state legislature, with Andre Marrou's upset victory over an incumbent Republican in District 5-B on the Kenai Peninsula in Alaska." Marrou's "election marks the first return of the LP to the Alaska state house since 1982, when Dick Randolph did not run for re-election in order to pursue his unsuccessful bid for governor, and Ken Fanning lost his seat after his district was reapportioned."

Marrou won by a 56-vote margin over Republican Milo Fritz and earned twice as many votes as Democrat Chris Martin did.

HEADLINE: PRESIDENTIAL RESULTS DISAPPOINT

"The bad news is that the Libertarian presidential ticket lost big. The good news is that the bad news wasn't any worse," LP News reported.

About 228,700 voters cast ballots for the Libertarian Party's David Bergland and Jim Lewis; the party was on the ballot in 38 states and the District of Columbia. This vote total represented a 75 percent drop from the 1980 election, when the Ed Clark-David Koch ticket drew 922,001 votes.

"Finances clearly hindered the 1984 LP effort, with only about one-seventh the campaign funds available compared to 1980, when vice presidential candidate (and multi-millionaire oil heir) David Koch was able to legally kick in \$2 million, which financed over 100 airings of several network TV commercials for the LP ticket."

February 1995

HEADLINE: LP DELIVERS CHALLENGE TO THE GOP

The Libertarian Party issued a public "Challenge to the Republicans," urging the GOP to live up to its 1994 campaign promises, and "drastically reduce the size of the federal government."

In the document, LP National Chair Steve Dasbach challenged the Republicans to immediately eliminate 21 specific federal programs, agencies and policies — including Amtrak, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, Steamtown USA, the National Endowment for the Arts, the Selective Service and a host of other programs.

The LP also called for an end to the semi-automatic weapons ban, which expired with little fanfare in late 2004.

Burlison running for MO city council

Former paratrooper opposes intrusive legislation

A Libertarian running for city council in Springfield, Mo., says his primary goal if elected will be to oppose and eliminate intrusive city ordinances that allow the city too much power over the lives of those who live there.

Doug Burlison, who was chairman of the Greene County Libertarian Party from 1999-2004, is running for city council for the first time, but he's looking to his prior experience as a candidate for Congress to give him a leg up on the competition in this race.

Burlison, 40, ran for Congress four times as a Libertarian — in 1994, 1998, 2000 and 2002 — and then in 2004 as a Democrat.

"I was trying to pull a Ron Paul, basically," he said of his brief switch to the Democrat Party, referring to the 1988 Libertarian Party candidate for president who is currently a Republican congressman from Texas.

"I had built up some name recognition by running for office before, and thought I might be able to do better if I ran as a Democrat."

"It hasn't signified a change in my philosophy or politics, that's for

sure.

"I had to resign as county chairman of the Libertarian Party to run for office as a Democrat, but I always considered myself a Libertarian, even when running for Congress as a Democrat," he said.

In the August 2004 Democrat primary, Burlison drew about 20 percent of the vote, coming in third in a four-way race. The front-runner took about 45 percent of the vote, he said.

The city council race is nonpartisan, but Burlison is still a member of the Libertarian Party and makes no secret of his membership.

Four four-year posts on the city council are up for grabs in the April 5, 2005, general election. All four incumbents running for re-election are facing opposition — contrasting to the 2003 election, when three incumbents ran unopposed.

Burlison and incumbent Mary Collette are the only candidates for the General A council seat, so there will be no primary in that race.

Burlison promises to oppose "intrusive ordinances like the smoking ban that has been in place for about a year and a half, which bans restaurants from allowing smoking and has driven many restaurants out of business."

No matter how good the intentions of the city council members who pushed for the ordinance, the council failed to listen to those who opposed the smoking ban — including the affected business owners —

and the result was a law that negatively affects private businesses, he said.

Burlison also hopes to encourage the use of alternative energy sources in the city.

"We have a publicly funded city utility. The council members keep wanting to get an initiative on the ballot asking the voters to allow them to build a new coal-fired power plant," he explained.

"I want them to consider alternative power sources and to more appropriately compensate those people who already personally use alternative energy sources like solar power for their homes."

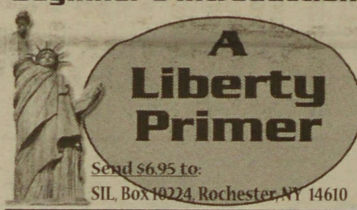
"If the city would encourage the use of solar power or other alternatives, they might find that we don't need to build a new power plant. But that's a solution they haven't even seriously considered."

A veteran of the U.S. Army's 82nd Airborne Division — he was a decorated paratrooper and was a sergeant when he received his honorable discharge — Burlison is also an experienced firefighter and EMT, and currently is assistant manager for a Springfield printing company.

He also studied public administration and economics at Southwest Missouri State University, where he graduated in 1992.

Burlison recently was married to Mellony Mizer, who was the 2004 Libertarian Party candidate for state representative in the 137th Missouri House District.

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Why libertarians don't need "A Better Mouse-trap." (p.23)

What libertarians can learn from Mark Twain's Cat. (p.34)

When impatience undermines libertarian progress. (p.52)

How to gently dissolve many objections in 60 seconds. (p.63)

Get people to "Push the Button" and become libertarians. (p.81)

Treasure Map for finding people who urgently want freedom. (p.83)

One deadly mistake almost every libertarian makes – and how to avoid it. (p.96)

"You know enough about libertarianism to buy it, but do you know enough to *sell* it?" (p.126)

When to "Save Your Breath." (p.165)

The Biggest Libertarian Communication Turnoff. (p.171)

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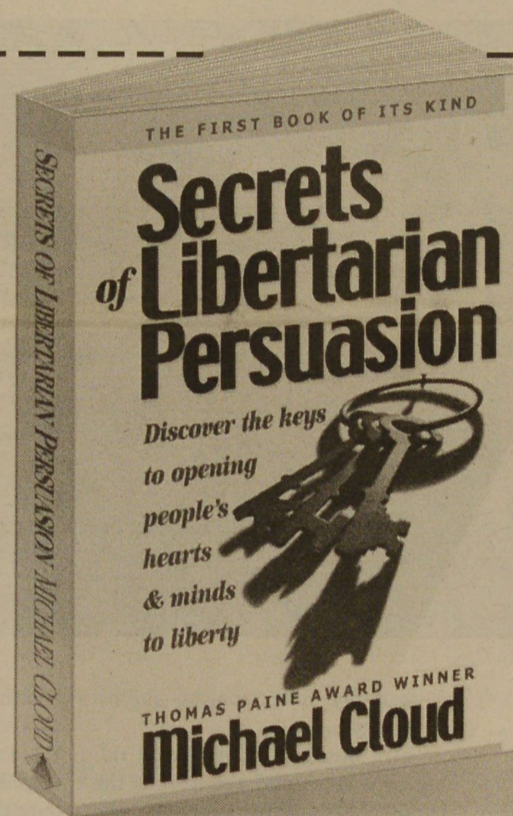
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LPNEWS/2-05

TALKING POINTS

Opium, Homeland Security, Social Security and stem cells

Invading Iran

Did you see how happy President Bush was yesterday when he found out he won? He couldn't decide whether to give a victory speech or announce the invasion of Iran.

—JAY LENO

The Tonight Show
November 3, 2004

Homeland security

Revenue generated by Halliburton under CEO Dick Cheney from business deals with Iraq under Saddam Hussein: \$30 million.

Number of companies in which Tom Ridge holds stock that have a contract with the Department of Homeland Security: 7.

Minimum number of countries with a greater capacity to produce nuclear weapons than Iraq at the time of the U.S. invasion: 35.

—HARPER'S INDEX

Harper's Magazine
December 2004

Failing teachers

More than half a million Florida students sat in classrooms last year in front of teachers who failed the state's basic skills tests for teachers. Many of those students got teachers who struggled to solve high school math problems or whose English skills were so poor, they flunked reading tests designed to measure the very same skills students must master before they can graduate.

These aren't isolated instances of a few teachers whose test-taking skills don't match their expertise and training. A *Herald-Tribune* investigation has found that fully a third of teachers, teachers' aides and substitutes failed their certification tests at least once.

The findings raise questions about Florida's education reforms, which require students to pass standardized tests to advance, yet allow teachers to fail exams dozens of times and still stand at the front of a classroom.

[M]ost school districts hire teachers without ever reviewing their test scores or how many times they failed the test. Typically, teachers don't even know their own scores.

Before the *Herald-Tribune* started its analysis, the state had never reviewed certification tests to determine how teachers were performing, according to the Department of Education.

—CHRIS DAVIS AND MATTHEW DOIG

Sarasota, Fla. Herald-Tribune
December 14, 2004

Secondhand smoke

A Virginia woman was sentenced to 10 days in jail and led from the courtroom in handcuffs after violating a state divorce court judge's order not to smoke in front of her children. Her ex-husband sought the order in a bitter custody dispute on the grounds that it was necessary to safeguard the health of the children, ages 8 and 10, during weekend visits with their mother. The children live with the father. The woman will appeal the judge's order and was allowed to post bail after several hours.

Although the newspaper report on this story points to the U.S. Surgeon General's assertion that secondhand tobacco smoke increases the risk of lung cancer, many studies conclude there is little or no risk from casual exposure.

—EDITED BY

MAUREEN MARTIN
Lawsuit Abuse
Fortnightly

October 27, 2004

Winning ZIP

North Carolinians gave more than \$40 million to political candidates or groups in 2004, including presidential candidates and a committee called Punk Voter Inc., according to a newspaper analysis of Federal Election Commission reports.

The analysis by *The Charlotte Observer* showed that North Carolinians gave \$44.4 million to national candidates ...

For Democrats, the hottest area was Chapel Hill, where donors in the town's 27514 ZIP code gave Democrats \$753,290. For Republicans, Winston-Salem was the mother lode. People in the city's 27104 ZIP gave Republicans \$696,982.

Just one ZIP in North Carolina gave more money to Libertarian candidates than to Democrats or Republicans. That's thanks to Dr. Mett Ausley, a pathologist in Lake Waccamaw in ZIP code 28450.

The former Republican gave his new party and its candidates \$9,700 for the election.

"Obviously, we haven't done very well in the elections," said Ausley, 47. "But I guess this is sort of building the party for the future."

—ASSOCIATED PRESS

December 28, 2004

Social Security

President Bush will spearhead an election-style public relations campaign early next year to try to convince Americans that Social Security is in urgent need of change but will keep dollar and cent details



deliberately vague, analysts and officials say.

With Bush's political capital riding on a successful overhaul of the popular retirement program, the White House and its allies plan to bombard the public with presidential speeches, television and radio ads, newspaper op-ed articles and grass-roots rallies between now and early 2005.

"It's going to be a battle royal, very much like an election campaign but over an issue rather than a candidate," said Stephen Moore, executive director of Club for Growth, a Republican group that hopes to spend \$15 million on a media campaign backing the White House.

"This is about winning, and Bush can't afford to lose."

Social Security is projected to remain solvent until 2018, when benefit payments begin to outstrip payroll tax receipts as the huge post-war baby boom generation retires.

But the president insists the system be changed now without raising payroll taxes and wants workers to be allowed to hold a portion of their payroll taxes as private stock and

bond investments.

—DAVID MORGAN

Reuters

December 22, 2004

Sloppy reporting

Four people have been fired over the weekend from CBS over the Dan Rather report on President Bush's National Guard scandal. The network said the four employees were fired for sloppy reporting and incompetent fact checking. But the good news, today all four of them were hired by the *New York Times*.

—JAY LENO

The Tonight Show
January 10, 2005

Republican split?

When House Republicans blocked the intelligence overhaul bill two weeks ago, some congressional Republicans say they were showing President Bush he will split the party if he goes ahead with his broader immigration-reform plan.

Some Republicans say the intelligence bill impasse should be seen as the first round of a broader fight over the president's proposed guest-worker program.

"This is a referendum on immigration," said Rep. Steve King, an Iowa Republican. "If the people that are in support of border security get rolled by the president, that will be an indicator that the president's amnesty plan has better momentum in Congress."

"I think that if they don't accept the House version

and they bring the conference report to a vote on the House floor, then there will be a split," he said. "And I think it will be one that will take a long time to heal it back up."

—STEPHEN DINAN

The Washington Times
December 3, 2004

Terrorism and drugs

Afghanistan has been one of the leading sources of opium poppies, and therefore heroin, since the 1970s. Today, the country accounts for more than 75 percent of the world's opium supply. It is clear that some of the revenues from the drug trade — at least 10 percent to 20 percent — flow into the coffers of al Qaeda and the Taliban.

That is obviously a worrisome development. But it is hardly unprecedented. For years, leftist insurgent groups in Colombia, principally the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), and right-wing paramilitaries have been financed largely by that country's cocaine trade. Conservative estimates place the annual revenue stream to the

FARC alone at between \$515 million and \$600 million per year. (In 2002, the U.S. ambassador to Colombia put the figure at "several billion" dollars.)

The harsh reality is that terrorist groups ... have been enriched by prohibitionist drug policies that drive up drug costs, and which deliver enormous profits to the outlaw organizations willing to accept the risks that go with the trade.

Targeting the Afghanistan drug trade would create a variety of problems. Most of the regional warlords who abandoned the Taliban and currently support the U.S. anti-terror campaign (and in many cases politically undergird the Karzai government) are deeply involved in the drug trade, in part to pay the militias that give them political clout. A crusade against drug trafficking could easily alienate those regional power brokers and cause them to switch allegiances yet again.

Drug prohibition is terrorism's best friend. That symbiotic relationship will continue until the United States and its allies have the wisdom to dramatically change their drug policies.

—TED GALEN CARPENTER

Cato Commentary
January 5, 2005

Rewarding failure

Have you gotten through four years or more of high school and still haven't mastered basic English and math skills? If you live in Massachusetts, don't worry. The state has just approved a special "certificate of attainment" for students who've tried three times and failed to pass the state exams needed to earn a high school diploma. State officials urge area employers to give it weight and are pushing to have the document qualify students for federal student aid. "It's to recognize and honor the effort and persistence of students who have stuck it out through 12th grade, who have given it their best," says the state Board of Education chairman.

—CHARLES OLIVER

Reason Online
January 4, 2005

Christmas every day

In a free society, the spirit of Christmas is celebrated daily. The beauty of individual liberty and the free enterprise system is how it dovetails with the Christmas spirit on a continual basis, not just at Christmastime.

Profits created by individuals create jobs. Jobs in turn create income for individuals in order that they can help themselves and others survive. Everyone is helped by profits created by individual businesses and individuals themselves.

The invisible hand discussed by Adam Smith in his great treatise, "An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations," encouraged the individual to provide for others by providing for oneself.

In other words, as Adam Smith noted, the baker does not bake

bread for his customer because he wants his customer not to go hungry. The baker bakes bread for his customer because he does not want ... to go hungry. However, in order to achieve what he desires, the baker must give to his customers what they desire.

In this way, Christmas is celebrated every day of the week.

Profits reflect the spirit of Christmas because through very peaceful means individuals give and receive ... the necessities of life.

An environment where there is more freedom, more individual liberty and less government control and regulation, is where one will always find the masses possessing a higher standard of living than those living under control of their government. By reducing and eliminating government control over individuals, peace on earth and goodwill to all prevails.

—HOWARD J. BLITZ

Yuma (Arizona) Sun
December 22, 2004

■ Social Security II

The U.S. is not alone in having a Social Security system on the brink of disaster. Pretty much every country that has a government-backed retirement system is in deep trouble. But the U.S. is almost alone in not having any plans, no matter how vague, to head off the crisis.

In general, there are three pillars to most retirement reforms. The first is a tax-financed, government-sponsored safety net. The second involves mandatory savings by workers — usually in an individual, private account — along the lines of reform proposals here. And the third pillar is voluntary savings by workers in private accounts, much like our 401(k)s.

Chile runs the most advanced and oldest of the reformed plans; it relies mostly on the second pillar. When it was established in 1980, workers were allowed to opt out of the government pension plan and contribute 10 percent of pre-tax wages to personal, private accounts. (Workers can also voluntarily contribute up to an additional 10 percent.) The money in these private accounts grows tax free; it is taxed only when retirement is taken and funds are withdrawn. Workers can choose among several private companies to manage their accounts.

At retirement, workers have the choice of three payout options: buying an annuity, leaving money in their account to be withdrawn monthly, or some combination of the two. And payouts will be big. Average real rates of return for these private accounts have been high — around 10 percent a year. Just as nice, pension funds have now accumulated about \$50 billion in assets. This giant pool of savings has contributed to the more than doubling of the rate of economic growth in Chile, which has been running at a little over 7 percent a year. When the plan started, only 25 percent of eligible workers signed up. It has proved to be such a good deal, however, that now more than 90 percent of covered workers participate.

[R]eform of Social Security should not be daunting. Providing some sort of private accounts in the U.S. — the world's premier capitalist country — to give more workers a major stake in an ownership society should be a no-brainer.

—WALL STREET JOURNAL

December 27, 2004

■ Stem-cell bonds

California voters approved a stem-cell initiative known as Proposition 71 on Nov. 2 [2004]. But only recently has anyone gotten around

to analyzing the fine print.

The law, which passed with 59 percent of the vote and vocal support from Republican Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger, authorizes \$3 billion in bonds to pay for new research and facilities. And even though the interest rate will double the ultimate cost over 10 years, backers of the initiative said that the money raised from the bonds won't cost the state anything for the first five.

Or so most Californians thought before a recent report in the *San Francisco Chronicle* [which noted

that the Prop. 71 campaign misrepresented the measure in major ways. In fact, says the paper, "Interest payments will begin immediately, paid out of the bond money itself — meaning that tens to hundreds of millions of 'research' dollars must be used to pay debt service."

Moreover, the law says the research money doesn't even have to be spent on embryonic stem-cell studies. It can go to "other scientific and medical research and technologies" to be determined by the independent governing board. Topping things off is a provision that

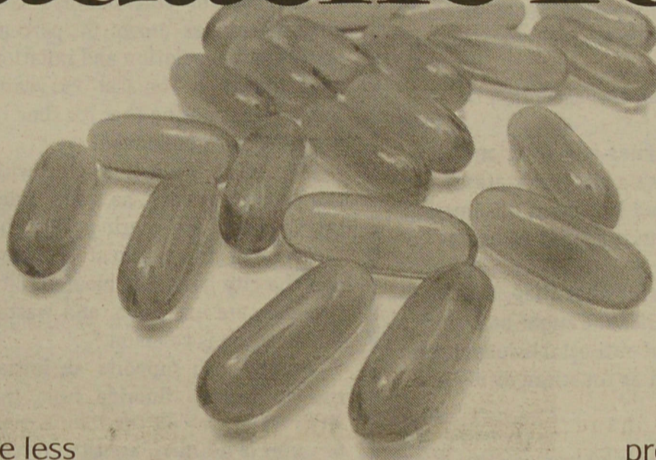
hamstrings Sacramento with respect to any changes. Prop. 71 can't be modified for three years, and ... 70 percent of both Houses and the Governor must approve any tinkering.

It's a bad idea for any state to be giving away public money to unaccountable private citizens and research institutions. But in the case of California, which is swimming in deficits and borrowing money to balance its budget, adding to the taxpayers' burden in this way seems especially galling.

—WALL STREET JOURNAL

December 27, 2004

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— Steve Dennett (Retired)
McLean, Virginia

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THE PROFILE

Johnny Walker

By Bill Winter

THE ADVOCATES FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT

Pop quiz! Name this up-and-coming musician: He shares his name with a famous whisky. He's a member of what the *New Musical Express* called the "best live band" of 2003. He could be the next break-out star from the Detroit garage rock scene. He's a friend of the White Stripes' Jack White. And he's a "card-carrying Libertarian."



Give up? It's Johnny Walker (real name: Johnny Wirick), guitarist and lead vocalist for the Soledad Brothers. The medical student-turned-blues guitarist "makes no bones" about his "highly libertarian political views," according to the *Detroit Metro Times* (Oct. 27, 2004). In fact, Walker told *GAK* magazine (September 2002), "I'm a card-carrying libertarian, and my hobby when I was a kid was reading political science books."

Walker's views have attracted more attention with the release of the band's politically charged 2004 album, "Voice of Treason" (Sanctuary Records).

The album is a response to the USA/Patriot Act, according to Walker.

"After 9/11, [the USA/Patriot Act] was a knee-jerk reaction in Congress," he told *The Syndicate* Web site. "It's a bill that states if someone feels that something that's being said or done is un-American, then the person who's being un-American is subject to being questioned."

Now, Walker said, "I have to be really careful what I say, because I don't want to be hauled in for being un-American. I might be a card-carrying libertarian and the personification of anti-establishment, but when it comes down to it, I'm probably about as American as it's possible to be."

Walker reiterated his civil-liberty concerns in an interview with the *Daily Oakland Press* (Oct. 29, 2004). "[The album is] provocative; it's in response to the Patriot Act," he said. "It's funny: the country was founded by dissenters, and nowadays, if you speak up against something you think is wrong, it's [called] unpatriotic."

"Voice of Treason" isn't the Soledad Brothers' first brush with politics. The back cover of their debut album showed Uncle Sam tied up with guns pointed at him. Even the band's name is political. The Soledad Brothers were a trio of African-American inmates who tried to escape from California's notorious Soledad Prison in 1970 and who later became the focus of a prison-reform movement.

But the modern Soledad Brothers are primarily about music. Coming out of the same Detroit blues/roots rock scene that spawned the White Stripes and the Von Bondies, the band combines garage rock, blues, and R&B into what London's *The Guardian* called a "peeled-to-the-bone garage-band blast."

Critics usually have to resort to hyphenated descriptions to try to capture the Soledad Brothers' sound. They've been called "glammed-up rockabilly," "modern boogie-woogie," and "punk-rock attitude melded with Southern country fish fry, all-day sidewalk jamming." They've also been compared to Bo Diddley, the Stooges, Sonny Boy Williamson, MC5, the Yardbirds and the (early) Rolling Stones.

Although still flying under the radar in the United States, the band has played sold-out shows in Spain and Great Britain; performed twice on BBC/Radio One; and earned raves from the U.K.'s *Mojo* magazine and *New Musical Express*.

The Soledad Brothers are Johnny Walker (guitars, vocals), Oliver Henry (guitar, saxophone, vocals) and Ben Swank (drums). The band was formed in 1998 in Toledo, Ohio, and has released four albums: "The Soledad Brothers" (2000, produced by Jack White); "Steal Your Soul and Dare Your Spirit to Move" (2002); "Live at the Gold Dollar" (2003); and "Voice of Treason" (2004).

Despite his libertarian perspective, don't expect Walker to start writing explicitly libertarian anthems any time soon.

"I have problems with putting a lot of political banter on a record that's meant to be entertaining," he told *GAK* magazine. "It's nice to wear that stuff on your sleeve, but I'd like to give people the opportunity to make their own decisions about whether they believe in what we believe in. People don't like politics shoved down their throat."

■ Starting in this issue, LP News will feature column about celebrities who call themselves libertarian. This article reprinted with permission from the *Advocates for Self-Government*. To read profiles of dozens of libertarian celebrities, visit: www.TheAdvocates.org/celebrities.html.

Brophy running for Fort Collins, CO, mayor

Libertarian Mark Brophy is running for mayor of Fort Collins, Colo., and will likely be the only candidate in a crowded field who supports two Libertarian-backed initiatives on the ballot in the April 5 election — the repeal of the city's grocery tax and the removal of fluoride from the city's water.

Brophy spearheaded the petition drive to get the repeal of the grocery tax on the ballot. About 7,000 signatures were collected to meet the requirement of 3,900 valid signatures. Both initiatives eventually made it before the voters.

Roughly \$6 million per year is collected through the grocery tax, and Brophy has received a wave of support for his mayoral candidacy because of his leadership in the initiative to eliminate that tax.

The cost of Fort Collins's city government has grown 50 percent faster than population and inflation have grown in the last 25 years, Brophy said, noting that it's time to downsize the government.

"We must bring it in line with the people's needs," he said. "Sales tax revenues are soaring with the recovery of the national economy and the city budget is bloated. City revenues are excessive, and wasteful spending is common."

Brophy also supports an initiative to remove fluoride from the city's water, saying the fluoridation of water is nothing less than forced medication by government officials.

Although fluoridation "was en-

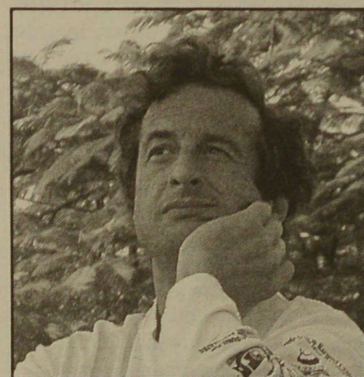
acted in 1967 in response to an enormous epidemic of tooth decay where the average person lost half his teeth by age 40," the program has run its course and is no longer necessary, he noted.

"Repealing the grocery tax and fluoridation are merely the first steps to reducing the city government," Brophy said, and they certainly won't be the only issues he'll face in his two-year term if he is elected mayor.

He has also pledged to fight the use of tax incentives and other tax-funded "recruiting enticements" that are currently being used to draw new businesses to the city.

Rather than providing business subsidies to some larger stores that are being built in the city, thereby discouraging small business owners from further investing their own capital in the city, "all businesses should pay the same taxes and be freed from restrictions that prevent them from best serving their customers," he added. "If a proposed new mall business such as Williams-Sonoma cannot compete with the Old Town Cupboard, our taxes should not be used as a recruiting enticement."

The mayoral race is non-partisan, only 25 signatures are needed to get on the ballot, and there is neither a primary nor a runoff — so the election usually has a crowded ticket, Brophy said. The current mayor, who is being term-limited out after three two-year terms, won his first election in 1999 with only 28



■ Mark Brophy

percent of the vote in a field of six candidates.

So far, only one other candidate — an incumbent city councilman — has entered the race.

Brophy said he hopes to win by promoting the libertarian message and by taking advantage of the expected crowded field.

"Most people running for office want to solve problems by expanding government," he says in a campaign brochure. "Unfortunately, government makes too many decisions for us, which only creates more problems."

Brophy recently ran as a Libertarian for Colorado's U.S. Senate seat, receiving 3.5 percent of the vote. He has never served in office.

He leads the Larimer County Libertarian Party. He said in the year he's been involved the monthly meetings have grown from about four people to 15-20 each month.

"We hope to create an official affiliate soon," he noted.

Washington governor's race over Libertarian candidate controlled swing votes



■ Ruth Bennett

Washington's Libertarian candidate for governor in 2004, Ruth Bennett, declared early and often that she was hoping to make the Democrat candidate — Christine Gregoire — lose the election, thereby allowing Dino Rossi to become the first Republican elected governor since 1980 and showing the power of the Libertarian vote.

That race is finally over — following two machine recounts and a hand recount of all ballots — with Secretary of State Sam Reed on Dec. 30 certifying Gregoire as the winner by a razor-thin margin of 129 votes.

Bennett controlled more than

63,000 votes in what experts are calling the closest statewide election in U.S. political history. But she evidently did not draw quite enough Democrat votes to swing the election to the Republican.

By throwing the race to a Republican, Bennett hoped to allow the Libertarian Party (and libertarian causes) in Washington to win political leverage and convince the two larger parties to take libertarian ideas seriously.

And even though the Democrat was certified as governor, the Libertarian's effect on the race should be visible in the coming four years, Bennett said — noting that the Libertarian Party in Washington should hold higher political capital following this election.

"We'll have better negotiating power, because the two parties should see that we have the ability to hurt them in the next election," she said in early December. "We made our presence known. No matter who wins, we'll be able to say, 'talk to us, or we'll get the other side to talk to us instead.'"

Rossi won the original vote count following the Nov. 2 election

by 261 votes out of 2.8 million votes — triggering an automatic machine recount which he won by only 42 votes.

The Democrats paid for a full hand-count of the state's ballots, yielding enough lost or miscounted ballots to bring Gregoire 129 votes in the lead.

Gregoire was certified as the new governor on Jan. 11. The same day, representatives of the Rossi campaign planned to deliver a printout of an online petition — calling for a runoff between the Democrat and Republican and signed by nearly 200,000 people — to state legislative leaders and Supreme Court justices.

The state GOP is considering a possible court challenge of the election results; the Republicans can contest the election until Jan. 22.

Many media reports of the election have pointed to Bennett's 63,000 votes as a deciding factor in the race. Even if the Libertarian didn't swing the election to the Republican, the Libertarian Party should be recognized as an active force in that state's political scene, several publications noted.

'Liberty has always had enemies'

Continued from Page 1

is great, but somebody has to defend it, too. Political parties can't do that. Only soldiers, temporarily laying aside their prerogatives, can preserve it. But it is liberty that makes those sacrifices worthwhile."

Goodrich wasn't always a Libertarian.

"Like a lot of military officers, I come from a conservative, red-state household," he said. "My family was staunchly Republican, and I was a political conservative almost by default. The first vote I ever cast was for Ronald Reagan in 1980. I was drawn to military service because I believe in Liberty with a capital 'L,' and, to be honest, because fighter jets are cool.

"When I was a 2nd Lieutenant in flight school in 1985, one of my fellow officers introduced me to libertarian philosophy. As I read up on it, I realized it matched my personal views more closely than the Republican brand of conservatism."

The next presidential candidate he voted for was LP candidate Ron Paul (now a Republican U.S. Senator from Texas) in 1988, Goodrich said. And he remained a philosophical libertarian throughout the rest of his active-duty military career, but did not join the party.

"I took a job as a private school teacher starting in 1992," he said. "During the next few years I became a dues-paying member of the LP, and eventually served as LP caucus chair in Norwich, Vt., in the 2000 election cycle."

In 1999 he rejoined the military, as an Army National Guard officer.

Like several other military personnel asked to tell the stories of their involvement in the Libertarian Party, Goodrich expressed some concern that his comments might be misconstrued as official military or Libertarian Party policy.

"I want to stress that I'm not a spokesman for anyone but myself," he said, in true Libertarian fashion. "What I [say] is strictly my opinion, and I do not intend to imply that it is official Army policy."

The national LP officially opposes the war in Iraq and other international intervention, based on the rationale that Saddam Hussein's regime posed no direct threat to the United States — but many Libertarians believe the Iraq war was justified. In any case, the party does not call for eliminating the military, nor does it discriminate against military personnel.

Rather, the LP calls for a military that serves a single function, as described in the party platform: "Any U.S. military policy should have the objective of providing security for the lives, liberty and property of the American people in the U.S. against the risk of attack by a foreign power."

The platform also states, regarding foreign intervention, "The United States should not inject itself into the internal matters of other nations, unless they have declared

war upon or attacked the United States, or the U.S. is already in a constitutionally declared war with them."

In civilian life, Goodrich teaches a disparate mix of classes — including English, geography, algebra and military history — at a Christian school in Vermont, and that's what he was doing when the terrorists struck on Sept. 11, 2001.

**THE MILITARY IS
a very un-libertarian
institution...
[but]...liberty
undefended becomes
liberty lost.**

—MAJ. MITCH GOODRICH

He was called back into active duty, and "subsequently, I found myself on a plane to Afghanistan in early 2003," he said. "My particular specialty is as a command and control specialist. Our overall job was to train the Afghan military.

"As most people know by now, Afghanistan is made up of rival tribes with little central government control. If Afghanistan is to be a nation that respects the rights of its citizens and refrains from exporting terror, it must have a force capable of keeping a lid on things while the country takes steps toward the rule of law.

"Although it has far to go by U.S. standards, the people there are far better off, both materially and politically, now that the Taliban is reduced to hiding in caves in Tora Bora. American soldiers did that, and I'm not ashamed to say I was part of it."

Goodrich returned stateside in

January 2004 and soon will be returning to active duty in Vermont as an Army instructor.

What about the war in Iraq? Does he support that one?

"When we fight is up to the American people, [whose will is] expressed through our elected leaders," Goodrich said. "Were mistakes made? Of course: it was undertaken by humans. Was war the best course of action? I'm content to do my duty and let history decide."

His willingness to "do his duty and let history decide" does not make him "an automaton," Goodrich said.

"As an officer with 14 years of service I have the right to resign my commission, and there are conceivably circumstances under which I would do just that," he explained.

Goodrich said his military colleagues "generally support the ideals of libertarianism, although they tend to think I'm a bit radical and that I am 'wasting my vote.'"

Besides his military service and his school-teaching experience, Goodrich is active in his church and is a competitive marksman. He was preparing to test for his karate black belt in Shorin-Ryu when he was sent to Afghanistan. He hopes soon to take up martial arts again.

Is it possible to sum up the experience of being a Libertarian in the military in 20 words or less?

"The military is a very un-libertarian institution," Goodrich said. "However, liberty has always had enemies, and liberty undefended becomes liberty lost."

Is Abortion Aggression?

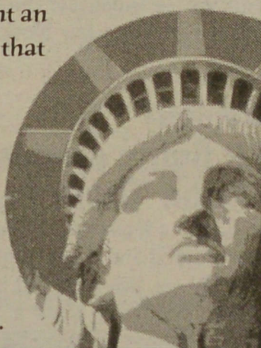
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**"Tyranny is always
better organized
than freedom."**

—CHARLES PEGUY, FRENCH PHILOSOPHER (1873-1914)

That's not all: It's got more people working for it, too. And it's better funded. That's where you come in. If you want America to someday live up to its noble libertarian ideals, the Libertarian Party needs to be able to mount an effective challenge to the political parties that are more interested in pushing us towards tyranny than towards liberty. How can you help? By naming the LP in your will or insurance policy. For a private discussion of this option, call National LP Treasurer Mark Nelson at (563) 344-0013. Or e-mail him at: treasurer@lp.org, and include "Planned Giving" in the subject line.



POLITICS 2005

Brains, books and the LP's Kramer

■ In a Christmas message from prison, where she is spending time for an offense we won't detail here, Martha Stewart called for legal reforms — particularly concerning the "length of incarceration for nonviolent first-time offenders and for those involved in drug-taking." While Stewart is a nonviolent first offender and could be accused of making a selfish plea at least in part, she is not in prison for a drug-related crime. She pointed out that those in prison for taking drugs would "be much better served in a true rehabilitation center than in prison where there is no real help, no real programs to rehabilitate," etc.



■ Stewart

■ William Rivers Pitt, on a Web site called "truthout," on Jan. 7 called Michael Badnarik and David Cobb heroes for challenging the electoral process in Ohio. "Before anyone else came within a mile of pushing the pile towards some kind of national reckoning regarding the election 'irregularities' in Ohio, Cobb and Badnarik had their shoulders down and were throwing weight," Pitt opined, saying that the two candidates' actions led to "a banner day for third parties in America."

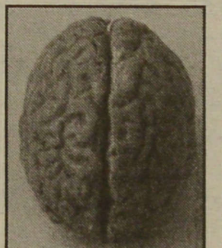
■ Kenny Kramer, the real-life inspiration for the "Seinfeld" character by the same last name, ran for mayor of New York on the Libertarian Party ticket three years ago on a platform of legalizing drugs and gay marriage. He garnered 1,408 votes and raised about \$7,000 for the race — an amount Kramer thought he didn't have to file with the city's Campaign Finance Board. Unfortunately, he was mistaken, and was recently called into court by the group, which he called "an agency run amok." The board said he owes \$2,193 in fines for late filing of campaign finance paperwork.

■ Tech Central Station — a Web site "where free markets meet technology" — on Dec. 23, 2004, featured a column in which Douglas Kern synopsized possible rewrites for Charles Dickens's *A Christmas Carol*. Two of particular interest: the Ayn Rand version, in which Scrooge is a "ruggedly handsome and weirdly articulate" executive who in a 272-page soliloquy explains the value of selfishness, and the Libertarian Party version, which is "pretty much the same as the Ayn Rand version, but about halfway through the story, we learn that Scrooge is an alcoholic wife-swapping embezzling weirdo who's wanted for back child support payments in several states. Even readers sympathetic to the Libertarian story throw up their hands in disgust and grudgingly seek out the Republican version." Kern did not, however, run a Republican version.

■ According to the International Society for Individual Liberty (ISIL), Kenyan free trade and market reform advocate James Shikwati recently convinced Kenya's minister of education to include the Swahili edition of Ken Schoolland's *The Adventures of Jonathan Gullible* on the course of study in Kenyan high schools. No less an authority than Nobel laureate Milton Friedman once said this book "presents basic economic principles in a very simple and intelligible form. It is an imaginative and very useful piece of work."

■ Carolyn Lipsick, a 10-year-old girl in Miami Beach, Fla., who wanted to sell lemonade at a roadside stand to raise money for Southeast Asian tsunami victims, was informed in early January by city officials that roadside vendors were banned. A Miami Beach spokesperson later explained that if Lipsick had set up her proposed stand, the city wouldn't have shut it down.

■ Place under Dave Barry's "I'm not making this up" file: An investigation is underway in Maine, with the families of about 100 people who died suspicious deaths being interviewed by a special prosecutor to find out whether the deceased's brains were improperly removed for research. A state employee collected \$1,000 to \$2,000 for each brain sent to a Maryland institute for research — but some families said they never approved the organ "donations," spurring state and federal investigations. The institute paid extra for brains of people diagnosed as schizophrenic or manic depressive.



AFFILIATE NEWS

Medical marijuana tales, The Law and a new LP affiliate

■ ALASKA

Campaign finance reform ballot upheld

In December 2004, the Alaska Libertarian Party filed a lawsuit against the state, claiming a campaign finance reform initiative to be included on the ballot in 2006 is too sweeping — and thus not in keeping with the state's "single-subject" law, which requires that proposed legislation address only one topic.

On Dec. 29, Anchorage Superior Court Judge John Suddock ruled that the initiative does not violate the law and will be allowed to appear on the August 2006 primary ballot.

Among other changes, the initiative seeks to lower the amount candidates can receive from individuals (from \$1,000 to \$500); from political parties (from \$10,000 to \$5,000); and from political action committees (from \$2,000 to \$1,000).

The Alaska Libertarians, represented by attorney Ken Jacobus (a Libertarian Party member), argued that the initiative violates the single-subject law by including three different subjects: campaign contributions, lobbyist regulations and campaign finance disclosure statements.

"They're not sufficiently related to be a single subject," Jacobus said.

Judge Suddock disagreed, however, ruling that all components of the initiative fall under the single subject of "limiting undue influence on elected officials."

The Libertarian Party is considering an appeal of the decision, but the party's state chairman, Scott Kohlhaas, said on Jan. 4 that he does not think they will appeal.

In the legislative session that began Jan. 10, state legislators may take up a bill that is similar to the proposed initiative. The bill, sponsored by Rep. Harry Crawford (D-Anchorage) would also lower the amount individuals can contribute to candidates from \$1,000 to \$500.

If lawmakers pass a substantially

similar bill, the initiative can be removed from the ballot.

■ CALIFORNIA

LP activist featured in medical pot story

Dennis Umphress, an activist with the Santa Clara County LP, was one of several medical marijuana proponents prominently featured in the Jan. 5 edition of *Metro*, a weekly newspaper in the Silicon Valley.

Despite California's famously lenient laws governing medical marijuana — at least by national standards — the South Bay area's "incoherent medical marijuana ordinances create confusion" and lead to a dearth of marijuana dispensaries in the region, the story claims.

In nearby cities including San Francisco, Oakland and Santa Cruz, medical marijuana is readily available through dispensaries or co-ops, but bureaucrats have limited accessibility to the drug in Santa Clara County. Even county planners admit that the zoning ordinance governing dispensaries makes it extremely difficult to open such a business — including more than \$8,000 in fees.

As a representative of California's Safe Access Now advocacy group, Umphress presses for increased regulations for medical marijuana: Unless they know exactly what the local laws governing marijuana use are, people cannot be sure they're not breaking the law, the article explains.

But area politicians have been treating the medical marijuana issue like a hot potato — tossing questions to other political groups and declining to take a stance.

When Umphress approached the San Jose City Council, he was told to go to county officials instead because it's not a city issue — that the city government has neither authority nor responsibility regarding medical marijuana.

At one point — in 1997, to be exact — the city had a zoning ordinance that specifically allowed for medical marijuana dispensaries, but Umphress discovered that the ordinance was removed from the books in 2001.

City ordinances still allow for the possibility of opening a marijuana dispensary — they must apply for and be granted a conditional-use permit in an area set aside for heavy industry — but a Planning Department official said she doubted the department would approve such a permit, due to legal concerns.

"San Jose is not making a friendly atmosphere for legitimate medi-

cal marijuana patients to get their medicine locally," the *Metro* story quotes Umphress as saying. "Legal questionability hasn't stopped quite a few other counties."

■ COLORADO

Gov't committee puts NOTA on ballot

"The values of the Libertarian Party in Colorado are making headway in Boulder County," says Paul Tiger, outreach director of the Boulder County LP, pointing to the fact that the LP's ever-present NOTA (None of the Above) was included as an option in a recent county committee election.

The county commissioners and other officials jointly appointed a committee to investigate the 2004 elections, Tiger said. The investigation and advisory committee consists of nine members representing the active political parties in the county — including one Libertarian, Tiger.

At the first meeting of the committee at the county courthouse, the committee approved its bylaws — and Tiger asked that NOTA be included as an option in all votes taken by the committee.

"Not only has NOTA found its way into government, but into a tripartisan committee [that oversees] elections," Tiger said — concluding that the inclusion "of NOTA as a part of the Colorado ballot can't be far off."

■ DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

LP joins others in anti-Neocon march

Some Libertarians in Washington, D.C., joined in the D.C. Anti-War Network's "March on the Neo-Cons," Jan. 21.

In one afternoon, the protesters marched to the Center for Security Policy, the Foundation for Defense of Democracies, the Washington Institute for Near East Policy and several other organizations and government agencies identified as promoting war through neoconservative policies — which conveniently are located within a few blocks of each other.

■ INDIANA

LP fights proposed tax on 'Other People'

Indiana legislators are pushing a tax on food and drink, arguing that the bill — HB 1154, which would allow counties to place a 1 percent tax on ready-to-eat food and drinks

— wouldn't affect most people, that it would affect the proverbial "Other People," says Indiana LP Executive Director Brad Klopfenstein.

"Who are these other people who would pay the proposed food and beverage tax?" Klopfenstein asks, pointing out that the Democrats and Republicans who are trying to sell the bill to the state House Ways and Means Committee "must think we're stupid. There are four things that people need to survive — food, water, shelter and clothing. HB 1154 would tax half of these necessities."

The bill was initially tailored for Wayne County, to allow the county to force taxpayers to fund a convention center on property owned by the same person who happens to own a Holiday Inn next door, Klopfenstein said. But because the Indiana Constitution disallows legislation that targets only one county, the bill was altered so that all counties can assess the proposed tax.

The bill was expected to face a vote in the Ways and Means Committee in late January, after *LP News* went to press.

"Why does Wayne County need a new kind of tax when it could seek a property tax increase to cover the project?" Klopfenstein asked rhetorically, noting that taxpayers would be able to vote down an increased property tax, but have no similar way to stop a new sales tax.

It's particularly ironic that a new sales tax would be proposed for an Indiana county that has a strong Libertarian Party affiliate — a group that would surely lead a drive against an increased property tax, he said.

■ NORTH CAROLINA

NCLP to introduce legislators to *The Law*

The North Carolina LP plans to send each of their state representatives and senators a copy of Frederic Bastiat's 1850 book *The Law*, which economist and nationally syndicated columnist Walter E. Williams refers to as a "discourse on liberty" that is "so clear that even the unlettered can understand them and statisticians cannot obfuscate them."

The LPNC purchased 170 copies of the book, distributing them to each of the North Carolina legislators when they returned to Raleigh for the beginning of the legislative session Jan. 26.

Bastiat's book analyzes government's tendency to abuse power, focusing on the cost of using the power of government to solve problems.

The edition of the book that was sent out comes from the Foundation for Economic Freedom — and includes an introduction by the aforementioned Walter Williams and a foreword by *Freeman* editor Sheldon Richman.

LPNC members (or others) have been invited to contribute \$5 or more to the effort — to pay for sending a copy of the book to the legislator of his or her choice.

Any extra money collected beyond the expenses of this program

will be dedicated to ballot access.

■ OKLAHOMA

Oklahoma City hotel tax increased 175%

Voters in Oklahoma City on Dec. 14, 2004, overwhelmingly approved a proposal to increase the city's hotel-motel tax by 175 percent — from 2 percent to 5.5 percent — as a way to raise funds to improve the city's State Fair Park.

Libertarians had vocally opposed the tax increase, pointing out that city officials claim horse shows at the park bring about \$180 million in to the city's economy each year, so the horse show arena should be self-supporting.

"If horse shows are already bringing in over \$180 million, why do the recipients of this windfall need tax increases to subsidize their gravy train," asked an opinion piece on the Oklahoma LP's Web site.

What apparently convinced almost 90 percent of voters to approve the tax increase was the fact that it is only imposed on people who come in from out of town and use the hotels and motels.

"This is the modern mindset of business leaders and their politicians," the opinion piece at www.OKLP.org noted. "Shift any burden of doing business to others, preferably taxpayers. It doesn't matter if you're already making a profit. Today's educated entrepreneurs seem to think increasing profits through innovation means finding new ways to obtain taxpayer subsidies."

By raising the tax, the city will rake in an estimated \$4.55 million per year — approximately \$3.9 million of which will go to repay \$55 million in bonds the city will sell to finance improvements to the state fair arena and its horse barns.

The other \$650,000 is expected to go to the city's convention and visitor's bureau to attract more conventions to the city.

■ VIRGINIA

New affiliate forming in Loudon County

Libertarians from Loudon County, Va., and environs met Nov. 18 to begin organizing a county Libertarian Party, with more than a dozen people turning out for the group's first meeting.

"I certainly think we're off to a good start, based upon the enthusiasm I saw at the meeting," said Kate Eisenlohr, who was selected as the group's point of contact until officers are elected for the group.

"Our next task is to set up a meeting where we, the Loudon residents, can all sit down together and work out some concrete steps toward developing our local affiliate."

Libertarian National Committee member — and Local Affiliates Committee chairman — Jim Lark addressed the group, encouraging them to concentrate on activity rather than on organization.

"Don't worry about starting small," he said. "A group of half a dozen can accomplish far more than the mere number would suggest."

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A DOO DAH DAY...

California Libertarian Party activists took a role in the 28th annual Doo Dah Parade in Old Town Pasadena on Nov. 21, 2004, calling for an end to the nation's War on Drugs. An estimated 45,000 people lined the streets for the event as a dedicated group of Libertarians — organized by California LP Vice Chair Mark Selzer and funded by Orange County activist Paul Studier — passed out flyers and carried signs (at left). Selzer (lower left) addressed the crowd over a bullhorn throughout the parade, and a group of Pasadena teenagers (below) who met the Libertarians before the parade found the Libertarian message compelling enough that they asked to march along with the LP.

(Photos provided by CALP Executive Director Dave Ruprecht)



Tulsa voters say no to \$94 million in bonds

Voters in Tulsa County, Okla., voted down several bond proposals on December 14, 2004 — effectively striking down a proposed new downtown Tulsa library that would have cost taxpayers almost \$80 million. The proposal failed following Libertarian opposition to the bond issue, which received only 43 percent support. To be approved, bonds must receive 60 percent support in an election.

Early in 2004, a wealthy family in Tulsa conditionally donated a piece of land downtown to the Tulsa City-County Library, saying the library could only have the land — which is worth an estimated \$2.2 million — if a new central library was built on the property, said Roger Bloxham, a Libertarian activist.

The proposed bond issue was for \$79.1 million and would have funded improvements to all branch libraries as well as building the new library.

"The Libertarian Party here kind of blew the whistle, pointing out that the people that donated this land actually stood to gain a lot from this," Bloxham said. "They hold a lot of other property around that site, and would really have profited from a library being built there."

"We just pointed that out to people in the county, and reminded them that as expensive as the library would have been, the bond wouldn't have been the only cost that came along with the new library."

Voters also overwhelmingly disapproved of a 0.8-mill property tax increase, proceeds of which would also have been dedicated to library-related expenses; 57 percent of the county's voters gave a thumbs-down to the proposal.

Members of the county Libertarian Party went door to door in neighborhoods around the city, handing out thousands of flyers and

"basically just saying, 'here's what they're trying to do to us,'" Bloxham said. "People got really active in opposing these tax increases. We had one guy who by himself printed up flyers and went to thousands of doors."

The donation of land for the library is conditional on the approval of a new facility by December 2005, so the county commission and library officials will likely put the issue to voters again this fall. If and when they do, the Libertarians will again be prepared to fight the bond, said Lynn Atherton, secretary of the Oklahoma LP.

"We've got an active group here in Tulsa, and we've been working along with people [from both the Republican and Democrat parties] who are leaning toward the libertarian side," Atherton said.

Libertarians in Oklahoma weren't able to collect enough petition signatures to get on the ballot in 2004, "and that was very disheartening," she said. "But despite that setback, we have been staying busy on both the county and the state level."

Two other bonds were voted down on the same day in Jenks, a suburb of Tulsa — surprising both Libertarians and the school officials who had called for the \$15.25 million in bonds to pay for a new football complex and other facilities. The bonds received 58 and 59 percent support, but required 60 percent approval to pass.

"I think this is the first time anything like this has been turned down in Jenks," Bloxham said. "Voters there usually approve just about anything that comes up. But we went around and told everybody who would listen that they shouldn't let their money be taken away to pay for another government program."

And apparently the voters listened.



Picture yourself...in LP News!

Did you know that a majority of the photographs included in this newspaper are submitted by our readers? Despite this wonderful help, we frequently find ourselves scratching our heads because we often cannot use the photos submitted.

We need your help! We want to vary our content, and put the best face on the LP, our members and Libertarian activities!

Help us picture you! To stand a good chance of getting your photos in *LP News* — where they'll be seen by Libertarians nationwide — follow a few simple guidelines.



✓ **HI-RES:** If you send a photo via e-mail, make sure it is a high-resolution image — meaning at least 300 dpi. We cannot use images found on a website.

✓ **SEND THE ORIGINAL:** When sending a digital photo, please send the original image. Do not edit it. That way, we can crop, adjust color, or otherwise modify the image for the specific spot where we need it.

✓ **CLOSE-UP AND PERSONAL:** When taking pictures of speakers or other events, always remember: Closer is better. Don't be afraid to stand in front of the crowd for a minute or two and get a good picture.

✓ **ACTION SHOTS:** Even if it's only one person, get photos of that person doing something — even laughing. If you've got a group, show them interacting, working on a project, talking to each other — anything other than lining them up and having them smile for the camera or sitting around a half-cleared dining table looking at each other over the scattered remains of a dinner meeting.

✓ **FOCUS:** If you have an activity with 10 or 15 people, don't try to work all of them into the photo unless it's absolutely necessary. Focus on people doing things and on the people who are important to the story you're trying to tell.

✓ **SEND IN A VARIETY:** If you take 12 photos and don't know which one is appropriate, feel free to send them all.

✓ **SEND IN AS MANY AS YOU CAN:** We can always use pictures!

Questions? Contact Daniel Cloud at (202) 333-0008, ext. 226, or by e-mail at editor@hq.lp.org.

THE REVIEW

The end of radical environmentalism?

■ *State of Fear*, by Michael Crichton. 603 pages. Published December 2004 by HarperCollins Publishers. Hardcover, \$27.95. Available at www.Amazon.com.

Reviewed by Joseph L. Bast
PRESIDENT/THE HEARTLAND INSTITUTE

Michael Crichton, the author of *The Andromeda Strain*, *Rising Sun*, *Jurassic Park* and other block-buster thrillers, has penned a novel that could profoundly change the national, and even international, debate over global warming. It's long overdue.

Crichton's *State of Fear*, with a reported first print run of 1.7 million copies, is an action thriller that doubles as a scientific primer on global warming and other environmental topics. Crichton's protagonists race around the world foiling the plots of environmental extremists who seek to frighten the world into embracing their radical agenda. Along the way, they take time to explain to their adversaries, often in surprising detail, the flawed science behind global warming and other imagined environmental crises.

Books that combine social commentary and science with fiction are not new or even rare. A socialist classic in this genre is Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle* and two libertarian classics are Ayn Rand's *Atlas Shrugged* and Robert Heinlein's *The Moon is a Harsh Mistress*. In each, characters who grapple with shadowy foes suddenly launch into speeches about economics, political science and history.

State of Fear is no exception: One character whips out a laptop computer to produce lists of scientific journal articles saying global climate models are fatally flawed, while another holds up a series of foam-board posters showing graphs of falling temperatures around the world. Readers are told temperatures in the Antarctic are falling and the ice cap is growing thicker, extreme

weather events are becoming less frequent, and changes in land use (e.g., more roads and concrete buildings) cause more surface warming than man-made emissions of carbon dioxide and other gases.

To persuade readers to take him seriously, Crichton offers footnotes, an appendix with sources for the data appearing in the graphs, and an annotated bibliography. In an "Author's Message" at the end of the book, Crichton summarizes his own views on the science of global warming and other environmental subjects.

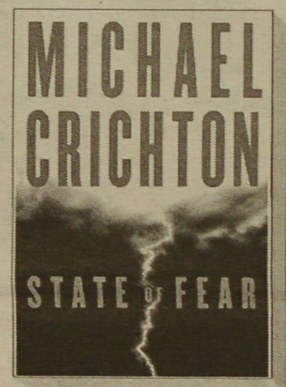
His stated beliefs include: "Nobody knows how much of the present warming trend might be man-made"; "the current near-hysterical preoccupation with safety is at best a waste of resources and a crimp on the human spirit and, at worst, an invitation to totalitarianism"; "the thinking of environmental activists ... seems oddly fixed in the concepts and rhetoric of the 1970s"; and "we need a new environmental movement, with new goals and new organizations."

No doubt, leaders of the nation's big environmental advocacy organizations will attempt to discredit Crichton, just as they have the numerous scientists whose findings Crichton has accurately summarized in this book. The difference is that Crichton's book will reach millions of readers in the coming months, while the scientists on whose work he relied were relatively unknown to the general public.

Crichton anticipates the coming assault and puts his finger on the motivation of his critics: Environmentalism today is a multi-billion-dollar industry funded by government research grants and leftist philanthropists and dependent on fear-mongering to keep the money coming in. By exposing this scam, *State of Fear* could cost environmental groups millions, even billions, of dollars in the coming years.

State of Fear does not mark the beginning of the end of radical environmentalism. Public support for the movement was already shrinking as its Chicken Little predictions failed to come true and its obsolete big-government ideology put it far outside the political mainstream. But Crichton's remarkable book may mark the end of the beginning, and the start of a "new environmental movement" that puts science ahead of ideology.

■ **About the author:** Joseph L. Bast, president and CEO of The Heartland Institute, is coauthor of *Eco-Sanity: A Common-sense Guide to Environmentalism*, and publisher of *Environment & Climate News*, a monthly newspaper. He can be reached at jbast@heartland.org.



THE FORUM

What it takes to win

The year 2004 was not a good year for third parties in the United States. Come to think of it, most years are bad years for third parties. True, there are some years where a few celebrities do well or even win as third party candidates, such as Jesse Ventura running under the Reform Party ticket. But when was the last time that a new party won a significant number of partisan races?

The hard reality is that the U.S. political system is not friendly to third parties. This does not mean that we should give up on third party politics, but it does mean we should take an objective look at why the United States is so hard on third parties — and we should search for loopholes.

The most critical fact hurting third parties in U.S. politics is not campaign finance limitations, FEC regulations, ballot access or an unfriendly media. All of these are surmountable by any party that is big enough to win.

The key factor is that our system is based mostly on plurality-take-all district elections. This produces several constraints which any new political party needs to work within, or success is impossible.

The first constraint is that you actually have to win an election to win a seat in a legislature. This is far different from some parliamentary systems, where a minority party can win seats by collecting 5 percent of the votes overall while winning a majority nowhere.

This is a very tight constraint. It means that purist ideological parties do not work in this country!

To win, a party must put forth candidates and a platform that are sufficiently mainstream as to be the majority position in at least one district. (Of course, winning 40 percent support in a three-way race will suffice.)

This means patience, calling for incremental measures and polling. Focus groups are necessary. A "party of principle" cannot win; a reasonably libertarian party can win.

Some within the Libertarian Party realize this and say we must change the system to be more friendly to us. I suggest that it is better to change the party.

Changing the system is difficult — far more difficult than winning elections is. Further, our current system has served us well; while it has kept out radical libertarians, it also kept out communists and fascists during the darkest days of the 20th century.

But this is not the only constraint. If it was, then we would have at least one successful moderate political party. While the Reform Party showed early signs of success,

it did not last long.

The second constraint is that a party does need to have some principles; otherwise it can be blown apart by factions, as happened to the Reform Party. This reliance on principles has been the strength of the Libertarian Party, and it is why we endure while so many others have come and gone. We just need to fuzzy-up those principles to have a bigger tent.

A third constraint remains: the "lesser of two evils" dilemma.

Rationalizations will not get us around this dilemma; this dilemma stems from rational voter behavior. Most of those who vote do so to affect elections, not make a statement. This is our problem to solve. Fortunately, there are solutions.

The first solution is straightforward enough: Concentrate energies in two-way races. In such races the LP is the second party right now!

Due to widespread gerrymandering, there are plenty of opportunities to be the second party. Several years ago I did a study of state house races and found many states in which between one third and one half of the races were uncontested between the major parties.

But focusing solely on two-way opportunities may not be enough to grow the party. After all, in such districts it is relatively easy to overtake the major party affiliate that is out of power. Where is the compelling need for a third party?

To grow and win elections, a new party must appeal to people who are equally dissatisfied with both of the major parties.

This is difficult to do while still obeying the first constraint — that is, being near the center. All too often, Libertarian candidates who try to be moderate start sounding like Republicans and then get clobbered by the "lesser of two evils" dilemma.

The Libertarian Party's original

concept was to triangulate between the major parties by combining the small government ideals of the conservatives with the social tolerance of the liberals.

This was a fairly even triangulation back in the 1970s when the Republican Party was the party of squares and the Democrat Party was the ACLU party.

But by the 1990s the Republicans had such major figures as Rush Limbaugh talking dirty and playing rock music on his show, while the leftists favored political correctness over free speech. We started looking too Republican.

With the George W. Bush faction in control of the Republican Party, we might currently be triangulating correctly again — according to the Nolan Chart (which is featured most prominently on the World's Smallest Political Quiz).

However, this year's election returns do not show corresponding success. I think this is because the Nolan Chart fails to accurately capture the essence of Left and Right. If it did, why does it place the extreme Left (the communists) and the extreme Right (fascists) in the same place?

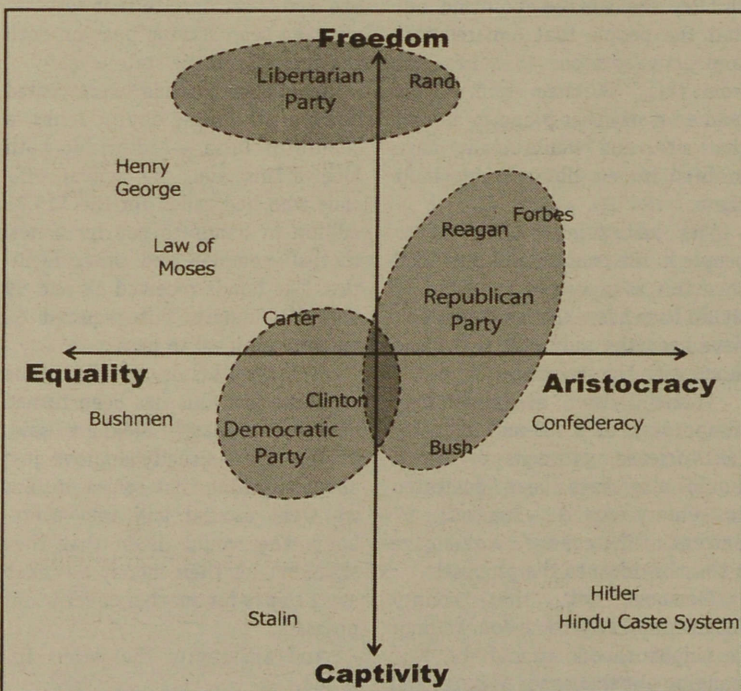
These two groups hate and kill each other; they must disagree about something.

The real value that distinguishes the Left and the Right is not the amount of economic freedom; it is the amount of economic equality.

Socialism is one tool to bring about equality, but it is not the only one. Likewise, while overall tax cuts allow the wealthy to keep their wealth, special tax breaks and subsidies work even better.

If we chart the true Left and Right along with our value, freedom, we get a new political chart, in which freedom is the opposite of captivity, and in which equality is the opposite of an aristocracy.

See **LIBERTARIAN** Page 13



THE FORUM

LP platform work continues

In Atlanta, we passed the most sweeping change to the LP Platform in 30 years. We laid the foundation for a national party platform that treads the fine line between maintaining the integrity of the principle that guides this party, and delivering that principle in concrete steps that our candidates can win elections with.

Where to from here? Simply put, our next step is to get our people to think in terms of the new platform, because as yet the cultural change

By George Squyres

has not sunk in.

LP News published the immigration plank that was tabled in Atlanta, and I fully expected something of a fire storm to ensue.

It did. [See the August and September 2004 issues of LP News for Squyres's column and the responses.]

Our affiliates in border states such as Arizona and New Mexico know clearly that our position on immigration is untenable in a number of respects, but know also that changing it will not be easy. Yet the real issue that publishing the plank brought out was not about immigration. None of the responses that were received addressed any of the

issues that the new format had put the spotlight on, and few addressed the new categories the platform is now written in.

Rather, most of the responses came in the form of the same tired old rants about purity and that we cannot be Democrat or Republican-lite.

I was not surprised, because I know that changing our mentality is the real issue. Changing our culture into one of doing real adult politics is not going to happen easily. But until we change our peoples' thinking so that they respond to questions such as immigration by saying, "The Transition section should read as follows," we are not going to

realize the benefit of the platform change.

I am one of the people who is most concerned that as we grow we remain the party of principle. To that end, there is a section in each plank that demands we clearly state that principle as it applies to the specific issue raised in the plank. But stating principle is not enough, just as emphasizing that we must have open borders is not sufficient for a plank on immigration. At a minimum, we must address the inconsistencies that this position entails when other planks are considered. To date I have seen no response that provides a solution to that problem.

But more importantly, we must address the fact that economic freedom is not the only principle to be dealt with under the auspices of immigration. None of the responses received so far to the suggested changes for the immigration plank address that concern. Michael Badnarik said clearly in our presidential campaign that "Government is necessary for our survival. We cannot survive without government."

Now, this may rankle the anarcho-capitalists, but it is accepted by Libertarians who believe that the justified functions of government are protection of lives, rights and property.

To maintain that some control over our borders is necessary and justified is not to be a neoconservative, but to be a Libertarian. The hard question to answer is this: How is that to be done while doing justice to economic freedom as well as civil liberties? The truth is that if we as Libertarians do not come up with a practical answer, then the neocon-

servatives will.

Those of us in border states know that the problems we face — such as migrants crossing the border on private land — will cease when there is a non-problematic method of crossing at a check point on a road, and this is reflected in the solutions category of our state party platform. This reflects the recognition that a realistic immigration policy will bring the solution.

But the real issue that we must focus our energies on is writing a transition section for the immigration plank, dealing with the problem of balancing liberty with security. If we hope to elect anyone in a border state, it will not happen until we have a viable answer to this question.

These must be real steps that our candidates can campaign on, and which we can press whoever is elected to implement. As I said, if we don't do it, who will?

The new platform Web site where the work will be done is lpconvention.org/platform/index.php.

There is a level of security with this Web site that we did not have with the old site. When you first go to the new site, you will be required to create a login and be recognized as a user.

The previous Web site was open to anyone with a computer, whether an LP member or not. We determined that if someone wants to contribute, at a minimum they should be a member of the party.

About the author: George Squyres was the Platform Committee vice chair in 2002 and 2004; is the LNC representative from Region 6; and is chairman of his county LP.

Libertarian strategy must change

Continued from Page 12

Note that this is a relative scale with the status quo at the center. Unlike the Nolan Chart, the axes are measurements of values, not actions. As such, not all locations on the chart are accessible.

Since people are different, it is impossible to maximize freedom and equality at the same time. On the other hand, the only way to have equality and tyranny at the same time is in a small-scale true democracy. Otherwise, you have tyrants and upper-level bureaucrats who are above, and thus unequal, to their charges.

Also note that because the values are subjective, my placement of philosophers, politicians and political parties on the chart are very rough approximations.

While the axes are values, I have placed individuals and parties according to the results of their actions, rather than where their intent would have placed them. Thus, Stalin is not as far to the left as he tried to be.

Most importantly, this places the Libertarian Party mostly to the left, despite rhetoric from many Libertarians that sounds far to the right.

I contend that the overall libertarian program would make for a more egalitarian — which is not to say socialistic — society than we have today.

While much of our government spending is on programs that attempt to transfer money to the poor, there are gigantic subsidies to the rich that get little notice. I am not talking about mere "corporate welfare" here.

I refer to a tax code that encourages big corporations to hold onto capital and buy up little corporations rather than give dividends to their stockholders; to a Securities and Exchange Commission that prevents smaller businesses from floating stock directly; to 401(k) plans that divert money away from Main

Street and onto Wall Street; to trillions of dollars of deficit spending that subsidize those who have money to lend at the expense of workers and entrepreneurs.

I could go on. (And I do go on at www.holisticpolitics.org.)

Notice the gap in the upper left quadrant that is near the center. A moderately libertarian party with an egalitarian emphasis could overcome all three constraints that currently hold us back. If we were to moderate our message and focus on where government reductions and equality coincide, we could become a major political party.

If we do, it will not be the first time; the original classical liberals were on the left.

Classical liberalism got its momentum by attacking the Corn Laws, which were a subsidy to rich landowners. The word "liberal" may come from the word "liberty," but

we should remember that the classical liberals were also liberals in the modern sense of the word.

And the original classical liberals won elections.

About the author: Carl Milsted Jr. is chairman of the Libertarian Party of Buncombe County, N.C., and was an LNC alternate representative in 2000. He can be reached at lp@holisticpolitics.org. This column is based on a presentation Milsted gave at the 2004 Libertarian National Convention.

Online Resources for LP Members

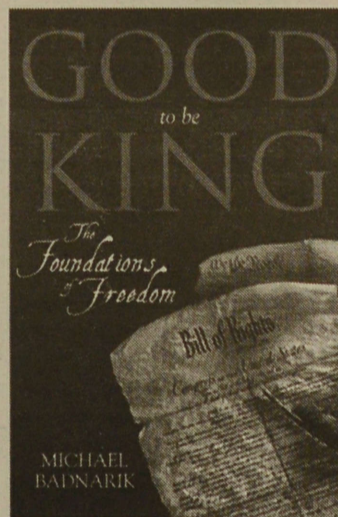
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Visit: www.LP.org

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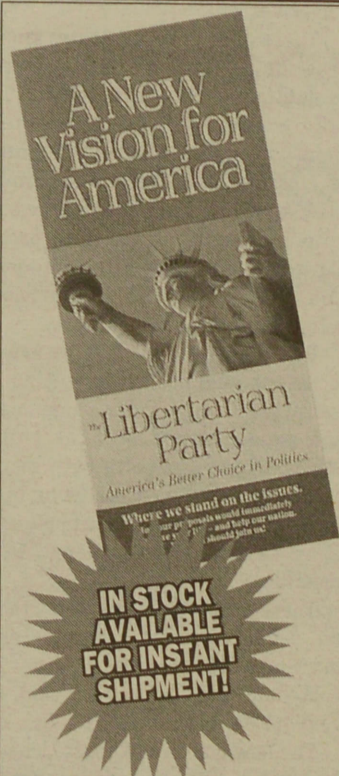
Michael Badnarik presents an Introduction to the Constitution

This is the same class that has been "Lighting the fires of Liberty" and earning enthusiastic support across the country. Every student receives a copy of *Good to be King*, which can be purchased separately in "fine bookstores everywhere".

This class will "rattle your cage" and challenge what you *think* you know about the Constitution and the founding of our republic. This class is typically offered from 9am until 6pm, with a one hour lunch break. It is not unusual for students to join Michael for dinner afterward to continue the discussion. To view the schedule, register for a class, or to organize a class in your area, visit

www.ConstitutionPreservation.org, or send an eMail to Class@ConstitutionPreservation.org.

The cost is \$100 / person, however discounts can be negotiated for large groups. The class can also be offered in short evening segments on consecutive nights.



★★ They're back! ★★

Our popular "New Vision for America" brochures are back in stock and ready for immediate delivery, just in time for the 2004 election cycle.

To celebrate, we're offering a **20% DISCOUNT** and **FREE SHIPPING** if you buy them by the box. Normally, these brochures sell for 25 cents each, but you can get them for under **19 CENTS** each if you purchase them by the box in quantities of 650 or more. **That's just \$120 per box — plus we'll pay the shipping!**

"A New Vision for America" is a 24-page, full-color outreach brochure ... a prospecting tool that presents our vision for America in a positive, upbeat manner. And it's loaded with gorgeous photographs of Libertarians in action. "A New Vision for America" takes a warm, human approach — telling true stories that illustrate Libertarian principles. Instead of focusing on how bad the Republicans and Democrats are, we gently ask readers to imagine a better America — an America of prosperity, tolerance, and freedom.

This pocket-sized (8.5" by 4") booklet fits easily in a pocket or purse, and is perfect for handing out at state fairs, politically homeless booths and other outreach events. Order your "New Vision for America" brochures today! Smaller orders are priced at **\$25 per 100**. (LP pays shipping.)

LP Literature & Books

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■ **Libertarianism In One Lesson** by David Bergland. Expanded 8th edition. The classic introductory work. Outlines Libertarian positions on all major political issues and contrasts them to liberals and conservatives. A must-read. Softbound, 158 pages. **Cost:** \$10 each; or 5 for \$35.

■ **Which Political Party is 100% Pro-Gun Rights?** Full-page flyer. 2-color (red & blue). Hard-hitting defense of the Second Amendment, designed especially for the gun community. Explains why the LP will never betray gun owners — unlike the Republican Party, which constantly sells them out. **Cost:** Sample: 50¢ or \$7 for 100

■ **America's Libertarian Heritage** by David Bergland. 16-page booklet. Concise overview of Libertarian philosophy and solutions in an easy-to-read question-and-answer format. **Cost:** \$1 each

■ **Million Dollar Bills:** Green Ink. A faux \$1,000,000 bill that highlights excessive federal spending — and points out that the federal government spends more than \$1 million every five seconds. Perfect for Tax Day, taxpayer groups, and almost any other outreach project! **Cost:** Sample: 50¢ or \$5 for 100

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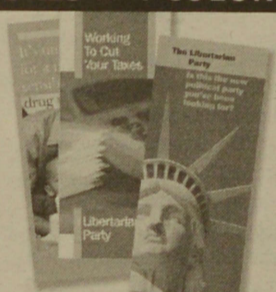


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- Making Your Neighborhood Safe Again
- Ending the Welfare State
- What Happened To Your Family Budget?
- Equal Rights for America's Gun Owners

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- Is This the New Political Party You've Been Looking For?
- Working to Cut Your Taxes
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■ **LP "Fact Sheets":** Updated for 2003: 2-page LP history (with political highlights, accomplishments, and victories from 1971-2003) and a comprehensive two-page bibliography (featuring more than 150 books about liberty!). Sold as a set. **Cost:** Sample: 50¢ or \$10 for 100

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■ **ENOUGH IS ENOUGH/VOTE LIBERTARIAN** (Red, white, & blue).

■ **I'm Pro-Choice on Everything!** (Red, white, & blue.)

■ **Don't Blame Me ... I Voted Libertarian** (Blue & white; 800-ELECT-US phone number below.)

■ **Vote Libertarian/800-ELECT-US** (Blue & white.)

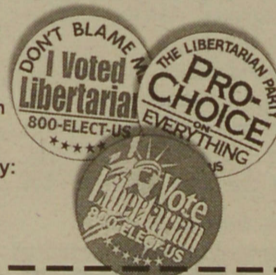
Buttons

Cost: \$1 each; \$7.50 for 10; \$50 for 100

■ **Don't Blame Me, I Voted Libertarian** 1-800-ELECT-US

■ **Vote Libertarian** 1-800-ELECT-US

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■ **Libertarian Political Action: Techniques for Effective Campaigning:** 32 pages. Comprehensive explanation of winning campaign techniques for Libertarian candidates. Includes everything from creating a campaign timeline, deciding on issues, raising money, working with volunteers, dealing with the media, and organizing a Get Out The Vote (GOTV) effort. A must read for every Libertarian candidate — state, local, or federal! **Cost:** \$3.00 each

■ **LP Statue of Liberty Logo master.** Camera-ready sheet, ready for scanning. **Cost:** \$1 each

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■ **Newsprint Ads:** "Libertarian Party — Defenders of Liberty." Camera-ready print ads. One each of six different ads: General, lifestyle, drugs, guns, draft, and taxes. Plus additional multi-sized "Lower Taxes/More Freedom" LP advertisements. **Cost:** \$3 for set

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|-------|--------------------------------------|
| _____ | Don't Blame Me...I Voted Libertarian |
| _____ | I'm Pro-Choice on Everything! |
| _____ | ENOUGH IS ENOUGH/VOTE LIBERTARIAN |
| _____ | Vote Libertarian/1-800-ELECT-US |

Banners

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|-------|------------------------------------|
| _____ | "LIBERTARIAN PARTY" (18" h x 5' w) |
| _____ | Second line says: "1-800-ELECT-US" |

Tools for Campaigning

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|-------|---|
| _____ | Libertarian Political Action Booklet |
| _____ | Statue of Liberty logo master |
| _____ | LP Statue of Liberty logo on 3-1/2" PC disk |
| _____ | Newsprint ads: "Libertarian Party — Defenders of Liberty" set of seven. |

Books for Sale

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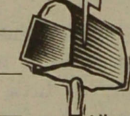
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Take pro sports off the government payroll

By J. Daniel Cloud
LP NEWS EDITOR

In my entire life, I have been to two Major League Baseball games — the first at the Braves' Turner Field in Atlanta and the second at Camden Yards in Baltimore last year. In both cases, I paid for my ticket, saw the game and felt I had gotten my money's worth.

That's the way it works, right? They get my money, I get entertainment and a sunburn, and everybody's satisfied with the arrangement.

Not so.

As recent events in Washington, D.C.'s continuing "let's get a Major League Baseball team" saga have proven, the big business that is baseball is not satisfied to sell tickets. Yes, they make a great deal of money on ticket sales, beer and peanuts, pennants and caps and T-shirts. But that's not enough.

Thanks to an agreement with the Washington, D.C., city council, when the Montreal Expos relocate to D.C. and become the Washington Nationals, they will receive a new stadium — at a cost of at least \$440 million and up to \$579 million — which will be funded almost entirely with tax dollars.

Call it "public funding" if you like, but the fact remains: There is no such thing as public money. The government has no money, except what it takes from the taxpayers.

What the D.C. Council's agreement means is this: If I decide to go to any games at the new stadium, which is to be completed in 2008, I will be paying for a ticket to a game, at which I will buy drinks and hot dogs, and the entire spectacle will take place in a facility that I helped pay for.

And if I don't go to any games — even if I never set foot in the facility — I will still be forced to help pay for it.

It didn't have to be like this, and it nearly wasn't. In mid-December 2004, D.C. Council President Linda Cropp proposed that private funding should be found for the new stadium. Specifically, she said that private financing should cover 50 percent of the stadium's cost, and the Libertarian Party issued a press release praising her for standing up to D.C. Mayor Anthony Williams.

Williams had already tentatively agreed to use "public funding" to pay for the facility; the deal wasn't final, however, because the council hadn't approved it.

The council decided to approve

Cropp's proposal instead, and the miffed Major League Baseball leadership threatened to take their baseballs and go home — or at least find another home for the team.

Faced with the threat of losing "their" baseball team, the D.C. Council caved, approving a deal saying they would try to find private funding for some of the stadium cost. But if private funding isn't found, the city will sell bonds to pay for the facility.

Linda Cropp, consider your thumbs-up from the Libertarian Party to have been rescinded — as soon as you changed your mind and decided to bilk taxpayers of about a half-billion dollars.

Exactly who decided that paying for sports facilities is the responsibility of taxpayers?

"The primary justification for looting taxpayers to construct sports cathedrals is economic development," said Doug Bandow, a senior fellow at the Cato Institute, in a Nov. 23, 2004, column for TownHall.com. "Yet in D.C. you will have a hard time finding an economic renaissance sparked by RFK stadium, which hosted the Redskins for years."

While it's true that some economic activity will occur anywhere a new \$500 million edifice is erected, the money that is spent doesn't just magically appear out of nowhere, Bandow added.

"People attending an evening game and buying hot dogs aren't going to a movie and restaurant near home," he noted.

"Subsidized stadiums rearrange — rather than create — spending and development."

Dennis Coates and Bradley R. Humphreys — who a few years ago published an in-depth analysis of the

Libertarian SOLUTIONS

economic impact of professional sports in Washington, D.C., and the 36 other cities that hosted professional sports teams over nearly 30 years was a reduction in real per capita income over the entire metropolitan area," Coates and Humphreys said.

No, the real beneficiaries of publicly funded sports complexes are the recipients of the corporate welfare, according to Raymond Keating of the Small Business Survival Committee.

"New ballparks mean more revenues to either pad the owners' bottom lines or to use for players' salaries," Keating noted.

"You could argue that the firms that design the stadiums and the construction firms that build them [also benefit]. But, for the most part, the business community in the region or in the state does not benefit."

And because the construction companies and architectural firms would likely see the same business whether the funding for a new stadium was private or public, it's not really safe to say that they benefit from government funding of the stadium.

The correct way to determine the value of a stadium in a specific city would be to let consumers decide — instead of leaving the decision in the hands of politicians, Keating said. "Just like any other business, baseball [and other] teams should offer a product, gauge the consumer's response, and run the business accordingly."

Why should baseball, football and hockey teams function any differently from other businesses? Politicians shouldn't use taxpayer money to provide sports arenas, any more than they should use tax money to build a Wal-Mart, a foundry or a hair salon.

Proponents of floating government bonds to pay for such facilities

often proclaim that the bonds — especially revenue bonds — are repaid using revenues from events held at the facilities.

If that's the case, why does government need to get involved at all? Rather than

terson said. "But the alternative in this case is, do you want the Colts to leave?"

A better question would be whether Indianapolis taxpayers want to pay higher taxes to keep the team there.

Of course, many people would say they don't mind paying higher taxes. But unless that number is a vast majority of the population, using tax money to fund the new Colts stadium is nothing more than legalized theft — taking non-sports-fans' money to feed the sports habit of other city residents.

What's the solution?

Make sports team owners pay for their own facilities.

As the Cato Institute's Casey Lartigue said in an April 2001 public policy forum at the Institute, sports stadiums were funded privately until the 1950s.

"It has been done privately, and it can be done privately again," Lartigue said.

And it has been done recently, he noted, pointing to San Francisco — "where, after the team tried to get taxpayer money and they were refused, [the team] had to build their own stadium with their own money. They went out and they raised the money successfully. In fact, they raised \$335 million" while the city had to spend "only" \$30 million to improve the infrastructure around the stadium.

Why can't this be the norm, rather than the exception?

When baseball and football superstars are winning multi-year contracts worth hundreds of million dollars — there is no reason not to expect the teams to pay for their own stadiums.

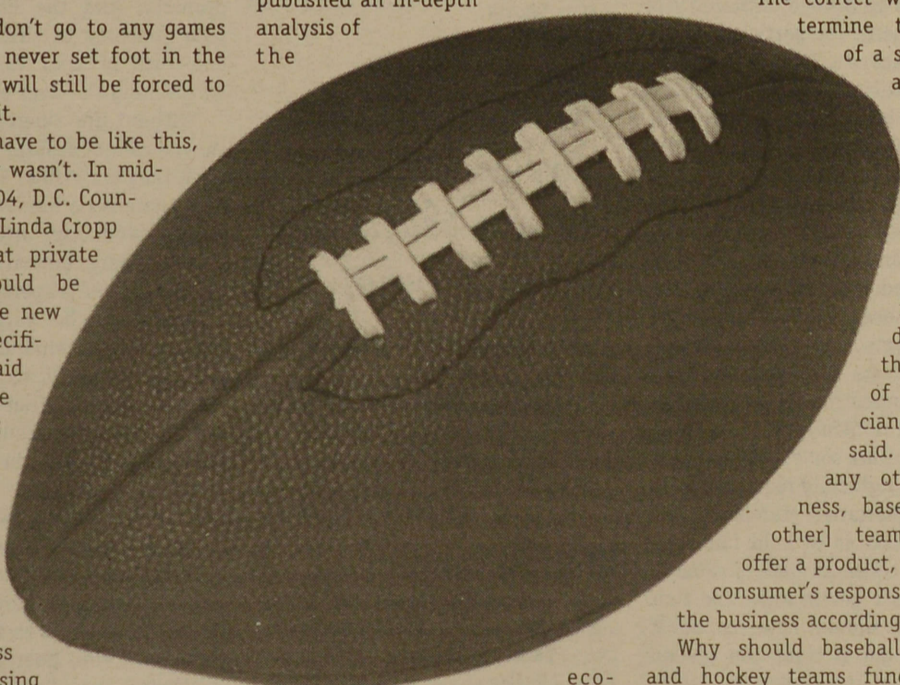
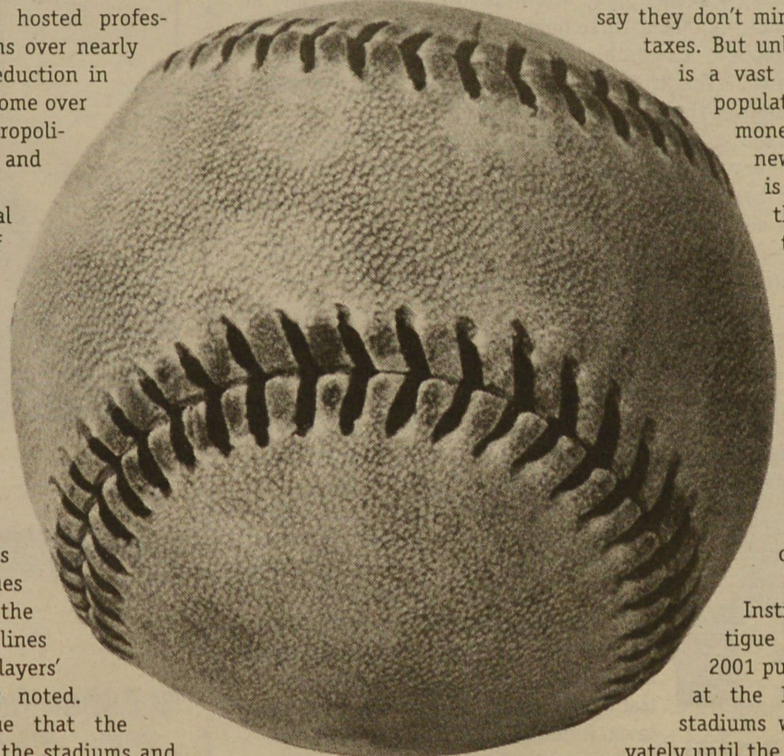
When Alex Rodriguez signed on to the Texas Rangers in 2000, he was given a contract worth \$250 million over 10 years.

"That's a stadium right there," said one attendee at the Cato public policy forum on taxpayer subsidies for sports stadiums.

Rodriguez later was shipped to the New York Yankees — knocking the Yankees' payroll up to about \$110 million each year.

Only a politician would see any kind of sense in taxing people to build a stadium, rather than telling the teams to function like the businesses they are.

Let the team owners study the market, choose a city, build a stadium and bear the risk of making such businesslike decisions, rather than putting the liability on the backs of taxpayers.



THE EDITOR

A time to speak, and a time to keep quiet

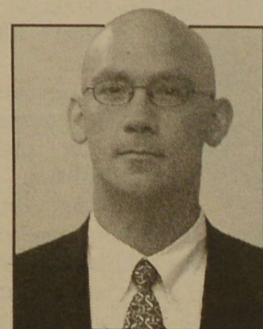
This past July 4 weekend, my wife wanted to visit her family in Chesapeake, Va., about three hours south of Washington, D.C. "Not a problem," I said, thinking it would be an opportunity to introduce Esther to the joys of motorcycle riding over somewhat longer distances than she is accustomed to.

A confirmed motorcyclist with almost 100,000 miles under my tires, I welcome any opportunity to get out on two wheels. My wife's experience was mostly limited to short trips around town, and I felt it was time to get her on the bike for a few hours.

And as a Libertarian — and therefore a hearty advocate of both personal responsibility and an effective defense program — I chose as usual to wear not only a full-face helmet, but also leather pants and armored jacket to ensure that in the unlikely event of an accident,

my skin would remain intact. I learn from experience, and we'll leave it at that. I also encouraged Esther to don full leather, and we set off into the 90-plus-degree furnace that is early-July Virginia.

Now, wearing leathers is no inconvenience when traveling at legal highway speed; plenty of wind blows through gaps in the suit to keep a rider cool, or at least below overheating. However, when two-thirds of the people in Virginia seem bent on going the same direction you are, traffic slows significantly. It took almost seven hours to reach Chesapeake, with many periods of broiling in black leather on blacktop while sitting astride a large motorcycle (BMW R1100S, for those who care) that has no moving air with which to cool its engine.



By J. Daniel Cloud
LP NEWS EDITOR

"Is it always this miserable?" Esther queried (I won't say "whined") as we reached my in-laws' house.

"No, sometimes it's worse," I responded — and rapidly wished I had bit my tongue. Sure enough, on the way home two days later, it rained. Still 90-degree temperatures, but with a steamy downpour upping the ante. And just when Esther thought it couldn't get any worse, the bike quit. Water splashing into the electronics caused a short in the wiring, ending our ride at a roadside gas station until the components dried enough to function.

So much for teaching the joys of motorcycling to a skeptic.

It took several blissful rides along colorful tree-lined curvy Virginia backroads in 70-degree fall weather to repair the damage inflicted by that one disastrous weekend, restoring Esther's confidence in two-wheeled travel and in her husband's sanity.

That ride taught me an important lesson: While another motorcyclist may have enjoyed the weekend's ride with me — because there's a certain thrill that comes with even a bad day on a motorcycle — I must learn to filter the negative aspects of the sport for my wife and other non-bikers, at least until they become full-blown devotees and aren't off-put by the occasional debacle.

There is a time for sticking by your guns and protesting that your way is the only way to go, gosh darn it, and there's a time to swallow your speech, put the metaphorical motorcycle away for the weekend and give your audience a break rather than bashing them over the head with an unpopular, unwelcome truth.

Take the current situation in Southeast Asia, for example: Now is not the time for me to vocally protest George W. Bush's decision to send \$350 million (and promise more) of our tax dollars as emergency relief for those whose homes, livelihoods and even families were washed away or otherwise destroyed in the recent catastrophic tsunami. This is not the time to vent my spleen by explaining how it's morally wrong for Bush to send tax money as tsunami relief, and how implementation of Libertarian principles could obviate the apparent necessity of using tax money for that purpose.

No, at the moment people are on the motorcycle, hot and wet and steaming and uncomfortable, and they're not in the mood to hear reasonable explanations. Right now, an explanation of Bush's misuse of our money would be interpreted as a lack of feeling in the face of more than 160,000 dead in Southeast Asia. So I can save that potential solution — and the ensuing arguments — for a month or two. Once the initial shock is over, people may be more inclined to listen.

Stay tuned.



THE MAILBOX

■ Cuban fishiness

Ramsey Clark, former U.S. Attorney General, is helping Saddam Hussein with his defense. At the same time, all the little guys detained in Cuba are left to fend for themselves without any legal protections. Does something seem a little fishy here?

—DAVID C. MORRIS
Lexington, South Carolina

■ Recount

I must confess that I'm surprised and dismayed by those in the party leadership at national, state and local levels who have criticized Michael Badnarik for participating in the Ohio recount. There seem to be two key criticisms: (1) that the taxpayers will be forced to foot the bill, and (2) that this will be perceived as being a pro-Kerry action.

It totally escapes me how the first problem could even be conceived by any Libertarian. We have long decried how government officials have been wasting their time and taxpayers money on any number of projects and programs that the government has no business being in, and rightfully so.

But there are some tasks the government is rightfully required to do, even by Libertarian standards. One of those tasks is to hold fair elections that count all ballots equally. If they don't get it right the first time, they should have to do it again and get it right the second time, at their own expense. Libertarians decry the taxpayer expense have bought the woe-is-me cries of the election registrars who demand extra pay.

As for the second complaint, the idea that demanding a recount is for Kerry's benefit is as lunatic a suggestion as saying that voting for

Badnarik in 2004 was taking a vote away from Bush! Need I say more? I should hope not.

I'm particularly upset that the Libertarian Party at all levels steadfastly refused to stand behind their man on this issue. We are right to condemn government for being involved where it shouldn't be, but we're foolish if we don't insist that government do a good job on those things it is truly responsible for doing — such as protecting individual rights, which includes the right to vote in an accurately counted election where every vote counts.

—WALT THIESSEN
Warrenton, Virginia

OSAMA BIN LADEN
gave politicians the
ultimate boogiemane:
terrorists [who] are
behind every tree
— until you actually
look there ...

—KEN OBENSKI

■ Thrill seekers

Regarding Stossel's piece about marijuana use in the Netherlands [Re: *Talking Points*, November 2004 *LP News*] — how the Dutch use less than Americans use because marijuana is legal there — reminds me of a similar experience.

I lived in Switzerland from February 1959 to July 1960. There was no drinking age there. However, you had to be 18 to go to the movies. The American students used to

go to the bars the first two weeks that they were there and drink.

After the novelty wore off, a big thrill was trying to get into the movies.

—KEN MITCHELL
North Canton, Ohio

■ Property and defense

The right to life requires that you have property (land, tools, clothes, shelter, plants, animals, etc.) with which to sustain your life, including tools that can be used as weapons with which you can defend your property, and the liberty to use your property to sustain your life and that of your family without threatening the lives of others.

Without life, liberty and property, you cannot sustain your progeny until they are viable. Without progeny, there is no life. This applies to every reproductive organism on the planet. Every animal understands the concept of property.

You can't be very productive lugging a gun around and watching your property, so you agree to take turns with others, or contribute to the employment of full-time defense specialists in a collective defense arrangement.

That is the only viable purpose of government. When government does anything else, like grant medical, education, employment or retirement privileges to some, it must violate the life, liberty or property of others.

With a limited government, people are free to specialize and do what they do best to maximize their productivity, and trade their excess production for the products or services of other specialists.

—BILL HOLMES
Lancaster, California

THE MAILBOX

■ Abortion platform

The time has come for Libertarians to rethink the party's position on abortion. To say that a fetus, just before birth, has no rights, but seconds later, as a baby, has the same rights as everyone else, is arbitrary and makes no sense.

John Locke takes the position that rights are acquired by claiming unowned property. Why not apply that idea to humans acquiring rights to their bodies?

The mother certainly has a claim on the body of the fetus. After all, she made it with her nutrients. But her control of the fetus is limited.

In order to claim a right to a previously-unclaimed use of property, the claimant must be capable of making a right-bearing claim. An ant picking up a crumb can not make such a claim; it is simply an organic machine, following its internal program.

To be capable of making a right-bearing claim, the claimant must have a conception of a future use for the thing he claims. He must act, not deterministically, as the ant does, but with free will. When it comes to rights, it is free will that separates humans from ants.

When does the mind of the fetus become complex enough for it to have free will and claim the right to control its own body? I don't know. Perhaps it's not until after birth, in which case infanticide by the mother prior to that time would not violate rights. But I strongly suspect that it is several months before birth. If so, abortion that killed the fetus would violate its rights; abortion that did not result in its death, would not.

This solution to the abortion problem is less arbitrary and more defensible than our present abortion platform.

—RICHARD D. FUELER
Grand Island, New York

■ Instant runoff voting

An old adage holds, "Be careful what you wish for."

For some time, some Libertarians have embraced "instant runoff voting" as a key to success. Many in other emerging parties, such as the Greens and Constitution Party, also support this form of voting. At one time even I thought it a good idea.

Recently *LP News* reported that IRV was used in San Francisco, and in Michigan, Vermont and Massachusetts. *LP News* also reports that Jesse Jackson, Jr. (D-Illinois) has introduced legislation mandating use of IRV in federal elections. So, it seems we are getting what many Libertarians have been wishing for.

My current view is that as soon as IRV is understood, it will be adopted all across the U.S. with bi-partisan support because IRV does "instantly" what Ds and Rs now struggle to do in long campaigns; that is, gather to the Ds and Rs all the erstwhile Libertarian and Green votes.

IRV eliminates any possibility that emerging parties can ever hold "bal-

ance of power," and gain relevance by swinging close elections.

Al Gore would have dearly loved IRV, which would have made Nader completely irrelevant in Gore's 2000 campaign. Less clear is whether the Greens — who enjoyed immense, if short-lived, respect from the 2000 Nader campaign — would have been advantaged had IRV been in place to blunt Nader's impact.

IRV requires that winners demonstrate (eventually) majority support. And if emerging party candidates have difficulty now garnering plurality support to win, requiring them to secure majority support seems to only raise the bar.

Most importantly, IRV will help the LP only if the media reports initial vote totals and if the "wasted vote syndrome" is a large problem.

If instead the media is lazy and reports merely the final "horse race" (after IRV redistributes all the lesser candidates' votes), then IRV will result in making emerging parties irrelevant because their candidate's support will be instantly redistributed among the big two finalists.

Democrats and Republicans on the campaign trail must now at least consider issues raised by alternative party candidates to prevent defection of voters on key issues. IRV may make all those alternative voices instantly irrelevant.

At the very least, we must not delude ourselves into thinking that those in power are likely to change the rules to help us compete successfully, or that the hard work of building a three-party America can be accomplished by just tweaking how we count votes.

—J. MILLS
Tacoma, Washington

■ Security

The great American cynic H.L. Mencken once said, "The whole aim of practical politics is to keep the public alarmed and hence clamorous to be led to safety by threatening it with an endless series of boogiemens, all of them imaginary."

Osama bin Laden gave our politicians the ultimate boogiemans: terrorists. Terrorists are behind every tree — until you actually look there — and then they are somewhere else.

Potemkin, the Russian general who built fake villages to impress Czarina Catherine the Great, gave all politicians the ultimate tactic. To use the public's money to put on a great show of accomplishment is far more politically useful than actually accomplishing something. After all, a problem actually solved has lost its boogiemans potential.

Government has the perfect answer to terrorists — Potemkin-like security:

■ Conspicuous TSA airport inspectors impede our travel but miss two-thirds of the contraband when tested.

■ Conspicuous immigration service suspected several of the 9/11 hijackers but let them into the coun-

try anyway.

■ Conspicuous border patrol officers are situated at checkpoints along busy highways far inland, but are spread way too thin anywhere near the border.

—KEN OBENSKI
San Diego, California

■ Kenn Gividen

Just a quick note of thanks for the placement of the Gividen exclusion/inclusion story. [See November 2004 *LP News*]. I hope it is one that gives our members across the country fuel to go on in the face of this very common tactic employed by our traditional opponents.

My analysis of the situation is that our success in getting Gividen back into the debate arose from groundwork laid over time. We have a paid executive director — something that every state could benefit from — whose job it has been to build relationships with the media.

These relationships paid off. In our hour of need, the media was there to report our story. There is a lesson there for a good number of affiliates.

—MIKE KOLE
Secretary, LP of Indiana

■ Hummers vs. trains

In the December 2004 *Affiliate News*, Libertarians in Travis County, Texas, express opposition to a commuter rail plan.

Travis County Libertarians claim that a Chevy Hummer is cleaner per passenger mile than the proposed rail car, while telling us that the rail line will replace a bus line. It would make more sense to ask whether rail service is cleaner than bus service.

They said that for the cost of the rail line, the transit authority could equip [each of] the anticipated 1,000 initial riders with a Chevy Hummer. Not only would the Hummer solution contribute nothing to congestion mitigation, but 1,000 is an arbitrary start-up figure. Passenger rail experience has shown that improved service attracts ridership and loss per passenger diminishes.

While Libertarians would probably prefer that jurisdictions wash their hands of transportation, protesting public involvement at this point would be as futile as campaigning against public sewer systems, regardless of what Thomas Jefferson would think of public sewers.

—ROBERT G. DOSTAL
Iowa City, Iowa

■ Incorporation

[Re: *The Volunteer*, December 2004 *LP News*, about incorporating state political committees.]

There are several critical considerations before incorporating anything — a business, a family, a club or property of any kind.

Primary among the reasons for scrutiny is that the act of incorporating "creates" a person, an entity as described in the filings. This artificially created entity is not protected by the Constitution or Bill of

Rights. In their place is a library full of government-created regulations, laws and procedures that only an attorney can love.

Government trust-busting efforts in the late 1800's lured the business world into the world of incorporation where government can exercise more control. Now after a century of being yanked around by regulators, the business trust is, again, gaining popularity.

I have found that a big lure of the corporate entity is that people assume they will be in the arena with the "big players."

Take a good hard look at incorporation and its pros and cons.

—ROGER BLOXHAM
Tulsa, Oklahoma

■ Post-election

George W. Bush was re-elected in an overwhelming victory for the Republican Party [Nov. 2]. His party gained in every area and now has even stronger control over all branches of our government and many states. It seems like a time for anybody who loves liberty to despair. It's not.

The other thing that happened in this election is equally important. The final nail was pounded in the coffin of the Democratic Party.

Since the 1980 election of Ronald Reagan to the presidency, the Democratic Party has been in decline and fighting to stay relevant. With the exception of the Clinton years, when his party effectively had to behave like Republicans in order to win and stay in power (by co-opting Republican ideas), the Grand Old Party has controlled the offices and the agenda of the federal government for 24 years now.

The Republican Party and George W. Bush have spent the last four years proving that they are the party of big government, centralized at the federal level. They have replaced the Democrats in this capacity, and they've done it by being less responsible than their old competition and by appealing to the worst aspects of American selfishness and culture.

Many libertarians used to vote Republican because they believed that party represented them better than the Democrats. Well, my fellow freedom-lovers, that alliance is dead. Limited government and freedom are simply not compatible with the visions of the religious right, neoconservatives and national security/law enforcement constituencies of the Republican Party.

The Libertarian Party can grow, and it can take the place of the Democratic Party as the second party in America.

Limited government, decentralization, checks and balances as well as the free market and individual liberty are winning issues throughout the country. We have to moderate our message, though.

I am not suggesting compromising our principles and voting for bigger government. What I am suggesting is that we learn to work for and accept baby steps that move us in the direction of liberty. We also need to learn to articulate our mes-

sage without calling for the immediate gutting of the entire federal government (and government at all levels). That will never be accomplished except through violent revolution (which would surely fail).

Let's learn to win the votes of moderate Americans of all stripes by ending [our] obsession with purity and focusing instead on what will get us more liberty faster without sacrificing principles.

Michael Badnarik said that if America ever returns to the vision of the founding fathers it will be because of us. If we fail, America will fail as well.

—TONY TORRES
Blacksburg, Virginia

■ Not angry enough

In the December 2004 issue of *LP News*, Harry Browne wrote:

"America has a two-party system, but not because of popular demand. The Democrats and Republicans have legislated third parties into irrelevance, using five principle methods: donation limits, reporting laws, campaign subsidies, the debate commission and ballot-access laws."

This statement is a cop-out which takes the American people off the hook for their failure to educate themselves about the issues and candidates. The American people are simply not angry enough about the status quo and/or are too scared of trying alternatives to insist on change.

There is plenty of information available on the effects of our current domestic and foreign policies, and the problems they are creating. There are also excellent resources available, such as www.votesmart.org, detailing all the candidates, their experiences and proposed policies/platforms.

Ultimately, donation limits and debate commissions do not vote. The American people vote, and when 98 percent vote for the status quo, the American people have no one and nothing to blame but themselves.

—MIKE STONE
Danbury, Connecticut



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Portland tapped as site for 2006 LP National Convention



Sites of Previous LP National Conventions

1972 Denver	1978 Boston	1991 Chicago
1973 Youngstown, OH	1979 Los Angeles	1993 Salt Lake City
1974 Dallas	1981 Denver	1996 Washington, DC
1975 Philadelphia	1983 Philadelphia	1998 Washington, DC
1976 Washington, DC	1985 Phoenix	2000 Anaheim, CA
1977 San Francisco	1987 Seattle	2002 Indianapolis
	1989 New York	2004 Atlanta

Continued from Page 1

said, pointing out the cities have competitive facilities (both sites considered were downtown Hiltons) and made competitive offers.

What closed the deal on Portland?

"The LP of Oregon was certainly very interested in having the convention there, and Portland's convention and visitor's bureau has shown a great deal of interest in having us go there," Dixon said, noting that the last LP convention held in the Pacific Northwest was in 1987, in Seattle.

The LNC met at the proposed Austin convention site last spring, and several party officials have visited the Portland site as well in recent months — so they had plenty of first-hand information to rely on when making their recommendations and decision.

The next LNC meeting, scheduled for Feb. 26-27, will be held at the Portland Hilton, which will give the members a chance to look around, meet the hotel staff, and get a feel for the site, Dixon said.

Members of the LP of Oregon "are thrilled to host the convention,"

said Richard Burke, executive director of the state party. "During recent years, the LPO has become one of the most influential and politically successful state parties in the nation, and LPO members are eager to share their accomplishments, show off their 2,500 square-foot office and learn from Libertarians from around the nation."

Seehusen said he believes Portland will prove to be an excellent choice for the convention — in part because it offers plenty of tourism options for delegates and other attendees.

"Portland is one of the most beautiful and charming cities in America," he said. "It is nestled in the heart of beautiful mountains and waterways and has very much kept its connection with the natural beauty that surrounds it. If you love coffee, wine and beer, you've come to the right place; Portland has coffee shops on every corner and microbreweries everywhere, with many vineyards out in the surrounding area."

Burke added, "Portland has a reputation for being a wet and rainy place. This reputation is an exaggeration, and some think it is a deliberate piece of misinformation to keep people from moving here. In reality, Portland essentially has two seasons — wet and dry. In late June and early July, the city boasts some of the best weather in the world, featuring sunny days, low humidity and typical temperatures between 72 and 80 degrees."

The 2006 convention is scheduled for the weekend immediately preceding the Fourth of July, Dixon said, acknowledging that there are arguments both for and against holding the event on a holiday.

"The primary argument for holding it over a holiday weekend is that it is more convenient for our member delegates, who have a longer break from work and will be able to spend

the time more easily," he said.

On the other hand, he said, some LP candidates have said they would like to spend holiday weekends doing campaign-related events, but since this isn't a presidential nominating year, that isn't a major consideration.

"That was a major reason we moved the convention up to Memorial Day weekend in 2004," he said. "However, it puts a significant hardship on our membership and delegates who are family folks with kids, to get to an event while most schools are still in session."

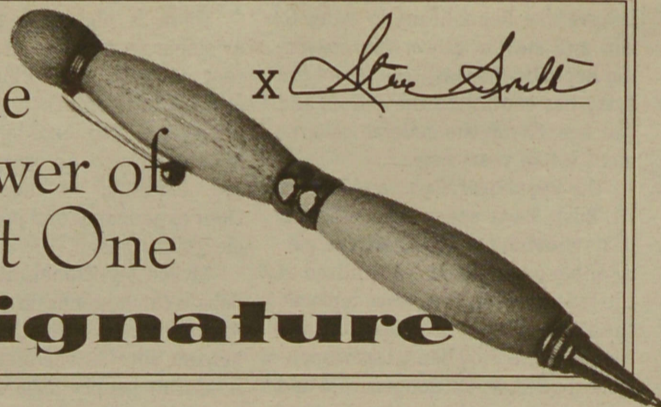
The LNC is already considering possible sites for 2008, Dixon said.

"We're looking at cities and facilities, but it's too early to look at much more than that," he said. "The Austin offer was very attractive, so it will certainly be in consideration, and the Denver facility we were looking at will be constructed by then, so it will be in play as well."

There has been some discussion of moving the 2008 convention even earlier in the year — possibly as early as February or March — to give the presidential candidate more time to actively campaign after being selected.

The preliminary schedule and site for the 2008 convention will "hopefully be set sometime late this year," Dixon added.

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... I think it's great, of course."*

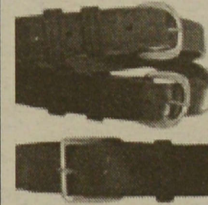
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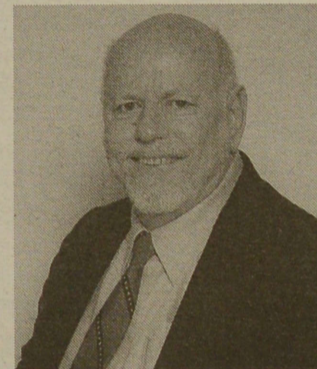
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UPCOMING

February 4-6, 2005

LP Florida Convention, St. Petersburg Beach Holiday Inn. Speakers to include Dr. Bruce Borson, Dr. James Lark and Meaghan Walker. For more information, call (727) 344-1038 or go to www.LPPinellas.org.

February 18-20, 2005

California LP Convention, Sheraton Gateway Hotel, Los Angeles International Airport. Speakers to include Jim Babka, president of Downsize DC Foundation; Jim Gray, 2004 Libertarian candidate for U.S. Senate; Gary Nolan, 2004 candidate for LP presidential nomination; Kate O'Brien, Libertarian officeholder; Richard Burke, executive director of the Oregon LP; and author Chuck Muth. For more information, or to register, go to www.ca.lp.org; write to P.O. Box 400, McCloud CA 96057; call (877) 884-1776; or e-mail Convention@CA.LP.org.

March 4-6, 2005

Missouri LP Convention, the Holiday Inn Sports Complex, in Kansas City, Mo. This is a joint convention with the LPs of Kansas and Nebraska. Speakers to include Dr. Mary Ruwart; National LP Secretary Bob Sullentrup; Missouri LP webmaster Glenn Nielsen; and author Tom Rustici. For more information, e-mail info@lpmo.org; call (877) Vote-4-US; or go to www.lpmo.org.

March 17-19, 2005

Austrian Scholars Conference 2005, The Mises Institute, Auburn, Ala. To include presentations on economics, history and philosophy, with speakers such as Thomas J. DiLorenzo of Loyola College; Mark Thornton of The Mises Institute; Alberto Mingardi of the Bruno Leoni Institute; and Edward Feser of Loyola Marymount. For information, call (334) 321-2100; e-mail pat@mises.org; or go to www.Mises.org.

March 19, 2005

Wisconsin LP Convention, at The Pallas, 1657 S. 108th St., Milwaukee. Speakers to include state LP Chair Ed Thompson and 2004 LP presidential candidate Michael Badnarik. For more information, contact Linda Liberty at (800) 236-9236.

April 9, 2005

Minnesota LP Convention, in downtown St. Paul. Featured speakers to include keynote speaker Michael Badnarik, 2004 LP presidential candidate; author James Bovard; Lee McGrath, executive director of the Minnesota Chapter of the Institute for Justice; Mark Selzer, host of the "Libertarian Alternative" TV show; Michael Wilson, director of the film "Michael Moore Hates America." Badnarik will also host his class on the U.S. Constitution on April 10. To purchase tickets or for more information, visit www.lpmn.org or email convention@lpmn.org.

April 23-24, 2005

Michigan LP Convention, in Mt. Pleasant. Speakers to include Joseph Bast, president of the Heartland Institute, and Executive Director Robert Butler of the Ohio LP. For more information or to purchase tickets, visit www.LPMich.org.

July 10-15, 2005

ISIL's 24th Annual World Conference, in St. Petersburg, Russia. Celebrating "The Year of Ayn Rand," (it marks the 100th anniversary of her birth) the International Society for Individual Liberty will hold its annual conference in Rand's home city — concentrating on the enormous influence the author had on the world of individualist and free-market philosophy. For details, go to www.FreeMarket.net; e-mail isil@isil.org; or call (707) 746-8796.

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FIRST WORD

"The Libertarians want to eliminate welfare, rid the Internet of censorship, cut taxes, fully support the rights of gun owners, stop foreign aid, legalize narcotics and save the environment. They seem to have a little something for everyone."

—KIYOSHI MARTINEZ, *Daily Illini* (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign), September 21, 2004

"Let me first point out that there is no Woman Party which runs candidates in elections. There is no Black Party. There is no Latino Party. There is no Fundamentalist Party. There is no Labor Party. None of those constituencies have their own political operation running their own candidates who have the ability to siphon off votes from one or both of the two major parties.

"But voters who want the government to get the hell out of their wallets, their bedrooms, their businesses and their hair; voters who just want to be left alone; voters who still embrace the Founders' notion of limited-government and good, old-fashioned freedom to pursue life, liberty and happiness ... they DO have their own party.

"I'm talking now, of course, about the Libertarian Party."

—CHUCK MUTH, *AmericanDaily.com*, December 27, 2004