



# Libertarian Party

# NEWS

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Liberty Enlightening the World

November/December 1988

## 'Qualifications' Hit New High

By Richard Winger

When we evaluate "how did we do?" after any national election, one index is "in how many states did we win ongoing ballot status?" By this criteria, the 1988 campaign was an outstanding success.

The day after the 1980 election, we were a qualified party in 12 states (Alabama, Alaska, for president only, California, Delaware, Hawaii, Idaho, Michigan, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, South Carolina, and Wisconsin). These states had 125 electoral votes (using the 1980's apportionment).

The day after the 1984 election, we were a qualified party in 10 states (Alaska, California, Delaware, Idaho, Indiana, Mississippi, Montana, New Mexico, South Carolina, and Vermont), states with 96 electoral votes.

As of now we are a qualified party in 13 states (California, Delaware, Georgia, Hawaii, Idaho, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, New Mexico, Oregon, South Carolina, Texas, and Vermont). These states contain 153 electoral votes.

It is crucial to keep that trend going. We must, for instance, work beginning right away to change laws which keep us off the ballot, and also to change laws which keep us from gaining ongoing ballot status. The key is to work with state legislatures.

1. Let's make sure that no state makes the ballot access laws harder. Every state Libertarian Party should designate one responsible person to keep track of all bills which alter election laws as they are introduced in the state legislature.

This is not difficult. The state party should subscribe to a legal newspaper (they exist in every state) which reports on all bills as they are introduced. These newspapers typically cost \$60 per year, and they are well worth the price. It's far easier to stop a bill than it is to initiate and pass one. But bills can only be stopped if you know about them!

In 1979, an Indiana state legislator submitted a bill to quadruple the number of signatures needed to get on the ballot, and also to quadruple the number of votes needed to retain ballot status. This bill passed in the spring of 1980, although its effective date was not until 1984 (for the raise in number of signatures) and not until 1986 (to raise the number of votes needed to retain ballot status). This bill is responsible for Ron Paul not being on the ballot in Indiana this year. It passed without any campaign against it, simply because no Libertarian Party activist even knew about the bill until it had passed and been signed into law.

By contrast, when the Oregon Libertarian Party found out about a bill, introduced early in the 1987 legislative session, to double the number of signatures needed to get on the ballot, the party was able to get the bill withdrawn, by vociferous protests. There is little doubt that the bill would have passed if it had not been withdrawn, since a similar bill passed two years earlier—the governor vetoed it only because he was displeased with

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## Ron Paul: Looking Back, Ahead

*The following interview was conducted with Ron Paul on November 11, just three days following the election, in an effort to get his immediate reaction to the campaign and his thoughts on the future of the Libertarian Party.*

**LP NEWS: How do you evaluate your campaign and the election?**

PAUL: I feel very good about the campaign. I think a lot has been achieved — the message was heard by a lot more people, there was obviously more excitement than I have ever seen before in a campaign where the crowds got bigger. And I think our organization was strong. I believe the credibility of our arguments now is better than ever before and I just feel very good about it. It isn't something that can always be translated into the number of votes, but I just believe there was very little ridicule and a lot of respect for the libertarian view and I don't think they are going to be able to ignore us in a philosophic sense — that we are now in the debate, we are going to continue the debate — things like the drug issue, and the troops overseas, and the personal liberties issues where they will always come and want to know what libertarians are thinking.

**LP NEWS: What issues were the best received and the worst received?**

PAUL: The best, where I got the loudest applause regardless of the audience, was, "It's about time we brought troops home and isn't it about time Germany and Japan pay for their own national defense?" And I'm excited about that issue because we've actually pushed even a Jesse Helms into now advocating bringing 100,000 troops home from Europe. So that is a hot issue and I think we've led the charge on that. That was real exciting to me. The one that is very close to that, that probably surprised me more than anything else, was that a general audience and not just the libertarian and the patriot groups but the general audiences, responded very favorably to our suggestion — our very strong suggestion — that there was something very much wrong with our taxing system. The reception was greater in challenging the tactics of the IRS than it was on the income tax per se, but nevertheless a lot of people in this country are sick of it all. And I think this is

## Heads Up!

By Andre Marrou

The Libertarian Party has accomplished some marvelous feats. Consider that we have:

- Shot from obscurity to the third largest party in just five years (1971-1976).
- Steadily increased our numbers and are now larger than all other new parties combined.
- Run the first woman vice-presidential candidate to get a vote in the electoral college (Tonie Nathan, 1972), 12 years or three elections before the Democrats got around to nominating a woman for the vice presidency.
- Elected two women as national chairs (of a

## The Bottom Line?

The Libertarian Party's presidential ticket, according to all figures available to us at press time, drew half-a-percent of the 90,000,000 national popular votes cast. If that's the final tally, it would mean that 450,000 Americans voted Libertarian. In 1984 the total was 228,705.

But is that the bottom line? The total clearly was below expectations. Yet, any organization with nearly a half-million supporters would be considered formidable in the general run of things.

This entire issue is devoted to comments on the election, principally from those who ran substantial races. The overall emphasis is clearly that the election was not a failure for our party, but the base for powerful next steps.

## Election Results-pp 6-7

also reflected in the fact that, in a token sort of way, they've addressed this in Congress already with the watered down version of the Taxpayer's Bill of Rights. But that issue is very, very well received by a lot of people. And I was impressed with the *Denver Post* article after I had spoken to the Detroit Economic Clubs — they said the loudest applause at the Economic Club by these businessmen came when I addressed the subject of the Internal Revenue Service.

**LP NEWS: What was the toughest issue, the one that gave you the most trouble?**

PAUL: You know I've asked other candidates — the other presidential candidates — over the years and they generally answer the drug issue. Yet I did not find it was the drug issue. As a matter of fact, we led the charge on the drug issue, we were more aggressive on it, and did our only significant white paper on the drug issue, so it certainly wasn't the drug issue. To me personally, there are two that are coming close, but I would say the number-one issue is the handling of the alien issue, the border issue — the open border business, because you know there is a lot of fear and a lot of prejudice involved and a lot of sincere Americans who want a lot less government aren't quite able to comprehend our position on that, and

total of six) including our very first chair, Susan Nolan, in 1971.

—Elected, the first hispanic national party chair (Alicia Garcia y Cobos Clark, 1981).

—Had the first black finance manager of a presidential campaign (Dick Boddie, 1984).

—Had the first American Indian run for the presidential nomination (Russell Means, 1987).

—Elected some 105 Libertarian Party members to various offices, including three state legislators, more than half of them in the last three years.

—Obtained our first Libertarian Party judge (Tom Gligorea, in San Diego, 1987).

—Fielded as our 1988 presidential candidate a former four-term U.S. congressman, Ron Paul.

—Ran for vice-president in 1988 a former state legislator, myself, who campaigned in all 50 states (perhaps the second such candidate ever to do it).

it's very frightening to them. If I had adequate time to explain it, how the laws that they are passing will backfire, encourage illegality as well as penalizing our businesspeople, as well as penalizing the average American citizen, I thought I made some inroads.

The one (other issue) that was very close to the border position was the environment. One thing I decided in my own mind that if I was starting the campaign over again that I would probably, instead of waiting — and this is the way I handled drugs, I never waited for them to ask, I gave them the answer, I was very aggressive with it and that neutralized the whole thing. On the alien issue I generally waited and then once you wait and you're quizzed I think you tend to be more on the defensive. The other area that people need a better understanding, and I think we and I as an individual need to be more aggressive, that's on the environment. We ought to be real aggressive, we ought to criticize the others for doing such a poor job, and show why EPA doesn't work, and say that we can do a better job. Then have a paper which is short — say two or three pages — and then have a list of the think tanks that deal in the environment. I think on every campus, especially, that question came up, it inevitably came up. I always felt like I gave a decent answer, but I think we can do better.

**LP NEWS: What states do you think offer us the best opportunity for growth from your travels?**

PAUL: All 50. And the reason is that I think although we've had more excitement in the West, the key to it is an interested, ambitious leader in a

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## NES Outrage

By Mary Lind

Colorado LP State Chair

Nothing.

According to the News Election Service, that's what your vote for Ron Paul amounted to on November 8.

Owned and operated completely by ABC, NBC, CBS, CNN, AP, and UPI, the NES is responsible for collecting and reporting election results to the national media. Unfortunately, new NES policy is to count only Republican and Democrat votes, and to show those votes to add up to 100 percent. In other words, if you didn't vote for Bush or Dukakis on November 8, the NES didn't count your vote. Not only were Libertarians being ignored, the election results were being falsified.

The unearthing of this policy began quite innocently. Doug Anderson, a Libertarian elected to the Denver Election Commission, was placing calls to the local TV stations to find out who would be the best to watch for complete election night tallies. After getting transferred repeatedly through the media bureaucracy, he ultimately ended up being referred to the NES. There he found out that, indeed, no third party results would be collected, and that the results for the two old parties would total 100 percent.

An irate Anderson passed the news to Jon

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# Hard Fought Lessons

By Dave Walter

Tuesday, November 8, dawned clear and cool and Libertarian Party members in the 8th District (Bucks County and parts of Montgomery County, Philadelphia's northern suburbs) were primed for a history-making event: Don Ernsberger's campaign for the U.S. Congress was about to set all sorts of records for an independent campaign and had every hope of achieving ballot status (5 percent of the total vote).

Hopes were high because Don's all-out campaign looked very successful. Why?

- More than \$37,000 had been raised from libertarians all over the nation,
- Don had won the support of the popular, former Republican congressman who was upset over GOP shenanigans which kept him out of the primary.
- Don had won the support of the loser in the Democratic primary, a man who won 22 percent of the vote.
- Don had received 242 articles about his campaign in the district's newspapers.
- Pre-election polling showed him with 9 percent of the Republican vote with one week to go.
- During the last week, Don's campaign ran 640 cable TV ads and 84 radio ads.
- The race, including Don's role, had attracted attention from the *Boston Herald*, the *New York Daily News*, and several Washington "insider" newsletters.
- A mailing had gone to the 18,000 registered Independents.
- In 14 face-to-face debates with his opponents,

Don had more than held his own and was, in the words of the *Philadelphia Inquirer's* editors (who mentioned a Libertarian Party candidate for only the second time in 10 years!) "easily the intellectual equal" of the others.

And when the votes were counted on election night, Don Ernsberger had received about 2 percent of the vote, twice as high as any libertarian had done in the county before, but still bitterly disappointing.

How could this happen to one of the premier Libertarian Party campaigns of all time? What lessons does it hold for the Libertarian Party as we go back to the drawing board one more time?

The dust is still settling and, as in archeology or detective work, some clues will take some time to unravel. But some things are already obvious. For one, the news reporters were flabbergasted that the results were so small. The reporter for the major paper in the area actually called back some of his contacts in the Republican Party who had said they were going to vote for Don.

What it came down to, once the curtain was closed on the voting booth, was that they "didn't want to embarrass" their party, so they voted for the Republican even though they acknowledged he ran a terrible campaign and that Don was a much better choice. Among the less knowledgeable voters, a similar "last minute" switch took place. The newspaper, on November 9, carried numerous interviews with average voters who said Ernsberger would have made a better congressman but they decided to vote for the old party candidates because they were afraid the lesser of two evils would lose.

Up until the polls opened, the media—especially the Philadelphia network TV stations and major papers—were calling it a "tight race." The district has a slight GOP registration edge, and had always been competitive in the past, but anyone following the campaign knew that the GOP's candidate this year was unpopular and his campaign seriously flawed and mismanaged. Why the reporters didn't know this, or report it accurately, is unknown. For the last three weeks, Don tried to tell them that the GOP's effort had collapsed and that GOP voters should send their party's bosses a message by voting for Ernsberger. In the end, the Republican lost by the largest margin in recent history, in spite of a resounding majority for George Bush.

And then there were those myriad voters who told our poll workers "never heard of him" as they went in to vote for the equally unknown candidates given the seal of approval by their party.

Obviously, this reluctance to vote for someone who is not going to win is going to be a barrier that takes a long time to breach. It would appear that running a well-financed, well-reported, well-articulated campaign is not enough significantly to increase the votes going to the Libertarian Party.

It will be chipped away slowly over time—if Libertarian Party members care to keep committing the time and effort to do the job. That many have given up (or never intended to really get their hands dirty in politics) is evident.

About 70 percent of the dues-paying members of the Pennsylvania LP did not lift a finger or contribute a dime to the most active campaign in their state. Until the party can energize a significant portion of its members (or find new activists) we are going to stay on the 1 to 2 percent vote plateau. To give credit to the ones who worked so hard, however, they are true "heroes of the revolution."

Another obvious lesson is that all unalloyed libertarianism is not going to "sell" when the third-party label is appended. Don met head-on

the legalization of drugs issue. It didn't win him as many votes as it lost. Many voters said they could have supported him if it weren't for that stand.

Yet, this is not a call for watering down our public positions or hiding important issues just because they are controversial.

Number one, such issues do impress the media when a candidate—who is obviously not a nut or a refugee from some fever swamp—dares to take an unpopular stand.

Number two, it is the role of the LP to take such stands in order to let the debate begin. Two of Ed Clark's issues in 1980—making NATO support itself and tuition credits—were radical then but are becoming popular now. In fact, Don's Democrat opponent advocated Ed Clark's education tax credit plan without realizing its libertarian genesis until Don pointed it out.

Perhaps the Libertarian Party temporarily needs to change its definition of success. Maybe our success is getting our ideas out in 242 articles, in building a foundation for future gains through the 220 new contacts in the 8th District and the 150 more who expressed an interest in the campaign because of our radio ads.

Maybe the focus should be on building the party street by street and town by town instead of spending huge sums on state and national races where our vote totals remain laughably small.

Perhaps we should remember that our party began as a way to use the political process to achieve widespread publicity for our ideas and to reach the opinion leaders who will gradually convert the masses of Americans. That we did do the latter is the true measure of success during this election day, Tuesday, November 8, 1988.

*Walter is vice chair of the Libertarian Party and treasurer of the Ernsberger for Congress campaign. He and Ernsberger are co-founders of one of the oldest libertarian organizations, the Society for Individual Liberty.*

# A Socialist Surprise

By Jim Hedbor

What wonderful supporters I had in my campaign for the U.S. Congress! We received not only 1,090 contributions totalling \$55,200—about half of them from out of state, and running from \$1 to the maximum \$1,000—but also scores of encouraging notes and calls.

And we nearly saw history made here in Vermont. A third party candidate came within a few percentage points of winning a seat in Congress. He raised as much money as the Republican candidate and much more than the Democrat. Leaders of one of the two old parties publicly defected to him during the last two weeks of the campaign. He got twice as many votes on election day as one of the old-party candidates, but was narrowly defeated by the other.

Unfortunately, that third party candidate was not Jim Hedbor.

It was Bernie Sanders, the Socialist mayor of Burlington. The results were 41 percent for the

Republican, Peter Smith; 39 percent for Sanders, and 17 percent for the Democrat, Paul Poirier.

I got between 1 and 2 percent.

The surprising success of the Socialist so polarized the election that even a \$500 contributor to my campaign told me a few days before the election that he was voting Republican to help keep Sanders from being elected. Thousands of voters, it is assumed, decided to do the same.

But my campaign was far more effective and influential than the vote totals indicate. It should have a lasting effect on Vermont politics.

It's very difficult to write this report because we had such high hopes. For example, the Saturday before the election we succeeded in being included in the fourth of the statewide television debates, one sanctioned by the League of Women Voters.

"Hang on, America," we told Vermonters during the debate, "the Libertarians are coming." Now we should add: "Hang on, Libertarians, it's going

to be tougher than we imagined."

My campaign was as energetic, principled, and as high profile as any we've ever run. We ran 800 radio ads and 80 network TV ads. We got excellent media coverage, two half-hour network interview shows and two more on cable. I spoke at 30 school, college, and civic club meetings, and at 25 forums that included the other candidates. I did 20 live radio interviews and more than 30 newspaper interviews.

I traveled more than 24,000 miles by car and must have walked another thousand as I campaigned in more than 80 Vermont towns.

Huge gains were made, I honestly believe, in advancing Libertarian ideas during the campaign. Daily, for nine months, we promoted and explained free markets, free trade, freedom, choice, rights, and individual responsibility as practical solutions to today's problems. There is no other way we could have gained as much publicity for the ideas, with \$55,000, as we did in the campaign.

But votes are what elections are about and, as a party, we have to learn to win.

How? We could do worse than study the political career of Bernie Sanders, my Socialist nemesis.

Sanders ran for statewide office four times be-

tween 1973 and 1981, receiving 3 to 6 percent of the votes. He always ran as an ideological candidate, attacking corporations and the wealthy as the source of every social ill. He was avowedly a socialist. He was also colorful, newsworthy, aggressive, and confrontational.

In 1981, Sanders campaigned tirelessly for mayor of Burlington, the state's largest city. He assembled a talented campaign staff. The opponent was a long-time incumbent Democrat. The Republicans didn't think he could be beaten. A dissident Democrat ran as an independent which split the vote. Sanders campaigned and campaigned. Door to door, he gave out shopping bags with his campaign slogans. Attack and attack against the incumbent administration as a complacent, do-nothing gang of cronies. Sanders won by less than 20 votes.

Sanders has been re-elected four times.

There is plenty for a Libertarian to criticize, but compared to his predecessors, Sanders has governed well. Part of the reason is that, paradoxically, he has brought precious little socialism to the city. Virtually all of his major initiatives have failed. He has never had a majority of the town's aldermen. Burlington has had prosperous times—

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# A 'Doubled' Disappointment

By John Vernon

Two percent. It didn't look so good. And after all the hours and days of work, and all the money spent, surely we deserved more than that. I thought how disappointed some of my more faithful supporters might be with such dismal results.

After overcoming the first burst of depression, I decided to call Taylor Rhodes, a Beverly Hills Libertarian who had run for the same 23rd Congressional seat in 1986. He told me that he had received 1.1 percent of the vote. In spite of the fact that 2 percent is no great shakes, I realized that we had in fact more than doubled the vote for the

district, going from 1,943 votes in 1986 to 4,282 in 1988.

The first campaign money was spent paying for radio spots on April 15. I announced my candidacy the same day and received a small article in the *Los Angeles Times* the next day. The radio spots declared that all the promises of the major parties had failed to materialize (lower, simpler, and fairer taxes) and that the opposite had occurred and that Libertarian protestors were on hand at major post offices with literature. While the response was not overwhelming, Libertarians seemed to be encouraged by the attempt to gain visibility.

This was followed by another set of radio spots which was run on the 4th of July weekend. These spots contained a strong non-interventionist statement. Ironically, the Iranian airliner was shot down by the Vincennes on July 3. Media Coordinator Ernst Ghermann and I issued a statement to the media, and I wrote letters to the major newspapers which were published in three newspapers in Los Angeles County.

Up until about the 1st of October, the *Daily News* had also been printing my letters to the editor, and identifying me as the Libertarian candidate in the 23rd District.

On November 1, I organized a demonstration in front of the Federal Building in Los Angeles, where the incumbent Democrat has his office. I had collected eight examples of franked mail which he had sent to constituents since January 1988. Since it was my understanding that House members are limited by law to six such mailings, I raised the question of possible illegal use of the franking privilege. Radio station KFWB inter-

viewed me, and also elicited a response from the Democrat's office, denying any illegal act. The purpose of the issue had been to protest the advantage which franked mail gives incumbents, and of course, my opponent did not respond to this part of my charge.

These were the main events which brought media attention to the campaign. It is my opinion that if we had not planned an active campaign, that is, one making use of radio and television advertising, it is unlikely that we would have received anything more than the most cursory mentions in the Los Angeles newspapers. A "Break the Habit" television spot, using the quote, "If you want to make an omelette, you have to break eggs," seemed to catch the imagination of reporters who covered it in favorable articles which totaled about 50 column inches.

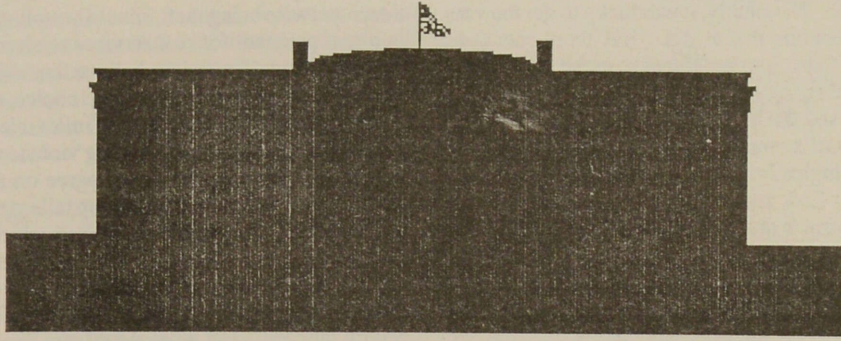
I made commitments to run radio spots on April 15 and on July 4. If I were to repeat the experience, I might seriously consider saving that money to

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# Libertarian Shadow Government Proposed

By Dan Karlan,  
With Don Hinkle



The Libertarian Party needs a way quickly and consistently to respond to national and international events. Hence we propose the establishment of an operation that will operate with a minimal bureaucracy and obtain its goals by working through the media (i.e., low overhead!).

Let's start our own government. A "Shadow Government." It has no real power, commands no armies, so it is not a burden on the taxpayers; it does, however, have the power to communicate our best ideas directly to The People. Think of it as "Government by Press Release." Our objective is to make libertarian ideas part of the common currency of conventional wisdom.

Real persons will fill the shadow offices: President and Vice President (Ron and Andre, if they accept), and other offices will be filled by libertarians who have credentials in their respective fields. For starters, each of the state parties can elect some of its members to participate in the Shadow Congress: office-holders representing state constituencies.

How other office-holders (the Cabinet, etc.) will be selected is one detail among others to be defined. Perhaps a Search Subcommittee will make selections; perhaps a popular vote by LP members. Anyway, selection of office-holders comes after we generally accept the Shadow Government premise and determine—as united individual libertarians—to work for it.

Each state chair "Congressperson" and each office-holder may want to find advisors who can beef up their statements in specialized areas. Until the LIBSHADGOV can finance itself (an issue for a separate think tank study!), think tank troops must be volunteers. The many established libertarian and free market think tanks already provide a wealth of information for use by any and all libertarians. Members of the LIBSHADGOV will communicate electronically—by voice, fax, and computer modem. Each state could, for a few hundred bucks, provide its Chair/Congressperson with a basic computer and modem. The computers could link through a large telecommunication service such as CompuServe, which has local-call nodes throughout the U.S. Using such a service, it is possible to instantly send and receive documents ranging from quick memos to major policy papers.

What do the Shadow Government "officeholders" do? Each office will shadow the affairs and newsbreaks of real life and, when appropriate, issue a press release commenting on one. Releases could go by electronic mail to LP National Headquarters in Washington. There, after possible revision into a professional format (and possible review by other State Chairs within a 24-hour period), the communiqués would be hand-delivered to the major wire services and other interested media bureaus in Washington and

mailed to other media known to be interested in our party.

After that, the issuing office prepares to answer follow-up phone calls, participate in interviews, make speeches.

What kind of releases can we foresee?

- On every matter of government spending, the range of debate usually involves how much to shell out. A libertarian spokesperson could challenge the entire project's existence.

- The Shadow Attorney General may announce that the (Shadow) FBI will investigate civil rights violations by (real) IRS agents and later, on the basis of available information, announce and denounce the IRS abuses.

- If a vacancy appears on the Supreme Court, the SHADGOV will include a suitably qualified Shadow Justice. This person will have a "bully pulpit" from which to make statements about the LP position on a case, and will also comment to the press on decisions the real Court hands down.

- When Congress debates tariffs, the Shadow Secretary of Commerce can detail reasons for our opposition.

- Or, after the inevitable congressional tax gaffe: "Libertarian Shadow Government Secretary of the Treasury (Murray Rothbard?) today released a paper that indicates the United States can function without depending on income taxes..." (Details may include a poll of American taxpayers, a study that points to the gold standard, etc.)

What if there isn't unanimous support among Libertarian Party members for a specific proposal? Answer: There won't always be. But that's okay. Dissension will promote more consideration of the basic libertarian philosophy. The authors of this proposal do not believe that anyone should have the power to veto a statement by a member of the Shadow Government. There are several reasons. For one thing, the people would be making the statements as individual members of the party, filling an individualistic role in the Shadow Government. They would be speaking for themselves and not officially for the party.

The history of having people speak officially for the party is rife with suspicion and mistrust, personality clashes, and internal power plays—all things which stifle individual initiative for most people in the party.

Independent speaking is in the nature of the real government. Cabinet members, for instance, are selected because they are felt to be trustworthy

in matters Libertarian. Simple to say, vital to do. Learning the whole Libertarian philosophy takes time and help. We must be generous with both. To succeed we must be firm in principle, flexible in tactics. There are many things that need doing to build a Libertarian society. Anyone who wants to help us do any of them is a friend and ally to be welcomed and well treated. We can teach them the rest of our beliefs as we work together.

The problem is not our philosophy but our organization. We need to reach out to all those who agree with us on any subject. As they become more involved with the LP they will pick up more of our philosophy. Let us think more of progress and less of purity. There is still no substitute for victory. It is better to make progress on any point than on none at all.

*Charles Manhart is former state chair of the Florida LP.*

and do not have to get presidential approval for everything they say. If they're off base all the time, they're fired. Perhaps the membership of the party could intervene in such a case in the Shadow Government, possibly through an electronic conference of state chairs.

Advantages of the Shadow Government::

- Provides a consistent format within which libertarian ideas can enter the pipeline of public awareness. News agencies often are happy to have novel statements regarding current events.

- Provides names and phone numbers that the media will more consistently use for commentary on events.

- Can extend to state level—governor, etc.—to the extent local parties can handle it. The State Chair could act as Congressperson and also as Governor. (Or, each candidate for the Senate and House could be a member of the Shadow Congress.)

The Shadow Government will receive support from libertarians who feed issues and possible solutions into the national office, or some other designated coordination point, for each appropriate office. An opportunity for exposure of ideas

will bring them forth; create a pipeline and the suppliers will bring the product.

The LP could set up a News Service Bureau at Nat HQ to turn papers into releases, to keep the caliber professional. But papers and releases might not go through any "approval" process, other than a 24-hour prior release to others in the ShadGov, to avoid "stepping on each other's toes even though they're headed in the same direction," and because some issues require a unified approach from several offices. How could we launch the Libertarian Shadow Government?

How about Ron Paul and Andre Marrou, with Russell Means, delivering a videotaped "State of the Union" address, to launch this concept early in 1989? Then at suitable intervals, they announce the libertarians who will serve as Secretaries of State, Labor, etc.

Each of these events could make news and begin establishing the Libertarian Shadow Government as a source of interesting, innovative, controversial information for the media.

*Karlan is State Chair of the New Jersey LP. Hinkle is a free-lance writer living in New Jersey.*

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## Welcome Wagon

By Charles T. Manhart

In this campaign, millions have heard the Libertarian Party message. Thousands have already joined the LP. Tens or hundreds of thousands more may join. It depends on how we treat them. Many are attracted by one or two of our positions. On other issues they may not agree with mainstream Libertarians. Some probably have very un-Libertarian beliefs on various items.

What we must do next is simple, if difficult. Newcomers must be made welcome. We need them to help us build a free country. Fit them into the LP, put them to work, complete their educa-



## Liberty and the Correct Line

By Karl Hess

Amid all the inevitable arguing about what went wrong and what went right during this campaign there is a point that might be overlooked but which could profoundly influence the future of this party. That point is that there is no correct line to regiment members of the Libertarian Party. The party *does* have a principle: non-aggression. Many points may be extrapolated from the principle. Many different points and viewpoints. But no correct line, either in a local, tactical sense, or in the broader sense of a political theology. Is that good or bad? My view is as follows:

Some of the most energetic local campaigns this year were waged with varieties of emphasis and statement which were as varied as the candidates and the local situations. Opportunism? Expediency? Not in my view. Instead, those vigorous, varied campaigns could be seen as representing a clean, healthy break with what in the past could have been seen as libertarian Leninism: the view that there is a correct line and that some one or some faction is privy to it.

Even at the very top of the ticket, a hard-working, articulate spokesman for liberty, Ron Paul, flatly and conscientiously disagreed with a significant part of the party platform (abortion). But we survived it.

To blame this difference of opinion for the fact

that we did not get more votes strikes me as completely wrong. The party was simply overwhelmed by an election in which the major media just about blanked us out. In local media, the party got good attention. Nationally, it was lucky to get the very few mentions that it did. But those mentions simply faded into nothingness in the dust kicked up by the dog and cat fight between the older parties and the big-media bias toward them.

Ron Paul's running mate, Andre Marrou, about as ideologically "pure" a political libertarian as you can find, spoke often of a tactically correct line having to do with the almost exclusive use of television in campaigning and eschewing unwinnable candidacies. Hundreds of candidates went right ahead with their posters, pamphlets, ads, and yard signs in quixotic campaigns. And we survived that too and grew, particularly in local influence because so many Libertarian Party candidates, from the town to the county, state-house, and even for federal office worked hard, talked to thousands of people, spread the word, and, perhaps most importantly of all, made libertarian positions locally familiar for the first time.

None of this means, certainly, that libertarians should not argue their points. But arguments need not entail boycotts, insults, threats, plots, or harsh and hurtful denunciations.

Liberty does not have so many friends in this world to offend or repel even one because of a disagreement over something about which you can do nothing or something that involves a wholly individualistic preference.

All libertarians know what at least some of the major points of "correct line" disagreement involve: defense, taxes, abortion. Some, probably

most, libertarians believe that the nation state properly should raise forces to defend the continent, though not through conscription. Many libertarians, at the same time, believe that taxation, otherwise being theft, should be voluntary or in direct payment for real services rendered and desired. Many libertarians believe that abortion, properly being a woman's personal choice, should be exempted from the otherwise inflexible libertarian injunction against initiating violence. Others don't. Suppose they never agree on any of these points. Should they then stop talking to one another about all of the other things on which they do agree? I hope not.

At the party tactical level one obvious point of disagreement is between those who favor strong central authority and those who favor organization based upon much looser federation. The two sides have coexisted for some time now and, during the presidential campaign, seemed to work together quite effectively.

Outside the party there are good, productive libertarians who absolutely abhor the party and politics. I sympathize with them. I've been there myself. They may jeer at us but we should never let that stop us from *listening* to them. They can, at least, help restrain us from going too far in outreach compromises. They are the anarchist, voluntarist, agorist conscience, if you will, of libertarian idealism.

In the future, then, could we not usefully agree to disagree on what amount to just a few, even if very important, points? And then get on with our work on the other things that concern us. If we can't work together, might we not at least proceed without hurting one another? Who would, in good

sense, choose to attack another seeking liberty when the sure foes of liberty, the real collectivists and coercers, are still there to be assaulted?

Since there is no magic libertarian button to make the nation state disappear overnight, we need to continue our unique work of opposing wherever and however we can the growth and then finally the existence of politics based upon coercion.

We need to celebrate, and respect small victories in that work. Every zoning law overturned is one such small victory. Every initiative against unlimited state or local tax power is a small victory. Every defense against arbitrary arrest or the regimentation of the ways we live is such a small victory. Every privatization of a government-owned facility is a small victory. And some of those small victories will be won by Libertarian Party members and campaigns.

We need, I earnestly feel, to be so sure of ourselves as individuals that we can allow other wholly sovereign individuals the right to walk other paths to liberty without branding them enemies. Our enemies are the people who unyieldingly extol and exercise coercive power. (And even some of them have come around at least partly to our side after thinking things over.)

How many of our friends, even lovers, are perfect? Yet we put up with them, even cherish them. Could not libertarians (from anarchists to minarchists, from partyarchs to partyphobes) at least be friends?

The next few years might be a lot more pleasant and more productive, if we could.

# Campaign Changed the Language of Politics

By Burton Blumert

You don't have to be a Lee Atwater or John Sasso to realize that any successful political campaign must draw support and votes from segments of the population who may not share your entire political philosophy. Thus, the search for the Single Issue Voters (SIVs) gets more frantic as a campaign draws to a close. In real world politics the Democrat and the Republican strategists play their own form of Russian roulette to seek out and win over the SIVs. Get the pollster to spin the chamber to determine the hot issues; have the theoretician blend the candidate's rhetoric with the hot issue, and finally, have the image makers package it all. This explains why Dukakis, for example, may be for SDI one day and against it the next.

For the Ron Paul campaign, identifying the SIVs was easy: gun owners, tax rebels, Christian schoolers, hard-money and financial privacy people, gays and other alternative lifestyle types, champions of anti-establishment health care, to name a few. Those people are all victims of the state.

Winning the Single Issue Voter was significantly more complex. As Libertarians our principles are so precise and our political philosophy so crystal pure that every effort at outreach had to pass the liberty litmus test. We knew that even the slightest deviation could lead to destruction, death, and excommunication (particularly with Murray Rothbard at our elbow).

After Ron met with conservatives Howard Phillips and Richard Viguerie, a small but vocal group of libertarians accused the Ron Paul campaign of "pandering to the right." Following Ron's keynote speech to NORML (National Organization for Repeal of Marijuana Laws), he was vilified by

some (not Libertarian Party members, needless to say) for advocating the use of drugs. Such attacks never fazed the campaign as Ron never departed from principle. In fact, Ron often would go beyond the single issue and expand the group's horizon. While addressing a church group in rural Texas he said, "If you expect the right to be free of government interference in how you educate your kids, you must be tolerant of others who seek similar freedom to conduct their lives without government-imposed morality."

The true legacy of a libertarian political campaign is not vote totals nor the volume of newspaper clippings, but rather what mental imprint endures when all else fades. The Ron Paul campaign changed the language of the political debate. Early in the campaign an obnoxious San Francisco reporter asked Ron: "Dr. Paul, if you are elected will you install heroin vending machines in every high school cafeteria?" I don't

think we will ever again hear such nonsense. As a result of the Paul campaign the very word "libertarian" gained currency and credibility. Another dividend of the Paul campaign, although not easily measured, is that some new people will never again view government and the political process as they once did. We also, with the help of Libertarian Party members all over America, built our party's infrastructure to a new height of effectiveness and coordination. Most important is the new increased interest and enthusiasm for libertarian and free-market institutions that the campaign has stimulated. This is, after all, a war of ideas and we hope that when the history of the Ron Paul campaign is finally written, the success will be measured by a freer society.

*Blumert chaired the Ron Paul for President campaign.*

## Libertarian Party NEWS

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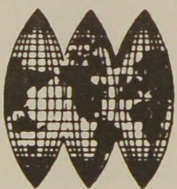
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# Revolution or Repetition?

By Vincent H. Miller

First of all, let us extend our heartiest congratulations to Ron Paul, Andre Marrou (for whom Libertarian International hosted a local reception recently), and to all those responsible for making the 1988 campaign by far the most professionally run and effective in the history of the Libertarian Party.

As a fairly high-energy libertarian activist since the early days of the movement (former president of the Canadian LP, and a founding member of the Ontario LP, editor of several libertarian magazines and books, and president of the Libertarian International), I thought that this might be an appropriate time to toss a few controversial ideas about the post-election future into the fray—or, to use a colorful metaphor employed by a former deputy leader of the Canadian LP, I'll "shoot into the bushes until I hear a scream." (I know there will be a few of those.) Also, please, I ask that you accept my comments in the spirit in which they are offered—a spirit of friendly inquiry. I am not among those who attack my friends and in our overall movement strategy we include a great many political activists both in the U.S. and Canadian LPs and Classical Liberal parties abroad.

The questions I am posing revolve around our purpose as major "movers" in the movement (and the LP is undoubtedly a major figure in the overall picture). Also, I would like to inquire into an appropriate strategy for libertarians in the last decade of this century.

Recently, Jason Alexander, author of a new and controversial book entitled *Ayn Rand, Libertarians and the Fifth Revolution* (available through the Libertarian International as of December 1, \$11.50, including postage and handling), asked me why so many libertarians, whom he unquestionably numbers among the most powerful and original thinkers of today's world, involve themselves so passionately with such a demonstrably failed and thoroughly discredited institution as political government. "Are political libertarians really the vanguard of the future," he asks, "or are they guilty of clinging to and unwittingly legitimizing the failed institutions of the past?"

A very good question. I explained that most of us become involved with electoral politics out of sheer necessity—to fight off imminent rape—and that to a very large extent we view the forum provided by political election campaigns as an unexcelled opportunity to sell our ideas to a mass audience at a time when they are somewhat receptive to new ideas. Basically, I explained, libertarianism is an anti-political, pro-freedom, pro-individual philosophy—one that fits in closely with his view of the "Fifth Revolution." It is also my view, and I hope that the majority of you would agree, that our strategy is to ridicule, discredit, delegitimize, and eventually dismantle the whole rotten business of centralized power by showing that "the emperor has no clothes"—rather than attempting to seize control of the levers of power to "make it work better."

In his book, Jason Alexander writes: "...I want you to consider that you are playing into the hands of your enemies by focussing on Politics. To the extent that they can get you to agree to a Political agenda [they] have neutered some of the best minds and most caring hearts in America...I suggest that those of you who care about Civilization would be more effective if you looked forward instead of backward. The Establishment always prefers that you re-fight the last war rather than the next one. When you want to turn things around, which is what a revolution is all about, it is better practice to confuse and confound the enemy than it is to make them feel comfortable by coming at them with the same old stuff they've been hearing for the last 200 years. After all, if they weren't better at what they do than you are, you wouldn't be meeting in the first place."

He went on to say, "One of the very interesting things about the early stages of a revolution is that the experts of the old paradigm are frequently handicapped by their dedication to the old ways..."

Many of us may not realize it, but we are well into the early stages of what Alexander calls the

greatest peaceful revolution in the history of mankind—the Fifth Revolution, the Creativity/Communications Revolution. In it we are witnessing a very rapid (and admittedly turbulent) transition from centralized political "command societies" to voluntary, decentralized civil societies.

Centralized institutions in both government and the workplace are crumbling under the combined weight of their irrationality, inefficiency, and the horrible injustices they perpetrate on virtually a daily basis. Highly centralized government is in disrepute everywhere. Politicians are viewed with increasingly more contempt and loathing by the public here in America and especially in places like the Eastern Bloc countries. People in Poland, for instance, can't believe the trust that Americans still have in political institutions.

Even the workplace is decentralizing with close to 30 percent of the workforce now working out of their own homes on their personal computers. In some countries, like Argentina, close to 60 percent of their workforce is in the underground economy. Two anti-establishment hippie nerd hackers in their garage created Apple—one of the most successful and innovative of computer companies—challenging the established giants of the business world. Another symptom of change (thanks largely to libertarian Robert Poole, Jr. and his Reason Foundation) is the privatization revolution—a worldwide phenomenon, occurring now in approximately 150 countries. Each time another industry is privatized, the message is pounded home, again and again and again: "If you want anything done right, efficiently, or honestly you *must* get government out of the picture." John Lennon's classic quote that "everything the government touches turns to shit" may not be the stuff of which Sunday School banners are made, but as axioms go it isn't far off the mark.

In South Africa, Leon Louw and Frances Kendall are showing the way to peace, freedom, and prosperity by attempting to eliminate the central source of South Africa's problem by decentralizing state power right down to local levels in a Swiss canton system.

So where do we go from here? First we should recognize that we still have a long way to go. Our success is based ultimately upon a long process of individual persuasion—largely at the personal level. There are no quick fixes. Too many libertarians count on "the party" to charge forth with horns blasting and banners waving to change the world overnight. Cart before the horse. How many people have you, personally, converted to libertarianism this year?

Secondly, from my personal observations (and those of the large number of top libertarian political activists whom I count among my friends) I am convinced that political libertarians should first eschew centralized authority in their own organizations. In the Libertarian Party consideration could be given to streamlining things at the national organizational level down to a very small national office that would attend solely to networking and to producing the party newspaper.

The real strength of the Libertarian Party is the good people at the state levels—many of whom we know and respect for their many and diversified strategies. I'm also of the opinion that despite the large Libertarian Party organization infrastructure built up over the years, the party should re-focus its energy into campaigns that can be won *now* rather than seeking impossible election victories. Working with single issue coalitions and lobbying for straight up-or-down ballot initiatives such as the successful Proposition 13 in California would give the libertarian movement much more leverage than trying to be the third player in a two-party game. A quick look at groups such as the sensationally successful Canadian National Citizens Coalition reveals a grass roots organization without any elected representatives which is scaring the hell out of the political establishment. This could be an effective way to go. In these times of the political freeze play on libertarians by a political establishment terrified of the emergence of any new ideas, it could be time for an end-around play.

# Reach Out and Touch Someone

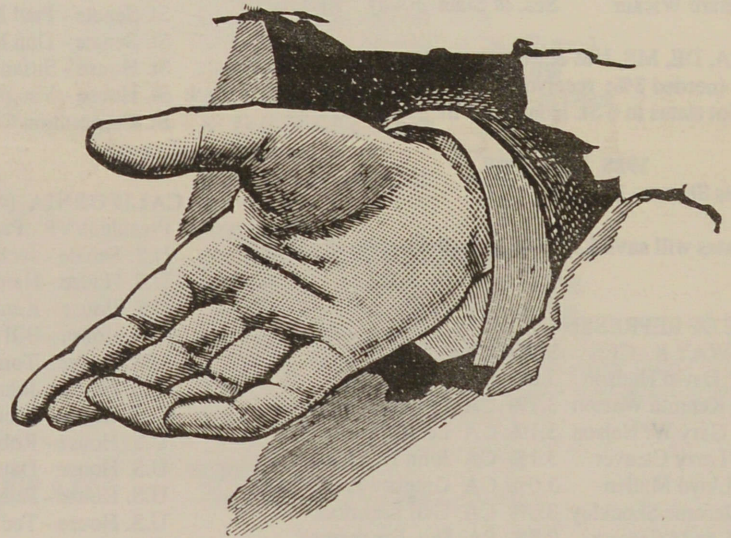
By Russell Means

The League of Women Voters, when they pulled out of the presidential "debates," aptly demonstrated that the American people want principles in their politics and not the empty wind they actually got.

The alleged presidential debates only confirmed what the majority of Americans have known for several national elections past. The monolithic Demopublican electoral processes are barren of leadership with principles. Where are the American people going to find principled leaders?

Should they look to the corporate leaders of the country? These so-called leaders who use what could be shareholder profits to give themselves million dollar raises while leading the U.S. into economic decline?

Should they look to the leaders of the unions? These so-called leaders who have risen to the top through brute force and coercion, all the while using members' dues for their inflated salaries and payoffs?



Should they look to their pork barrel congressional representatives with their "more of the same" world view? These alleged representatives who have collectively proven their incoherence and incompetence? Or should they look to some more state government leaders who, regardless of party affiliation, continually raise taxes, state by state, year after year?

How about those ne'r-do-wells in the intellectual community? These intellectual giants who have proved that you don't have to work while receiving taxpayer grants to further separate themselves from reality by failing to come to a satisfactory conclusion over some obscure semantic point?

What about the military? An interesting group, I must say. They have purpose, respect (for their world view) and, according to their own value system, a high degree of disciplined principle.

Is America ready for military leaders? Let's see.

America's major export is agricultural products. America is now the top debtor nation in the world. America imports more than it exports. America's largest landowners are the government, corporations, and the churches. Foreign investment is a flood. Illiteracy is commonplace. The government is rife with graft, corruption, and sleaze. Sound like a banana republic? Well, it is and, like

any other banana republic, it could be dangerously close to a military coup. Look around you.

Who then could Americans look to for principled leadership with a peaceful agenda for a healthier, wealthier, and safer America where *everyone* has an individual right to the opportunity for wealth and peace?

Should Americans look to another political party? A party of principle that lays its principles and platform out for all to see? A party whose principles are more important than expediency? A party that espouses individual liberty with harm to no one, based upon free market ideals? An established party with thousands of members who have already elected scores of candidates throughout America? A party that has fought through the courts, state legislatures, and in Congress in order to give Americans opportunity and choice? That's my kind of party, my kind of Libertarian Party.

But this same party must beware lest it become just a lily-white, middle class one with a few kooks and the glow of a few

prestigious intellectuals. This same party must beware lest it obscure its principles by attempting to play the same games as the monolithic Demopublicans.

This same party must beware in spreading its message of peace, freedom, and prosperity that its only strategy is to take on two giants who have virtually monopolized the media and closed off or narrowed political access as well.

Americans will turn to and support a political party of principle whose revolutionary agenda will lead them back to a strengthened Constitution. This party simply can't afford to emulate the old-party monolith.

This principled party of freedom must come to believe in itself so that it can grow into a party of love, of emotion, of feeling. Then Americans will become involved, then Americans will join the fight for freedom.

This party has to welcome people into the fold with emotion. This party has to be present in the neighborhoods of America, in every way possible, every day, every year, not just election years. We must do this until we elect the first Libertarian Party President and Congress. Remember: Freedom is never free.

Long live the Libertarian Party!  
Russell Means, a founder of the American Indian Movement, sought nomination as the Libertarian Party's candidate for President in 1988.



# CAMPAIGN '88 HIGHLIGHTS

Prepared by Steve Dasbach  
Campaign '88 Chair

With special thanks to Joe Dehn, Marti Stoner, Richard Winger, and all the dedicated Libertarians across the country who helped provide results. Complete returns for all races in all states are being continuously updated. The most current version will be available at the December National Committee meeting in Oklahoma City and is available electronically. To receive electronic updates as they occur leave a message for Steve Dasbach via CompuServe (76060,3222).

## ELECTED LIBERTARIANS - NOVEMBER 1988

TX Michael Rubin Bexar Co. Public Weigher (L) (unopposed)  
TX Wendell Weatherford Travis Co. Public Weigher (L) (unopposed)

AL Mark Thornton Lee Co. Constable (NP) (unopposed)  
DC Prissy Williams-Godfrey Neighborhood Advisory Council (write-in)

## BALLOT STATUS RACES: (GAIN & RETAIN compared to after 1984 election)

4.0% GA Elizabeth Goldin PSC 4-way GAIN!!  
Jimmy Harris PSC 3-way  
Brit Miller PSC 3-way  
11.0% HI Lloyd Mallen U.S. House 2-way RETAIN!!  
ID RAN THREE CANDIDATES GAIN!!  
18,567 MI Ron Paul/Andre Marrou Pres/VP GAIN!!  
4.5% MT Larry Dodge Sec. of State 3-way RETAIN!!  
11.8% OR Fred Oerther St. Att. Gen. 2-way GAIN!!  
6.1% TX Egon Tausch Court Crim. Appeals 3-way GAIN!!  
5.3% VT Barb Wicker Sec. of State 3-way RETAIN!!

We retain CA, DE, MS, NM & SC based on organization.

We lost AK (needed 3%; received 2.7%)

MO has ballot status in 6 St. House & 1 St. Senate District

1988 1984 1980  
Ballot Status States: 13 10 12

**GAINED states will save \$200,000 in ballot access expense in 1992!!!**

## U.S HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

2-WAY RACES	3-WAY RACES
28.0% MA David Hudson	5.2% CA John C. Thie
13.8% CA Kennita Watson	3.7% CA Dennis Thompson
12.5% TX Gary W. Nelson	3.1% CA Lee Connelly
11.6% AZ Larry Cleaver	3.1% CA John H. Webster
11.0% HI Lloyd Mallen	3.0% CA Gregory P. Gilmore
9.1% AL Jerome Shockley	3.0% CA Gail Lightfoot
7.4% TX Leo M Sadovy	2.8% PA Don Ernsberger
7.1% TX J. Alex Snead	2.7% CA William J. Fulco
7.0% AL John E. Sebastian	2.6% ID Donivan Bramwell

## STATE SENATE, HOUSE, & ASSEMBLY:

2-WAY RACES	3-WAY RACES
32.0% ID Maurice Clements	8.4% UT Neil Skousen
25.1% UT Jerry Stocks	8.4% ID Sandy Sonntag
25.0% ID Greg Johnson	8.1% CA William H. Wilson
19.0% IN Barbara Bourland	7.4% UT Elizabeth Lawley
17.6% AK Steve Pidgeon	7.3% IN Ken Bisson
17.5% NE Martin Hore	5.3% UT Kenneth Kartchner
15.6% ID Laura Guentzler	5.1% UT Sharon Bird
15.0% ID Joe Hautzinger	5.1% AK John Ward
14.7% TX John Kormylo	4.7% ID Marty Janstrom
14.1% CA Steve Pencall	4.7% ID Rod Skiles
13.1% CA Bob Goodwyn	4.5% UT Holley Roseberry
12.0% TX Elizabeth Barthlow	4.5% UT George Mathena
12.0% MT Barda Allen	4.4% AK Bill Sigler
10.8% UT Stan King	4.4% CA Carl Snare, Jr.
10.3% TX Craig Haynie	4.2% UT Glen Banks
10.0% MO Scott Birkett	4.0% UT Steve Banks
	4.0% CA Joe Shea

In Vermont, David Atkinson and Bob Conlon each placed 3rd in an elect 2 of 3 race. Each received about half the vote of the winning candidates.

20.0% OH Russ Rosen (Independent; 2-way race)

## OTHER ELECTIONS:

12.0% AL Susan Sebastian	Board of Education	2-way
5.5% CO Rob Martin	Co. Commissioner	3-way
2.5% HI Ken Schoolland	U.S. Senate	3-way
3.5% OR Martin Buchanan	Sec. of State	3-way
3.6% OR Steve Buckstein	Treasurer	3-way

## ALABAMA

President/VP - Paul/Marrou .4% (1 county only)  
U.S. House - Joel Brook King 5.8% (2-way)  
U.S. House - Jerome Shockley 9.1% (2-way)  
U.S. House - John E. Sebastian 7.0% (2-way)  
U.S. House - John Palmer 2% (3-way)  
Public Service Commission - Steve Smith 1%  
Co. Constable - John Vernon 7.7% (2-way)  
Co. Constable - B.R. Doosse 4.9% (2-way)  
Co. Constable - David Singleton 1.9% (3-way)  
Co. Constable - Desta Monachelli 3.9% (3-way)  
Co. Constable - Bobbie Chapuis 7.1% (2-way)  
Co. Constable - Lonnie Buford 5.1% (2-way)  
Co. Constable - Bill Malone 3.1% (2-way)  
Co. Board of Education - Sam Samsil .8% (5-way)  
Co. Circuit Clerk - Yana Davis 1% (3-way)  
Co. Deputy Clerk - Ross Lowe 1.1% (3-way)  
Co. Treasurer - Frank Monachelli 1.2% (3-way)  
Co. Board of Education - Linda Harbac 2.6% (3-way)  
Co. Board of Education - Kent Bassoon 1.7% (3-way)  
Co. Circuit Clerk - Wayne Huff 3.2% (3-way)  
Lee Co. Constable - Mark Thornton ELECTED!!!  
(unopposed; non-partisan)  
Co. Board of Education - Susan Sebastian 12% (2-way)

## ALASKA (96% counted)

President/VP - Paul/Marrou 2.7% 4612 / 168,680  
St. House - Bill Sigler 4.4%  
St. House - Steve Pidgeon 17.6% (2-way)  
St. House - John Ward 5.1%

## ARIZONA (Most counted)

President/VP - Paul/Marrou 1.1% 12,662 / ?  
U.S. Senate - Rick Tompkins 1.7% 19,767 / ?  
U.S. House - Gary Sprunk 13% 28,644 / ? (2-way)  
St. House - Dale Moore 11% 9,833 / ? (3-way)  
St. Senate - Marilyn Titschinger 19% 9,467 / ? (2-way)  
St. Senate - Ken Van Doren 12% 4,919 / ? (3-way)  
St. Senate - Paul Miller 5%  
St. Senate - Don Markowski 16% 9,515 / ? (2-way)  
St. House - Susan Putney 4% 3,388 / ?  
St. House - Vaughn Treude 3% 2,613 / ?  
St. Corporation Commission - Rick Fowlkes 4% 36,113 / ? (3-way)

## CALIFORNIA (46.3% counted)

President/VP - Paul/Marrou .7%  
U.S. Senate - Jack Dean .8%  
U.S. House - Harry Penderly 2.3%  
U.S. House - Kennita Watson 13.8% (2-way)  
U.S. House - Bill Wade 2.2%  
U.S. House - Tom Grey 2.2%  
U.S. House - John H. Webster 3.1%  
U.S. House - Richard M. Harris 2.2%  
U.S. House - Robert Donaldson 1.3%  
U.S. House - David Bersohn 1.7%  
U.S. House - Robert Jay 1.9%  
U.S. House - Ted Brown 1.7%  
U.S. House - John Vernon 1.9%  
U.S. House - George Abrahams 1.7%  
U.S. House - John C. Thie 5.2%  
U.S. House - William J. Fulco 2.7%  
U.S. House - Howard Johnson 2.2%  
U.S. House - Gregory P. Gilmore 3.0%  
U.S. House - Kim J. Golsworthy 1.5%  
U.S. House - Marc F. Denny 1.1%  
U.S. House - Gail Lightfoot 3.0%  
U.S. House - Carl "Marty" Swinney 1.9%  
U.S. House - Jeff Shuman 1.8%  
U.S. House - Kenneth E. Valentine 1.6%  
U.S. House - Bonnie Flickinger 2.4%  
U.S. House - Bruce McKay 2.4%  
U.S. House - Lee Connelly 3.1%  
U.S. House - Roger Bloxham 1.6%  
U.S. House - Dick Rider 1.7%  
U.S. House - Daniel L. Muhe 2.4%  
U.S. House - Dennis Thompson 3.7%  
St. Senate - Mark Pickens 1.7%  
St. Senate - Chuck Olson 2.7%  
St. Senate - John M. Inks 3.6%

St. Senate - Aaron Starr 2.6%  
St. Senate - Robert H. Scott 1.8%  
St. Senate - Sarah E. Foster 2.7%  
St. Senate - Steve Kelly 2.9%  
St. Senate - J. Mark Sugar 1.9%  
St. Senate - George L. Hall 3.7%  
St. Assembly - Mark T. Sweany 2.7%  
St. Assembly - June R. Genis 2.9% (BALANCE OF POWER)  
St. Assembly - Bob Goodwyn 13.1% (2-way)  
St. Assembly - Todd Greene 3.1%  
St. Assembly - Mark Hinkle 1.8%  
St. Assembly - William "Bill" Baucum 1.8%  
St. Assembly - Robert Bakhaus 7.7% (2-way)  
St. Assembly - H. Bruce Driscoll 2.6%  
St. Assembly - Michael Bachwansky 2.3%  
St. Assembly - Alexander M. Newton 2.5%  
St. Assembly - Michael Prah 1.7%  
St. Assembly - Curtis S. Helms 2.3%  
St. Assembly - Robert Townsend Leet .9%  
St. Assembly - William "Bill" Lake 3.4%  
St. Assembly - Bryan Riley 6.7% (2-way)  
St. Assembly - Rodney Dobson 2.7%  
St. Assembly - William H. Wilson 8.1%  
St. Assembly - Scott Stier 1.7%  
St. Assembly - Steve Pencall 14.1% (2-way)  
St. Assembly - David Argall 1.4%  
St. Assembly - Delvin L. Harbour 2.8%  
St. Assembly - Susan Polson 3.6%  
St. Assembly - Paul N. Gautreau 2.1%  
St. Assembly - Carl Snare, Jr. 4.4%  
St. Assembly - Charles "Chuck" Beers 2.8%  
St. Assembly - John Patrick Flannagan 3.3%  
St. Assembly - John Murphy 2.6%  
St. Assembly - Bill Holmes 2.5%  
St. Assembly - Reena Deutsch 3.5%  
St. Assembly - Kurtis McMillen 2.0%  
St. Assembly - Joe Shea 4.0%  
St. Assembly - Randy Myrseth 2.1%

## COLORADO (100% counted)

President/VP - Paul/Marrou 1.2%  
St. House - David Aitken 2.7%  
Co. Commissioner - Rob Martin 2062 / ? 5.5%

## CONNECTICUT

President/VP - Paul/Marrou .7%  
U.S. Senate - Ivory Grayson .84%

## DELAWARE

President/VP - Paul/Marrou .5%

## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Prissy Williams-Godfrey ELECTED to Neighborhood Advisory Council (write-in candidate)  
President/VP - Paul/Marrou 529 / 182,512 .3%  
City Council - Dennis Sobin 3,419 / 258,290 1.3%  
(2 elected of ?)

## FLORIDA (99% reporting)

President/VP - Paul/Marrou 19,270 / 4,136,269 .5%

## GEORGIA (92% counted)

President/VP - Paul/Marrou .5%  
St. Public Service Comm. - Elizabeth Goldinn 4% (4-way)  
St. Public Service Comm. - Jimmy Harris 4% (3-way)  
St. Public Service Comm. - Brit Miller 4% (3-way)

## HAWAII

President/VP - Paul/Marrou .7%  
U.S. Senate - Ken Schoolland 2.5%  
U.S. House - Blase Harris 2%  
U.S. House - Lloyd Mallen 11% (2-way)  
St. House - Ron Pray <1%

## IDAHO

President/VP - Paul/Marrou 1.2%  
U.S. House - Donivan Bramwell 2.6%  
St. Senate - Maurice Clements 32%  
St. Senate - Joe Hautzinger 15% (2-way)  
St. House - Greg Johnson 25% (2-way)  
St. House - Sandy Sonntag 8.4%  
St. House - Laura Guentzler 15.6% (2-way)  
St. House - Rod Skiles 4.7%  
St. House - Wendy Dalton Anderson 3.9%  
St. House - Jack Dalton 2.5%  
St. House - Richard Price 2.8%  
St. House - Gary Thomas 2.9%  
St. House - Marty Janstrom 4.7%

## There's Always...

One of the best quotes of the campaign, from the *Derry (NH) News*, commenting on the losing bid for the state legislature by Libertarian Party candidate Craig Gould: "And if, after a few years, it dawns on residents that their elected officials aren't doing the job—and why should they when tenure is guaranteed—and voters begin to yearn for a two-party system again, why there's always the libertarians." Gould got 1,112 votes (12%) in an eight person race. Two years ago, in the same race, he got 150 votes.



**ILLINOIS**  
President/VP - Paul/Marrou .4%  
Univ. of IL Trustee - Katherine M. Kelley .4%  
Univ. of IL Trustee - Anne McCracken .6%  
Univ. of IL Trustee - Stephen P. Nelson .4%

**INDIANA** (99% counted)  
St. House - Ken Bisson 1562 / 21,375 7.3% (3-way)  
St. House - Barbara Bourland 2652 / 13,914 19% (2-way)

**KANSAS**  
President/VP - Paul/Marrou 1.2%

**KENTUCKY** (99% counted)  
President/VP - Paul/Marrou 1493 / 1.3 million .1%

**LOUISIANA** (21% counted)  
President/VP - Paul/Marrou .3%

**MARYLAND**  
President/VP - Paul/Marrou 6,799 / 1,633,202 .4%  
U.S. Senate - Dean Ahmad (write-in) 522 / 298,624 .2% (1 county)

**MASSACHUSETTS**  
U.S. House - David Hudson 28% in a 2-way race

**MICHIGAN**  
President/VP - Paul/Marrou 18,567 / ?  
U.S. Senate - Dick Jacobs 27,487 / ?

**MINNESOTA** (78% counted)  
President/VP - Paul/Marrou 2,808 / ?  
U.S. Senate - Arlen Overvig 2,286 / ?

**MISSOURI**  
President/VP - Paul/Marrou (TAKEN OFF BALLOT)  
U.S. Senate - Jon Guze 1%  
U.S. House - Terry Inman 1.4%  
U.S. House - Deania Lohmann 2720 / 258,434 1.1%  
U.S. House - Lloyd Sloan 2017 / 227,647 .9%  
U.S. House - Mike Hurley >1%  
Governor - Mike Roberts 1.3%  
Lt. Governor - Richard Rosenberg 1.2%  
Sec. of St. - Jay Manifold 1%  
St. Treasurer - Jerry Geier 1%  
St. Senate - Tom Rustici 1%  
St. Senate - Scott Birkett 10% (2-way)  
St. Senate - Richard Simonson 889 / 58,156 1.5%  
St. House - John Worley 5% (2-way)  
St. House - Timothy Peterman 1%  
St. House - Steve Schaper 613 / 8837 6.9% (2-way)  
St. House - Eric Harris 970 / 12,610 7.7% (2-way)  
St. House - Michael J. D’Hooge 866 / 10,124 8.6% (2-way)  
St. House - Ron Dutton 128 / 18,117 .7%  
St. House - Anton Charles (Tony) Stever 698 / 12,600 5.5% (2-way)  
St. House - I. Obie Oberdan 1062 / 15,405 6.9% (2-way)

**MONTANA**  
President/VP - Paul/Marrou 1.4%  
Sec. of State - Larry Dodge 15985 / 352,677 4.5%  
Governor - Willie Dee Morris 6960 / 717,770 1.0%  
Lt. Governor - John Light 6960/717,770 1.0%  
St. House - Barda Allen 12% (2-way)

**NEBRASKA**  
St. House - Martin Hore 17.5% (2-way)

**NEVADA**  
U.S. Senate - James Frye 1.6%

**NEW HAMPSHIRE** (100% counted)  
President/VP - Paul/Marrou 1%  
Governor - Howard Wilson, Jr. .5%  
St. House - Craig Gould 1,100 (6 of 13 elected - 400 votes short)

**NEW MEXICO**  
U.S. House - Allen Parkman 4045 / 175,610 2.3%  
St. House - Howard Hutchinson 5%

Other New Parties?

The only new political party which was on the ballot in more states thn the Libertarian Party this year was the socialistic New Alliance Party. It was on the ballot in all 50 states compared to the Libertarian Party which was on in 47 states.  
How did the LP do compared to the New Alliance Party?  
According to figures available so far the Libertarian Party outpolled the New Alliance Party by roughly two-and-a-half votes for every one cast for the NAP.

**OHIO**  
President/VP - Paul/Marrou .3% 13,042 / ?  
St. House - Russ Rosen 20% (Indp.) (2-way)

**OKLAHOMA**  
President/VP - Paul/Marrou 6,133 / 1,170,541 .5%

**OREGON** (>90% counted)  
President/VP - Paul/Marrou 11,944 / 1,010,203 1.3%  
St. of State - Martin Buchanan 34,245 / 972,562 3.5%  
St. Attorney General - Fred Oerther 101,555 / 913,694 1.8% (2-way)  
St. Treasurer - Steve Buckstein 3.8% 33,702 / 937,320 3.6%  
Co. Commissioner - Mona Loner 1174 / 22,323 5.3%  
THESE ANTI-FREEDOM BALLOT INITIATIVES FAILED!!!  
#3 mandatory seat belts  
#5 tax on beer & cigarettes for college sports  
#6 ban on smoking almost everywhere

**PENNSYLVANIA**  
U.S. House - Don Ernsberger 2.8%

**RHODE ISLAND**  
President/VP - Paul/Marrou .2%

**SOUTH CAROLINA**  
U.S. House - John B. Heaton 2% (3-way)  
St. House - Mark Johnson 7% (2-way)  
Aiken County Council - John Parker 3% (3-way)

**SOUTH DAKOTA** (< 50% counted )  
President/VP - Paul/Marrou .2%

**TENNESSEE**  
President/VP - Paul/Marrou .1%

**TEXAS** (Most counted)  
President/VP - Paul/Marrou 30,317 .6%  
U.S. Senate - Jeff Daiell 45,138 .9%  
U.S. House - Gary W. Nelson 12.5% (2-way)  
U.S. House - Melanie A. Dunn 1.5%  
U.S. House - Ken Ashby 1.1%  
U.S. House - Vincent J. May 6.6% (2-way)  
U.S. House - Fredrick M. King 4.6% (2-way)  
U.S. House - Don Kelley .8%  
U.S. House - Joyce Hendrix 5.3% (2-way)  
U.S. House - J. Alex Snead 7.1% (2-way)  
U.S. House - Theresa S. Doyle 1.8  
U.S. House - Jim Robinson 6.7% (2-way)  
U.S. House - George Harper 1.2%  
U.S. House - Tony R. Garza 1.9%  
U.S. House - Leo M. Sadovy 7.4% (2-way)  
U.S. House - Kevin Southwick .9%  
St. Railroad Comm. - Richard Draheim, Jr. 1.2%  
St. Supreme Court - Calvin W. Scholz 1.6%  
St. Court of Criminal Appeals - Egon Tausch 94,619 6.1%  
St. Court of Criminal Appeals - Carol Caul 2.9%  
St. Senate - Robert M. Winter 6.3% (2-way)  
St. Senate - Robert Henkelman 5.6% (2-way)  
St. Senate - Gary Johnson 2.9%  
St. Senate - Craig Haynie 10.3% (2-way)  
St. Senate - Kenneth Hendrix 1.6%  
St. Senate - E.A. Addington 5.6% (2-way)  
St. House - Nancye Moses 2.8% (3-Way)  
St. House - C. David Eagle 2.2% (3-Way)  
St. House - Erich Scharz 8.1% (2-Way)  
St. House - Dave Burns 8.9% (2-Way)  
St. House - Michael Ray 1.3%  
St. House - Len Caryl 5.6% (2-way)  
St. House - Glenn E. Hill 7.8% (2-way)  
St. House - Brad Clardy 1.3%  
St. House - Robert Buckingham, Jr. 1.4%  
St. House - Joe Paul Barnett 2.9%  
St. House - D. Gough 1.3%  
St. House - Michael Lee 7.6% (2-way)  
St. House - Tom L. Snead 6.7% (2-way)  
St. House - Tom Morefield 6.2% (2-way)  
St. House - B. Warren Harrison 6.0% (2-way)  
St. House - Jo Ann Thabet 7.6% (2-way)  
St. House - William E. “Bill” Grisham 2.4%  
St. House - Rebecca L. Reed 8.3% (2-way)  
St. House - Ron Dodson 6.1% (2-way)  
St. House - Elizabeth Barthlow 12.0% (2-way)  
St. House - Charles George 1.10%  
St. House - John Kormylo 14.7% (2-way)  
St. House - Michael Lenker 1.3%  
St. House - Hugh Fry 1.6%  
St. House - Michael Bissell 1.3%  
St. Board of Education - Robert L. Willcot 1.8%  
St. Board of Education - George Meeks 2.9%  
St. Board of Education - Dorothea E. Owens 3.1%  
Co. Tax Assessor/Collector - Roger Gary 1.9%

Co. Public Weigher - Michael Rubin ELECTED!!  
(unopposed)  
Co. Public Weigher - Wendell Weatherford ELECTED!!  
(unopposed)

**UTAH**  
President/VP - Paul/Marrou 7389 / 644,653 1.1%  
U.S. House - Michael Lee 1.5%  
Governor - Kitty Burton .3%  
St. Senate - George Mathena 4.5%  
St. Senate - Steve Crowley 8.8% (2-way)  
St. Senate - Stan King 10.8% (2-way)  
St. Senate - George Mattena 4.5%  
St. House - Kevin Cardon 3.7%  
St. House - Glen Hunt 4.2%  
St. House - Dorothy Makin 3.2%  
St. House - Jerry Stocks 25.1% (2-way)  
St. House - Esther Cochell 3.8% (4th of 5)  
St. House - Bob Strand 2.4%  
St. House - Elizabeth Lawley 7.4%  
St. House - Richard Kuhns 2.9%  
St. House - Mark Cannon 3.9% (3rd of 4)  
St. House - John Craigle 2.8%  
St. House - David Dutson 2.9  
St. House - Paul Tinker 2.7%  
St. House - Steven Sady 2.8%  
St. House - Hugh Butler 2.7% (3rd of 4)  
St. House - Steve Banks 4.0%  
St. House - Gary Whittle 2.1% (4th of 4)  
St. House - Bob Waldrop 2.7 (3rd of 4)  
St. House - Brett Wall 3.2%  
St. House - Holley Roseberry 4.5%  
St. House - Kenneth Kartchner 5.3%  
St. House - Neil Skousen 8.4%  
St. House - Thomas Swick 7.5% (2-way)  
St. House - David Boshard 7.8% (2-way)  
St. House - Sharon Bird 5.1%  
St. House - Shirley Cross 2.7%  
St. House - Shana Grant 2.4%  
St. House - Will Marshall 6.2% (2-way)  
Co. Commissioner - Gary Root 2.6%

TAX INITIATIVE RESULTS: % in favor  
A: Tax/Spending Limits 39%  
B: Tax Reduction 38%  
C: Education Tax Credit 31%

**VERMONT**  
President/VP - Paul/Marrou .6%  
U.S. House - Jim Hedbor 1,770 / ? 1%  
St. Treasurer - Carl Ellis 3,818 / ? 2%  
St. Senate - Edward McGuire 3280 / ?  
St. House - Bob Conlon 25-30% (3rd place in elect 2 of 3)  
St. House - David Atkinson 25-30% (3rd place in elect 2 of 3)  
Sec. of St. - Barb Wicker 5.3%

**VIRGINIA**  
President/VP - Paul/Marrou .4%

**WASHINGTON**  
President/VP - Paul/Marrou 15,186 / 1,670,025 .9%  
St. Senate - Art Rathjen 199 / 13,147 1.5%  
St. House - Richard Shepard 362 / 9123 4.0%  
St. House - Bob Plaag 827 / 10,002 8.3% (2-way)  
St. House - Ron Joseph 309 / 12732 2.4%  
St. House - Steve Cornell 322 / 12,486 2.6%  
St. House - Tom Isenberg 375 / 12,977 2.9%  
St. House - William Schovil 215 / 9016 2.4%

**WEST VIRGINIA**  
President/VP - Paul/Marrou .2% (write-in)

**WISCONSIN**  
President/VP - Paul/Marrou .2%  
St. Assembly - Kay C. Rouse 1%

**WYOMING**  
President/VP - Paul/Marrou 1.3%

Why Not Up to 1980?

The highwater presidential vote of the Libertarian Party came in 1980 with more than 900,000 votes. Why so much better then than now?  
Television and money both talk in modern political campaigns. In 1980 the Libertarian Party’s candidate, Ed Clark, aired 49 national TV commercials at a cost of \$20,000 each; \$980,000. The campaign, that year, reportedly was backed by almost \$4,000,000. This year’s campaign, which had to spend so much on ballot access drives, did not air any national TV ads and raised just a quarter of the amount of the war chest available in 1980.



## Long Term

Who can top the slate of Ron Paul/Andre Marrou for the highest office? Yet it is difficult to run the same candidate in two concurrent elections, or you begin to develop person identification, which compromises respect for the party (witness the cases of Lyndon LaRouche and Gus Hall). I am also hoping (with bated breath and crossed fingers and toes) that we are able to keep Dr. Paul, Mr. Marrou, Mr. Means, etc., in the party and active in our efforts. If we cannot keep them (and consequently, their supporters) active here, we may very well lose all of the advantages we were able to command with their help. In other words, now is *not* the time to fall apart!

I personally feel that it is not a bit premature to look to 1992 already. Actually, the sooner we begin to look to the next campaign, the better! We must keep recruiting loyal party supporters, and also, potential candidates for office. We can not stop until there are three candidates running for literally *every* position in the U.S.! (Or, if not three, then a Libertarian candidate in every race, regardless of who else chooses to run.)

We are a rapidly growing political force in the U.S., and we cannot let attrition and inability to plan long term get the best of us. (Shall I talk long term? I am proposing to run for a State Assembly position by 1996, and possibly work my way into a position running Libertarian for President or Vice President by 2012 or 2016...provided, of course, that our incumbent is willing to step down!)

M. J. Mitchell  
Pottsville, PA

## Local First

After being active in the LP for more than 15 years, I recently came to the conclusion that presidential and other large campaigns are a waste of scarce money and manpower. I was influenced in this by a prominent Libertarian who hammers relentlessly on his theory that campaigns should be run to win. ...

So I thought, why not run only those candidates who have a chance of winning? If I could go back to 1971, I would say to the founders in Dave Nolan's living room: "Let us have a strict policy of concentrating the funds of the whole country's few Libertarians on one winnable race, for an office no higher than state legislature, in 1972. Then run a slowly rising number of such races each year. After 1980, add congressional races. After 1990, add the Senate and governors. Wait until the 2000 election, or until we had elected a few people to each of the foregoing offices and thus had some credibility, before attempting a presidential campaign."

Think of how many Libertarians could be on city councils now, for, say, the \$2 million spent making Ed Clark a household name...and then only in a few households, and only for about four months. ...

We are not judged by how many tenths of a percent our presidential candidate got, but by how many people we have actually put into office [no matter how low the office].

I no longer believe in the *Atlas Shrugged* scenario. I do not think the nation will collapse tomorrow. We do have time—much more than we have money or supporters. The best Libertarians see this thing as a lifelong commitment anyway. ...

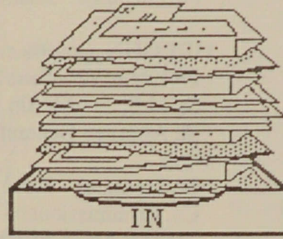
Let each one vote with his money. Do what I plan to do. Use SIL [Society for Individual Liberty] for education, but don't ask me to contribute time or money unless it is for a serious local candidate, running to win.

Fred Cookinham  
Brooklyn, NY

## Reds

I think it necessary to offer a corrective for Nick Schroeder's intemperate dismissal of the Soviet Union's potential for aggression (Letters, July/

## Letters to the Editor



August 1988 NEWS). Before he rightfully can anticipate the day when "the widely held belief that communism in general and the Soviets in particular pose some kind of threat to world freedom will be relegated to the...trash bin of history," he will have to rewrite history itself. It is not possible to ignore the millions slain in the course of Soviet rule and expansion: Ukrainians, ethnic Russians, Hungarians, Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Central Asians, and others. ...

It is inadmissible to equivocate between the occasions in which the U.S. and the Soviet Union exercised their armed forces in foreign lands, for the only relevant issue is who was the aggressor and what was the extent of their aggression. I note that the U.S. record is manifestly in opposition to aggression, whereas the Soviet record is unmistakably aggressive, including: the conquest of the Baltic nations, conspiracy and complicity in starting World War II, annexation of part of Finland, the conquest of Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Rumania, and Bulgaria. That Mr. Schroeder can overlook these depredations is indicative, I think, of his anti-U.S. sentiment being stronger than his libertarian sensibility. ...

Mr. Schroeder demonstrates the pernicious tendency among libertarians toward Manichaeism, the belief that reality is either totally "white" or totally "black." Because he opposes the oppressive attributes of our own government, he conceives its view of the Soviet Union to be totally "black" and utterly misrepresentative. Therefore, out of this opposition, he adopts the totally "white" position that the Soviet Union is either peace-loving or militarily feeble. That this is absolute rubbish should go without saying—but not among libertarians, unfortunately. We have every reason in the world to consider the Soviet Union a dangerous and threatening adversary, and to prepare accordingly, independently of our government's official position. To dismiss them as a threat simply out of doctrinaire opposition is the act of a petulant child, not the response of a lover of liberty.

Michael J. Dunn  
Auburn, WA

## ...And

The Soviet Union followed its military rules of engagement, do what the General says, and shot down a Korean airliner. The United States followed its military rules of engagement, do what the General says, and shot down an Iranian airliner.

In both tragedies, the United States set the stage by being someplace it does not belong doing things it has no right doing: using innocent air travelers to probe Soviet air defenses and using its naval power to control the world's supply and price of oil.

Nick Schroeder  
Colorado Springs, CO

## Party Peace

Our party and our movement cannot succeed if its leaders spend a disproportionate amount of their (and our) time focusing on internecine battles which, in the global scheme of things, can only serve to detract attention and energy from the real job at hand—reversing the tidal wave of government encroachment on our liberty.

It doesn't matter who is right and who is wrong! Scholar-humorist Tom Lehrer had a great line: "They may have won all the battles, but we had the best songs." If the Libertarian Party is to be a successful movement, it is not enough for us to be *right*, we must be effective in the political arena. This is impossible if we allow ourselves and our

leaders to use the party and its resources, such as this publication, as soap boxes from which to assault internal enemies while the real enemy is largely ignored by the same leaders.

I urge all party members who seriously feel that this *political* movement is capable of being effective to write to the leadership and demand that all those involved in the sniping either cease doing so or resign. It is far too difficult to perform the required tasks without the internal conflicts; it is impossible with them.

Steven I. Givot  
NatCom Regional Rep.  
Barrington Hills, IL

## Wide Way

I am 67 years old, a WW II submarine officer, married only once for 47 years with seven children, formerly mayor of my town with much invested in maintaining the status quo. But by glancing at this letterhead you will see that I also occupy the chair of the Libertarian Party of Kansas. I greatly resent being stereotyped as a reactionary old redneck by people too lazy to inquire as to my true beliefs.

We must not exclude others from the Libertarian Party because of their origins. I joined the party because it matched my beliefs more nearly than did any other political party. This is not to say that I agree 100 percent with anyone, nor should I. Furthermore, we must not demand that other members be "right wing," "left wing," or "pure Libertarian," whatever these terms mean, not if we ever intend to become a vital force in America.

It is my belief that the party should point out the general direction of the road to be taken and allow all those who choose to follow that road to travel in company with the rest of us, warts and all notwithstanding.

Douglas N. Merritt  
Chair, LP of Kansas

## Wired

The use of electronic communication is becoming more and more necessary as the party grows in political influence. A network of electronic bulletin boards would serve the same purpose in spreading "the word" today as the Committees of Correspondence did to unite the colonies prior to the American Revolution. In light of the police raid on the San Francisco headquarters, it might even be wise to maintain our mailing lists in small local data bases. This is critical to maintaining the support of those who wish to keep their aid confidential.

William Cross  
Oroville, CA

## More Wire

Pat Fallon is one of the "SYSOPS" on CompuServe. He handles the forum dedicated to politics. He is more than willing to upload any and all information pertaining to libertarianism. In addition he is willing to host an online conference featuring it.

John S. Hill  
Cherry Hill, NJ  
CompuServe address: 71540,53

## Air Sale

One alternative to taxation is to eliminate the FCC and begin holding annual auctions to sell one-year leases of the communications airwaves.

Leasing the airwaves is an example of "nationalizing a resource." But the airwaves have peculiar advantages over other possible choices. For example, what happens when governments lease out forests or fishing areas? Why, just what you would expect! The lessee has no stake in the value of the resource after the lease expires and so, the last day of the lease, strips the land of all the trees or nets every fish in the water. To combat this the government sets up administrative and regulatory bodies which then proceed to grow and reproduce. But the beauty of leasing the communications airwaves is that they cannot be damaged! No amount of overuse will reduce the value of the resource at the next annual auction. Here is finally a resource we can nationalize without fear the government will ruin it.

Elimination of the FCC is imperative if the free market is to decide the best use of each communication frequency. Leasing the airwaves is an excellent vehicle on which to piggyback FCC's demise. The FCC won't go down without a fight and we had best enter the arena with an attractive legislative package. This package should include a clause to automatically reduce taxes in an amount equivalent to the raised revenues.

C. David Eagle  
Austin, TX

## List Lapse

I was as surprised as anyone to read that the Russell Means campaign turned over its mailing lists to the Libertarian Republican Organizing Committee. The Means campaign was allowed to use various mailing lists from local Libertarian Party organizations during the nomination campaign. But such use is almost always intended to be used exclusively for seeking the nomination. To my knowledge this is the first time that internal Libertarian Party lists were turned over to an organization that is opposed to the Libertarian Party. ...

Many LP members across the country have been wondering how they appeared on the LROC mailing list against their will. ...Our names were handed over to LROC by the Means campaign. FIFE [Freedom Is For Everyone] and the Means campaign are, at the very least, guilty of using very bad judgment.

John Tiritilli  
San Francisco, CA

## Captured?

...The LP seems to have been captured by Republicans....

"None of the Above" would've been the ideal candidate for president.... Maybe in '92 the LP will try a coalition with the Greens, Amnesty International, the ACLU, NORML, et al, instead of wondering why they don't feel drawn in. Maybe '92 won't be too late. ...

Jeff Strottmann  
Tempe, AZ

## Mutual Writing

I suggest a libertarian "mutual aid" letters-to-editors project. The gist of it is that if I, here in Alabama, learn of some statist horror being perpetrated in West Virginia, I write an outraged letter on the subject to the West Virginia newspapers. West Virginia libertarians return the favor by writing letters to Alabama papers about the idiotic things going on in my state. And the same across the country. The idea is to bring "outsider" criticism to bear on local officials.

Steve Smith  
Birmingham, AL



## Guns

Recently I wrote to the National Rifle Association taking them to task for failing to mention Libertarians in their endorsements for the coming election.

Today I received the official newsletter of another organization to which I belong. It is called "The Gun Owners" and is published by Gun Owners of America, Inc., Suite 102, 8001 Forbes Place, Springfield, VA 22151.

It contains an article comparing and contrasting Bush and Dukakis on gun control. The last paragraph of the article says:

"It should also be noted that former Congressman Ron Paul is running for President on the Libertarian Party ticket. Paul is not given much hope for victory, but it has to be said that there was never a more staunch pro-gun Congressman to serve in the U.S. House of Representatives."

GOA is a good organization. They do more than lobby for the Second Amendment. They actually raise money and help hire legal aid to defend people who are persecuted by the BATF (Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms), or by other statist anti-gun forces.

Al Saxton  
Hayfork, CA

## Second Amendment

Now is the time for all good Libertarians to put their convictions to work. Is your liberty worth your favorite gun? If so, then help organize and carry into existence an annual Second Amendment Day. ...

Robin Heid has suggested the first Sunday in October of every year. As with all decentralist activities, you can set your own month, day, and time. The most important part is finding American gun owners with the courage of their beliefs. If you are interested in networking, contact Robin Heid, P. O. Box 18780, Denver, CO 80218.

Bill Fargo  
Denver, CO

## Weapon Wait

Thirty states currently believe waiting periods for handgun purchases are a bad policy and do not require them. Florida has reduced its waiting period. Ohio for the third straight year has rejected a waiting period scheme. However, the Brady Amendment and several other bills in congress (HR 975 and SB 466) would change this. This bill, by mandating a waiting period and background check, would limit the ability of states to develop and try more effective policies to control crime and be another intrusion into the private lives of citizens. ...

It may seem strange, but states with waiting periods have higher crime rates than states that don't. A study by Professor Gary Kleck of Florida State University has found that the private ownership of firearms has a tremendous deterrent effect on criminals, with handguns being the primary defensive weapon. Kleck states that any firearms law that applies both to criminals and the law abiding will benefit only criminals.

According to the National Institute of Justice, 79 percent of the weapons, primarily handguns, used by criminals are acquired from friends, family, and various black market sources. The National Institute of Justice also found that 82 percent of criminals agreed that "gun laws affect only law abiding citizens; criminals will always be able to get guns." ...

Waiting period schemes also have a very poor cost/benefit ratio. Only a very small percentage of the population are criminals and only a small percentage of criminals acquire firearms from retail dealers. This means a tremendous amount of police resources would be expended in pursuit of a few criminals.

Meritt Webb  
Sunnyvale, CA

# Letters to the Editor

## Republicans

The Libertarian Party was born when Richard Nixon enacted wage and price controls. He also ended the gold standard for international trade, setting the stage for the great inflation of the 1970s. Nixon established precedent which can be used against the people whenever the politicians see the need. To whatever extent he can deny responsibility, we must hold his cohorts, conservative Republican politicians and bureaucrats, responsible.

Among other things, the Reagan Administration has (1) tied the individual's Social Security number to all their financial records, completing the basic requirements for a totalitarian government, (2) eliminated tax shelters, making everyone equally vulnerable to the predations of the tax collector, and making taxes so complicated under the cover of tax simplification that everyone will be a law breaker and subject to arbitrary penalty and review by the authorities, (3) record-breaking spending, trade deficits, and debt (in the name of financial responsibility), and (4) continued expansion in the size and scope of the government. Again, to whatever extent Reagan can deny responsibility, we have to hold his cohorts, conservative Republican politicians and bureaucrats, responsible.

What the conservative Republicans would say for themselves is predictable. "It was Congress' fault. We didn't feel good that day. It wasn't Reagan's fault. We didn't have a big enough majority. The people don't want that anyway..." The conservative Republicans have shamed all of us and we can't let them get away with that sort of thing so easily.

Larry Warner  
San Diego, CA

## Republicans

My wife and I recently attended the Contra Costa County Fair where we happened onto the Democratic Party information booth coincidentally located next to the Greek food concession which had aroused our appetites. This also aroused my political concern so we began looking for the Libertarian Party booth and thought we had found it until closer observation proved otherwise.

There it was, though, a large poster with nearly the exact rendering and color of the Statue of Liberty, the Libertarian standard. I inquired as to

where they "stole the idea" while explaining that I had mistaken them for Libertarians. They gave us a polite Republican smile with no further ado so we continued our search but never found the Libertarians.

Garry Cray Wade  
Antioch, CA

## Laws

The three forms of lawmaking are monarchy (by one), oligarchy (by more than one but less than a majority), and democracy (by a majority).

Virtually all past and present lawmaking bodies have been or are oligarchies with "control" in the hands of one person or a very few persons. Since such oligarchies (i.e., special interest gangs) over time always have the tendency to become "active power mad" or "inactive power paralyzed," a crisis generally results producing monarchs (the modern dictators) or in the rare case indeed a democracy.

The idea of many libertarians of having no lawmaking body (i.e., anarchy) is just as unlikely as total agreement on all laws whatever.

It should be noted that among the first things done in the American Revolution in 1776 was to form state governments (i.e., state legislatures based on "rough" democratic principles).

Thus, for better or worse, the only hope lies with making all legislative bodies democratic.

Thomas W. Jones  
Detroit, MI

## Deadheads

I've been talking a lot about libertarian principles with other Deadheads and finding many of them very sympathetic to the party's goals. This isn't very surprising given the government's constant attempts to stop us from "vending without a license," using drugs, camping on "public property," etc. I would like to know if anyone has any ideas for how to reach a larger number of [admirers of the Grateful Dead] (a group of 500,000, according to the band) that I can talk to in my spare time. People involved in petition drives might try working a show.

Stefan Fuegi  
Hamden, CT

## Freedom Fighter

*(The following is a reprint of an inspiring letter received by David Bergland, former LP candidate for President, who has already responded affirmatively to the writer's request.)*

I am an independent, free editor in Poland, working beyond the censorship and the communist law. Specialization of my editions is literature spreading principles of free market and citizens' freedom in libertarian meaning. We edit belles-lettres and historical literature as well.

We have published among others: French author Guy Sorman's "Revolution Conservatrice Americaine," "L'Etat-Minimum," and "Solution Americaine," Milton Friedman's "Free to Choose," and now we prepare the choice of publications of Friedrich von Hayek.

Thanks to the kindness of England's Mr. Roger Scruton, editor of "The Salisbury Review," we have received your book "Libertarianism in One Lesson."

Herewith I would like to ask you for permission to publish this book in Poland, in Polish. Unfortunately we are not able to convey to you the due fee in hard currency, because in our communist state transfer of hard currency abroad by private people is forbidden. We can pay you in Polish currency—zlotys—in case you came to Poland or to convey the money to the person indicated by you in Poland.

Our payment possibilities are modest. We act illegally under conditions of a police state. Nevertheless we wish very much to publish your wise, interesting, and useful book.

This letter will be taken from here abroad, so you are going to receive it from one of western countries. If you would be so kind to answer it, please use the address of my sister because my letters from abroad are controlled by communist service of security.

## Libertarian Party Statement of Principles

*Due to a typesetting error, which was only last month called to our attention, we have several times printed the Libertarian Party Statement of Principles with an entire line missing. Fortunately, the omission did not distort the statement but it did make for very clumsy reading. Here is the complete, corrected text.)*

We, the members of the Libertarian Party, challenge the cult of the omnipotent state and defend the rights of the individual.

We hold that all individuals have the right to exercise sole dominion over their own lives, and have the right to live in whatever manner they choose, so long as they do not forcibly interfere with the equal right of others to live in whatever manner they choose.

Governments throughout history have regularly operated on the opposite principle, that the State has the right to dispose of the lives of individuals and the fruits of their labor. Even within the United States, all political parties other than our own grant to government the right to regulate the lives of individuals and seize the fruits of their labor without their consent.

We, on the contrary, deny the right of any government to do these things, and hold that where governments exist, they must not violate the rights of any individual: namely, (1) the right to life—accordingly we support prohibition of the initiation of physical force against others; (2) the right to liberty of speech and action—accordingly we oppose all attempts by government to abridge the freedom of speech and press, as well as government censorship in any form; and (3) the right to property—accordingly we oppose all government interference with private property, such as confiscation, nationalization, and eminent domain, and support the prohibition of robbery, trespass, fraud, and misrepresentation.

Since governments, when instituted, must not violate individual rights, we oppose all interference by government in the areas of voluntary and contractual relations among individuals. People should not be forced to sacrifice their lives and property for the benefit of others. They should be left free by government to deal with one another as free traders; and the resultant economic system, the only one compatible with the protection of individual rights, is the free market.

## Thank You, GOP

I must admit that immediately after the election, with Ron Paul's half-million votes, I was depressed. I must say that I began to wonder if we might be better off as Republicans.

Then, on Thursday morning, November 10, I made up my mind after hearing a breaking story on the radio. Republican Senator Phil Gramm was proclaiming a great day for Texas because the multi-billion-dollar super-collider will be built near Dallas, bringing thousands of jobs and millions of dollars for the sagging Texas economy—all looted from taxpayers across the nation, of course.

Thank you, Senator Gramm, for helping me make up my mind and to stop being depressed!

Let's get busy, Libertarian Party. We may have a long way to go but our tradition is one we can be proud of, our principles are sound, and we can build solidly upon them.

Sally Moore,  
Cincinnati, OH

## IS ABORTION AGGRESSION?

Libertarian arguments against abortion and for parental obligation. Literature packet, \$3. (For information only, please send SASE.)

Libertarians for Life  
13424 Hathaway Drive, #18  
Wheaton, MD 20906, 301/460-4141  
Doris Gordon, National Coordinator



# Open Letter to a Young Liberal

By Mark Coleman

Dear disaffected young liberal:

Are you tired of having to apologize for the excesses and inconsistencies of American leaders who say they are liberals?

Well, don't despair!

Twenty years ago a large element of young conservatives in the U.S. broke with the conservative mainstream over the same issue; that is, they finally tired of having to make excuses for the totalitarian tendencies of their presumed political torchbearers, over emotional issues such as whether drugs should be legalized, the draft be abolished, or the boys be brought back home.

The young conservatives who split with the conservative mainstream were hewing to the free market principles that most conservative literature praised, as well as the traditions of America's founding fathers, for whom tolerance was a virtue, free trade a blessing, and entangling alliances an abomination.

Most young liberals, however, failed to join a similar cause, primarily, I think, because they thought mainstream liberalism still was the best hope of the "down-trodden masses," and that liberalism's alleged concern for civil liberties assured increased social tolerance for their counter-culture proclivities.

They also, I think, still deeply distrusted the motives of people who favored the free market, despite the obvious fact that extremely few business leaders or large corporations were contributing either mindpower or money to the libertarian cause.

These days, of course, the ostensible leaders of liberalism are advocating "zero tolerance" (or maximum intolerance) of drug use, civilian versions of the military draft, higher taxes, inflationary spending, and a plethora of government pro-

grams of dubious economic and social merit.

Moreover, there is little dispute that on an economic level liberalism—as defined as massive government intervention into the market economy—has failed in its mission to solve basic economic problems.

In fact, it's pretty obvious now that the expansion of government from the beginning has been the root cause of most of the problems the U.S. has experienced, and that using government to try to solve them has been like throwing gasoline on a fire. The solution, it has become clear, is not to increase government involvement in social affairs through nationalization and regulation, but to shift more responsibility to voluntarily organized, private organizations through privatization and deregulation.

Unfortunately, most young liberals have not displayed much interest in exploring such possibilities, as witnessed by their almost incredible unfamiliarity with the works of economic and philosophical giants such as Ludwig von Mises, Murray Rothbard, and Friedrich von Hayek. In general, they continue to cling to their small world views about what kind of politics are needed to achieve the noble goals that most decent people agree are worthy, to the detriment of themselves and all humanity.

The evidence continues to stack up against their misperceptions, and more significantly against their philosophically vulnerable political leaders, so the time seems ripe for many young liberals to make a switch.

Of course, some activist young liberals, and older "second thoughts," are still trying vainly to reinvent the social wheel, while campaigning as progressive and environmentally sensitive under designations such as "the Greens." But these liberals too, I believe, will most likely be of little consequence in the long run, just as previous incarnations of liberal disaffection have faded from contemporary politics; the Peoples Party,

the Peace and Freedom Party, the Citizens Party, et al.

Greens and the others, I suspect, will be debilitated most by their inability to come up with solutions to society's everyday problems—violent crime, bureaucratic inefficiency, insufficient housing, food cost and quality, health enhancement, and traffic congestion, to name just a few. And any nuts and bolts ideas that they may be able to come up with very likely will be inadequate to distinguish them from the discredited modern liberal mainstream.

From a cultural point of view, disaffected young liberals will, I believe, once again fail in their effort to create a successful alternate political movement because of their unwillingness to publicly and courageously uphold the banner of tolerance for nonviolent countercultural behavior. They also will lose the respect of radicals for failing to denounce political candidates such as Jesse Jackson and Michael Dukakis, the former most especially being an example of liberalism gone mad.

My hope is that most thinking young liberals have just about had it with Jesse Jackson's narcomilitarist, anti-drug rantings, and are thoroughly disgusted that all the other leading liberal politicians so desperately try to keep up with him.

Even syndicated columnist Ellen Goodman, a darling of modern women liberals, recently editorialized in favor of harsh laws against drugs, causing at least some of her admirers to coughingly apologize for and rationalize her position on one basis or another, to justify their own continued adherence to the sinking liberal ship.

To bring it back full circle, then, it appears to me that disaffected young liberals are in about the same position psychologically that many young conservatives were about 20 years ago; they are growing tired of having continually to apologize for their mainstream representatives, and now even for their maverick representatives, just as 20

years ago young conservatives could no longer look to conservative gunslingsers such as Barry Goldwater and those in Young Americans for Freedom, or William F. Buckley for principled guidance on confusing issues such as drugs and foreign policy.

Were Goldwater and Buckley for free enterprise and individual liberty or not? Even if it meant giving up the glories of empire or civil conformity and imposed order?

Are Jackson, Dukakis, Goodman, and the whole range of leading liberals for civil liberties or not? Are they tolerant of alternate non-aggressive lifestyles or not? Do they realize that many of their supporters indulge in the very non-aggressive lifestyles that their political programs would exterminate?

I don't think so, and my hope is that more young liberals will realize this, thus paving the way for them to join the libertarians.

Disaffected young liberals who really are willing to go "beyond left and right" should take a hard look at the ideas of libertarians, whose views are characterized by a unifying principle which cuts to the heart of all social issues—namely, that force should not be initiated to achieve social, personal, or political goals.

Such a simple postulate is both profound and far-reaching, and that, too, should appeal to young liberals who are considering new options. Libertarianism, they will find, is the philosophy that best accommodates the widest range of social arrangements, and best serves the common desire for justice, peace, and economic prosperity.

What could be easier to go along with than that? What could be easier to advocate than that? Welcome aboard?

Coleman, a libertarian writer in Hawaii, is one of the editors of *Hawaii Current*.

## Qualifications

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an unrelated part of the bill.

A protest in time saves us infinite trouble and expense later on.

2. But it's not enough to stop bad bills; we must go on the offensive and persuade state legislatures to pass bills which improve ballot access. State Libertarian Parties have succeeded in doing just that in Georgia, Hawaii, Idaho, Kansas, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Texas, and Utah. There is no reason we can't do it everywhere.

Libertarians may have a low opinion of state legislatures. We don't even seem to try to persuade them to ease unfair ballot access laws. Our own attitudes could defeat us. Fortunately, in Georgia, enough Libertarian Party activists, joined by activists from the Populist Party and the Citizens Party, had faith in lobbying and in 1986 got a bill passed which (1) lowered the vote threshold from 20 percent to 1 percent; (2) lowered the statewide petition requirement from 63,000 to 26,000 signatures; (3) let all of our statewide candidates qualify with a single petition; and (4) lets us petition before we know who our candidates will be. There are still major flaws in the Georgia law but we are miles ahead compared to the 1986 situation.

The first task is to find a state legislator who will introduce our bill and work for its passage. This isn't difficult. There is bound to be some libertarian in your state who is friendly with a state legislator. If you can make a strong case for reform, you probably can persuade such a legislator to introduce a bill for you. But remember how strict the deadlines are. In many states, no bill can be introduced after February, 1989. Now is the time to look for a sponsor.

Once the bill is introduced, the Libertarian Party involved needs two or three people who will campaign for it. Make appointments with the editors of major newspapers. Get them to write editorials in support of the bill. Newspaper editors often are on the side of more free political competition since they understand the value of the

First Amendment and free speech. If they won't write such editorials, you could begin a regular campaign of letters-to-the-editor.

If you live in Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusetts, Missouri, Tennessee, Texas, or Virginia, point out that most state legislators had no opponent on the most recent general election ballot!

Try to get your state's election officials on your side. Many of our ideas for improving ballot access, also save tax dollars. It takes more time and expense to count write-in votes than to count votes for someone whose name is on the ballot. In order for us to use this argument to the fullest, we must first insist that our write-in votes be counted. The West Virginia Libertarian Party is about to sue those county election officials who didn't count Ron Paul write-ins.

We need more ballot access lawsuits!

In Delaware, in 1970, when the state legalized write-in voting, it simultaneously greatly eased ballot access requirements for third parties, so that the number of write-in votes would be minimized.

Of course we'll be in a much stronger position if we can get it established that the U.S. Constitution's First Amendment protects the right to cast a write-in vote. Lawsuits on this issue are currently pending in Hawaii and Indiana.

What about lawsuits generally? The last U.S. Supreme Court ballot access decision, *Munro v. Socialist Workers Party*, decided in 1986, was not favorable and it has been difficult winning cases in lower courts ever since. However, a new U.S. Supreme Court decision is expected out in the first months of 1989. It probably will contain language favorable to ballot access by political parties. Until this decision appears, it's difficult to know that we can win many more ballot access lawsuits.

In the meantime, full steam ahead on lobbying!

At this time we don't know if Congressman John Conyers will again introduce a fair ballot access bill in Congress. So, at this point we must concentrate on state legislatures.

Richard Winger is one of the country's foremost experts on ballot access laws.

## Our Vote History

	President	Senate	House
		No	
1972	3,864	Candidate	2,028
1974	—	77,673	12,160
1976	174,199	79,534	85,323
1978	—	28,880	72,967
1980	921,199	401,647	591,308
1982	—	315,245	503,421
1984	228,705	161,016	285,410

Average number of votes received by individual Libertarian Party candidates for Congress:

Year	Votes
1972	2,028
1974	2,424
1976	2,081
1978	3,317
1980	5,097
1982	3,269
1984	2,942
1986	2,807

Richard Winger, Libertarian ballot access consultant, comments: "It is encouraging to note that the Libertarian total for Congress in 1984 was greater than the better-publicized presidential vote total. The U.S. Senate totals, by the way, are not very useful for comparing progress, since the set of states with seats up in the 'Class II' years (1966, 1972, 1978, 1984, 1990...) happen to have smaller populations than the set of states in the 'Class I' and 'Class III' years. It's also worth pointing out how much better the Libertarian Party's 1984 congressional vote total was compared to the 1970s congressional vote totals."

## Brainstorm

By Dick M. Jacobs

It appears that my race for the U.S. Senate garnered about 1 percent of the votes cast for the office in Michigan. While this percentage is far from what we hoped it would be, we did achieve several victories.

We were included in the Economic Club of Detroit debate, which the *Detroit News* reported I had won, the next day, on their editorial page. That certainly helped establish our credibility in the political arena.

We introduced the libertarian philosophy to educators in several new colleges and high schools. We increased our membership in Michigan.

We even succeeded in getting my opponent, Don Riegle, to state that he thinks it's time that Japan and other foreign countries started paying for their own defense. It happened at the Economic Club debate just after I spoke and it was like an echo of my own position, refreshing rhetoric from one of the bandits who has supported looting the taxpayers for years.

I do think it is time that we had a national brainstorming session to lay the groundwork for 1990 and beyond. We can beat the Republicans and the Democrats but we are going to have to change our strategy.

In the meantime, let's double our efforts to double our membership by July 1, 1989!

It's not an impossible task if every card-carrying member would just get one new person to join the party.

Let's also make an individual effort, during this same time, to introduce one new educator, in college or high school, to the libertarian philosophy and to the Libertarian Party.

Let's give them the tools to educate the next generation of American Freedom Fighters.

And let us each pledge at least \$10 a month to the national Libertarian Party to help accumulate the funds that we need for administrative, membership, and educational outreach costs and for future targeted political campaigns.



## Ron Paul

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particular state. When I had a key individual in any particular state who worked beyond the call of duty, they would then energize the whole situation. For instance, we had exciting things happening in Boston, mainly because of our organization there as well as Gene Burns. But then in Detroit, we had a couple of ambitious people, and we had a lot more excitement. Denver happened to turn out very good but to me the key wasn't so much where we were, it's who did the work. The message is powerful — East, West, North, or South. Whatever the state, the key to it is just exposure, and I think it is going to be received every single place in the country.

### LP NEWS: How do you evaluate the party as a political organization now?

PAUL: I think the party is stronger, but certainly there was a weak link in the connection between us locating say 100 new people in, say, state A, B, C, or D, and translating that into receiving materials and working them into the party apparatus. That's one thing I hope I can continue with because I don't want to drop the people I've already gotten organized in my organization so that we can translate that into active people in the party. This is the reason I think if we all get tired and take a rest and not even look at this for another year, I think we've lost a lot of momentum. Of course that's the reason I want to do something immediate to keep this going and put everybody into the organization if we haven't accomplished that yet. The recruiting that occurred during the campaign has been done, but we have to not only recruit and get somebody on the dotted line, we have to make sure they hear back from us. The biggest complaint I got around the country was that the Libertarian Party is generally an answering machine, and that is always embarrassing because sometimes they don't get their call backs and I think we have to graduate. Answering services aren't that expensive and we ought to always have a voice at the end of the phone, *even if it's a paid answering service*. Follow-through is crucial and I think we in our own organization have to do better but it has to be done better with the party and we have to coordinate it better.

### LP NEWS: Well, I gather you intend to stay very active in the party.

PAUL: Yes, I intend to because I think this work and effort has to continue and we have to benefit by what we have done so the guy who does this in four years is in better shape than we were a year ago. I think that was one of the encouraging things.

I believe Richard Winger has analyzed it and said that we are in better shape than ever before for ballot access. And that, to me, is very encouraging. Of course that was the toughest part of the campaign — spending a year of energy, effort, activity, and all the volunteers just getting on ballots — that is just a tragedy that we have to put up with.

### LP NEWS: What do you think your role will be in the next couple of years?

PAUL: Well, I hope it's just in the area of sort of a public relations person. If I was a credible candidate, and the message is obviously very credible, and we did the job, hopefully people will call on me to represent these views. I mean I myself — if they don't come calling, which is very possible — then I think I'm going to work real hard to make these views available to people on some sort of a program — some sort of a television program, because we as libertarians have to learn how to use the electronic media and be progressive and not just complain about the three majors not coming to us. I think we can give the evangelical movement some credit because they learned how to use the media — even if many times in a deceitful way. But it does show you that there are audiences out there that you can reach through television and many stations and through satellites. It's just that we have to live in the electronic age rather than just living with answering machines and complaining about the three majors. We have to control our own destiny.

### LP NEWS: Can you think of any major change that the campaign suggests that the party should make at this point, other than the ones you've mentioned?

PAUL: I don't know. I guess that's where I'm the weakest as far as knowing the whole structure of the Party, because 95 percent of my time was spent getting on and off airplanes, speaking, and trying to keep myself energized enough to energize other people. So I didn't look at the intricacies of the operation. But I just think a closer relationship and of course better follow-up is the most important thing. But I felt good about the spirit that was going on. For instance, take a state like New Hampshire. When we first went in there a year ago it was very, very hard finding 12 active libertarians, and it was more like two who did all the work. Well, a week or so before the election I went in there and they expected to get 80 or 90 for a libertarian dinner and we ended up with 35 people standing because there wasn't enough room, so we had 135 people there. So that was the kind of thing I felt real good about.

Finally it all broke loose. The phones were ringing off the hooks. Libertarians across the country had gotten wind of the stench of fraud, and called to find out what could be done. Protests were held by local LP's in front of television stations, several LP's filed formal complaints through the FCC, and legal action was threatened by non-libertarian political parties. There was picketing, letter writing, and endless phone calling. The word was even put on Hewlett Packard's international computer bulletin board. One week before the election, my call to NES was answered by a secretary: "I am advised by legal counsel not to discuss anything at this time." Obviously, we had made some waves.

Contact with Tonie Nathan proved valuable: she jumped on the project tirelessly, and was instrumental in holding press conferences and getting action from libertarians nationwide. Nathan succeeded in contacting the upper levels of the major networks, and got responses ranging from cordial (ABC) to outright hostile (CBS). She also discovered that in addition to Kinko's, AT&T and Xerox were election night sponsors. Kinko's and AT&T gave Nathan a verbal agreement to sign a letter, drafted by her, protesting NES policy. They subsequently backed out of that agreement.

LP presidential candidate Ron Paul held a personal meeting with Bob Flaherty the week of October 23. Paul recounted part of his conversation with Flaherty: "Mr. Flaherty, if Bush receives 45 percent of the vote, and Dukakis receives 45 percent, and I get 10 percent, how would you report that on November 8?" Paul asked. Flaherty responded "50—50." (Followed by a laugh.)

## Andre Marrou

*continued from page 1*

This is all great, but what do we do now? Where do we go from here? We've been in third place for 12 years. Is there any hope we'll move up the ladder of success?

Yes! In my opinion, we will elect a Libertarian Party candidate within 20 to 30 years in spite of ourselves. Our message of more individual liberty and less government will succeed despite whatever we libertarians might do to impede it.

On the other hand, we can speed this up substantially by simply *doing what needs to be done*. If we utilize proven methods of electoral success, we can elect a Libertarian Party president within eight to 12 years. Our next step is to elect Libertarian Party legislators here in the "lower 48" states.

This will require—repeat, *require*—some major restructuring of Libertarian Party attitudes.

First, we must stop thinking of ourselves as losers and start considering ourselves to be winners. Remember what the legendary football coach Vince Lombardi said: "Winning isn't everything, it's the *only* thing!" While this may be slightly hyperbolic, nonetheless it contains truth.

We need to recruit and run candidates who are committed to winning elections and taking office. Enough already of this nonsense of "paper" candidates and "line" candidates, and so on. While we still must field our flagship ticket for president and vice president (to get both publicity and ballot access) all other candidacies—repeat, *all*—should be committed to winning. We can't afford any more lackadaisical candidates who are content with winning tiny percentages of the vote. Such losing, third-rate attitudes are dragging us down. It is better to win a small election than to lose a big one.

Each of us should commit ourselves to bringing into the LP as many new members as we can—say, one per month. Besides face-to-face discussions, this also can be achieved via call-in radio and TV shows, wherein you give out the 800 number for your state office or the national office (800-682-1776).

Keep your commitments. Do what you say you are going to do. Some libertarians (fortunately, not a majority) think it's perfectly okay to ignore solemnly-made promises. The fact that this causes chaos plus hardship on others—not to mention extreme personal disappointment—doesn't seem to bother them. This attitude is reprehensible and must be changed.

Whatever job you have in the LP, do it well. Act professional. Work professional. To paraphrase Russell Means, "The only way to be first-class is

True to policy, no third party results were broadcast from the networks on November 8.

As of this writing (November 10) it is not known just how many votes Ron Paul and Andre Marrou received. Due to the NES suppression, the LP has to slowly and painstakingly collect its own vote totals. The rest of America must innocently assume for the present that the LP received not a single vote. A presidential campaign plagued from the outset by omission from forums, debates, and press coverage ended November 8 with total erasure from the national reports. It is one thing to be ignored — it is another issue entirely to be considered as a "non-vote."

Why has the LP been afforded such deliberate exclusion? By effectively squashing a viable movement like the LP in its infancy, the powers-that-be save themselves from the certain chaos that would eventually ensue in the electoral system should we garner 5-10 percent of the popular vote in the future. And the over \$100 million in advertising from the two old parties might just figure predominantly in NES decision making.

The question remains as to what the LP can do to change this policy in the future. Granted, the NES and the networks that own it are private entities, but they are organizations highly protected from competition by the federal government. Therefore, we can use the term "privately owned and operated" very loosely at best, and the NES is hardly sanct. If the LP does not act on this as a whole, we will face the same erasure in 1992. And out of years of frustration, sweat, personal sacrifice, and noble toil will come...

Nothing.

to act first-class. If we insist upon acting third-rate, we will always *be* third-rate."

Take care of your candidates. Support them. Work for them. Help them out. When they visit your house or community, treat them like an honored guest, not an interloper. Serious candidates, particularly the ones who get elected, are the superstars of the Libertarian Party. Treat them as such. Learn from their successful methods.

Publicize, publicize, publicize. The Number One failing of the Libertarian Party is its unwillingness (notice that I did not say *inability*) to publicize libertarian events, whether meetings, conventions, candidate visits, campaign stops, or anything else. Virtually every libertarian event I've ever attended has been under-publicized. This is inexcusable considering that most radio stations, most newspapers, and even a few TV stations provide free PSAs (public service announcements).

The goal should be to get as many people as possible to an LP event—not just the old-time, hidebound philosophy-debating elite.

Don't put it off. Abolish procrastination. If it needs to be done, do it as soon as possible—before it becomes a crisis. We must eliminate "Libertarian Standard Time." Remember, when you show up late, you not only make a fool of yourself, you transgress on the rights of others by stealing time out of their lives. This is indefensible for the party of principle.

If you want to win—and we must win in the future—you must use television. Get on television anyway that you can—talk shows, interviews, or even in paid commercials. For many Americans nothing is real unless it appears on television. Instead of arguing with this misconception, let's take advantage of it.

Get organized. You can't be too well organized. But you can be over-bureaucratized (i.e., have too many non-workers at the top).

Utilize humor—good, honest, down-to-earth American humor. If there is a secret weapon in politics, this is it. Don't get mad. Don't get even. Instead, make fun.

When somebody asks about libertarianism, explain it by using as few words as possible. Don't overkill with verbosity (a typical libertarian fault). If you can't explain it briefly, then you may not understand it yourself. As Marshall Fritz says, "When somebody asks you what time it is, don't tell 'em how to build a watch."

Am I getting through? We must change our downtrodden attitudes and re-orient ourselves toward successful, winning campaigns. If we don't take ourselves and our mission seriously, how can we expect anyone else to?

Go for it!

## Jim Hedbor

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it now has the lowest unemployment rate in the country. Sanders has a core group of very intelligent, capable, talented people who are dedicated to him. He gets national publicity and was named one of the best mayors in the country by the conservative U.S. News and World Report.

In other words, Sanders has created a political base. There is nothing that he has done that any one of a hundred talented Libertarians could not do. And it is not necessary to adopt Sanders' confrontational style. What is important is that Libertarians cultivate the vision that victory is possible, that we persist and persist and finally win "entry level" offices.

We should admit the obvious, that the most likely way to elect Libertarians is for them to win lower offices first, and function effectively in those offices—to build a base.

When golden opportunities arise we should develop a network to fund at least one congressional race at the going rate of about \$300,000. Such a network also should develop other resources such as a library of position papers, news releases, and campaign ideas. It should be outside of the hierarchy of the Libertarian Party.

Nothing better prepares us for serving than running—it makes us deal with political reality, learn to function as effective politicians. I realize that this notion is distasteful to some Libertarians, but we need to be able to field effective leaders when the opportunity arises. That's why we have a political party.



# No Debt, New Friends, Bright Future

By Jim Turney

Where is the Libertarian Party going after Election Day 1988?

The best experience we have to help answer this question is the period after the 1980 elections even though there are major differences between this time and eight years ago.

I believe that the Libertarian Party will experience major growth in 1989 as we did in 1981. The state party conventions in 1981 were much better attended than in 1980 and the Denver 1981 national convention was by far our best "mid-term" convention ever. In 1989, I predict that many newcomers to the party will swell the attendance of most state conventions and our national convention. Some will come out of curiosity, to meet others who think like they do for the first time since they discovered libertarianism. Many will attend because it will be the first thing they have been able to do since their excitement was generated. There will be some "old-timers" who renewed their interest during the campaign.

The challenges the Libertarian Party will face in 1989 will be to:

1. Get new contacts to join, activate, and donate to the party while their interest is peaked from the campaign. This means spending a lot of time and money on mail and telephones in the next six months.

2. Find ways to get new activists involved in the local party. In many areas, this will mean first getting the party involved in interesting activities.

3. Allow "young" libertarians to "mature" before being "kicked out" for not agreeing with every party platform plank. In other words, if we don't let them participate, how are they going to learn from us? Be ready to work with people who

aren't all the way there yet on every one of our pet issues.

4. Learn from our past and plan for 1992. Ballot Access, in particular, needs a thorough history and documentation compiled. By the time of our next national convention we need a plan for targeted campaigning in 1990. Let's spend our money and effort on campaigning for votes in 1990, rather than petitioning in 1992, to gain ballot access in as many states as possible!

5. Continue to increase the number of Libertarians elected and appointed to public office. Our first electoral success is logically at the local level. Run for the lowest level office on the ballot especially if it is a partisan race and "Libertarian" will appear by your name on the ballot.

We are beginning the next four-year election cycle in better shape than ever before. We attracted two exciting nominees for President and nominated a credible national ticket of proven vote-winners who took our message all across America for one solid year.

We are known by millions more Americans after 17 years of campaigning.

We now have more Libertarians than ever before, about one hundred, holding elected and appointed public office and in 1988 there were several local campaigns that exceeded anything previous in getting media coverage, both news and paid announcements.

There is no debt! No campaign debt and no party debt! We had debt after both the 1980 and 1984 campaigns.

Our contributor base is firm and growing. We aren't depending on one large donor as before but on hundreds of monthly pledgers, the most ever. We have credibility with our members after delivering every promised issue of LP News for three

years and even a few extra issues that have been so popular that we have gone through a dozen reprints!

Paid national membership is now about the same as election day 1980, but it has climbed back up from the low point in 1986.

We know a lot more about ballot access now. In 1988 we did not waste any money petitioning in states where we did not finish the job. For the first time ever in our history we will start planning ballot access for the next presidential elections four years ahead. In 1984 we spent tens of thousands of dollars in states where we did not collect enough signatures to even submit them. We started working on 1988 ballot access in 1986.

My greatest fear for the future is how our point of view will be received by people after an economic slowdown, which I believe is inevitable during the next four years. Ron Paul and many others contend that an economic catastrophe is likely, but even a moderate downturn could produce a backlash against "free market" solutions.

We have enjoyed a generally good reception when discussing our economic ideas over the last 10 years. Our rhetoric has been borrowed by many political leaders, especially Reagan. During the last six years the U.S. economy has grown in every reporting period, breaking the world record. Even though this has not been because of absolute free market economics, and has included massive government spending, the free market has got much of the credit for it in many minds.

We got a taste of what is to come when the stock market crashed last year. All these socialist economists and their friendly journalists—and there are still many of both on campuses and news staffs around the nation—started blaming the free market for creating the problems and called for rescue

by government. It could get very nasty for us if this view catches on with the public.

The terms "free market" and "privatization" might lose their good reputation, just as "capitalism" did 60 years ago with the depression.

Libertarian economic positions will get a tough reception in

future years if Bush leaves the impression that he is on a "free market" course when the economy hits the rocks. The Reagan legacy Bush is running on has that "free market" reputation with the average American.

A golden opportunity was missed when a certified liberal, Dukakis, lost the election. The inevitable economic slowdown after six years of record growth would "prove" to everybody that socialist economics were no match for "free market" economics. Under a Bush administration, using free market rhetoric, if not practice, an economic slowdown could have the reverse effect, and be blamed on capitalism.

The good news is that libertarian economics has grown very strong in the last 10 years with Nobel Laureates, academics, and computer analysis on our side and foreign governments adopting market solutions. But that may not be enough to win the minds of Americans.

I believe it will also require a strong Libertarian Party, working with average people on the local level, to fend off the statist attack on free markets that Bush's wimpish economics will invite. If the party can stay strong and grow through the Bush years then I believe we will ultimately succeed at the ballot box.

We are off to a good start!

*Turney is National Chairman of the Libertarian Party.*

## John Vernon

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run television ads in the last week of the campaign. On the other hand, this early visibility seemed to excite the imagination of the local Libertarians. The need to overcome the negativism generated by the poor results of the previous two elections seemed to demand some early aggressive political activity.

I discovered in this election that we have many valuable resources in the Libertarian community. One of our candidates, Robert Leet, is a professional signmaker. He produced signs for our various demonstrations, and toward the end of the campaign, designed a silkscreened yard sign, with which we plastered the district.

Two Libertarian computer professionals, Roy Sykes and Don Molin, offered their services in

producing personalized fundraising letters.

Ferde Grofe offered the use of his sound studio to produce radio spots, and director Win Phelps and cameraman Howard Ex made themselves available in producing the "Break the Habit" TV commercial. They also provided family, crew, and lighting equipment at no cost.

Local newsletter editor Dean Anschultz provided typesetting for letterheads, envelopes, and invitations to campaign events.

Perhaps the most gratifying part of the campaign was the experience of actually approaching strangers and letting them know that I was a candidate for Congress. Most people respond favorably to a friendly approach.

There is a certain reticence in most Libertarians which makes them very reluctant to approach strangers and do this most important part of

campaign work, and the unwillingness of more than just a handful of canvassing volunteers to actually get out and meet the public is a major disappointment in this campaign. It is a weakness in Libertarians which must be overcome if we are to progress.

It was also gratifying to discover a few Libertarian contributors who were eager to exceed the individual limit in campaign contributions. To accomplish this, Geoffrey and Nancy Neale founded CALECO, the California Libertarian Election Committee, a vehicle which permitted some Libertarians to increase their giving. CALECO will be qualified in 1990 as a multi-candidate PAC, which will allow it to contribute up to \$5,000 per election to a candidate for federal office. We are beginning now to prepare for the possibility of funding winning races in 1990.

Those who agree to become Libertarian candidates for office should make it their business as a minimum to: (1) Answer questionnaires sent by newspapers, and call back if they want to talk to you. Nothing looks worse than to read in the newspaper, "Candidate X did not return repeated phone calls." (2) Set aside time to go into your district and knock on doors. This is the most valuable thing any candidate can do to advance the cause of liberty. Your approach does not have to be hard-sell. In fact, in my opinion, it definitely should not be. The Jehovah's Witness approach is so bad that it is guaranteed to make sure that no more than 144,000 people get into the Kingdom of God. We should avoid their example of launching immediately into an exposition of our positions, and rather allow the voter to ask about the things that really interest him or her. What is important is that we make ourselves available as friendly human beings.

On election day morning, I received a call from a gentleman who just wanted to let me know that I had given him my literature the day before at the post office, that he had read it and liked it, and that he had voted for me. That same day at the post office, an older lady went by and said, "I saw your television ad and I'm going to vote for you. Keep breaking eggs!" Responses like this cause me to know that we are on the right track, and we must persevere until victory is ours.

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